



# **Freedom in Galatians: A socio-historical study of the adoption and slavery imagery**

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## **PREFACE**

To my heavenly Father all honour and glory! This thesis has been completed only through His grace and mercy in the Lord Jesus Christ! Through His power and wisdom I was able to achieve the goal of many years.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to interpret freedom in Galatians by constructing the socio-historical context of slavery and adoption imagery in the first century AD. The central theoretical argument is that a valid understanding of the concept of freedom held by first readers is essential for a valid interpretation of the letter to the Galatians and that taking into account slavery and adoption imagery enables a valid interpretation of the meaning of freedom in the letter. The study applies metaphorical theory as well as philological methodology for the analysis, interpretation, and synthesis of the collected material.

Chapter 1 provides the problem statement and an outline of the study. Chapter 2 first defines a study filter to delimit the semantic domain of freedom, slavery, and adoption in Galatians and then describes the relationship between the concept freedom and the imagery of slavery and adoption. The diachronic meaning of slavery and adoption is analysed in subsequent chapters to identify the various backgrounds to Paul's usage. In chapter 3 the slavery and adoption context is constructed by analysing primary texts from the Old Testament. In chapter 4 the primary texts on slavery in the first-century Jewish cultures are investigated. In chapter 5 the law on slavery and adoption in the first-century Graeco-Roman is analysed and subsequently the contribution of the philosophical writings is investigated. In chapter 6 the results of the analysis of slavery and adoption imagery in the preceding chapters are utilised in the relevant interpretation of these concepts in Galatians. Chapter 7 summarises the findings and conclusions of the study.

This study has concluded that Paul's Jewish background, including some elements of pre-rabbinical Jewish literature, influenced the letter to the Galatians regarding the relationship between the concept of freedom and the imagery of slavery and adoption (sonship). Since Paul was writing to a gentile audience in order to persuade them to return to the true gospel, metaphors of slavery and adoption, because they are embedded within the Graeco-Roman household, are effective communication bridges to reach his audience. Within this framework, Israel's God is depicted as a caring father in the household who redeems all human beings from the status of slaves to that of children, with full rights of inheritance. God has achieved this by sending his Son Jesus Christ to restore the relationship between God and humanity, by giving himself up as a ransom for all. In the light of the slavery and adoption imagery used in the letter and through the Lord Jesus Christ, freedom in Galatians is shown to be not a movement from slavery to freedom, but a movement from (negative) slavery to (positive) slavery, resulting in the dual identities of sons of God (vertical) and slaves of Christ to serve the familial members in love (horizontal).

**Key words:** Galatians, Freedom, Slavery, Adoption, Metaphor, Philology, Social-historical study

## OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie het ten doel om vryheid in Galasiërs te interpreteer deur die sosio-historiese konteks van slawerny- en aanneming-beeldspraak in die eerste eeu nC te konstrueer. Die sentrale teoretiese argument is dat 'n geldige verstaan van die begrip vryheid soos die eerste lesers dit verstaan het, noodsaaklik is vir 'n geldige interpretasie van die brief aan die Galasiërs en dat die inagneming van die slawerny- en aanneming-beeldspraak 'n geldige interpretasie van die betekenis van vryheid in die brief moontlik maak. Die studie maak gebruik van metafoorteorie sowel as filologiese metodologie vir die analise, interpretasie en sintese van die versamelde materiaal.

Hoofstuk 1 bied die probleemstelling en 'n oorsig van die studie. Hoofstuk 2 definieer eers 'n studiefilter om die semantiese domein van vryheid, slawerny en aanneming in Galasiërs te definieer en beskryf dan die verhouding tussen die konsep vryheid en die metafore slawerny en aanneming. Die diachroniese betekenis van slawerny en aanneming word in daaropvolgende hoofstukke ontleed om die onderskeie agtergronde van Paulus se gebruik te identifiseer. In hoofstuk 3 word die konteks van slawerny en aanneming gekonstrueer deur die ontleding van primêre tekste uit die Ou Testament. In hoofstuk 4 word die primêre tekste oor slawerny in die Joodse kultuur van die eerste eeu ondersoek. In hoofstuk 5 word die wetgewing rondom slawerny en aanneming in die eerste-eeuse Grieks-Romeinse samelewing geanaliseer en daarna word die bydrae van die filosofiese geskifte ondersoek. In hoofstuk 6 word die bevindings van die ontleding van die slawerny- en aanneming-beeldspraak in die voorafgaande hoofstukke benut om die tersaaklike konsepte in Galasiërs te interpreteer. Hoofstuk 7 bied 'n opsomming van die bevindings en gevolgtrekkings van die studie.

Hierdie studie kom tot die gevolgtrekking dat Paulus se Joodse agtergrond, insluitende sommige elemente van die pre-rabbynse Joodse literatuur, die brief aan die Galasiërs beïnvloed het in terme van die verhouding tussen die konsep van vryheid en die beeldspraak van slawerny en aanneming (kindskap). Omdat Paulus sy brief rig aan 'n heidense gehoor in 'n poging om hulle te oorreed om na die ware evangelie terug te keer, is die metafore van slawerny en aanneming uitnemendhe kommunikasiebrûe om sy gehoor te bereik, juis omdat hierdie metafore ingebed is in die Grieks-Romeinse huishouding. Binne hierdie raamwerk word die God van Israel uitgebeeld as die versorgende pa van die huishouding wat alle mense verlos en hulle slaaf-status verruil vir dié van kinders, wat dus ook erfgename is. God het dit bewerkstellig deur sy Seun Jesus Christus te stuur om die verhouding tussen God en die mensdom te herstel deur homself as losprys vir almal oor te gee. In die lig van die slawerny- en aanneming-beeldspraak wat in die brief gebruik word en deur middel van die Here Jesus Christus, kan vryheid in Galasiërs geïnterpreteer word as nie 'n beweging van slawerny na

vryheid nie, maar eerder 'n beweging van (negatiewe) slawerny na (positiewe) slawerny, wat uitloop op die dubbele identiteit as kind van God (vertikaal) en slaaf van Christus wat die gesinslede in liefde dien (horisontaal).

**Sleutelterm:** Galasiërs, Vryheid, Slawerny, Aanneming (tot kinders), Metafoor, Filologie, Sosio-historiese studie.

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 ORIENTATION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Paul's thoughts on Christian freedom not only involve the concept of slavery, but also the event of adoption through which Christians become members of God's family. Michael Peppard (2011b:96) indicates that the imagery is of the household<sup>1</sup>; the transition from slave to son that is brought about by the "redemption" of the slave's price and a subsequent "adoption".<sup>2</sup> According to Paul, God does not merely set us free from sin by rescuing us through Jesus Christ into the society of the righteous, but also adopts us into His family so that we are able to call him 'abba Father' (Ga 4:6; Ro 8:15). In other words, God doesn't merely provide justification for people and then leaves them with nowhere to go, but adopts them into the warmth and security of his household (Burke 2006:25). As Trevor J. Burke (2006:21) also points out, some Bible scholars neglect the word *υιοθεσία* (adoption) in God's salvation because this word has been misinterpreted. Moreover, reformed theologians regarded adoption as part of justification during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Ferguson 1986:83). The post-Reformation theologian John Leith, for instance, understood "adoption as a synonym for justification" (Burke 2006:23). Traditional commentators have also interpreted Paul's Letter to the Galatians using "justification by faith" as the primary lens and principle (Rhoads 2004:284). Systematic theologians have considered the term adoption as a sub-section of justification.

Given the situations above, Burke (2006:26) claims that adoption ought not to be subsumed under justification or mistaken as a synonym for justification. On the contrary, it is the essence of Pauline theology, and adoption is the greatest privilege that the gospel offers, as it can be considered a higher climax following on the grace of justification. He (Burke 2006:42) consequently indicates that Paul accentuates an important Christological and soteriological note in Galatians 4:5 grounding our adoption in the work of God's Son on the cross. It demonstrates a triad of interconnected metaphors - slavery, redemption and adoption - in describing Paul's readers as being in a condition of "slavery to the basic principles of the world" (Ga 4:3; Ro 8:15) and he moves from their need for freedom (redemption, Ga 4:5) to that of being adopted as sons (Burke 2006:42). All in all, if the adoption metaphor is taken out of its Christological context, its meaning would be misinterpreted. Equally, if adoption is not combined with slavery, no integrated picture of God's soteriology will emerge.

What is more, Dale B. Martin (1990:xv) indicates that Paul uses "slave of God" or "slave of Christ" terminology as the self-symbolization of the identity of the Christian. Some biblical

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<sup>1</sup> The eloquent exordium of Ephesians (1:3-14) echoes the "household" ideas of Galatians 3-4 and Roman 8.

<sup>2</sup> Peppard (2011b:97) points out that Paul and John represent the closest we have to ideal types that portray divine sonship, with one preferring adoptive imagery and the other begotten imagery.

scholars see it as a metaphor for Christians, used so as not to offend anyone in the Graeco-Roman context. However, Martin (1990:xv) thinks that the concept of “the slave of god” was not an unfamiliar construct in Graeco-Roman society. For instance, in some literature of that period authors refer to themselves as being the slave of a god or goddess. In ancient times people would refer to themselves as the slaves of Apollo, and Plato and Socrates called themselves fellow slaves with sacred swans, because they served the same god. Such terminology would therefore not cause offence in the Graeco-Roman society. This concept is similar to the term adoption, as this was how the divine sonship of the Roman emperors in the Julio-Claudian era was legitimated. Augustus was the son of the divine Apollo by begetting and the son of the divine Julius by adoption (Peppard 2011b:94).

Thus, the metaphors of adoption and slavery were not completely unfamiliar within the Graeco-Roman social context. It is therefore difficult to know what Paul had in mind when he used these metaphors to explain the salvation by God, given the fact that he had a multicultural audience and the Old Testament background, Greek background and Roman background to consider.

Generally, Bible scholars put different levels of emphasis on the “slave of God/Christ” terminology when considering why early Christians called themselves by this term. Adolf Deissmann (1927:329-332) linked the New Testament slave metaphors to Delphic manumission inscriptions, indicating that, just like a slave who was to be set free was sold to Apollo, so the Christian was sold to Christ. Similarly, James C. Walters (2003:42) is right to argue that Paul’s adoption metaphor functions well within the cultural context of Graeco-Roman household practices, especially the laws of inheritance. Adoption functioning as a metaphor gives Paul a way to communicate the Christian’s inheritance in Christ. Following this point of view, Sam Tsang (2005:2), in his book *From the slaves to the sons*, points out that one common technique of persuasion was to use metaphors to connect with the audience. Paul’s Letter to the Galatians is a good example of this method, as it can be clearly understood how Paul uses metaphors of slavery and adoption to persuade his Galatian audience to follow his teaching. Tsang’s (2005:3) aim was to reconstruct the socio-historical institution of Graeco-Roman slavery and relate it to issues raised in Galatians to explain Paul’s figurative rhetorical strategy in Galatians.

Some Bible scholars nevertheless reject this point of view, explaining that Paul by no means used the term slave of Christ in relation to the Graeco-Roman context, but rather with reference to the Old Testament and Near Eastern political and religious language. That’s why Hans Conzelmann (1975:50) indicates that “the demand to become the δοῦλος, ‘slave,’ of a god is radically non-Greek” and that “slave of a god is not comprehensible in a Graeco-Roman context”. In addition, in the present time some Bible scholars also support the notion that, when Paul uses metaphors of adoption and slavery in the Letter to the Galatians or Romans, he is not concerned with Graeco-Roman guardianship laws but with an Old Testament/Jewish tradition (Byron 2003:186). Following this point of view, James M. Scott (1992:226) refers to the imagery

of adoption and slavery in Galatians 4:1-7 as a “Second Exodus” that was expected by Israel and that was thought to include all of the believers in Galatia. He indicates that Israel was a νήπιός (a child) (Ga 4:1) during the sojourn in Egypt, that Israel was a slave in Egypt under the officials; as heirs to the Abrahamic promise the enslaved nation was entitled to universal sovereignty; and in the fullness of time God the Father redeemed Israel as his son from bondage in Egypt. Exodus 4:22-23 is regarded as referring to an adoptive relationship between Yahweh and his people. Some Bible scholars have argued similarly, on the basis of another Old Testament scripture, namely the prophecy of Hosea 11:1 (Burke 2006:48). In agreement with this viewpoint, Tom Holland (2004:82) supports Byron, arguing that Paul’s use of slavery metaphors is indebted not to the Graeco-Roman culture and contemporary slave practices, but to Jewish tradition.

In response to the perspectives above, John Goodrich (2013:524) proposes that it is impossible for Paul to use the metaphors of slavery and adoption in a vacuum separate from the Graeco-Roman context. First, he propounds that scholars who argue in this manner do not provide a complete picture of Paul’s slave metaphors. He argues that Jewish notions of slavery assimilated in varying degrees the Hellenistic thoughts of the time as Israel came into close contact with Graeco-Roman societies. In this process, Jewish concepts of service to God were affected by Graeco-Roman chattel slavery (Bartchy 2013:176). It is especially influences of Graeco-Roman domestic slavery that are apparent in Second Temple Jewish metaphors. Secondly, Goodrich (2013:256) demonstrates that Holland forces the model of a new exodus onto the slavery of righteousness/God as a free servant in Romans 6, but ignores the fact that Paul specifically uses the word “ἐλευθερία” in LXX, not “λυτρόω”, which refers to Israel’s release from Egypt or their return from exile. Lastly, Paul uses three commercial terms in Romans 6:21-23: καρπός, τέλος, ὀψώνιον, all with financial connotations that would have resonated in the commercial world of first-century Rome in which many members from the church’s large population of slaves participated (Goodrich 2013:256). Goodrich (2013:530) concludes that “Paul’s slavery metaphor in Roman 6 is neither a decontextualized nor ‘new exodus’ portrait of divine service. Rather, the analogy draws on features of Graeco-Roman domestic slavery that would have been familiar to Paul’s readers, who probably witnessed such phenomena on a daily basis”.

However, work done in the last three decades has challenged this consensus to such an extent that Burke (2006:63) goes as far as to ask whether it is possible to use “either or” to explain what Paul’s metaphors of adoption and slavery mean. I would like to add to this and ask whether it could be assumed that there is a dichotomy between Jewish and Gentile symbol systems. Moreover, if one presupposes that Paul spoke not to Israelites but to non-Jewish audiences, could audiences have understood what Paul explained if the metaphors of adoption and slavery for God’s soteriology came from a Jewish background? Even though many scholars

have shown that Paul's slavery and adoption metaphors are preceded by a rich history of similar images in Jewish literature and even are connected to Old Testament scriptures that echo in Pauline passages (slavery: Ro 7:25; 8: 15, 21, 2 Cor 6:3-4; Php 2:7; adoption: Eph 1:3-14; Ga 3-4; Ro 8), can they really be separate from Graeco-Roman physical slavery?

The main research question is: How should freedom in Galatians be interpreted, taking into consideration the socio-historical context of adoption and slavery imagery?

1. What is the relationship between the concept of "freedom" and the adoption and slavery imagery in Galatians?
2. What is the interpretation of slavery and adoption imagery in the Old Testament?
3. What is the interpretation of slavery and adoption imagery in 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Jewish culture?
4. What is the interpretation of slavery and adoption imagery in 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Graeco-Roman world?
5. What is the interpretation of slavery and adoption imagery in Galatians?
6. What is the interpretation of freedom in Galatians?

## **1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES**

### **1.2.1 Aim**

The main aim of this study is to interpret freedom in the Letter to the Galatians in the light of the socio-historical context of Paul's use of adoption and slavery imagery in the letter.

### **1.2.2 Objectives**

The objectives of this study are:

- to interpret the relationship between the concept of "freedom" and adoption and slavery imagery in Galatians
- to interpret the slavery and adoption imagery in the Old Testament
- to interpret the slavery and adoption imagery in 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Jewish culture
- to interpret the slavery and adoption imagery in 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Graeco-Roman world
- to interpret the slavery and adoption imagery in Galatians
- to interpret freedom in Galatians

## **1.3 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT**

The central theoretical argument of this study is that Paul's Jewish background, at least some pre-rabbinical Jewish literature, influenced the letter to the Galatians, but that even with his

Jewish background Paul was writing to a Gentile audience<sup>3</sup>. Paul's metaphors and writing must therefore also have correlated with Graeco-Roman tradition as a bridge to reach his audience for persuading them to return to the true gospel.

## **1.4 METHODOLOGY**

This study has been done from within the Reformed tradition. The methodology used is primarily a socio-historical study and a study of socio-historical contexts of the metaphor (cf. Van Rensburg *et al.* 2015) Van Der Watt 2000. Certain specific issues should be noted:

### **1.4.1 Metaphor and imagery: Theoretical considerations**

To determine the metaphors of slavery and adoption in Galatians it is important to identify which words and texts Paul uses metaphorically. Before identifying the usage of the metaphorical word, the question may be: which theories or approaches have been used in this study? There are many theoretical models that have been proposed in the methods underlying the study of metaphor; this study, however, is neither intended to evaluate any of the divergent theories on metaphor, nor to discuss their differences or similarities in details, nor to offer views on their contribution. Furthermore, the discussion that follows does not try to provide all Pauline metaphors in Galatians; the focus of this study is to delineate the metaphor of slavery and adoption employed.

#### **1.4.1.1 The nature of Metaphor**

This study is based on Lakoff and Johnson's and Soskice's carefully constructed definition of a metaphor as "that figure of speech whereby we speak about one experiential thing in a certain culture in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:5,117,154-155; Soskice 1985:15). This section provides a brief introductory explanation of metaphor theories in philosophy of language and gives the functions of metaphor as the point of departure for practicing biblical interpretation.

"The way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:3). Metaphors not only have the potential to change minds, to correct perceptions and to alter behaviour, but also have the power to affect life changes in Christian believers. Paul seems to have known this, since his Letters include numerous

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<sup>3</sup> Downing (1996:545) indicates that Paul's audiences were Gentiles in the main (Ga 2:9). Many if not all of Paul's Gentile contacts seem to have been fully 'pagan' (1 Th 1:9; Ga 4:8; 1 Cor 12:2).

metaphors through which he tries to persuade, move and motivate. It could be worth-while to consider Paul's metaphors from this perspective (Forbes 2013:135)<sup>4</sup>.

Not only does metaphor relate to the unusual and ornamental use of words, as Aristotle said (*Poetics*. 1458a; Van der Watt 2000:9-10), but also to the fundamental conceptualization of certain realities in terms of other experiential realities (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:5, 117). Therefore, there are numerous ordinary terms that are metaphorical. They can be seen in some expressions that reflect the conceptualization of statements in terms of "Up-Down spatial orientation." Lakoff and Johnson (1999:9-15) point out that, by using the concept of a person's body metaphorically, it can be assumed that up is good and down is bad. For example, people usually say unconsciously that "he is an 'upright citizen'", which symbolises a person with higher moral values. People would also describe a bad person as a "low-life", which implies lower moral values. To be successful is to be "on your way up/climbing the corporate ladder". To be unsuccessful is to be "on a downward spiral".

In addition, the hierarchical structure is understood according to this up-down inclination. The manager of a company sits on the "top floor", whereas newcomers in the company start from the "bottom". Although this conceptual system mostly remains unconscious (Lakoff 1993:245), it is expressed in the language and, therefore, also understood. Thus, a metaphorical expression brings the power to change people's actions and to give meaning to people's lives.

#### **1.4.1.2 The power of Metaphor**

In Ancient Greece Aristotle was already aware of the power of metaphors and that meaning does not only come from a word's denotation or from the relationship between the word and its referent (Aristotle 1926:3.2.13); it also causes in the listener the effect of mental experiential connotations in a given culture.

There are at least two mental effects on the listener that can be seen from Aristotle's theoretical considerations on metaphor.

Firstly, metaphors can be knowledgeable and contribute to learning by having a rational effect (Aristotle 1926: 3:10.1-4). Aristotle describes metaphors and comparable expressions that evoke wit and esteem, which require some mental effort (Van der Watt 2000:10). However, the

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<sup>4</sup> Paul's broad engagement with the Greek culture of his audience is obvious in his letters. His metaphors of the Christian life as athletics (1 Cor 9:24), his military metaphors (1 Cor 9:7; Php 2:25; Eph 6:11-17), his metaphors of citizenship (Php 3:20; Eph 2:12), his use of the range of metaphors common in popular philosophy discussed above, and a range of other features of his letters illustrate the degree to which a characteristically Greek view of the world came naturally to Paul.

metaphor is lively when it evokes a new meaning to surprise the hearer. For this reason it passes on a kind of knowledge to the listener.

Secondly, according to Aristotle metaphors can affect the listener's disposition; they are used not only to enhance the style of the oration, but also to give pleasure (Aristotle 1926: 3.2.8) to the listener. The aesthetic value of the metaphor was, therefore, significant in classical rhetoric (Van der Watt 2000:10).

Apart from the above-mentioned effects, metaphors also have the power to affect a behavioral response, having even greater potential to orientate and re-orientate readers/listeners through imagery given from an author's perspective (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:3; Van Rensburg 2005:412).

In summary, the aim of metaphor is three-fold:

- Firstly, it verbalizes something that cannot be described adequately in everyday experiential terms (Van Rensburg 2005:412).
- Secondly, it provides a new picture according to how the hearer sees the point in question. By understanding an image, it shapes and influences perceptions, emotions, and identity-formation of individuals and groups (Heim 2017:25).
- Thirdly, it gives tension that provokes the hearer/reader into some reaction within his/her culture, experience, knowledge, and properties (Van Rensburg 2005:412).

#### **1.4.1.3 Definition of Metaphor**

Identifying a metaphor requires looking at the individual meanings of the words and the sentences that contain those words to produce a new meaning in metaphorical form (Van der Watt 2000:6). "A metaphor is formed when the literal meaning of a word in the sentence is absurd, irrelevant or untrue, while the sentence may nevertheless have a useful content" (Van der Watt 2000:7). For instance, "I am the door; I am the good shepherd; I am the vine" provide a model, picture or frame of reference by which the audience gains new insights and which could move the listener to action (Van Rensburg 2005:383). Therefore, incongruences or absurdities at syntactic or semantic levels in a sentence function as a significant sign in identifying metaphors (Black 1988:137)<sup>5</sup>. A statement such as "That man is a pig" becomes a lively description by encompassing a lot of external and internal qualities. The man could have certain

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<sup>5</sup> My study takes the semantics domain into consideration and includes object (things or entities), events (actions, happenings or processes), abstracts (qualities, quantities and degree of the first two classes) and relations (words showing the meaningful connections among the other three groups). These semantic classes may be contrasted to grammatical classes, which comprise the so-called parts of speech (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and so on).

characteristics in a given social and cultural context. When this sentence is used in Max Black's interaction theory (1993:38), the words "man" and "pig" contain a frame and focus which cause the expression "pig" to be a metaphor, because the interaction between the frame and focus in the sentence create incongruences as a rhetorical phenomenon called the metaphor.

This example provides a principle of metaphor in a sentence structure by which all metaphorical statements have a primary and a secondary subject that interact in order to unveil meaning for the hearer/reader. The primary subject, in this case "that man", interacts with the secondary subject, which is "a pig", to produce a complex implication supported by the secondary subject. Therefore, the secondary subject is to be regarded as a system rather than an individual thing. The interaction between the two subjects constitutes a cognitive knowledge in the minds of speaker and hearer (Black 1993:28). It produces the focus with a metaphorical word and the frame with a literal word to define a unique set of implications.

With the understanding of focus and frame, changes of frame can be seen clearly between slavery metaphors in Romans, as Paul uses δούλος (slave) to refer to himself in Romans 1:1 (Παῦλος δούλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ/Paul [is] a slave of Christ Jesus) and also to describe the audience in Romans 6:17 (ἦτε δούλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας/you were slaves of sin). In spite of the same focus (slave) in both sentences, the frames display different sets of implications, since the latter denotes a greater degree of negativity and passivity than the former, which implies a position of privilege (Heim 2017:36). Therefore, when interpreting biblical metaphors, one has to understand them in their larger context.

However, Black's interaction theory is inadequate and limited when it applies to biblical exegesis, since this theory is limited on the level of the individual lexeme, as "X is a Y", rather than on the level of a complete phrase. Soskice (1985:45) criticizes Black by saying that metaphors are not merely restricted to the syntactic form of "X is a Y", but also constructed to the form which lacks two subjects, such as "blossoms of smoke".

An obvious example are the Pauline υἰοθεσία (adoption) metaphors in Galatians 4:5 (ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν/so that we might receive adoption as children) and Romans 8:23 (υἰοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι/while we wait for adoption), where it is difficult to formulate precisely what the two subjects of the metaphor are in terms of Black's theory. Because of this limitation, it is necessary to turn to an inter-animation theory of metaphor expounded by Richard and Soskice (1985:45), who describe how a metaphorical utterance leads to "an intercourse of thoughts, as opposed to a mere shifting of words or a substitution of term for term", because interaction occurs in the thoughts of the reader in a feature of written or spoken language. Under Soskice's definition, it is useful and reasonable to understand a metaphor as a literary

phenomenon that leads to the intercourse of thoughts by applying the formula of the “tenor” and “vehicle”, as literary metaphors are grounded in conceptual metaphor in the mind.

#### 1.4.1.4 Tenor and Vehicle

Rather than using a metaphor having two distinct subjects as in Black's theory, this study will utilise Richard's terminology of a metaphor that operates both as a tenor and a vehicle (Richard 1965:102). The tenor is defined as “the subject upon which it is hoped the light will be shed”, and the vehicle is “the subject to which allusion is made in order to shed that light” (Heim 2017:42). Thus, the metaphor's tenor does not even need to be mentioned. Below is an example used by Richard (1965:102; see Heim 2017:42):

“A stubborn and unconquerable flame

Creeps in his veins and drinks the streams of life.”

The metaphor's tenor is a fever that is not mentioned as a term or subject in the sentence. However, this metaphor has several vehicles. The first is a “flame”, which is further described by the second vehicle of a predator that stalks and devours its victim. Both vehicles provoke a different associative network of various properties that leads to a variety of possible simulations in the mind. The flame might evoke heat, the sensation of being burned, or perhaps an object on fire, whereas that the vehicles “creeps” and “drinks” might evoke a phantasmagorical beast, a fearsome jungle cat, or a vampire.

From the inter-animation of tenor and vehicle the full meaning of the metaphor resides in a complete unit, as a complete utterance, and can be used in all types of grammatical structures. Paul's declaration *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει* (the whole creation has been groaning in labor pains) (Ro 8:22) is equally metaphorical in spite of not using two subjects. So also is the subjunctive *ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν* (so that we might receive adoption as children), as metaphors can also be in any mood. Consequently, the definition of a metaphor as “that figure of speech whereby we speak about one experiential thing in a certain culture in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another” recognizes that metaphors have two elements, namely tenor and vehicle, which create the meaning of the metaphor.

With this definition of metaphor Paul says, “I am, or a Christian is a slave of Christ Jesus”. This figure of speech refers to the status of slave in a certain context, since Paul is not referring to the typical status as slave of a person in a household in Graeco-Roman time. Paul's metaphor of the slave necessitates a reader's careful thinking about human beings in terms suggestive of a slave's status in a given social culture, which means that this metaphor evokes a vivid mental simulation of the model, and the reader/listener must ponder the image for a while because the

metaphor of a slave provides a partial understanding of one kind of concrete experience (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:154-155).

In this regard, a slave is a substance status in the first century that is partially structured by the concept of household, obedience, loyalty, non-freedom, controlled, ransom, and labor, which is related to a social system. Furthermore, an adoption is also a state that is partially structured by the concept of household, heir, inheritance in a certain social system (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:71).

By using the definition of the inter-animation theory of metaphor in this study, it is reasonable to understand a metaphor as a literary phenomenon that leads to the intercourse of thoughts because literary metaphors are grounded in conceptual metaphors in the mind. This distinction between words and thoughts is important for the interpretation of biblical metaphors as Heim (2017:42) mentions correctly that “It is helpful in understanding the complex relationship between a metaphorical utterance and its interpretation by a particular audience”.

In Galatians 4:5 Paul mentions “We might receive the adoption as children”, and within the worldview of Paul and his addressees the reception of this adoption as children could be understood literally. From the textual context, however, it is clear that the vehicle of “adoption as children” metaphorically uses slavery, adoption and inheritance within Galatians 3 and 4, and refers to God as the father who acts as the head of the household, much like the Roman *paterfamilias*, in cultural conditions and a society and cultural conditions, which was more legal in its institution; but the heavenly Father model of the Gospel has a more intimate relationship with His children.

#### **1.4.1.5 Metaphor and Context**

One of the most important functions of metaphors for Jan G. van der Watt (2000:1) is that they are based on semantic conventions within any specific book in which metaphors are in the sphere of consensus. This implies that the reader should be able to relate the symbol in the text with the referent (Van der Watt 2000:2). As such, a metaphor is regarded as a common ground of understanding between author and recipients. Living in a different space-time, present-day Christians must investigate the specific period of the space-time in which the text was created so as to understand the metaphor. For this reason it is necessary to study the text closely, both syntactically and semantically (Black 1988:137; Heim 2017:55; Richard 1965:102; Soskice 1985:45), to recognize a particular word, phrase or image as a metaphor (Van der Watt 2000:4).

The same metaphor can have a different meaning in a certain context of the book. Heim (2017:59-60) gives a good example by explaining the word *τρέχω* in the Pauline corpus of

Galatians 5:7, 1 Corinthians 9:24-26, and Romans 9:16. The following explanation will refer only to the texts of Galatians and Corinthians.

In 1 Corinthians 9:24-26 it is clear from the context that it refers to τρέχω (run) in a competition, as the metaphor's vehicle is evidenced by the inclusion of ἐν σταδίῳ (racecourse) and other athletic events such as boxing (πυκτεύω). The tenor of this text is not mentioned, but it can be inferred as the idea of "moral self-control" according to the wider context of the letter (1 Cor 8:1-13). Therefore, this passage is a metaphor for self-control (tenor) by giving a picture of running (vehicle) that evokes associations about receiving eternal life or maintaining faithfulness to the Gospel message.

In Galatians 5:7 Paul also uses the metaphor of τρέχω (run), but this metaphor has a different meaning because it refers to the issue of circumcision and law-keeping, which is the tenor of the metaphor. The different contexts of both scriptures produces a different set of implications or meanings for the metaphor in which running is used.

1 Corinthians emphasises the connection between athletics and self-discipline, whereas Galatians accentuates the link between athletics and fair play or the continued adherence to correct doctrine. Therefore it is problematic to speak of running (τρέχω) as having metaphorical meaning as an individual lexeme without considering a certain context in the book.

This study focuses on elements that can be identified as metaphors on the formal textual level, where metaphors are regarded as a functional form. These forms are elements of communication intended to create meaning in the Letter to the Galatians.

#### **1.4.1.6 Metaphor and Social Historic context**

Since the New Testament was set in a different culture and different social conditions than today, it is very important to optimally construct this context. One can only start to understand the power of the concepts in a text when their meaning for the period in which the text was written has been determined. It is, therefore, significant to make an optimal construction of the socio-historic context. In short, metaphors are metaphorical communication and, as such, they open up communication that can be determined accurately by the context (Van der Watt 2000:13).

In this research the method for considering the socio-historic context is not based on the background approach, which regards the social and political circumstances as dead décor. Rather, it depends on the contextual approach, which regards the first Christians as part of a dynamic society and connected with their circumstances and events (Van Rensburg 2000:5). In other words, the method emphasises the social phenomena of the first century and focuses on what effect events had on the socio-historic context of the particular Bible book. It does not just

focus on sociological theories like the socio-scientific approach (Van Rensburg 2000:7). Finally, this method is more emic in its approach than etic. During this study I wanted to immerse myself in the data and phenomena of the time of Paul and the Letter to the Galatians without viewing them through the lenses of a theory or a model (Van Rensburg 2000:8).

Galatians provides concrete evidence of the dynamic social interaction between Christians and their presence in specific places during specific times. The Letter to the Galatians is much more than the mere product of a developing social world. There is a vertical factor involved with the origin of this Letter, namely God, who uses this Letter to reveal new aspects of his revelation to every generation and to show how these messages should be applied to various social and political situations (Van Rensburg 2000:10). For this reason this study presupposes that the metaphors in Galatians were constructed according to their context and socio-historical environment.

#### **1.4.1.7 Metaphor and Indetermination**

Having discussed the relationship between the meaning, definition, context and social context of metaphors, it is necessary to mention the indeterminate nature of metaphorical meaning.

From the angle of various readers/listeners the nature of a metaphor can be seen as tolerating some degree of indeterminacy in its meaning. Heim (2017:67) points out that “the indeterminateness is not a defect, but rather it is one of the more intriguing features of metaphor”. The element of indeterminateness encourages and prompts the reader/listener to play with and explore the concepts involved, as audiences may have different feelings, experiences and racial cultures of embodied simulation. Thus a metaphor might have a whole range of valid meanings or interpretations rather than a single, univocal paraphrase.

No single meaning can be established as the correct meaning because there is no way to precisely limit what any given person simulates when he or she hears the metaphor of slave and adoption. Traditional research has led to a pattern of "either-or" to explain what Paul's metaphors of adoption and slavery mean. As a result, slave and adoption imagery either belong to the concept of the Old Testament (Conzelmann 1975; Holland 2004; Scott 1992) or to the Graeco-Roman context (Bartchy 2013; Goodrich 2013).

Even though most of the believers in the churches of Galatia were Gentiles with Graeco-Roman background, one can assume that there were some Jewish Christians in the church, because of the opponents of Paul who were disturbing Christians who had Jewish background.

Consequently, despite the fact that Paul's metaphors of slavery and adoption have a higher tendency to be understood with a Graeco-Roman background, one cannot exclude the possible meanings with an Old Testament background. While all metaphors, including biblical metaphors,

are to some degree indeterminate, they still have a limited range of possible meanings that are available for consideration based on identifying and associating the models which underlie the metaphor.

Thus, rather than isolating a single underlying model for the background of the metaphor, it is better to leave room for various intertextual relationships that contain layers of possible images (Heim 2017:68-69). This study agrees on the indeterminacy of metaphors by speaking of a range of possible implications drawn after considering the possible models underlying the vehicles of slavery and adoption and the inter-animation of the tenor and vehicle in the book of Galatians, while also recognizing that the implications given may or may not be present for all readers at all times.

#### **1.4.2 Usage of ancient sources**

The use of ancient texts is central to understanding the metaphors of slavery and adoption in the socio-historical context of the New Testament. In order to construct the circumstances of ancient times, the primary sources that explicate Greek, Roman and Jewish laws on slavery have been researched (Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:601). Three different perspectives on the law of slavery, that is, legal definitions of freedom and slavery, the legal status of slaves and the rights of slave owners were investigated in Greek, Roman and Jewish law. Paul was certainly familiar with the Jewish legal system being a Jew himself and given his past (Php 3:5-6)<sup>6</sup>; as a Roman citizen, he would also have been familiar with Roman civil law. It could be expected that he would draw on this knowledge for his legal illustrations (Lyll 1970:73; Tsang 2005:4). With the influence that the structure of *familia* had in Graeco-Roman society, there are many comments in literature on slavery and adoption from which to construct the meaning of Paul's metaphors.

Secondary sources on the socio-historic context of the New Testament include Graeco-Roman non-legal literature. These sources describe common societal conditions. Tsang (2005:4) points out that the likelihood of a modern western person understanding legal literature is much lower than what has been generally supposed of the ancient person. Educated ancient writers would introduce legal material to the public, for instance through legal quips in the theatre, so that even illiterate persons could gain legal knowledge.

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<sup>6</sup> Schnelle (2005:64) points out that as a Jew Paul lived in the Diaspora. He regarded himself as bound by the traditions of his Palestinian mother country. Within the community of the Pharisees, he lived in accordance with the Torah, and it was his zeal for observing the Torah that caused him to become a persecutor of the Christian community. Paul himself confirmed his zeal for the traditions handed down by the fathers in Gal 1:14. In Acts 23:6, he proclaims himself to have been a Pharisee who "belonged to the strictest sect of our religion and lived as a Pharisee."

## **1.5 CHAPTER OUTLINE**

1. Introduction
2. The relationship between the concept “freedom” and adoption and slavery imagery in Galatians
3. Slavery and adoption imagery in the Old Testament
4. Slavery imagery in 1st century AD Jewish culture
5. Slavery and adoption imagery in 1st century AD Graeco-Roman world
6. Freedom and the imagery of slavery and adoption in Galatians

## **2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CONCEPT “FREEDOM” AND ADOPTION AND SLAVERY IMAGERY IN GALATIANS**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter aims to establish the relationship in Galatians between the concept “freedom”, on the one hand, and adoption and slavery imagery on the other. In order to do this it is necessary to first identify the words and phrases in Galatians that are used for the concept “freedom”. After this has been done, the incidences of the imagery of adoption and of slavery need to be studied. Finally, a relationship can be established.

Through thousands of years humans have built up a framework of the world around them on which they base the meaning of communication (Van Rensburg *et al.* 2015:157). In this process they have attempted to construct languages by connecting meaning, interpretation and symbolic-phonologic units to facilitate communication. This association of perception, meaning, interpretation and sounds then developed a word or concept (Goede 2010:155). The human brain identifies different relationships between different concepts. For this reason the meaning for which a certain word is used can only be fully understood if the word is studied in combination with other concepts that belong to the same semantic domain.

### **2.2 THE CONCEPT “FREEDOM” IN GALATIANS**

#### **2.2.1 Introduction**

This section aims to filter out the words and phrases connected with the concept “freedom” used in Galatians. Because Greek is not my mother tongue, it is necessary to do a word study of important relevant concepts in the text. The study was done by using the comparative historical-linguistic method, including the synchronic approach (Van Rensburg *et al.* 2015:157). Firstly, utilising the lexicon of Louw and Nida (1996)<sup>7</sup>, I filtered out all the words used for the concept “freedom” in order to define the meaning of each and to establish the location of each in the text of Galatians.

#### **2.2.2 Greek words for the concept “freedom” in Galatians**

I am using ἐλευθερία as a point of entrance into the relevant semantic domain. According to Louw and Nida (1996), ἐλευθερία occurs in domain 37.127-138 (j. release, set free). This domain is indicated as “release or set free”. The following diagram gives a synopsis of the different Greek words – according to Louw and Nida – that are used for meanings in this domain (Table 2-1):

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<sup>7</sup> I use the Louw and Nida lexicon because it provides a definition of the meaning of words and not only the translation equivalents.

Semantic domain	Greek word	Definition of the meaning, and translation equivalent
37.127	λύω; ἀπολύω; ἀπαλλάσσω	To release from control, to set free (highly generic meaning applicable to a wide variety of circumstances, including confinement, political domination, sin, sickness) – ‘to release, to set free’
37.128	λυτρόομαι; λύτρωσις	To release or set free, with the implied analogy to the process of freeing a slave – ‘to set free, to liberate, to deliver, liberation, deliverance’
37.129	λυτρωτής	A person who liberates or releases others – ‘deliverer, liberator’
37.130	λύτρον; ἀντίλυτρον	The means or instrument by which release or deliverance is made possible – ‘means of release, ransom’
37.131	ἀγοράζω; ἐξαγοράζω	(figurative extensions of meaning of ἀγοράζω ‘to buy,’ 57.188 and ἐξαγοράζω ‘to pay a price,’ not occurring in the NT) to cause the release or freedom of someone by a means which proves costly to the individual causing the release – ‘to redeem, to set free’
37.132	ἄφεσις	The process of setting free or liberating – ‘release, liberty’
37.133	ἐλευθερία	The state of being free – ‘to be free, freedom’
37.134	ἐλεύθερος	Pertaining to being free – ‘free, to be free’
37.135	ἐλευθερώω	To cause someone to be set free or to be released – ‘to set free, to release’
37.136	καταργέομαι	To cause release from an association with a person or an institution on the basis that the earlier obligation is no longer relevant or in force – ‘to be free or to be released’
37.137	ἄνεσις	A partial degree of liberty or freedom – ‘some freedom, some liberty’
37.138	δικαιόω	To cause to be released from the control of some state or situation involving moral issues – ‘to release, to set free’

Table 2-1: The concept “freedom” in semantic domain 37.127-138.

In the above diagram one can see that the data in Louw and Nida (1996) show twelve different words used in the Greek New Testament for the concept “freedom”. To narrow this down to

Galatians: Paul used four of these twelve: ἐλευθερία, ἐλεύθερος, ἐλευθερώω and ἐξαγοράζω (Table 2-2)

Ἐξαγοράζω		
Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρως τοῦ νόμου	Christ <i>redeemed</i> us from the curse of the law	3:13
ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν.	in order to <i>redeem</i> those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children	4:5

Greek text (NA 28)	English translation equivalent (NRSV)	Galatians
<b>Ἐλευθερία (noun) and ἐλευθερώω (verb)</b>		
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ	the <i>freedom</i> we have in Christ Jesus	2:4
τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν	For <i>freedom</i> Christ has set us free	5:1
Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῆ σαρκί	For you were called to <i>freedom</i> , brothers and sisters; only do not use your <i>freedom</i> as an opportunity for self-indulgence	5:13
<b>Ἐλεύθερος (adjective)</b>		
οὐκ ἔτι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔτι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ	There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or <i>free</i> , there is no longer male and female	3:28
<p><sup>4:22</sup>γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. <sup>23</sup>ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι’ ἐπαγγελίας.</p> <p><sup>26</sup>ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν·</p> <p><sup>30</sup>ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; Ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.</p> <p><sup>31</sup>διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης</p>	<p><sup>4:22</sup>For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave woman and the other by a free woman. <sup>23</sup>One, the child of the slave, was born according to the flesh; the other, the child of the <i>free woman</i>, was born through the promise</p> <p><sup>26</sup> But the other woman corresponds to the Jerusalem above; she is <i>free</i>, and she is our mother</p> <p><sup>30</sup>But what does the scripture say? “Drive out the slave and her child; for the child of the slave will not share the inheritance with the child of the <i>free woman</i>”</p> <p><sup>31</sup>So then, friends, <sup>1</sup>we are children, not</p>	4:22-23, 26, 30-31

τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.	of the slave but of the <i>free woman</i>	
<b>Ἐξαγοράζω</b>		
Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου	Christ <i>redeemed</i> us from the curse of the law	3:13
ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν.	in order to <i>redeem</i> those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children	4:5

Table 2-2: The use of ἐλευθερία, ἐλεύθερος, ἐλευθερώω and ἐξαγοράζω in Galatians

### 2.2.3 Other Greek words for the concept “freedom” in Galatians

In addition to the words listed by Louw and Nida (1996) in domain 37.127-138, ἐξαιρέω is also relevant.

Louw and Nida (1996) list ἐξαιρέω in domain 85.43 and give the following definition of its meaning: “to take something out of its place - 'to take out, to remove'”. The verb ἐξαιρέω is used once in Galatians (Table 2-3):

<b>Ἐξαιρέω</b>		
<b>Greek text (NA 28)</b>	<b>English translation equivalent (NRSV)</b>	<b>Galatians</b>
ὅπως ἐξέλῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ	to <i>set us free</i> from the present evil age	1:4

Table 2-3: The use of ἐξαιρέω in Galatians

### 2.2.4 Synopsis of the Greek words used for “freedom” in Galatians

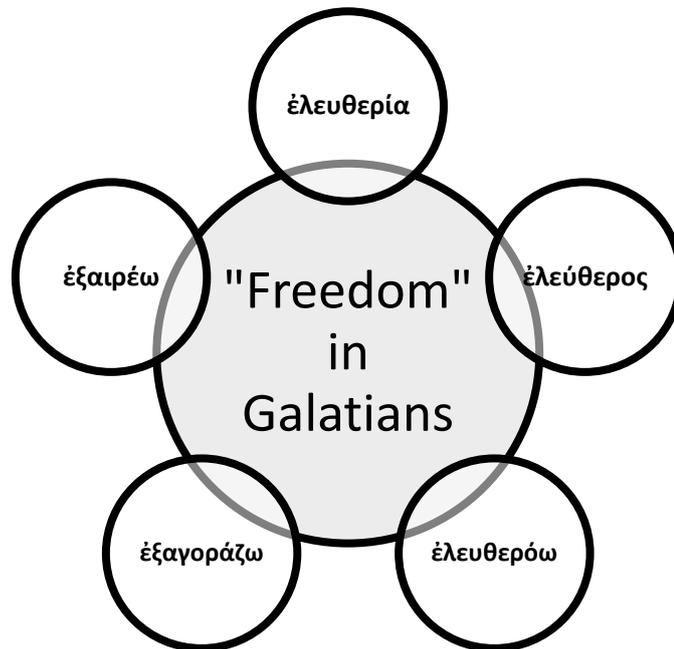
This section of chapter 2 establishes the Greek words used in Galatians for the concept “freedom”. The five Greek words used in Galatians for the concept “freedom” are given with a definition of the meaning for which each of the words are used (with the English translation equivalent(s) added):

- ἐλευθερία: The state of being free – ‘to be free, freedom.’
- ἐλεύθερος: Pertaining to being free – ‘free, to be free.’
- ἐλευθερώω: To cause someone to be set free or to be released – ‘to set free, to release.’
- ἐξαγοράζω: To cause the release or freedom of someone by a means which proves costly to the individual causing the release – ‘to redeem, to set free.’
- ἐξαιρέω: To take something out of its place - 'to take out, to remove.'

The concept “freedom” in Galatians can be defined as:

The state of a person who has been set free by someone who has paid the ransom money. In this way the person is not only taken from a state of confined life, but also moved to a more elevated position.

These five Greek words are used as a “filter” in order to focus the scope of the overview and subsequent material to be studied (Figure 2-1: A filter from the concept “freedom” in Galatians):



**Figure 2-1:** A filter from the concept “freedom” in Galatians

The following diagram shows the locations of these words in Galatians (Figure 2-2: The use of the concept “freedom” in Galatians):

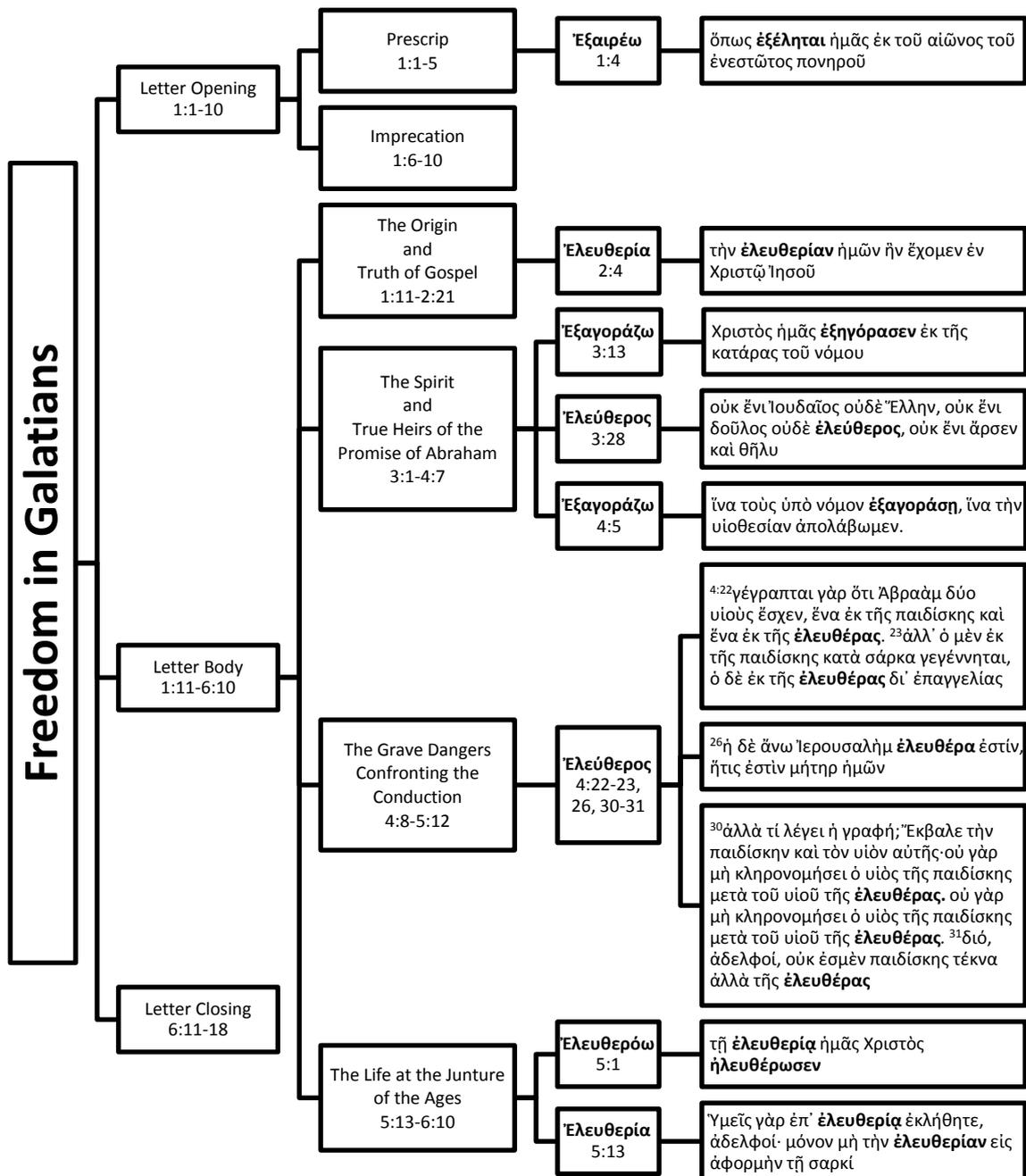


Figure 2-2: The use of the concept “freedom” in Galatians

From the above diagram one can see clearly that the concept “freedom” is used in every chapter except the last chapter in the Letter Closing. Regarding the frequency of the concept “freedom” in Galatians, one could argue that this letter could be seen as the letter of Christian freedom.

The first time the concept “freedom” is used (1:4 ἔξαιρέω) is to emphasise what Jesus has done for the Christians’ freedom in the Prescript (1:1-5), which forms part of the Letter Opening (1:1-10), and introduces the important issue that is going to be discussed throughout the letter. Next, this concept is used in the body of the letter to explain the origin and truth of the Gospel (1:11-

2:21), which is the freedom that Christians have in Christ Jesus (2:4 ἐλευθερία). Subsequently, the concept “freedom” is intensively used in two parts of the section between the first (3:1-4:7) and second paragraphs (4:8-5:12) in the Letter Body (1:11-6:10). In the first paragraph, Paul discusses how freedom relates to the Spirit and the true heirs of the promise of Abraham (3:1-4:7).

The second paragraph continues to explain the grave dangers confronting the believers in Galatia (4:8-5:12). After presenting the interpretation of the Spirit and true heirs of the promise of Abraham and the grave dangers confronting their conduct, Paul gives clear instructions as to how to live out Christian freedom in life at the juncture of the ages (5:13-6:10). In this regard the topic of freedom is very significant in this letter, because it permeates every discussion of the true Gospel. However, to fully understand the whole meaning of the concept “freedom” one has to combine, I think, the meanings of slavery and adoption imagery used by Paul.

## **2.2.5 The occurrence of “freedom” in the different pericopes of Galatians**

I will be utilising the following pericope break down of Galatians (De Boer 2011). The bold printed pericopes contains Greek words for “freedom” (Table 2-4):

1. Letter Opening (1:1-10)
  - 1.1 Prescript (sender, recipients, grace greeting) (1:1-5)**
  - 1.2 Rebuke and Imprecation (1:6-10)
2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)
  - 2.1 The Origin and the Truth of the Gospel (1:11-2:21)
    - 2.1.1 The Origin of the Gospel 1: Paul’s Conversion and Call (1:11-17)
    - 2.1.2 The Origin of the Gospel 2: Paul’s Visit with Cephas in Jerusalem (1:18-24)
    - 2.1.3 The Truth of the Gospel 1: The Apostolic Conference in Jerusalem (2:1-10)**
    - 2.1.4 The Truth of the Gospel 2: Conflict with Cephas in Antioch (2:11-14)
    - 2.1.5 The Truth of the Gospel for the Galatian Situation (2:15-21)
  - 2.2 The Spirit and the True Heirs of the Promise made to Abraham (3:1-4:7)
    - 2.2.1 The Reception of the Spirit in Galatia (3:1-5)
    - 2.2.2 The Blessing of Abraham and the Curse of the Law (3:6-14)
    - 2.2.3 The Promise to Abraham and the Law of Moses (3:15-22)**
    - 2.2.4 The True Offspring of Abraham (3:23-29)**
    - 2.2.5 The True Heirs of the Promise (4:1-7)**
  - 2.3 The grave Dangers confronting the Galatians (4:8-5:12)
    - 2.3.1 The Danger of Returning to their Previous Religious Servitude (4:8-11)
    - 2.3.2 The Danger of Abandoning Paul and His Gospel (4:12-20)
    - 2.3.3 The Danger of Losing their New Identity through Faulty Exegesis (4:21-5:1)**
    - 2.3.4 The Danger of Becoming Separated from Christ and Grace (5:2-6)
    - 2.3.5 The Source of the Danger: The Leaven of the New Preachers (5:7-12)
  - 2.4 The Life at the Juncture of the Ages (5:13-6:10)
    - 2.4.1 Real freedom for serving in Love (5:13-15)<sup>8</sup>**

<sup>8</sup> Though De Boer (2011) breaks down the passage of Galatians 5:13-24 as one pericope, I prefer to split it into two pericopes because Galatians 5:13-15 seems to express a clear focus on the issue of freedom and love while the second pericope (Ga 5:16-24) can then be regarded as a

- 2.4.2 The Spirit's Strife against the Flesh (5:16-24)  
 2.4.3 Living by the Spirit and Fulfilling the Law of Christ (6:1-10)  
 3. Letter Closing (6:11-18)

**Table 2-4: The occurrence of freedom in Galatians**

The identified Greek words for the concept "freedom" in the relevant pericopes are the following (Table 2-5):

Title of the pericope(s)	Greek words	Galatians
(1) Prescript [sender, recipients, grace greeting]	ἐξαιρέω	1:1-5
(2) The Truth of the Gospel 1: The Apostolic Conference in Jerusalem	ἐλευθερία	2:1-10
(3) The Promise to Abraham and the Law of Moses	ἐξαγοράζω	3:15-22
(4) The True Offspring of Abraham	ἐλεύθερος	3:23-29
(5) The True Heirs of the Promise (4:1-7)	ἐξαγοράζω	4:1-7
(6) The Danger of losing their new Identity through faulty Exegesis	ἐλεύθερος, ἐλευθερία, ἐλευθερώω	4:21-5:1
(7) Love and the Spirit's Strife against the Flesh	ἐλευθερία	5:13-24

**Table 2-5: Greek words for the concept freedom in the pericopes**

These are therefore the pericopes that will be exegeted in chapter 6 (cf 6.2).

## 2.3 SLAVERY IMAGERY IN GALATIANS

### 2.3.1 Introduction

Having determined the Greek words used in Galatians for the concept "freedom" in section 2.2 above, the present section wants to establish the slavery imagery in Galatians.

To achieve this goal I firstly determine the Greek words used for the concept "slavery", utilizing the Louw and Nida (1996) lexicon. Subsequently I establish the words used metaphorically in Galatians. In this way I construct the slavery imagery in Galatians.

Finally I will establish the occurrence of these Greek words in the different pericopes of Galatians.

### 2.3.2 Greek words for the concept "slavery" in Galatians

I am using δοῦλος as point of entrance into the relevant semantic domain(s). According to Louw and Nida (1996) δοῦλος occurs in two semantic domains: 37.1-32 (a. control, restrain) and 87.76-86 (e. slave, free) (Table 2-6):

Semantic domain	Greek term	Definition of the meaning, and translation equivalent
37.1	δαμάζω ; ζωγρέω	To bring under control and to continue to restrain – 'to control, to bring under

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supplementary explanation to the first pericope (Ga 5:13-15), focusing more on the conflict between the Spirit and the Flesh.

		control, to hold in check'
37.2	βρόχον ἐπιβάλλω	To place restrictions upon someone's behaviour – 'to restrict, to control, to impose restrictions'
37.3	δοῦλος, η, ο	Pertaining to a state of being completely controlled by someone or something – 'subservient to, controlled by'
37.4	ἐνέχομα	To be under the control of or to be subject to someone or something - 'to be subject to, to be under the control of'
37.5	ἔνοχος, ο	Pertaining to being subject to the control of someone or of some institution – 'controlled by, under the control of, subject to'
37.6	εὐπερίστατος, ον	Pertaining to the exertion of tight control - 'being in control of, controlling tightly'
37.7	ὑπό (with the accusative)	A marker of a controlling person, institution, or power – 'under, under the control of, under obligation to'
37.8	ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας and ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν	To be under the complete control of someone – 'under the complete control of'
37.9	ἐπι	A marker of the object over which someone exercises control or authority – 'over, with responsibility for'
37.10	συλαγωγέω	To take over complete control of a person as one would a captive – 'to control completely, to take control of, to make a captive of'
37.11	περιπίπτω	To become subject to physical control, with the implication of harmful consequences – 'to fall into the hands of, to be seized by'
37.12	παραδίδωμι εἰς χεῖρας	(An idiom, literally 'to give into the hands') to hand someone over into the control of others – 'to deliver to the control of, to hand over to'
37.13	ἐξουσία, ας	A state of control over someone or something – 'control'
37.14	χείρ, χειρός	A state of control exercised by a person – 'to be in the control of, to be in the power of'
37.15	παγίς, ἴδος	An instrument or means of gaining

		control, implying an element of surprise – ‘means of control, way of trapping’
37.16	κρατέω	To exercise power or force over someone or something – ‘to have power over, to control’
37.17	ὑπερέχω ; συνέχω ; κατέχω	To exercise continuous control over someone or something – ‘to control, to restrain’
37.18	στενοχωρέομαι	To be under severe limitations or restrictions – ‘to live under restrictions, to be restricted, to be confined’
37.19	καταλαμβάνω	To gain control over – ‘to overcome, to gain control of’
37.20	βραβεύω	To control the activity of someone based presumably upon correct judgment and decision – ‘to control’
37.21	αὐθεντέω	To control in a domineering manner – ‘to control, to domineer’
37.22	βασιλεύω	(A figurative extension of meaning of βασιλεύω ‘to rule, to reign as a king,’ 37.64) to be in control in an absolute manner – ‘to reign, to control completely’
37.23	περικρατής, ἐς	Pertaining to being in control – ‘to be in control of, to have under control’
37.24	δουλόομαι	(A figurative extension of meaning of δουλόω ‘to enslave,’ 87.82) to be firmly bound by an obligation or a relationship – ‘to be bound, to be under obligation’
37.25	δουλεύω	(A figurative extension of meaning of δουλεύω ‘to be a slave,’ 87.79) to be under the control of some influence and to serve the interests of such – ‘to be a slave to, to be controlled by’
37.26	δουλεία, ας	(A figurative extension of meaning of δουλεία ‘slavery,’ not occurring in the NT) a state or condition of subservience – ‘slavery, subservience’
37.27	δουλόω καταδουλόω	(A figurative extension of meaning of δουλόω ‘to enslave,’ 87.82); καταδουλόω (a figurative extension of meaning of καταδουλόω ‘to cause a person to be a slave,’ not occurring in the NT): to gain control over someone and thus make such an individual subservient to one’s

		own interests – ‘to gain control over, to make a slave of, to cause someone to be subservient to, to cause to be like a slave’
37.28	ἄρπάζω	To gain control over by force – ‘to gain control over, to seize, to snatch away’
37.29	αἰχμαλωτίζω	(A figurative extension of meaning of αἰχμαλωτίζω ‘to take captive in war,’ 55.24) to gain complete control over, either by force or deception – ‘to get control of’
37.30	χαρίζομαι	To hand someone over into the control of another person, without some reasonable cause – ‘to hand over to, to put into the control of someone’
37.31	ὑποτάσσω ; καταστέλλω	To bring something under the firm control of someone – ‘to subject to, to bring under control’
37.32	ἀνυπότακτος; ἀκατάστατος	Pertaining to being unable to be controlled by something or someone – ‘not controlled by, not subject to, uncontrolled’
87.76	δοῦλος, ου	One who is a slave in the sense of becoming the property of an owner (though in ancient times it was frequently possible for a slave to earn his freedom) - ‘slave, bondservant’
87.77	παῖς, παιδός	A slave, possibly serving as a personal servant and thus with the implication of kindly regard - ‘slave’
87.78	σῶμα, τος	A slave as property to be sold, with the probable implication of commerce - ‘slave’
87.79	δουλεύω	To be a slave of someone - ‘to be a slave’
87.80	εἶμι ὑπὸ ζυγόν	(An idiom, literally ‘to be under a yoke’) to be in a state of slavery - ‘to be a slave’
87.81	σύνδουλος, ου	One who is a fellow slave or a slave alongside another slave - ‘fellow slave’
87.82	δουλόω	To cause someone to become a slave - ‘to enslave, to make a slave of someone’
87.83	δούλη, ης	A female slave - ‘slave girl, slave woman’
87.84	ἐλεύθερος, α, ον	Pertaining to a person who is not a slave, either one who has never been a slave or one who was a slave formerly but is no longer - ‘free person, free man’

87.85	ἀπελεύθερος, ου	A person who has previously been a slave but has now been released from slavery - 'freedman, free person'
87.86	Λιβερτίνος, ου	(A Latin name) a group of people, presumably Jews, who had been slaves but later, obtained their freedom; their synagogue was also known by the same name - 'freedman'

Table 2-6: The concept "slavery" in the New Testament

In the above diagram one can see that the data in Louw and Nida (1996) show 43 different words used in the Greek New Testament for the concept "slavery". To narrow this down to Galatians: Paul used 10 of these 43: δοῦλος, ἐνέχω, ὑπὸ + accusative, παραδίδωμι, δουλόμαι / δουλεύω, δουλεία, καταδουλώω, παιδίσκη and δούλη (Table 2-7):

Greek text (NA 28)	English translation equivalent (NRSV)	Galatians
<b>Δοῦλος (37.3)</b>		
εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ <b>δοῦλος</b> οὐκ ἂν ἦμην	If I were still pleasing people, I would not be a <i>slave</i> of Christ	1:10
οὐκ ἔστι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἑλλήν, οὐκ ἔστι <b>δοῦλος</b> οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔστι ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ	There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither <i>slave</i> nor free person, there is neither male nor female	3:28
<b>Ἐνέχω (37.4)</b>		
στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας <b>ἐνέχεσθε</b> .	Therefore, stand firm and do not <i>be submitted</i> again to a yoke of slavery.	<b>5:1</b>
<b>ὑπὸ (with the accusative) (37.7)</b>		
ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν, <b>ὑπὸ</b> κατάραν εἰσὶν·	For all who are from the working of law are <i>under</i> a curse;	<b>3:10</b>
ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα <b>ὑπὸ</b> ἁμαρτίαν	But the scripture confined all things <i>under</i> a sin	<b>3:22</b>
Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν <b>ὑπὸ</b> νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι	But before the faith came, we were confined and enclosed <i>under</i> the law	<b>3:23</b>
ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι <b>ὑπὸ</b> παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν.	But faith has come; we are no longer <i>under</i> a guardian.	<b>3:25</b>
ἀλλὰ <b>ὑπὸ</b> ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονόμους	But he is <i>under</i> guardians and trustees	<b>4:2</b>
<b>ὑπὸ</b> τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἡμεθα δεδουλωμένοι·	We were enslaved <i>under</i> the elemental spirits of the world.	<b>4:3</b>

ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον,	God sent his Son, born of a woman, born <i>under</i> the law,	4:4
ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ,	To redeem those who were <i>under</i> the law,	4:5
οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι,	Those who desire to be <i>under</i> the law,	4:21
εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον.	But if you are led by the spirit, you are not <i>under</i> the law.	5:18
<b>Παραδίδωμι (37.12)</b>		
ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἔμοῦ.	I live by faith in the son of God, who loved me and <i>gave</i> himself for me.	2:20
<b>Δουλόομαι (37.24)</b> <b>Δουλεύω (37.25) (87.79; 87.82)</b>		
ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἡμεθα <b>δεδουλωμένοι</b> .	<i>We were enslaved</i> to the elemental spirits of the world	4:3
<b>ἐδουλεύσατε</b> τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὐσίς θεοῖς	You <i>were enslaved</i> to beings that by nature are not gods	4:8
οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν <b>δουλεύειν</b> θέλετε;	How can you want to <i>be enslaved</i> to them again?	4:9
<b>δουλεύει</b> γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς	For she <i>is in slavery</i> with her children	4:25
ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης <b>δουλεύετε</b> ἀλλήλοις.	But through love <i>be slaves</i> to one another	5:13
<b>Δουλεία (37.26)</b>		
εἰς <b>δουλείαν</b> γεννώσα	bearing children for <i>slavery</i>	4:24
μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ <b>δουλείας</b> ἐνέχεσθε	Do not submit again to a yoke of <i>slavery</i>	5:1
<b>Καταδουλόω (37.27)</b>		
ἵνα ἡμᾶς <b>καταδουλώσουσιν</b>	So that they might <i>enslave</i> us	2:4
<b>Παιδίσκη; δούλη (87.83)</b>		
ἓνα ἐκ <b>τῆς παιδίσκης</b> καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας	One by a <i>slave woman</i> and the other by a free woman	4:22
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ <b>τῆς παιδίσκης</b> κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται	But one, the child <i>of a slave</i> , was born according to the flesh	4:23
Ἔκβαλε <b>τὴν παιδίσκην</b> καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ	“Drive out <i>the slave</i> and her child; for the child <i>of the slave</i> will not share the	4:30

υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας	inheritance with the child of the free woman”	
διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.	Therefore, brothers, we are not children of the <i>slave</i> woman, but of the free woman.	<b>4:31</b>

Table 2-7: The concept “slavery” in Galatians

### 2.3.3 Other Greek words for the concept “slavery” in Galatians

In addition to the words listed by Louw and Nida (1996) in domains 37.1-32 and 87.76-86, there are others Greek words, συγκλείω and ἀναγκάζω, which are also relevant.

Louw and Nida (1996) list συγκλείω in domain 44.9, and give the following definition of its meaning: “to catch in a net (animals or fish) – ‘to catch, to net’”. The verb συγκλείω is used twice in Galatians. The word ἀναγκάζω occurs in domain 37.33-34 (b. compel, force), and gives the definition of its meaning: “to compel someone to act in a particular manner – ‘to compel, to force.’” (Table 2-8).

Greek text (NA 28)	English translation equivalent (NRSV)	Galatians
<b>συγκλείω (44.9)</b>		
ἀλλὰ <b>συνέκλεισεν</b> ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν	But the scripture has imprisoned all things under the power of sin	3:22
Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα <b>συγκλειόμενοι</b>	Now before faith came, we were imprisoned and guarded under the law	3:23
<b>ἀναγκάζω (37.33)</b>		
εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη <b>ἀναγκάζεις</b> Ἰουδαίειν;	If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you <b>compel</b> the Gentiles to live like Jews?	2:14
Ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, οὗτοι <b>ἀναγκάζουσιν</b> ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, μόνον ἵνα τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ διώκωνται.	It is those who want to make a good showing in the flesh that try to <b>compel</b> you to be circumcised -- only that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ	6:12

Table 2-8: The other concept slavery in Galatians

### 2.3.4 Synopsis of the Greek words used for “slavery” in Galatians

This section of chapter 2 lists the 12 Greek words used in Galatians for the concept “slavery” (with the English translation equivalent(s) added):

- δοῦλος: Pertaining to a state of being completely controlled by someone or something – ‘subservient to, controlled by’ (37.3); one who is a slave in the sense of becoming the property of an owner (though in ancient times it was frequently possible for a slave to earn his freedom) - ‘slave, bondservant’ (87.76)

- ἐνέχω: To be under the control of or to be subject to someone or something- 'to be subject to, to be under the control of.'
- ὑπὸ + accusative: A marker of a controlling person, institution or power – 'under, under the control of, under obligation to.'
- παραδίδωμι: To hand someone over into the control of others – 'to deliver to the control of, to hand over to.'
- δουλόμαι: To be firmly bound by an obligation or a relationship – 'to be bound, to be under obligation.'
- δουλεύω: (A figurative extension of meaning of δουλεύω 'to be a slave,' 87.79) to be under the control of some influence and to serve the interests of such – 'to be a slave to, to be controlled by.'
- δουλεία: A state or condition of subservience – 'slavery, subservience.'
- καταδουλώω: To gain control over someone and thus make such an individual subservient to one's own interests – 'to gain control over, to make a slave of, to cause someone to be subservient to, to cause to be like a slave.'
- παιδίσκη: A slave, possibly serving as a personal servant and thus with the implication of kindly regard - 'slave.'
- δούλη: A female slave - 'slave girl, slave woman.'
- συγκλείω: To catch in a net (animals or fish) – 'to catch, to net.'
- ἀναγκάζω: To compel someone to act in a particular manner – 'to compel, to force.'

The concept "slavery" in Galatians can be defined as:

The state in which a person finds himself who is completely controlled by another from a position of ownership as property, obligating him to fulfil the orders and wants within the authority sphere of the owner.

This can be represented as follows (Figure 2-3):

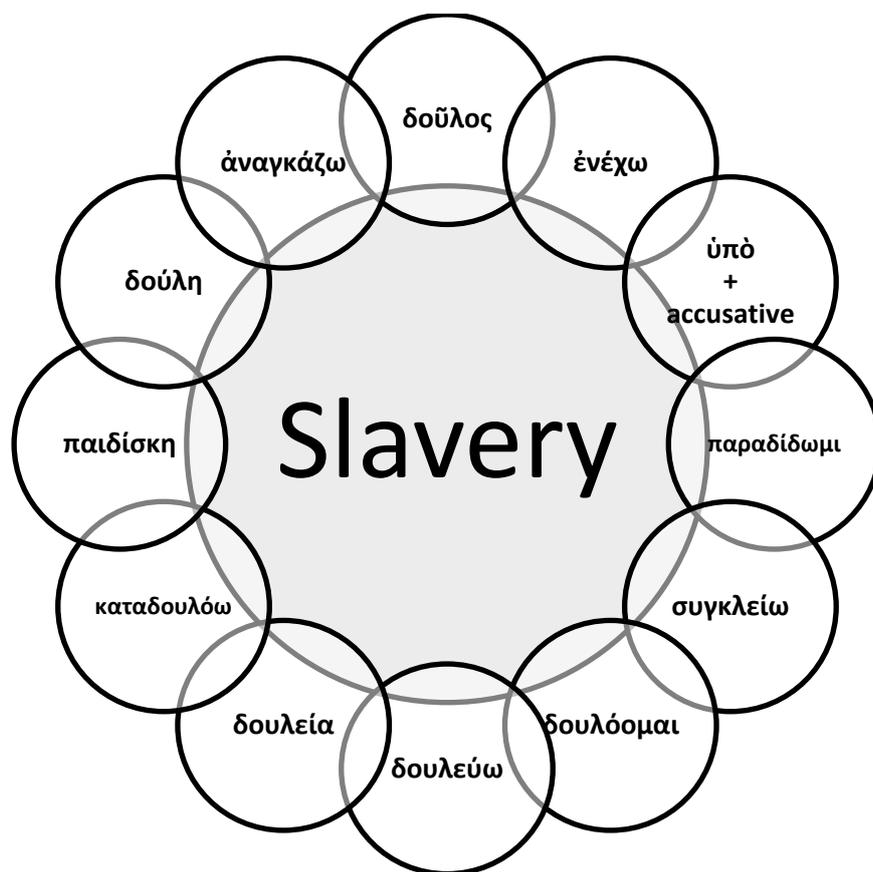


Figure 2-3: The concept of slavery in Galatians

### 2.3.5 The occurrence of “slavery” in the different pericopes of Galatians

The bolded headings in the following pericopes break down of Galatians (De Boer 2011) show the pericopes that have the identified Greek words for “slavery” (Table 2-9):

1. Letter Opening (1:1-10)
  - 1.1 Prescript (sender, recipients, grace greeting) (1:1-5)
  - 1.2 Rebuke and Imprecation (1:6-10)**
2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)
  - 2.1 The Origin and the Truth of the Gospel (1:11-2:21)
    - 2.1.1 The Origin of the Gospel 1: Paul’s Conversion and Call (1:11-17)
    - 2.1.2 The Origin of the Gospel 2: Paul’s Visit with Cephas in Jerusalem (1:18-24)
    - 2.1.3 The Truth of the Gospel 1: The Apostolic Conference in Jerusalem (2:1-10)**
    - 2.1.4 The Truth of the Gospel 2: Conflict with Cephas in Antioch (2:11-14)**
    - 2.1.5 The Truth of the Gospel for the Galatian Situation (2:15-21)**
  - 2.2 The Spirit and the True Heirs of the Promise made to Abraham (3:1-4:7)
    - 2.2.1 The Reception of the Spirit in Galatia (3:1-5)
    - 2.2.2 The Blessing of Abraham and the Curse of the Law (3:6-14)**
    - 2.2.3 The Promise to Abraham and the Law of Moses (3:15-18)<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Though De Boer (2011) breaks down the passage of Galatians 3:15-22 as one pericope, I prefer to split it into three pericopes because Galatians 3:15-18 seems to express a clear focus on the issue of the promise to Abraham while Galatians 3:19-20 emphasises the relationship between the promise and the law. The last pericope (Ga 3:21-22) depicts the powerlessness of the law to

2.2.4 The Relation between the Promise and the Law of Moses (3:19-20)
<b>2.2.5 The Powerlessness of the Law (3:21-22)</b>
<b>2.2.4 The True Offspring of Abraham (3:23-29)</b>
<b>2.2.5 The True Heirs of the Promise (4:1-7)</b>
2.3 The grave Dangers confronting the Galatians (4:8-5:12)
<b>2.3.1 The Danger of Returning to their previous Religious Servitude (4:8-11)</b>
2.3.2 The Danger of Abandoning Paul and His Gospel (4:12-20)
<b>2.3.3 The Danger of Losing their New Identity through Faulty Exegesis (4:21-5:1)</b>
2.3.4 The Danger of Becoming Separated from Christ and Grace (5:2-6)
2.3.5 The Source of the Danger: The Leaven of the New Preachers (5:7-12)
2.4 The Life at the Juncture of the Ages (5:13-6:10)
<b>2.4.1 Love and the Spirit's Strife against the Flesh (5:13-24)</b>
2.4.2 Living by the Spirit and Fulfilling the Law of Christ (6:1-10)
3. Letter Closing (6:11-18)
<b>3.1 Recapitulation (11-17)</b>
3.2 Final Benediction (6:18)

**Table 2-9: The occurrence of slavery in Galatians**

The identified Greek words for the concept "slavery" in the relevant pericopes are the following (Table 2-10):

Title of pericope(s)	Greek words	Galatians
(1) Rebuke and Imprecation	δοῦλος	1:6-10
(2) The Truth of the Gospel 1: the Apostolic Conference in Jerusalem	ἀναγκάζω, καταδουλόω	2:1-10
(3) The Truth of the Gospel 2: conflict with Cephas in Antioch	ἀναγκάζω	2:11-14
(4) The Truth of the Gospel for the Galatian situation	παραδίδωμι	2:15-21
(5) The Blessing of Abraham and the Curse of the Law	ὑπὸ κατάραν	3:6-14
(6) The Promise to Abraham and the Law of Moses	συγκλείω ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν	3:15-22
(7) The true Offspring of Abraham	ὑπὸ νόμον συγκλείω ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν δοῦλος	3:23-29
(8) The true Heirs of the Promise	ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου δουλόω ὑπὸ νόμον	4:1-7
(9) The Danger of Returning to their previous Religious Servitude	δουλεύω	4:8-11
(10) The Danger of Losing their new Identity through Faulty	ὑπὸ νόμον	4:21-5:1

further explain the previous two pericopes. Since slavery imagery is used in the last of these three periscopes, it will be explained in that section.

Exegesis	παιδίσκη δουλεία δουλεύω	
(11) Love and the Spirit's Strife against the Flesh	δουλεύω	5:13-15
(12) Recapitulation	ἀναγκάζω	6:11-17

Table 2-10: Greek words for the concept slavery in the pericopes

These pericopes will therefore be exegeted in chapter 6 (cf 6.3).

### 2.3.6 Construction of the slavery imagery in Galatians

Before constructing the slavery imagery in Galatians it is necessary to describe some important facets of the social context of slavery in the first century Graeco-Roman antiquity. A construction of this context is done, utilising especially Bartchy (2013). The institution of slavery was deeply ingrained in the patriarchal and highly stratified Roman society. Roman conquests often led to the enslavement of native populations and slave hunters captured victims in provinces not yet taken over by Rome. One could say that the Roman wars became slave hunts. It has been estimated that over 30% of the population of Roman Italy at the beginning of the Christian era were slaves who had been freed from slavery, or were of slave origin, though the percentage was approximately half elsewhere in the Empire. This high percentage demonstrates that everyone knew what slavery was, and everyone would have known slaves (Turner 2013:3). Historians also show that there were twelve million people who were enslaved in the Roman Empire during the first century, but the large number of slaves who had been set free was not included in this figure (Bartchy 2013:170). Slaves may have constituted one-third of the population of Rome, though the number of slaves at any given time varied greatly (Powell 2009:418). Slavery became not only economically necessary and elaborately governed by law, it was also justified and regarded as normal (Bartchy 2013:169). Slaves were common, but the events and situations through which people became slaves varied. Typical sources of slaves were warfare, piracy, the international slave trade, kidnapping, birth to a slave mother, and self-sale - often in order to repay debtors (Digest 4.5.11). However, the most common source of slavery in the Graeco-Roman time was enslavement through war or by birth (Bartchy 2013:170).

The Graeco-Roman civilization was largely based on the class system. The class system distinguished between influential people and those with no influence, upstanding citizens and normal people, rulers and subjects, owners and those who owned nothing, higher and lower classes (Van Wyk & Van Rensburg 1997:231). A slave was at the bottom of the social structure, as represented by the social pyramid below (Van Wyk & Van Rensburg 1997:231) (Figure 2-4):

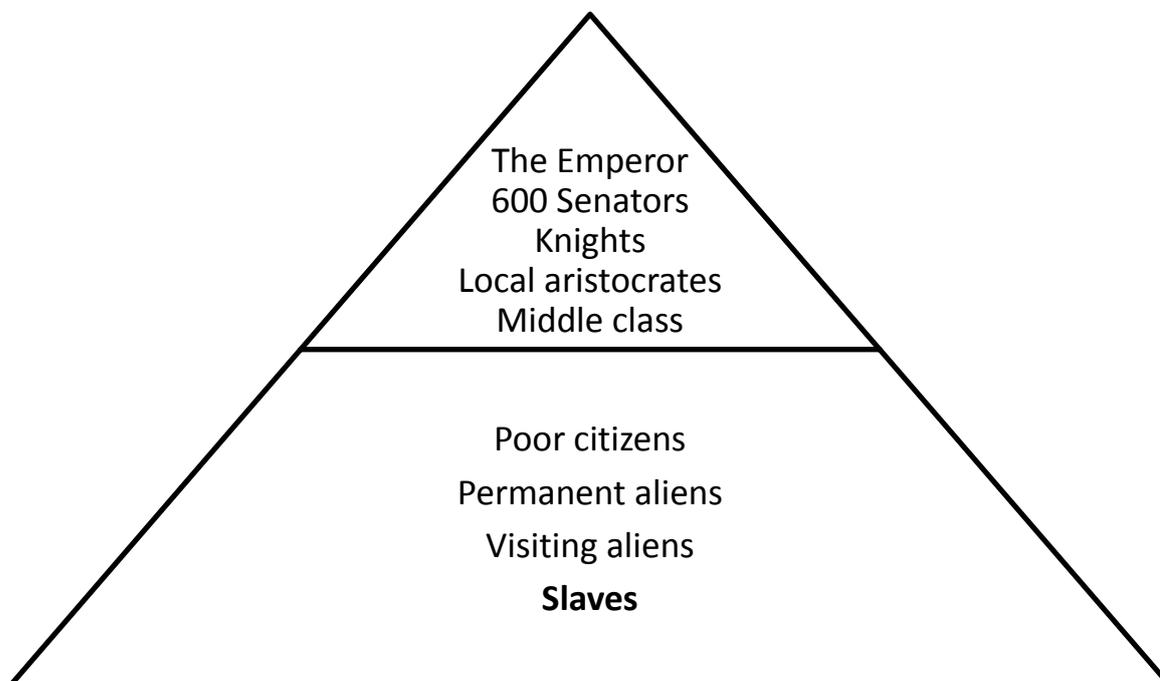


Figure 2-4: The social pyramid of the Roman Empire

As shown in the above diagram, the emperor was at the top of the social pyramid followed by 600 Senators, the knights and local aristocrats who were all influential enough to administer the policy of the State. The lower classes consisted of common citizens, permanent aliens and visiting aliens, with slaves at the bottom of the pyramid.

The hierarchical authority structure of the patriarchal and highly stratified societies of the Graeco-Roman time was reflected in the household as follows (Moxnes 1997:23; Van Wyk & Van Rensburg 1997:231)<sup>10</sup> (Figure 2-5):

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<sup>10</sup> In order not to misunderstand the family in Graeco-Roman times, I think one should keep in mind that the household often held others as well as family members, especially slaves and other dependants that made up the household. The household of Roman times was not 'private', rather, it was 'multi-functional, a place of constant social, economic, and sometimes political intercourse, not simply a place of habitation'.

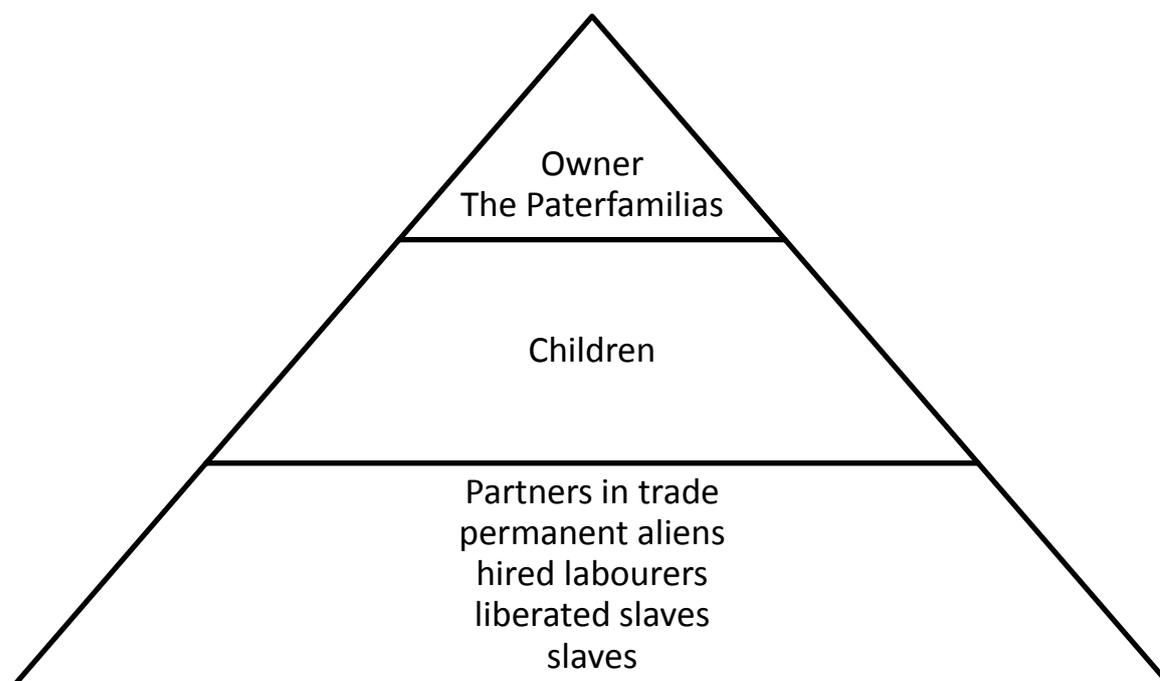


Figure 2-5: The structures in the household

As one can see above, the household in the first century usually consisted of more than parents and children, a concept which is very different from the modern concept of family. In fact, the households comprised also partners in trade, permanent aliens, hired labourers, liberated slaves and slaves, and acted as smaller units within the city/state (Van Wyk & Van Rensburg 1997:231). The position of slaves was again at the lowest level. The dominant figure in the household was the *paterfamilias*, who had complete legal control over the whole household, especially the slaves.

With the concept of the social environment and the structures of the household in mind, it is easy to imagine that a slave was entirely subject to his/her owner (master). In fact, slaves could even be considered socially dead within these social structures (Patterson 1982) as they had been separated from their own families and tribes, had lost their identity, sense of honour and dignity, the capacity to knit new kinship bonds through a marriage alliance, and the legal protection enjoyed by free people (Bartchy 2013:169). The slaves were subjected to the *dominica potestas* (power of ownership) of their owner and did not have self-determined choices, but could only do their owner's will. However, being a slave in the Roman Empire could have a positive or negative outcome: it did not matter so much that one was a slave; the most important factor was whose slave one was (Martin 1990). Some positive perspectives show that to be a slave in this period was not in all cases as terrible as many persons in the present times think. At that time slaves had much more freedom in their daily lives; they could save money to buy their freedom or run their own businesses (Byron 2008:24-25); they were given the *peculium*, which they were free to use, even to buy their own freedom (Lyll 1981:78). It is hard to believe that some slaves of that time were better skilled than their owners and so appointed

as household or financial managers or as tutors and governesses to their master's children. They were eventually given the hope to be freed at the age of thirty (Turner, 2013:3).

Other negative perspectives, however, indicate that, even though slaves could be freed when they became thirty (cf 5.2.3.4: Gaius 1.17), most of them did not live long enough to enjoy freedom, as slaves only reached the average age of thirty. It was also inevitable that a slave, who was a non-person with no legal rights, was often treated brutally. Slaves did not have the right to own property or give evidence in court. Lastly, although slaves could buy their own freedom, after being freed they would still live in the continuing relationship of patron and client. One of the remaining ties with the patron demanded that the *libertinus* agree to render services to his master. These consisted of a certain number of days' work per week, month or year, depending on the slave's abilities and former occupation. Another tie was the right of the patron to succeed, under certain circumstances, to the estate of the *libertinus*, the patron being considered, in a sense, as heir. The patron could require gifts to be given to him, *munera*, but the most general tie lay in the concept of *obsequium* (Lyall 1981:79)<sup>11</sup>. One can clearly see that the concept of slavery in the Roman Empire had both positive and negative connotations.

Given the background of slavery it is now possible to analyse the slavery imagery in Galatians. Paul expresses both positive and negative views when using slavery imagery. From the negative point of view, slavery was oppressive in a variety of ways and people needed to escape from it. For example, chattel slavery brought oppression in daily life. Paul uses this side of slavery to refer to the slavery to sin with its various connections to law and flesh, which are like the master who has complete control of the slaves' lives as his property, obligating them to him (2.3.4). In this regard slavery is negative, because people cannot stop sinning: "So you are no longer a slave but a child...and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery" (Ga 4:7; 5:1). From a positive point of view, Paul speaks of himself as "a slave of Jesus Christ" (Ga 1:10; Php 1:1; Ro 1:1) (Turner 2013:6) and encourages the Galatians "through love to become slaves to one another" (Ga 5:13). All the positive statements are about redemption (set free) and adoption. Paul even says that the believers are all children of God through faith: "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free..." (Ga 3:28). This statement shows how he would not connect any social or racial barrier to faith in Christ.

To get a full understanding of the notion of Christian freedom in Galatians one has to understand not only the meaning of slavery imagery in both positive and negative views, but also the meaning of adoption imagery within the household of the first century. Combining these two imageries one can see the whole picture of the meaning of Christian freedom in Galatians.

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<sup>11</sup> The meaning of *obsequium* is the duty of respectful conduct showed itself in many specific rules, and it can mean the practice of obeying rules or requests made by the master in authority.

## 2.4 ADOPTION IMAGERY IN GALATIANS

### 2.4.1 Introduction

Having determined the Greek words used in Galatians for the concept “freedom” in section 2.2 above, the present section wants to establish the use of adoption imagery in Galatians.

To achieve this goal, I firstly determine the Greek words used for the concept “adoption”, utilizing the Louw and Nida (1996) lexicon. Subsequently, I establish the words that are used metaphorically in Galatians. In this way I construct a definition of adoption imagery in Galatians.

In 2.5 below the relation between “freedom” and the imagery of slavery and the imagery of adoption is indicated. In this way I will be able to identify in Galatians the pericopes to be interpreted.

### 2.4.2 Υιοθεσία and semantically related words in Galatians

I am using υιοθεσία as point of entrance into the relevant semantic domain. According to Louw and Nida (1996) υιοθεσία occurs in the semantic domain 35.53 (Table 2-11). Its meaning is “to formally and legally declare that someone who is not one's own child is henceforth to be treated and cared for as one's own child, including complete rights of inheritance”.

Greek text (NA 28)	English translation equivalent (NRSV)	Galatians
<b>υιοθεσία (35.53)</b>		
ἵνα <b>τὴν υιοθεσίαν</b> ἀπολάβωμεν.	So that we might receive <i>the adoption</i>	4:5

Table 2-11: The concept “adoption” in Galatians

### 2.4.3 Other Greek words for the concept “adoption” in Galatians

In addition to the word given by Louw and Nida (1996) in domain 35.53 (g. adopt), ἔρημος is also relevant, even though it has an antonymous meaning with υιοθεσία.

Louw and Nida (1996) list ἔρημος in domain 35.55 (h. desert, forsake), and gives the following definition of its meaning: “the state of a person who has been deserted or forsaken – ‘deserted, forsaken’”. The verb ἔρημος is used once in Galatians (Table 2-12):

Greek text (NA 28)	English translation equivalent (NRSV)	Galatians
<b>ἔρημος (35.55)</b>		
ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς <b>ἐρήμου</b> μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα	For <i>the children of the desolate woman</i> are more numerous than the children of the one who is married	4:27

Table 2-12: The other concept “adoption” in Galatians

#### 2.4.4 Synopsis of the Greek words used for “adoption” in Galatians

This section of chapter 2 establishes the Greek words used in Galatians for the concept “adoption”. The following two Greek words are used in Galatians for the concept “adoption”, with a definition of the meaning for which each of the words is used in Galatians, as well as English translation equivalent(s):

- υιοθεσία: To formally and legally declare that someone who is not one's own child is henceforth to be treated and cared for as one's own child, including complete rights of inheritance.
- ἔρημος: The state of a person who has been deserted or forsaken – ‘deserted, forsaken.

This can be represented as follows (Figure 2-6):

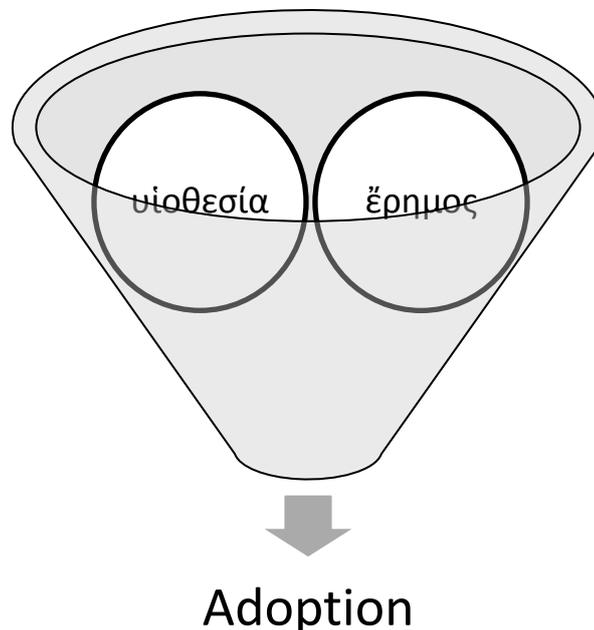


Figure 2-6: The concept “adoption” in Galatians

The concept “adoption” in Galatians can be defined as:

The process through which a person declares formally and legally that someone who is not their own child is henceforth to be treated and cared for as a legitimate child, including complete rights of inheritance; the opposite of adoption is the process through which a biological child is forsaken, depriving this person of the rights of inheritance.

#### 2.4.5 The occurrence of “adoption” in the different pericopes of Galatians

The bolded headings in the following pericopes break down of Galatians (De Boer 2011) show the pericopes that have the identified Greek words for the concept “adoption” (Table 2-13):

- |  |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Letter Opening (1:1-10)</li><li>2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>2.1 The Origin and the Truth of the Gospel (1:11-2:21)</li><li>2.2 The Spirit and the True Heirs of the Promise made to Abraham (3:1-4:7)</li></ol></li></ol> |
|--|

2.2.1 The Reception of the Spirit in Galatia (3:1-5)
2.2.2 The Blessing of Abraham and the Curse of the Law (3:6-14)
2.2.3 The Promise to Abraham and the Law of Moses (3:15-22)
2.2.4 The True Offspring of Abraham (3:23-29)
<b>2.2.5 The True Heirs of the Promise (4:1-7)</b>
2.3 The grave Dangers confronting the Galatians (4:8-5:12)
2.4 The Life at the Juncture of the Ages (5:13-6:10)
3. Letter Closing (6:11-18)

Table 2-13: The occurrence of adoption in Galatians

The identified Greek word for the concept “adoption” occurs only in one pericope (Table 2-14):

Title of pericope	Greek words	Galatians
The true Heirs of the Promise	υιοθεσία	4:1-7

Table 2-14: Greek words for the concept slavery in the pericope

This pericope will therefore be exegeted in chapter 6 (cf 6.4).

#### 2.4.6 Construction of adoption imagery in Galatians

Before constructing the particular form of adoption imagery in Galatians it is necessary to clarify some important facets of the social context of adoption in the first century. In ancient Mediterranean societies kinship in the household was the primary social domain and was central to family life, especially in the Roman Empire, and included family members, partners in trade, permanent aliens, hired labourers, liberated slaves and slaves (see Figure 2-5) (MacDonald 2009:29)<sup>12</sup>. The relationships were based not on individualism as is the case in many present-day societies, but on collectivism. People belonged to a household, or groups that were unique and distinct, through no choice of their own, but through birth or adoption, location of the kinship group, patriarchal gender roles (Malina 2009:18-19). All the social relationships, institutions, or value sets were connected to the *paterfamilias* in the social context of Graeco-Roman culture. The household was the bedrock of society in Roman tradition and it was also the primary context of social, religious, economic and political security.

One of the important elements in the structures of the household (see Figure 2-5) is that the *pater* has the ultimate authority to adopt someone into the family, bestowing on such a person all the rights of legitimate children (2.4.4). Thus the term "adoption as sons" is to be understood within the context of the first-century social reality, especially as it was a socio-legal practice of the Graeco-Roman world in general and according to Roman law (Burke 2001:120). Because the household was so essential in Roman culture, it was important for people to adopt sons who

<sup>12</sup> I think that, when one tries to research the term "family", it is important to take into consideration the full social context, because the ancient family, which had a group of people in the household, is totally different from modern societies whose family is a "nuclear family". Moreover, in the case of modern societies the value of a citizen is based on the individual rather than on membership in a family (see Moxnes 1997:14-15).

were from another family in order to continue the family name of a family in danger of dying out. Adoption was a well-known practice in Roman society (Burke 2001:122).

The other important element is that the inheritance and legal status passed from the *pater* to the adopted son who gave up all rights to his original family and had to commit himself to the responsibilities required of him as son in his adoptive family (Hodge 2007:30). The procedure of adoption was very formal. First, when someone was adopted<sup>13</sup>, he had to be cut off from the old family, from the *potestas* of the *pater*, and established under the *potestas* of the new *pater*.

This step was like the father selling his offspring into civil bondage, making him a slave. By selling three times, the father released his *potestas* on his offspring. First, the father would sell his son who was then released and returned under his father's control; the son was sold a second time and again freed to return under his father's authority (Burke 2001:123). On the third sale the *patria potestas* was finally removed and adoption with transfer of authority would follow (Burke 2001:123). In this way the head of a household could secure an heir to continue his lineage into the future. The adoptee was taken out of his previous state and placed in a new father-son relationship, under his new *paterfamilias*. In this regard, all his previous debts were wiped out, and the adoptee started a new life as part of his new family (Burke 2006:40). The whole life of the adoptee changed dramatically with regard to his status, name and responsibilities. His loyalty to the new family was the most important thing for the rest of his life.

I can now construct the adoption imagery in Galatians. Because the social reality and practice of adoption in the Roman world would bring about a dramatic change in the adoptee's status, name and responsibilities, it is a very significant metaphor for Paul to use in order to convey his understanding of what happens when a pagan leaves his/her old life to embrace the Gospel. By using the metaphor of adoption as son Paul explains what the process for a pagan's conversion means, because the adoption imagery shows that a pagan becomes a Christian in the same way as persons do who are adopted into a new family. The adoptee experiences a dramatic transformation, which is similar to the experience of re-socialization shared by the early Christians (Burke 2001:124).

With the social context in mind, one of the most important concepts within the adoption imagery in Galatians regards the initiator of the new relationship, the figure of the father, as it combines with *υιοθεσία* in 4:4-6. From Paul's point of view, this Father God has not merely sovereignly initiated our salvation (Gal 1:1,3,4), but "Abba, Father", cried out by the adopted son, echoes an awareness of the reality of the filial position as it strikes home (Gal 4:6). Paul utilises the word

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<sup>13</sup> Burke (2001:123) points out that adoptees in the Roman world were mostly adults, by which time the chances of survival were greater and the adoptive father could be sure of the adopted son he was getting as heir. This view is different from the present day because people adopt a child as early as possible, as the mortality rate of children is much lower due to good medical care.

“father” early on in his letter to the Galatians (Gal 1:3: “God, our father [θεοῦ πατρός ἡμῶν]”) and then combines it with his adoption metaphor for emphasis on the fact that God, as adoptive Father, is the sole initiator and authority in adopting Christians in Galatians 4:1-7 (2.4.4).

In Galatians 4:1-2 sons are still regarded as minors and their situation is not different from that of slaves, because they are under the temporary supervision of guardians and stewards who are responsible for regulating their affairs. This circumstance lasts until the time appointed by the father who is sovereign in adopting persons into his family. In Galatians 4:3-7 Paul views the status both of Jews under the Law and of Gentiles outside the Law as the same, in that both groups need adoption as sons (Ga 4:4-5). The context of Galatians 4:1-7 emphasises the background on which Paul is drawing. It is the prerogative of the father within the Roman socio-legal customs, and Paul equates it with the authority of God as Father in order to stress the authority of God as adopter. Paul portrays God in the role of a supreme Father—the new *paterfamilias*—who exercises sovereign control, authority and power over his household, the church (Burke 2006:88).

In Galatians 4:5 Paul says that “...in order to redeem (ἐξαγοράσῃ) those who were under the Law, [...] believers might receive adoption as children (υιοθεσίαν)” (NRSV). Here he uses the word ἀπολαμβάνω (receives back), the compound form, in connecting with υιοθεσία, and not the simple form ‘receive (λαμβάνω)’, which is more consistent with the Roman legal procedure of adoption, where a father released his son from authority (*potestas*) by formally selling him three times until the son was finally free of his father’s authority. With the Roman practice of adoption in mind, Paul’s mention of redemption or “buying from” (Ga 4:5; 3:13) draws on the related metaphors of slavery and adoption. Thus he links a triad of interconnected metaphors - slavery, redemption (setting free) and adoption - and moves from one to the next in describing his reader as slaves (Ga 4:3; Ro 8:15), their need of freedom and their adoption (4:5; Ro 8:15). In all this the mediating role and function of Jesus Christ are fundamental. It is only as a result of the event of son-making and adoption based on the work of the Son that believers are now able to address God as *Abba* and to enter into the inheritance that belongs to those who are his children (Burke 2006:120).

Next, the comprehension of the fatherhood of God is revealed through the Holy Spirit. When the Spirit cries *Abba*, it makes the believers know God as *pater* and they become adopted sons (4:6). Someone who is adopted as a son inherits the inheritance of God as well (Ga 4:7; Ro 8:15-17). This is similar to the Old Testament when Abraham was promised an inheritance, the land of Canaan (Gn 12:7). However, for Paul adopted sons do not inherit physical things, but God’s glorious life is with them (Burke 2006:98). Thus, sonship by adoption is linked to the Spirit

in that both are eschatological gifts and there is a clear moral responsibility to conduct oneself as a member of God's family to honour the Father.

## 2.5 THE COMBINED PERICOPE OCCURRENCE OF THE GREEK WORDS FOR "FREEDOM", "SLAVERY", "ADOPTION" (Table 2-15)

Pericope	Occurrence of Greek words		
	Freedom	Slavery	Adoption
<b>Letter Opening (Ga 1:1-10)</b>			
Prescript [sender, recipients, grace greeting] (Ga 1:1-5)	ἐξαιρέω		
Rebuke and Imprecation (Ga 1:6-10)		δοῦλος	
<b>Letter Body (Ga 1:11-6:10)</b>			
The Truth of the Gospel 1: The Apostolic Conference in Jerusalem (Ga 2:1-10)	ἐλευθερία	ἀναγκάζω, καταδουλόω	
The Truth of the Gospel 2: Conflict with Cephas in Antioch (Ga 2:11-14)		ἀναγκάζω	
The Truth of the Gospel for the Galatian Situation (Ga 2:15-21)		παραδίδωμι	
The Blessing of Abraham and the Curse of the Law (Ga 3:6-14)		ὑπὸ κατάραν	
The Promise to Abraham and the Law of Moses (Ga 3:15-22)		συγκλείω ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν	
The True Offspring of Abraham (Ga 3:23-29)	ἐλεύθερος	ὑπὸ νόμον συγκλείω ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν δοῦλος	
The True Heirs of the Promise (Ga 4:1-7)		ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους δουλόω ὑπὸ νόμον	υἰοθεσία
The Danger of returning to their Previous Religious Servitude (Ga 4:8-11)		δουλεύω	
The Danger of losing their New Identity through Faulty Exegesis	ἐλεύθερος	ὑπὸ νόμον	

(Ga 4:21-5:1)	ἐλευθερία ἐλευθερόω	παιδίσκη δουλεία δουλεύω ἐλεύθερος	
Love and the Spirit's Strife against the Flesh (Ga 5:13-24)	ἐλευθερία	δουλεύω	
<b>Letter Closing (Ga 6:11-18)</b>			

**Table 2-15:** The combined pericope occurrence of the Greek words for freedom, slavery, and adoption

The above 12 pericopes will be exegeted in chapter 6, focusing on the freedom, slavery and adoption imagery in each of the pericopes.

## 2.6 CONCLUSION: THE RELATION BETWEEN “FREEDOM” AND THE IMAGERY OF SLAVERY AND ADOPTION

According to my definition of the concept, freedom means the state of a person who has been set free by someone who has paid the ransom money. In this way the person is not only taken from a state of confined life, but also moved to a more elevated position (2.2.4: freedom). Following this concept, for Paul freedom is the initiation of redemption acted by God's grace through His only Son, Jesus Christ, to set human beings free. Before this redemption human beings, as slaves, are completely controlled by their master, namely sin, flesh and the law, doing, like tools, what their master wishes because they are under the authority of this master. In these oppressive and brutal circumstances, God, as a father, sets them free by paying what they owe through Jesus Christ, His only Son who gave Himself up for them. He not only takes them from the state of their confined lives to a state of freedom (2.3.4: slavery), but also formally adopts them and declares them to be sons, welcoming them into His warm household and becoming their new master (2.4.4: adoption).

By the dramatic transformation of redemption Christians are not only vertically identified as children of God by the Holy Spirit; they are also recognized as slaves of Christ to serve the familial members horizontally in love, in order to do what the master, God the Father, wants in the household, the churches, to glorify His name (2.3.4: slavery). The definition of the meaning of freedom in Galatians has to take the imagery of slavery and adoption into consideration in order to be fully comprehensive (Figure 2-7):

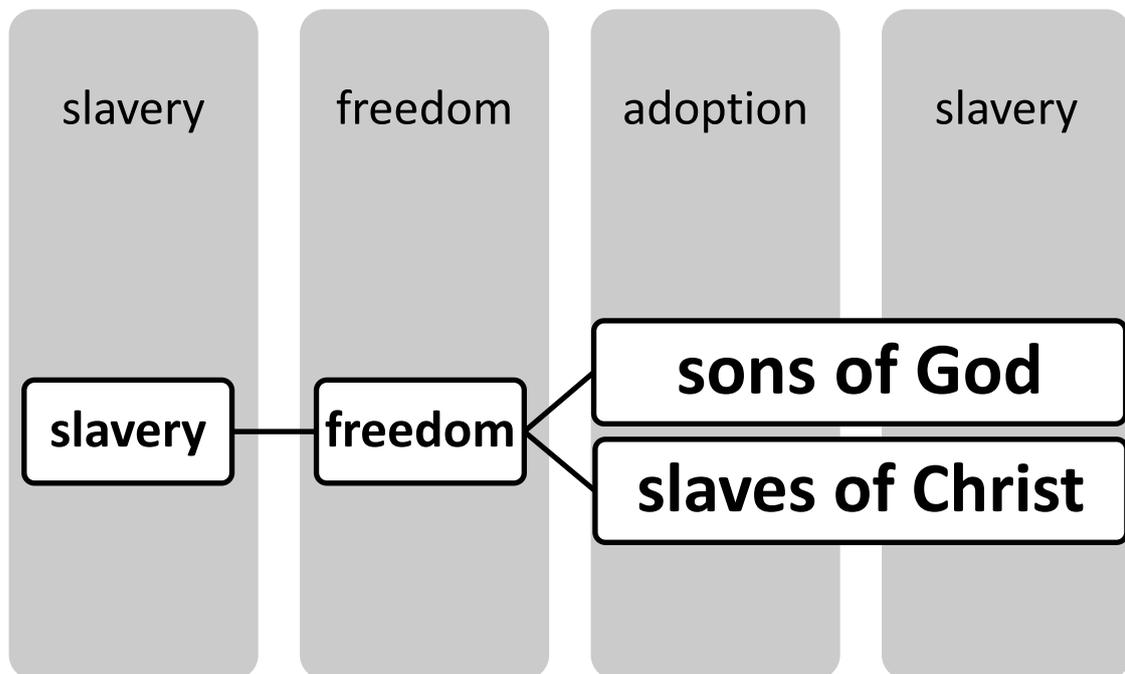


Figure 2-7: The relationship between freedom, slavery and adoption

From this figure one can see that from the perspective of redemption, after being set free from slavery and gaining freedom, Christians receive new identities as children of God (vertical) and as slaves of Christ (horizontal). The progress of Christian redemption and freedom is not from slavery to freedom, but from slavery to slavery. However, the Master has changed: it is now no longer sin or flesh, but Jesus Christ is the Master, the new Owner.

Before the “slavery” and “adoption” imagery in Galatians can be interpreted, it is necessary to study these forms of imagery in the Old Testament, in the first-century Jewish culture, and in the Graeco-Roman culture. This will be done in Chapters 3-5.



## **3 SLAVERY AND ADOPTION IMAGERY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Paul, a Pharisee who emphasises his Jewish past in Philippians 3:5-6, is an example of a person who had high regard for the importance of the Law. Within the community of the Pharisees he lived in accordance with the Torah; his zeal for the traditions, which he affirmed had been handed down by the fathers, led to his persecution of the Christian community (Ga 1:14; Schnelle 2005:64). However, among the backgrounds that may have impacted on Paul were not only elements of his Jewish identity, but also a rich mix of the milieus of Graeco-Roman times. For this view it is necessary to consider that, apart from his Jewish heritage, Paul was fluent in Greek and Aramaic (Acts 21:40; 22:2) and, as a Roman citizen, was also familiar with Roman law (Acts 22:27; Burke 2006:47). Because of these elements one has to be aware not only of the wealth of his heritage but also its diversity and complexity. Therefore one cannot exclude these backgrounds may have been associated with Paul's slavery and adoption imagery. One has to take them all into careful consideration before coming to a conclusion. With all of this in mind I now turn to construct Paul's Jewish heritage context.

As a Hebrew and a Pharisee, Paul must have been familiar with the legal rights of owners and the duties of slaves in the Old Testament law. It is necessary to study the representation of slavery in the Old Testament to be able to grasp Paul's understanding of the practice of slavery – which would have influenced his metaphoric use of this societal phenomenon.

This chapter aims to construct the rights and duties of slaves and slave-owners and the system of adoption as part of the socio-historical context of the Old Testament books. In order to achieve this aim, first of all the primary sources of the Jewish law on slavery are investigated to enable the researcher to construct the imagery of slavery in the Old Testament (3.2 below), and, secondly, the occurrence of the concept of adoption and its imagery in the Old Testament are studied (3.3). This investigation will enable me to construct a framework for the interpretation of the imagery of slavery and adoption by utilising the societal context of the Old Testament. By utilising both the imagery of slavery and of adoption I will be able to define more accurately the meaning of freedom in Galatians.

### **3.2 SLAVERY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT**

#### **3.2.1 Introduction**

In this section of the discussion the far-ranging concept of slavery is first of all investigated in the Old Testament and the three law codes; secondly, the scope of the meaning of slavery will be narrowed down. After going through these two steps one should obtain a picture of the concept of slavery in the Old Testament which will shed light on metaphorical uses of slavery

and enable one to examine whether metaphorical uses of slavery in the Old Testament are related to Paul's metaphorical uses of slavery in Galatians.

As the Law (Torah) was a significant component of Israelite life, an understanding of the legal rights of slave owners and of the duties of slaves in the socio-historical contexts of the Old Testament books clarifies their relevance for the daily lives of Jewish people. The fundamental source of the authority of the Torah is the sovereign law of the universe, God as Giver of the Law to Moses at Sinai (Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:604). The Law has authority because of its divine revelation. The Ten Commandments are viewed as particularly divine and have legal authority on religious life and morality (Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:605). Deviation from the regulations of the Law did not go unpunished, and the consequences of any transgression often influenced the whole community, not just individuals.

An investigation of the Old Testament code of slavery gives insight into social life. After investigating the texts of three law codes, it is also necessary to study the meaning of slavery outside of the three law codes in order to gain an integral picture of slavery in the Old Testament.

### **3.2.2 Slavery as phenomenon in the Old Testament**

#### **3.2.2.1 Introduction**

The term עֶבֶר can mean “slave” or “servant” in English, which is contrary to the word אֲדֹנָי “lord” within the field of social order (Jenni & Westermann 1997:821), but one cannot just take the meaning from the lexicon and be able to comprehend it. A certain word can only be fully understood if the word is studied in its context in the Old Testament. Therefore, before investigating the metaphorical use of the term עֶבֶר, it is necessary to define the meaning of עֶבֶר in the context of the Old Testament.

The definition of slavery as “a person who finds himself completely controlled by another from a position of ownership as property, obligating them to fulfill the orders and wants within the authority sphere of the owner” in Galatians (2.3.4) is useful. This reflects the Roman legal definition of slavery, which focuses on slaves as property (Bartchy 2013:169). It is also possible to define slavery as an “alien will” imposed on a person (Bridge 2013:15), namely, someone else's will which is imposed on another person. One could ask if slavery in the Old Testament included the concept of a slave as possession as I have defined it in Galatians (2.3.4).

The second issue which has to be considered is the lack of information in the Hebrew Bible on slaves and slavery. Even though most information is from what has been found in the texts of three law codes (Ex 21:1-11, 20-21, 26-27; Lv 25:39-55; Dt 15:12-18), they cannot give the entire meaning of slavery. There are some questions that need to be clarified, pertaining to the

legislation that may not have been enforced in the Old Testament, especially with regard to slaves' legal rights. For instance, Jeremiah 34:8-16 indicates that the manumission legislation in Exodus 21:2, Deuteronomy 15:12-18 and Leviticus 25:41-42 was not really practised in the final years of the Kingdom of Judah; 1 Kings 2:39-40 indicates that the provision against masters recovering runaway slaves in Deuteronomy 23:15-17 was not practised or may not have been enforced in the early monarchy (Bridge 2013:17).

A second question is the possibility that the legal status of slaves may have been different from their real status; for example, Proverbs 17:2 says, "A slave who deals wisely will rule over a son who acts shamefully, and will share the inheritance as one of the brothers" (NRSV). This passage recognises the standing of "wise" household slaves, which is a different description from the slave-wife legislation in Exodus 21:7-11 and the practice of having slave-wives as told in Genesis 16, 21, and 29-30 (Bridge 2013:18). From these descriptions it can be inferred that in a household the legal status of slave or wife represented the lowest level of society in real life. Therefore it is difficult to merely use legislation (three law codes) to determine associations with the use of slave terms, since these are more likely derived from the day-to-day practice and experience of slavery rather than from legislation. Taking these questions into consideration there will be a discussion on where there are deviations from the legislation and an assessment of the impact these may have when determining associations evoked by the use of slave terms.

Firstly, the Old Testament clearly views a slave as a possession or a piece of property. This is revealed in Leviticus 25:44-46 which refers to foreign persons as slaves (3.2.2.3 below), using terms such as קנה ("buy") and אחזה ("possession"; cf. Ex 12:44; Is 50:1) (Bridge 2013:18). Exodus 21:20-21 says, "When a man strikes his slave, male or female, with a rod and the slave dies under his hand, he shall be punished" (NRSV), using the metaphor הוא כספו כי ("for he is his 'money'"), which demonstrates a punishment for a master who physically abuses a slave so severely that the slave dies after a few days. Here the term קנה (buy) associates slavery with "money" because silver has been exchanged to purchase the slave. Thus one can say that a slave is money. Moreover, slaves are also linked to some properties a household might own, as Genesis says, "And for her sake he dealt well with Abram; and he had sheep, oxen, he-asses, menservants, maidservants, she-asses, and camels" (NRSV) (e.g., Ex 20:10,17; Dt 5:21; 1 Sm 8:16). Despite the law codes' depiction of only foreigners being possessions, it can be supposed that if an Israelite debt slave became a permanent slave, he was also the possession or property of his master. "Possession", therefore, should be seen as a possible association of slavery in the Old Testament ("a slave is a possession"). A derived connotation, "control or dominance" can also be assumed, based on the fact that whoever owns something controls how it is used (2.3.4).

Secondly, a slave should also be associated with “work”. Slaves working for their owners are depicted in Deuteronomy 15:12-18 and Leviticus 25:39-50, where it is stated that Israelite slaves had the legal status of paid workers. “Work” should thus be seen as a possible association of slavery, even though work was integral to gaining one's livelihood no matter what one's legal or social status would be.

Thirdly, a slave could be associated with “poverty”: slavery occurred because some people were not able to pay their own debts, which is mentioned in the three law codes (3.2.2.1-3.2.2.3 below). This was a temporary enslavement of either six or forty-nine years for debt repayment. Thus one could say that “slavery was poverty”. Poverty could be a threat for people, especially for children. For instance, 2 Kings 4:1 mentions, “Now the wife of one of the sons of the prophets cried to Elisha, Your servant my husband is dead, and you know that your servant feared the LORD, but the creditor has come to take my two children to be his slaves” (NRSV) (cf. Am 2:6-8). Slavery as poverty was connected with the powerful people who exploited the poor, therefore one could also say that slavery was oppression (Bridge 2013:19). It would be reasonable to presuppose that, outside the three law codes, slavery was associated with “debt”, “poverty” and “oppression.”

Even though the three law codes were issued to protect slaves, portions of the Old Testament testify to the abuse of slaves (Ex 21:20-21)<sup>14</sup>: physical force (Pr 29:19)<sup>15</sup>; general abuse (Gn 16:6)<sup>16</sup>; abandonment (Gn 21:14)<sup>17</sup>. Such treatment of slaves could be described explicitly as "oppression", an association of slavery which results in the slaves running away (Gn 16:6; Dt 23:16-17; 1 Kgs 2:39-40; cf. 1 Sm 25:10). The oppressive treatment of slaves in their real lives reveals that a slave's legal status was inferior to that of a free person. The most important right slaves had in biblical laws was their freedom if they were permanently injured by their master (Ex 21:26-27), and protection from recovery by the master if they ran away (Dt 23:16-17). The lower status of slaves in comparison to the free is continued in Wisdom texts that presuppose the social inferiority of slaves (Pr 19:10; 30:22; Ec 10:7) (Bridge 2013:20). In spite of some arguments that slaves bore no stigma in the wider society of Israel, there is no doubt that "inferior status" should be considered an association of slavery.

Lastly, even though a female slave would not become merely a prostitute in the master's possession, and the master was limited in his power over her in the Covenant Code (3.2.2.1

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<sup>14</sup> “When a man strikes his slave, male or female, with a rod and the slave dies under his hand, he shall be punished. But if the slave survives a day or two, he is not to be punished; for the slave is his money” (NRSV).

<sup>15</sup> “By mere words a servant is not disciplined, for though he understands, he will not give heed” (NRSV).

<sup>16</sup> “But Abram said to Sarai, Behold, your maid is in your power; do to her as you please. Then Sarai dealt harshly with her, and she fled from her” (NRSV).

<sup>17</sup> “ ... bread and a skin of water, and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, along with the child, and sent her away. And she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba” (NRSV).

below), a female slave's sexuality could be a factor in her enslavement. Exodus 21:4 indicates that a male slave could be given a wife - presumably a female slave, showing that slave women could be married to the master or one of the master's sons. A complaint in Nehemiah 5:5 mentions "Our children are as their children, yet we are forcing our sons and our daughters to be slaves, and some of our daughters have already been enslaved; but it is not in our power to help it, for other men have our fields and our vineyards" (NRSV), suggesting that in Nehemiah's time sexual exploitation of girls who were sold for debt-defaulting did occur (Job 31:10; 2 Sm 6:20) (Bridge 2013:20).

To summarize, in the Old Testament the definition of slavery was based on power and its hierarchical culture. The concept of slavery can be considered in terms of a slave being a possession or a piece of property, connected with the idea of control, inferior status, work, debt, poverty, oppression, and a propensity to run away. With this overarching definition of the concept of slavery, it is important now to turn to the substantial law regarding slavery in the Old Testament. The following discussion focuses on the three law codes in the Old Testament.

The concept of slavery occurs in each one of the three law codes: The Covenant Code (Ex 20:22-23:33), the Deuteronomic Source (Dt 12-26), and the Holiness Code (Lv 17-26) (Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:611). These three law codes are now investigated so as to construct the imagery of slavery in the Old Testament. The following discussion starts from the Covenant Code, followed by the Deuteronomic Source and, finally, the Holiness Code.<sup>18</sup>

### 3.2.2.2 Slavery in the Covenant Code: Exodus 20:22-23:33

In Exodus 21:2-11 the legal status of slaves is defined as follows:

Codex Leningradensis Hebrew Text (WTT)	New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)	Location
2 כִּי תִקְנֶה עֶבֶד עִבְרִי שָׁשׁ שָׁנִים יַעֲבֹד וּבְשִׁבְעַת יָצֵא לְחֻפְשֵׁי חָנָם:	2 When you buy a Hebrew slave, he shall serve six years, and in the seventh he	Ex 21:2-11

<sup>18</sup> There has been much debate concerning Deuteronomy's dependence upon the Covenant Code. Scholarship has long hesitated between those who assert such dependence but who cannot satisfactorily explain Deuteronomy's independence from the Covenant Code as regards legal content, formulation, and sequence. On the one hand, some scholars (Van Seters 2003:90-95) think that the laws of Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code do not depend on the Covenant Code. On the other hand, other scholars (Lundbom 2013:494; Nelson 2002:191; Pressler, 1998:165-172) think that Deuteronomy is a revision of the Covenant Code to specifically include women and to reinterpret new situations. Whatever the perspective may be, a decision on this issue is not my primary concern in this thesis, since the main concern is not to determine which source was older than others, but to understand what the basic meaning of slavery in Old Testament is and how it would contribute to the mindset of Paul. I presuppose that the authors of Deuteronomy used the Covenant Code dialectically (Livinson 1997:149; Pressler 1998:165-172). They used the Covenant Code as a textual resource in order to pursue their own very different religious and legal agendas (Livinson 1997:150). Based on this perspective, the order of the following investigation is: Covenant Code, Deuteronomic Source, Holiness Code.

<p>אִם-בְּגֵפוֹ יָבֵא בְּגֵפוֹ יֵצֵא אִם-בְּעַל  3 אִשָּׁה הוּא וַיֵּצֵאָה אִשְׁתּוֹ עִמּוֹ:  4 אִם-אֲדֹנָיו יִתֵּן-לוֹ אִשָּׁה וַיִּלְדֶּה-לוֹ בָּנִים אֹ  בָּנוֹת הָאִשָּׁה וַיִּלְדֶּיהָ תִּהְיֶה לְאֲדֹנֶיהָ וְהוּא  יֵצֵא בְּגֵפוֹ:  5 וְאִם-אָמַר יְאֹמֵר הָעֶבֶד אֶהְבֵּתִי אֶת-אֲדֹנָי  אֶת-אִשְׁתִּי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי לֵא אֵצֶא חֲפָזִי:  6 וְהִגִּישׁוּ אֲדֹנָיו אֶל-הָאֱלֹהִים וְהִגִּישׁוּ אֶל-  הַדָּלֶת אוֹ אֶל-הַמְּזוּזָה וְרָצַע אֲדֹנָיו אֶת-אָזְנוֹ  בַּמַּרְצֵעַ וְעָבְדוּ לְעַלְמִם: ֹ  7 וְכִי-יִמְכַר אִישׁ אֶת-בִּתּוֹ לְאִמָּה לֹא תֵצֵא  כְּצֵאת הָעֶבְדִּים:  8 אִם-רָעָה בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנֶיהָ אִשְׁרָ- (לא) [לֹא]  יַעֲדָה וְהִפְדָּה לְעַם נְכָרִי לֹא-יִמְשַׁל לְמַכְרָהּ  בְּבִגְדוֹ-בָּהּ:  9 וְאִם-לְבָנוֹ יַעֲדָנָה כְּמִשְׁפַּט הַבָּנוֹת יַעֲשֶׂה-  לָּהּ:  10 אִם-אֲחֵרֶת יִקַּח-לוֹ שְׂאֵרָה כְּסוּתָהּ  וְעִנְתָהּ לֹא יִגְרַע:  11 וְאִם-שָׁלַשׁ-אֲלֶיהָ לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה לָּהּ וַיֵּצֵאָה  תָּנִים אֵין כֶּסֶף: ֹ</p>	<p>shall go out free, for nothing.  3 If he comes in single, he shall go out single; if he comes in married, then his wife shall go out with him.  4 If his master gives him a wife and she bears him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's and he shall go out alone.  5 But if the slave plainly says, 'I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free,'  6 then his master shall bring him to God, and he shall bring him to the door or the doorpost; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him for life.  7 When a man sells his daughter as a slave, she shall not go out as the male slaves do.  8 If she does not please her master, who has designated her for himself, then he shall let her be redeemed; he shall have no right to sell her to a foreign people, since he has dealt faithlessly with her.  9 If he designates her for his son, he shall deal with her as with a daughter.  10 If he takes another wife to himself, he shall not diminish her food, her clothing, or her marital rights.  11 And if he does not do these three things for her, she shall go out for nothing, without payment of money.</p>	
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**Context of Exodus 21:2-11:**

This passage forms part of the Covenant Code in Exodus 20:22-23:33. The Covenant Code was proclaimed at Mount Sinai. The importance of Sinai can be noticed by how long Israel stayed there from the time they arrived in the third month after departing Egypt (19:1). Israel camped at Mount Sinai for more than a year (Nu 10:11); the contents of Exodus 19:1-40:38 (Lv 1:1-27:34; Nu 1:1-10:10) happened during this time (Hamilton 2011:291). God was with His people at this holy site. After the first theophany to Moses related in Exodus 3, the second theophany is recorded from Exodus 19:9 to its conclusion in Exodus 24:9-18, when God revealed himself to Israel as the Holy One (Hamilton 2011:292). Israel, “a holy nation” (Ex 19:6a), was given the laws that must accompany the covenant between God and them, the Ten Commandments (20:1-17) and the varied laws of the so-called Covenant Code (20:22-23:19).

The portions concerning slavery are found in Exodus 21:2-11, where the release of male and female debt-slaves is explained in Exodus 21:20-21, which depicts an assault on one's own chattel-slave; and in Exodus 21:26-27, which presents the release of male and female chattel-slaves (Chirichigno 1993:196; Hamilton 2011:373). Both discussions of the release of debt-slaves (21:2-11) and of chattel-slaves (21:20-21;26-27) provide a clear connection to Israel's historical escape from Egypt as found in the introduction to the Covenant Code (Ex 20:2) and subsequent legal discussion (Ex 22:21; 23:9,15). This historical motivation is an integral part of Yahweh's covenant with Israel (Chirichigno 1993:196). However, the following discussion will only focus on the content regarding Israelite male and female debt-slaves in 21:2-11.

### **Interpretation of Exodus 21:2-11:**

The Covenant Code in Exodus 21:2-6, 7-11 shows a special concern for the marital rights<sup>19</sup> of male and female debt-slaves. 21:2-6 is about the rights of both the male master (the male buyer) and the male debt-slave (Hamilton 2011:373). In the case of a male debt-slave marriage (21:2-6) would not affect his release. He could even take his wife and children, his own family members, out of his master's house after six years of service. This is to say, the master (the buyer) did not have absolute control over his slave, because the master could not separate spouse from spouse (Hamilton 2011:373). If the owner gave the slave a wife, then she and her children would remain with her owner. Moreover, 21:7-11 describes the case of a female debt-slave sold into marriage: she was only released if her owner did not fulfil his marital responsibilities (Chirichigno 1993:255). However, some scholars think that this passage refers to an Israelite female sold as concubine or slave-bride rather than to marriage (Dozeman 2009:529; Hamilton 2011:375). The following discussion will first look closely at the passage of 21:2-6 and then at the passage of 21:7-11.

The beginning of the Covenant Code regarding slavery in Exodus 21:2 sets up a normal contractual agreement for an Israelite male slave bought by a master (a buyer). The contract, which included a service period of six years, was social, not civil. A male debt-slave who was willing to sell himself into slavery in order to escape poverty was not required by the state to do so; rather, he made a voluntary social contract with his master (Phillips 1984:51). In the text of Exodus 21:2 there is no exact information on how the money would be paid off for the service, but other sections of the Old Testament show that some slaves may have agreed to an amount of money or reward at the end of six years of service, as Jacob made the agreement to have permission to marry Rachel (Gen 29:18-20) (Stuart 2006:477). Whatever agreement had been

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<sup>19</sup> Although in Exodus 21:4 the term *אִשָּׁה* (wife) could also be translated as "woman" and could be conceived to refer not to marriage but to breeding (Hamilton 2011:368), I still think that in this context it is better understood as regarding marriage, not only breeding (Dozeman 2009:519; Durham 1987:321; Stuart 2006:478-479).

made, the most important element in Exodus 21:2 is that "after six years of service a male debt-slave shall go free without debt".

"Without debt" (NRSV); "without paying anything" (NIV); "pay nothing" (NKJ) – here and also in Exodus 21:11 is the word דָּנָן. In this context it means that all debts are paid in full (Dozeman 2009:518). The word דָּנָן appears in Genesis 29:15, where Laban uses it with reference to Jacob: "Because you are my kinsman, should you, therefore, serve me for nothing?" (NRSV). The same word is also used with the meaning of "grace". It indicates that God's grace is free and does not come to the recipient with a price tag (Hamilton 2011:368). This reminds us of the connection between the Latin words for "free" (*gratis*) and "favor, grace" (*gratia*). Therefore the designation of a person as "free" may be understood economically, placing the person in the privileged class of emancipated slaves (Dozeman 2009:518). Hence, the Covenant Code of slavery indicates that a male debt-slave can go free without debt because he fulfilled his obligation of six years of service.

Exodus 21:3 gives the first rule regarding a male debt-slave. After six years of service, a male slave could go away with the wife he married before he came into slavery. If he had been single, he would go away single. The Hebrew בְּגַדְוֹ translates literally as "with his body," meaning alone, without wife or family (Dozeman 2009:519). The purpose of this law was that a male debt-slave and his master would not lose their rights and interests<sup>20</sup>. Both of them could benefit from the contract (Stuart 2006:478). The next verse (21:4) gives the second rule: if an already married male slave made a contract for six years of service, the master had to provide housing, food and clothing not only for him but also for his wife. But if the master gave as wife to an unmarried male slave a woman who was already a slave serving her master, the male debt-slave could not go free together with his wife after six years of service. The woman slave was the master's asset, even the children born from her belonged to the master (Hyatt 1971:229; Stuart 2006:479). As the law protected the owner's investment in his female slave, a male debt-slave could not simply "go out" with the wife given to him by his master and her children after his six years of service.

As wife and children belonged to the master, a male debt-slave could not take them out with him. However, there is a further prescription regarding the male debt-slave in 21:5, if the male debt-slave said, "I love my master as well as my spouse and children". Here the Hebrew אָמַרְתִּי is emphatic, suggestive of the taking of an oath, or "declaring emphatically" (Dozeman 2009:520). The slave may swear an oath of loyalty to his master because of his love for him. This expression is a legal transaction in which the slave makes formative utterances (Durham

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<sup>20</sup> This regulation is different from the later law in Deuteronomy 15:13 where it requires that the owner shall not let him go out empty-hand, but provide for him liberally so that he may begin a new life. More details are discussed in the next passage: slavery in the Deuteronomical source.

1987:321; Hamilton 2011:368). It is to be seen as a declaration of loyalty to his master rather than a simple description of his feelings for the master. However, "loving toward his spouse and children" is more likely a genuine statement of the slave's affection (such as Ruth's affection for Naomi). Consequently, if the male debt-slave is both loyal to his master and loves his family members, he would choose to not go out in freedom.

The next step, described in 21:6, is that the master brings the slave before God (NRSV) or to the judges (NIV; NKJ). If it is "before God", it indicates an activity in the sanctuary "before God" (Stuart 2006:481). Hence, the ritual of transition from free status to permanent slavery may also have a cultic setting. If it is to be understood as "before judges", as in NIV and NKJ, this understanding is based on a historical conjecture (Dozeman 2009:528; Hamilton 2011:368-369). The ritual of appearing before God or judges was closely associated with God's release of the Israelites from their bondage to the Egyptians in order to remind them of their identity of permanent "servants" before God. Because of his loyalty to his master and his love for his wife and children, a slave would live under his master's roof for his whole life (Ex 21:5). The expression "judges" (God/gods) is absent in the parallel slave law in Deuteronomy 15:12-18, which will be discussed in the next section on the Deuteronomic Source.

The "door" in "brought to the door or the doorpost" (Ex 21:6) could refer to the door of the sanctuary (Hamilton 2011:374; Hyatt 1971:228; Stuart 2006:481) or to the door of the owner's house (Durham 1987:321; Phillips 1984:51). Whether the reference is to a public place, the sanctuary, or a private place, the owner's house, cannot be established with certainty. This ceremony, through which the person was transformed from "temporary" slave to "permanent" slave, gave the slave the opportunity to publicly declare his loyalty to his master and his love for his family members. The hole in the slave's ear was a visible sign of permanent commitment to service. The sign could also prevent a slave from fleeing from his master into a service contract with someone else (Stuart, 2006:481).

In summary, under the Covenant Code in Exodus 21:2-6, the Israelites could willingly sell themselves as slaves in order to escape poverty. From this point of view, the Israelite male debt-slaves were autonomous in their decisions (Goede & Van Rensburg, 2009:619); thus servitude was frequently voluntary. Secondly, Israelite slaves could not be enslaved permanently as the masters were required to release them after six years of service (Ex 21:2). In the seventh year, no matter how great the debt or how slow the repayment, the slave would not remain in servitude nor could he be enslaved by debt: he was a freedman (Brueggemann 1994:862). The only exception was when the Israelite male debt-slaves volunteered to serve their masters permanently (Ex 21:5-6). In addition, the male debt-slave was required to give an oath before God (gods or judges) of his intent to remain in the service of his master, then the master bored a hole through his ear in order to make sure that his intent to serve him forever

would be honoured. Thirdly, an Israelite male debt-slave retained his family and social ties from before his entry into slavery and could go back to his family when he gained freedom after seven years (Ex 21:3). Through these three principles one can see that the Covenant Code of slavery had established the priority of people over money, as it helped people with financial problems by relieving them from the strictures of financial crises.

After discussing the Covenant Code in Exodus 21:2-6 regarding the male debt-slave, the focus is now on the second law in 21:7-11. This passage pertains to the conditions of an Israelite female sold as a concubine or slave bride more than it refers to marriage (Dozeman 2009:529; Hamilton 2011:375). Exodus 21:7 mentions, "When a man sells his daughter as a slave, she shall not go out as the male slaves do". The primary difference from the law in 21:2-6 is that there is no release for the woman after six years (Durham 1987:321). The female is not free, because she has been sold by her father to another man with a marriage contract. A daughter could be sold into bondage by her father because daughters were viewed as a part of the father's assets, women's economic worth was their sexuality and reproductive capacity (Dozeman 2009:529). It is clear that the female slave was not viewed as a person in her own right since, according to patriarchal society, her destiny was connected to a man (either her father or her husband) (Brueggemann 1994:862).

The section 21:8-11 stipulates different scenarios for a woman sold into "marriage". The first condition is in 21:8 where the law protects the woman rejected by her master: "If she does not please her master, who designated her for himself, then he shall let her be redeemed...." The word "designate" is probably a technical term for a type of marriage with parallels in Mesopotamian marriage law (Dozeman 2009:530). It regulates the master's authority when he breaks the marriage contract. Even though the master breaks the marriage law, the master is not allowed to sell the woman to a foreign people. The "foreign people" could refer to a family other than the woman's biological family, and outside the circle of the family of her master, perhaps even outside the covenant community of Israel (Durham 1987:312). The main concern being that she is not sent to a foreign people (Hyatt 1971:230).

The second condition is found in 21:9, regarding the legal rights of a woman who is bought as wife for the master's son. It protects her status: she is no longer a "slave", she must be regarded as "a daughter" (Dozeman 2009:531; Hyatt 1971:230). Her status changes from that of a slave to that of a free woman because "he (the master) shall deal with her as with a daughter or deal with her according to the right of the daughters" (Durham 1987:312).

The third condition (21:10-11) protects the rights of the woman in a polygamous marriage. The law protects the basic rights of the first wife; she may not be neglected or become a second-

class woman. If the conditions are not met, 21:11 stipulates that she may go out free, without any payment of money (Dozeman 2009:531).

Both portions, 21:2-6 and 21:7-11, protect the rights of the slaves, stipulating the conditions under which debt-slaves and women sold into “marriage” could go out free.

### 3.2.2.3 Slavery in the Deuteronomic Source: Deuteronomy 15:12-18

Codex Leningradensis Hebrew Text (WTT)	New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)	Location
<p>12 כִּי־יִמָּלַךְ לְךָ אֲחִירָהּ הָעֶבְרִי אוֹ הָעֶבְרִיָּה וְעָבְדְךָ שָׁשׁ שָׁנִים וּבִשְׁנֵה הַשְּׁבִיעִית תִּשְׁלַחְנָהּ חֲפָזִי מֵעִמָּךְ:</p> <p>13 וְכִי־תִשְׁלַחְנָהּ חֲפָזִי מֵעִמָּךְ לֹא תִשְׁלַחְנָהּ רֵיקָם:</p> <p>14 הַעֲנִיק תַּעֲנִיק לָהּ מִצֹּאֲנָהּ וּמִגֶּרְנֶהּ וּמִיִּקְבֵּהּ אֲשֶׁר בֵּרַכְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִתֶּן־לָהּ:</p> <p>15 יָם וְיִפְדֶּךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ עַל־כֵּן אֲנִי מִצְוֶה אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם:</p> <p>16 וְהָיָה כִּי־יֹאמַר אֵלֶיךָ לֹא אֵצֵא מֵעִמָּךְ כִּי אֲהַבְּךָ וְאֶת־בֵּיתְךָ כִּי־טוֹב לוֹ עִמָּךְ:</p> <p>17 וְלֵקַחְתָּ אֶת־הַמַּרְצֵעַ וְנָתַתָּהּ בְּאָזְנוֹ וּבִדְלַת וְהָיָה לְךָ עֶבֶד עוֹלָם וְאָף לֹא־תִמְתָּךְ תַּעֲשֶׂה־כֵן:</p> <p>18 לֹא־יִקְנֶה בְּעֵינֶיךָ בְּשִׁלְחָךְ אֹתוֹ חֲפָזִי מֵעִמָּךְ כִּי מִשְׁנֵה שְׂכָר שְׂכִיר עָבְדְךָ שָׁשׁ שָׁנִים וּבִרְכָךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂה: פ</p>	<p>12 If a member of your community, whether a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, is sold to you and works for you six years, in the seventh year you shall set that person free.</p> <p>13 And when you send a male slave<sup>1</sup> out from you a free person, you shall not send him out empty-handed.</p> <p>14 Provide liberally out of your flock, your threshing floor, and your wine press, thus giving to him some of the bounty with which the LORD your God has blessed you.</p> <p>15 Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the LORD your God redeemed you; for this reason I lay this command upon you today.</p> <p>16 But if he says to you, "I will not go out from you," because he loves you and your household, since he is well off with you,</p> <p>17 then you shall take an awl and thrust it through his earlobe into the door, and he shall be your slave forever. You shall do the same with regard to your female slave.</p> <p>18 Do not consider it a hardship when you send them out from you free persons, because for six years they have given you services worth the wages of hired laborers; and the LORD your God will bless you in all that you do.</p>	<p>Dt. 15:12-18</p>

### The relationship between the Covenant Code and Deuteronomic Source:

Before going into the discussion of the Deuteronomic Source, it is necessary to understand the relationship between Covenant Code and Deuteronomic Source. Deuteronomy 15:12-18 is a

clear reinterpretation of the earlier legislation in the Covenant Code (Ex 21:2-11) (Byron 2003:41). The Deuteronomic Source does not deal with the marital status and rights of the male debt-slave (cf Ex 21:3, 5) (Seters 2003:83). The main issue in the Deuteronomic Source is the manumission of debt-slaves (15:12) and the regulations regarding a debt-slave who wishes to remain a perpetual servant (15:16-17). It adds a new regulation dealing with provisions for a released debt-slave (15:13-15) (Byron 2003:41; Chirichigno 1993:262; Nelson 2002:192).

Moreover, Deuteronomy 15:12-18 includes motivation clauses and paraenetic material absent from the discussion in Exodus 21:2-6. The Deuteronomic Source is equivalent to the Covenant Code in Exodus with its emphasis on the limitation of six years for contract servitude. Nevertheless, the law in Deuteronomy was intended to provide a slight alteration to the older law and to modify its effect and purpose in a number of ways. The Deuteronomic Source puts male and female slaves on an equal footing (15:12), something which is not mentioned in the Covenant Code in Exodus. Furthermore, Deuteronomy 15:12-18 concentrates on factors such as the debt-slave's release and his or her prerogative to become a permanent slave. The Deuteronomic Source does not mention the sale of a free-born Israelite daughter as wife or concubine as happens in Exodus 21:7-11 (Chirichigno 1993:282; Seters 2003:83).

Another important difference is that Exodus 21:2b has "He shall go", which indicates the right of the slave to go free, while Deuteronomy 15:12b has "you shall set him free", indicating the obligation of the master to release a Hebrew debt-slave, especially in the light of the fact that the master is exhorted to provide the released debt-slave with provisions (Deut 15:13-14) (Chirichigno 1993:283). The release of a debt-slave is expressed from the point of view of the master in Deuteronomy 15:12, rather than from the point of view of the debt-slave as in Exodus 21:2. This points to the fact that Deuteronomy expands the old slave release law of the Covenant Code (Nelson 2002:191; also see Lundbom 2013:494) and uses the memory of slavery in Egypt and the material blessing of the LORD as motivation.

Furthermore, the provisions to be given would enable a released slave to maintain a viable position in the community (Deut 15:13-15). The master had to act as beneficiary so that the slave would be able to begin a new life (Hyatt 1971:228) – this was probably inspired by the descriptions of Genesis 31:42 and Exodus 3:21 (Chirichigno 1993:287). The discussions in Deuteronomy 14:22-16:17, particularly the requirement in 16:16 that all males were not to go "empty-handed" to the three-yearly pilgrimage festivals, also serve as background to the directive that an owner should liberally provide a released slave with provisions (Chirichigno 1993:293-4).

This facet of the law in Deuteronomy is rooted in the Exodus narrative where the people received gifts of silver and gold objects from their former masters in Egypt (Ex 3:21-22)

(Christensen 2001:318). The fact that the Covenant Code in Exodus deals only with male slaves, whereas Deuteronomy refers to female slaves as well, probably reveals something about the changes in the social status of women at the time the deuteronomic legislation was written. In addition, according to Deuteronomy, slaves had certain legal rights, such as the right to rest on the Sabbath (5:14), to participate in the celebrations of the pilgrimage festivals (12:18; 16:11, 14), and the right to be protected from abuse on the part of their masters (23:16-17) (Christensen 2001:318).

### **Context of Deuteronomy 15:12-18:**

This passage forms part of the laws on human affairs in relation to God (11:26-16:17). Regarding the connection between the various regulations in Deuteronomy 14:28-16:17, there is already an "inter-biblical" connection between the Sabbath, Sabbatical release and pilgrimage festival in Exodus 23:10-14. The context of this passage (15:12-18) is given by the appearance of the motivation clause "Remember that you were a slave in Egypt", which is in Deuteronomy 5:12, 15:15, and 16:12 (Chirichigno 1993:259). The motivation clause in 15:15 exhorts an owner to provide his released debt-slave liberally with provisions. Secondly, the various regulations in Deuteronomy 15 are arranged according to the ancient Near Eastern socio-economic priority system regarding freedman (15:1-11), slave (15:12-18), and animals (15:19-23) (Chirichigno 1993:260).

The passage, together with the context from 14:22 to 15:11, intends to show how to protect the poor, and demands that contract slaves be freed after six years of servitude. The law in 15:12-18 is a sequel to the laws on loans and poverty in 15:1-11, because poverty was the main cause of contract servitude. The contract of slavery was based on the recognition that Israel's ancestors were slaves in Egypt (15:15), so people had to show empathy to those who had been forced into servitude by their changed life situations (Christensen 2001:318), being generous and compassionate toward fellow Israelites (Clements 1998:405).

### **Interpretation of Deuteronomy 15:12-18:**

The law in Deuteronomy 15:12-18 is connected to the laws on loans and poverty in 15:1-11 by the keyword "seventh year" (15:1, 9, 12) and by the topical connection of the effect of debt (Christensen 2001:319; Nelson 2002:192).

The concept "your brother" (אָדָם) in 15:12 refers to either brother or sister (Christensen 2001:320) and is limited to the "Hebrew" as ethnic group. Different from the Covenant Code in Exodus 21:2-11, here in Deuteronomy there is gender equality.

Given the social context of the time, heavy taxation and extremely high-interest rates could cause Hebrew kinship structures to fall into debt-related situations (Amos 2:6-8; 8:4-6; Lundbom 2013:494<sup>21</sup>): the head of a household would frequently send out his dependents for loans (Nelson 2002:196) and to work to repay the loan. Poverty resulted in voluntary servitude under the care of a benefactor who would provide for all the needs until they had served for six years (Merrill 1994:245). Lundbom (2013:495) correctly says that this was not really voluntary servitude, because the person who was enslaved on account of indebtedness did not have the power to avoid being sold.

In Deuteronomy both the Hebrew man and the Hebrew woman go free in the seventh year. The Deuteronomic Code reworks the earlier Covenant Code of Exodus 21:2-11, embellishing its legal provisions with the homiletical rhetoric of the Deuteronomic writer (Lundbom 2013:494; Nelson 2002:197).

Theologically speaking, "you shall not send him out empty-handed" (15:13) reminds the master that the freeing of a Hebrew slave is to be compared to the release of Israel from slavery, when they received gifts from the Egyptians at their departure (Ex 3:21-22; 11:2-3; 12:35-36; Ps 105:37) (Chirichigno 1993:290; Christensen 2001: 320; Lundbom 2013:495).

It may also be an allusion to the Jacob and Laban story, where Jacob received gifts after having completed his service to Laban (Gn 31:17-54) (Lundbom 2013:495; Nelson 2002:199). Socially speaking, to "not send him out empty-handed" is also intended to break the cycle of poverty and prevent a recurrence of servitude (Nelson 2002:199). This acknowledges the dignity of the person being released (McConville 2002:263).

The word "provide" (תַּעֲבִיד) (15:14), the root of which could refer to a "garland" or "necklace" made of silver, gold, and jewels (Jdg 8:26), could here be used metaphorically to express honour, extravagance (McConville 2002:263), and therefore to "equip liberally" (Lundbom 2013:496). The person was provided "out of your flock, out of your threshing floor, and out of your wine press; as the LORD your God has blessed you, you shall give to him" (15:14). The master was under obligation to give as much as he could afford (Christensen 2001:320) because this action of provision did not only signify that the LORD had blessed him in the past, but that He would also continually bless (see 15:10) (Lundbom 2013:496).

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<sup>21</sup> Lundbom (2013:494) gives some background of slavery in the Old Testament, which could enable one to construct the social context: by the mid-8th century the poor in northern Israel were treated badly by the rich (Am 2:6; 8:6). The prophet Amos was outraged because the righteous was sold for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes. These individuals who were seized by the rich and made slaves were poor folk unable to pay their debts. In Judah another problem surfaced in the time of Jeremiah. The law mandating the release of Hebrew slaves after six years (Lv 25:39-46) had not been enforced (Jr 34:14). There was only a general release in the Jubilee.

Deuteronomy 15:15 gives a second reason for commanding a master to release a Hebrew slave after six years of service: the fact that Israel herself had been a slave in Egypt, and the LORD had redeemed her. Therefore, the master, as a Hebrew, has to show the kindness and generosity that the LORD has shown to him. This reinforces that Israel should never forget the LORD's most gracious act on which the entire law is based. The same reminder is given in 24:17, where the Israelites are told not to deprive the resident alien, the orphan and the widow of justice (Lundbom 2013:496).

Deuteronomy 15:16-17 depends on the Covenant Code in Exodus and is probably a later addition. Therefore it would be better to understand 15:18 as a return to the main topic of 15:15 (Nelson 2002:198). Also, in 15:17 ("you shall take an awl and thrust it through his earlobe into the door") the phrase "should bring him before God" used in Exodus 21:6, where it indicates a judicial setting, is omitted (McConville 2002:264). This omission probably came about because in the seventh century, when the Deuteromic Law was applied, there were no more local sanctuaries. The sacral character thus was lost (Nelson 2002:199).

Deuteronomy 15:16 gives a particular regulation that intends to be the only possible exception to the law of release, according to which "all should go out." The motivation for being willing to be indentured for life is slightly different from the old law in Exodus 21:4, where the male slave agrees to remain permanently with his master because the wife given to him or the children born after being a slave could not go free with him. The motivation in Deuteronomy 15:16 is that the Hebrew male or female slave may decide to remain with the master because of love for the master and because it has been good for them to be in the master's service (Lundbom 2013:496).

Provision is made for voluntary permanent servitude in Deuteronomy 15:17: "You shall take an awl and thrust it through his earlobe into the door". The Deuteronomy expression "the door" is a reduction of "the door or the doorpost" of Exodus 21:6. This is an indication that, while in Exodus 21:6 the reference was to a sanctuary door, in Deuteronomy 15:17 the piercing was done at the master's house. Earlier (Exodus), the ceremony was official and public; later (Deuteronomy), it was purely a private affair (Lundbom 2013:497; Nelson 2002:199).

"The earlobe into the door" could have had a metaphorical meaning, symbolizing heedful obedience, or perhaps it was practical, for the purpose of an earring or tag in order to show a permanent status as slave (Nelson 2002:199). Whatever it might mean, Christensen (2001:320) is correct in emphasising the importance of the fact that, if the slave chose voluntary servitude, he or she was not passed on to the master's heirs as part of the estate.

Deuteronomy 15:18 returns to the main topic of manumission, dealing with attitudes that might hinder the master's obedience to the law. The final exhortation to the master is reminiscent of the Exodus, when Pharaoh was "hardening his heart" and was unwilling to release Israel. Therefore, it must not seem hard for a master to release a slave (McConville 2002:264). The motivation for the instruction to the master can be paraphrased as, "You (the master) will really lose nothing financially in the arrangement, and the LORD's blessing will make up any possible loss anyway" (Nelson 2002:200). The LORD's blessing to the master is a consequence of obedience and links everything together (14:29; 15:10, 18): to obey is to bring about the blessing of prosperity. Prosperity could be viewed as a divine blessing for serving those in need (15:4-6, 14; 16:10) (Nelson 2002:191).

### 3.2.2.4 Slavery in the Holy Code: Leviticus 25:39-55

Codex Leningradensis Hebrew Text (WTT)	New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)	Location
<p>39 וְכִי־יִמּוּךְ אֶחָיִךְ עִמָּךְ וְנִמְכַרְךָ לָךְ לֹא־ תֵעָבֵד בּוֹ עֲבָדֶת עֶבֶד:</p> <p>40 כְּשָׂכִיר כְּתוֹשֵׁב יִהְיֶה עִמָּךְ עַד־שָׁנַת הַיָּבֵל יַעֲבֹד עִמָּךְ:</p> <p>41 וַיֵּצֵא מֵעִמָּךְ הוּא וּבְנָיו עִמּוֹ וְשָׂבַל אֶל־ מִשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ וְאֶל־אַחֲזַת אֲבֹתָיו יָשׁוּב:</p> <p>42 כִּי־עֲבָדִי הֵם אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתִי אֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֹא יִמְכְרוּ מִמִּכְרֹת עֶבֶד:</p> <p>43 לֹא־תִרְדָּה בּוֹ בְּפִרְךָ וְיִרְאֵת מֵאֵלֶיךָ:</p> <p>44 וְעַבְדְּךָ וְאִמְתֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר יִהְיוּ־לָךְ מֵאֵת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבֹתֶיכֶם מִהֶם תִּקְנֶנּוּ עֶבֶד וְאִמָּה:</p> <p>45 וְגַם מִבְּנֵי הַתּוֹשְׁבִים הַגֵּרִים עִמָּכֶם מִהֶם תִּקְנֶנּוּ וּמִמִּשְׁפַּחְתָּם אֲשֶׁר עִמָּכֶם אֲשֶׁר הוֹלִידוּ בְּאֶרֶצְכֶם וְהִיוּ לָכֶם לְאֲחֵזָה:</p> <p>46 וְהַתְּנַחֲלֶתֶם אֹתָם לְבָנֵיכֶם אַחֲרֵיכֶם לְרִשְׁתָּ אֲחֵזָה לְעֹלָם בְּהֶם תֵּעָבְדוּ וּבְאֲחֵיכֶם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ בְּאֲחִיו לֹא־תִרְדָּה בּוֹ בְּפִרְךָ: ֹ</p> <p>47 וְכִי תִשְׁיֵג יָד גֵּר וְתוֹשֵׁב עִמָּךְ וּמִן אֶחָיִךְ עִמּוֹ וְנִמְכַר לְגֵר תוֹשֵׁב עִמָּךְ אוֹ לְעֵקֶר מִשְׁפַּחַת גֵּר:</p> <p>48 אַחֲרַי נִמְכַר גְּאֻלָּה תִהְיֶה־לּוֹ אֶחָד מֵאֲחֵיו יִגְאֻלֵנוּ:</p> <p>49 אוֹ־דָדָו אוֹ בֶן־דָּדוֹ יִגְאֻלֵנוּ אוֹ־מִשְׁאֵר בְּשָׂרוֹ מִמִּשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ יִגְאֻלֵנוּ אוֹ־הַשִּׁיגָה יָדוֹ וְנִגְאֻל:</p> <p>50 וְחָשַׁב עִם־קִנְיָו מִשְׁנַת הַמִּכְרוֹ לְלוֹ עַד</p>	<p>39 If any who are dependent on you become so impoverished that they sell themselves to you, you shall not make them serve as slaves.</p> <p>40 They shall remain with you as hired or bound laborers. They shall serve with you until the year of the jubilee.</p> <p>41 Then they and their children with them shall be free from your authority; they shall go back to their own family and return to their ancestral property.</p> <p>42 For they are my servants, whom I brought out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as slaves are sold.</p> <p>43 You shall not rule over them with harshness, but shall fear your God.</p> <p>44 As for the male and female slaves whom you may have, it is from the nations around you that you may acquire male and female slaves.</p> <p>45 You may also acquire them from among the aliens residing with you, and from their families that are with you, who have been born in your land; and they may be your property.</p> <p>46 You may keep them as a possession for your children after you, for them to inherit as property. These you may treat as slaves, but as for your fellow Israelites, no one shall rule over the other with</p>	<p>Lv 25:39-55</p>

<p>שְׁנַת הַיְבֵל וְהָיָה כִּסְף מִמְכָרוֹ בְּמִסְפַּר שָׁנִים כִּימֵי שְׁכִיר יִהְיֶה עִמּוֹ: 51 אִם-עוֹד רַבּוֹת בְּשָׁנִים לְפִיָּהֶן יָשִׁיב גְּאֻלָּתוֹ מִכֶּסֶף מִקְנָתוֹ: 52 וְאִם-מְעַט נִשְׁאַר בְּשָׁנִים עַד-שְׁנַת הַיְבֵל וַחֲשַׁב-לוֹ כְּפִי שָׁנָיו יָשִׁיב אֶת-גְּאֻלָּתוֹ: 53 כְּשֹׁכֵר שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה יִהְיֶה עִמּוֹ לֹא-יִרְדְּנוּ בְּפָרֶה לְעֵינֶיהָ: 54 וְאִם-לֹא יִגָּאֵל בְּאֵלֶּה וַיֵּצֵא בְּשְׁנַת הַיְבֵל הוּא וּבָנָיו עִמּוֹ: 55 כִּי-לִי בְנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדִים עֲבָדֵי הֵם אֲשֶׁר-הוֹצֵאתִי אוֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:</p>	<p>harshness. 47 If resident aliens among you prosper, and if any of your kin fall into difficulty with one of them and sell themselves to an alien, or to a branch of the alien's family, 48 after they have sold themselves they shall have the right of redemption; one of their brothers may redeem them, 49 or their uncle or their uncle's son may redeem them, or anyone of their family who is of their own flesh may redeem them; or if they prosper they may redeem themselves. 50 They shall compute with the purchaser the total from the year when they sold themselves to the alien until the jubilee year; the price of the sale shall be applied to the number of years: the time they were with the owner shall be rated as the time of a hired laborer. 51 If many years remain, they shall pay for their redemption in proportion to the purchase price; 52 and if few years remain until the jubilee year, they shall compute thus: according to the years involved they shall make payment for their redemption. 53 As a laborer hired by the year they shall be under the alien's authority, who shall not, however, rule with harshness over them in your sight. 54 And if they have not been redeemed in any of these ways, they and their children with them shall go free in the jubilee year. 55 For to me the people of Israel are servants; they are my servants whom I brought out from the land of Egypt: I am the LORD your God.</p>	
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### The relationship between the Deuteronomic Source and the Holiness Code of slavery:

It can be noted that the instructions in Leviticus 25:39-55 are dependent upon Deuteronomy, and that the expression "who are dependent on you" (Lv 25:39) as referring not only to an alien but also to fellow Israelites is derived from Deuteronomy (Seters 2003:84). Likewise, in agreement with Deuteronomy, the Holiness Code in Leviticus describes the situation where the service of the indentured is because of debt: "If any who are dependent on you become so

impoverished that they sell themselves to you, you shall not make them serve as slaves. They shall remain with you as hired or bound laborers (25:39-40).”

The motivation for this treatment of the debt-slave is stated in 25:42: "For they are my servants, whom I brought out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as slaves are sold." It shows that the Israelites were under the protection of God, their deliverer. The basic instruction of the Holiness Code seems to emphasise the humanitarian concern, that the Israelites are not to be treated as slaves. For this reason, they may not be sold (25:43b) (Seters 2003:84).

Milgrom (2003:304) goes even further to demonstrate that the Holiness Code law of slavery was intended to abolish the other Pentateuchal law codes as it prohibited tattooing, which allowed a permanent slave to be marked according to Exodus 21:6 and Deuteronomy 15:17. Thus the year of Jubilee was a stipulation to cancel slavery.

### **Context of Leviticus 25:39-55:**

The main purpose of the year of Jubilee in Leviticus 25 was to provide a way out for those who fell into debt. The heart of it all lays in 25:23: "The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; with me you are but aliens and tenants" (Motyer 2005:292). Not only did the people of Israel sanctify the fiftieth year to praise the Lord; that year was also a time of release from all social oppression, restoration of all family property, and rest for all the land as a way of understanding the Lord's sovereignty over land and life (Byron 2003:42; Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:620; Ross 2002:457).

By focusing on the Jubilee year, this chapter provides a general remedy for economic and social life that reinstates people and properties to their rightful conditions (Ross 2002:456). Its purpose was to allow a new beginning to people who had failed to maintain their place in society, to give them the chance to start over again.

Even though the Israelites took possession of the Promised Land and could enjoy the benefits of the land, they were reminded that the land was owned by God. The Israelites were only resident aliens (Chirichigno 1993:323; Milgrom 2003:298). The land is very important in Leviticus 25 because ownership of land was an essential component in economic activities, as well as providing a family with its identity and the basis of its security (Motyer 2005:293).

Leviticus 25 begins with a discussion of the Sabbath year (25:1-7), rather than of the Jubilee year which came after seven years or after forty-nine years (Ross 2002:456). Every seventh year the land was to have a Sabbath year that was as sacred as the weekly Sabbath to the Lord (Motyer 2005:293). Then, 25:8-13 mentions that the people of Israel consecrated the fiftieth year as a time of release from all social oppression, restoration of all family property, and rest

for all the land by sounding the ram's horn in the entire land on the Day of Atonement (Ross 2002:457).

This year was characterised by two main ideas: liberty and return. Freedom from labour and freedom from debt were to go hand in hand with restoring broken family ties and reinstating lost family property (Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:620; Motyer 2005:294). In the last section of discussion in 25:14-55 the main concern is that the people of Israel acknowledge the LORD's sovereignty by regulating their material and social life according to the Jubilee Year (Ross 2002:457).

Before delving into the focus passage of 25:39-55, it is necessary to ask: What were the circumstances that necessitated Israelites to sell the land they owned?

The key verses are 25:25-28, 35-38, and 39-55, as these three passages present the three consecutive stages of destitution and redemption (Chirichigno 1993:323-324). First, 25:25-28 says that, if for any reason Israelites fell into debt, the first action was to "sell a piece of property" (25:25).

Milgrom (2004:299) gives an illustration to explain this by saying that an impoverished farmer took out a loan for the purchase of seed and, in the event of crop failure, was forced to sell part of his land to cover the previous loan and purchase new seed. Therefore the nearest relatives (redeemers) were required to intervene as soon as possible to ensure that the land be kept within the family (Motyer 2005:296).

The buyer (or master) must then allow the relatives to repurchase the land, because he had never purchased the property, he had only taken it on lease until the Jubilee. Thus the purpose of redemption is based on the principle that the land should not be alienated from the clan to whom it was assigned by God (Milgrom 2004:300).

Secondly, if the situation became even worse, it was brought to the second stage in 25:35-38: if selling the property did not solve the problem, it was the obligation of the nearest relative to support a debtor by hiring him as labourer and by lending money without interest to pay off the debt (Chirichigno 1993:329; Motyer 2005:297).

The assumption is that, if the land which had been sold was not redeemed, and the original owner (Israelite) suffered crop failure on his now reduced property, he was forced to take out a new loan which he again defaulted. This time he lost his entire land and became a "tenant farmer" for the buyer. However, the buyer had to allow him to try again without interest.

Moreover, if, as a tenant farmer, the debtor still could not repay his loan and could not support himself and his family, he would enter into the household of the buyer (the creditor), which leads

to the third stage of the extreme situations of poor people presented in 25:39-55 (Chirichigno 1993:329).

### **Interpretation of Leviticus 25:39-55:**

Leviticus 25:39 states that, though Israelite debtors were extremely poor and even sold themselves into difficult circumstances, their status was not that of slaves (25:39), but of hired labourers (25:40). Being hired labourers does not mean that they would receive regular wages, though they might receive shelter, food (Hartley 1992:440), and respect (Motyer 2005:297).

Milgrom (2004:301) explains the situation of the hired servants, indicating that a debtor did receive wages, which went toward paying off his debt; the buyer not only gave him wages, but also provided him with a surplus with which to free himself of his debt and status as labourer (Dt 24:14-15). From this one could infer that, for Israel, slavery was clearly abolished.

Leviticus 25:41 emphasises that, in the Jubilee Year, a servant had to be set free even if the debt had not been paid off (Ross 2002:462). He and his family would return to their tribe and be reinstated as citizens (Hartley 1992:441). The basic principle for this is that the debtor is "God's servant", just as the land is God's land. God brought them out of bondage, therefore God would not allow anyone to return his people into bondage (25:42).

According to Exodus 21:2-6 and Deuteronomy 15:12-18, a slave could reclaim his freedom after six years of service. Leviticus 25:41, according to which the labourers were set free, along with their families, in the year of Jubilee, illustrates the significance of the Scripture above. In the Jubilee Year the master makes no mention of children born during servitude, nor can he use the children to force their father into permanent service (Hartley 1992:441). There is no mention of a wife in the discussion on "the hired labourers". Milgrom (2004:301) therefore strongly proclaims that Leviticus deliberately omits any description of a wife in order to make a legal statement: the Israelite woman does not leave the creditor's service because she never enters it.

Consequently, Leviticus contains a tacit argument against Exodus 21:7-11 and Deuteronomy 15:12, 17: the wife may not be indentured. Exodus 21:4 says that, if his master gives him a wife and she bears him sons or daughters, "the wife and her children shall be her master's..." Leviticus, however, counters this argument. Even if the master provides him with a wife, she is entirely free of the master's control, but her children, who are temporarily indentured, are set free with her hired husband at the Jubilee celebration. No Israelite may be sold as a permanent slave to another Israelite, for the LORD is the owner of both the buyer and the one who sells himself. Freedom here means a transfer of masters and the Israelites are the servants of the LORD.

After delineating the freedom that transpires in the Jubilee Year, verse 25:43 refers to the second rule which applies to the buyer (or master): the hired labourer must not be ruled with harshness. The word "harshness" in Hebrew could mean "grind down" or "crush, break in pieces, rub off", which describes labour that breaks the body and grinds down people's spirit (Hartley 1992:441). The motivation for this attitude is the master's fear of God (25:17, 36).

The passage 25:44-46 highlights the contrasting treatment of fellow Israelites and persons enslaved from the surrounding nations (25:44). The latter could be purchased and treated like property (25:45), and could also be passed on as inheritance to the next generation (25:46) (Motyer 2005:298). An Israelite was never to enslave an Israelite (25:39). An Israelite could only enslave non-Israelites, but the law required that even though they could enslave non-Israelite people, they had to treat them kindly (25:46).

In 25:47-54 guidelines are given for when an Israelite sold himself to a temporary resident (25:47): this slave retained his right of redemption (25:48). Two routes to freedom might be followed. First, a close relative or a near kinsman from his extended family (25:41-42) were encouraged to buy the slave from the owner (25:49). Secondly, the slave could also redeem himself (25:49) (Motyer 2005:298). Given the reasons above, it is clear that Israelites were obligated to act as next of kin for another member of the family (Hartley 1992:442).

The passage in 25:55 demands that, if all the ways of gaining freedom failed, the Year of Jubilee would still effect freedom. In fact, the Jubilee provisions included more than providing the debtor with freedom; all property and belongings were restored to the original owners. Therefore Motyer (2005:298) correctly states that "the Jubilee was the overriding factor that leapfrogged over all other solutions to poverty". The regulation of the Jubilee concludes with the affirmation that Israel was the LORD's servant because He brought them out of the Egyptian bondage (25:38, 42, 55). This also reiterates the basic theological idea governing all these laws: the land belonged to God, and the people were God's servants because He had redeemed them.

These two truths established how faithful Israelites were to look at possessions and debtors (Ross 2002:462). From this point of view, the Jubilee laws are radical because they reject social imbalances caused by disastrous events (Millis 2009:215). The purpose of the Jubilee was to limit the human inclination toward greed and power (Rooker 2000:310) and to prevent the collapse of the economy under too great a weight of private indebtedness. Not only did it restrict owners, but it also limited the king's expenses to satisfy his whims (Milgrom 2004:298). The main purpose of the Jubilee laws was to limit slavery, which was widespread in the ancient Near East, including Israel.

The difference between the Covenant Code in Exodus 21:2-6 and the Holy Code in Leviticus 25:39-55 is that, whereas the Covenant Code presents one way in which a slave could be freed (after six years), the Holy Code points out other ways to regain freedom: one could be freed by purchase, or purchase by a relative (Lv 25:47-49). If he could not afford his freedom, he had to wait for the year of Jubilee (25:54), which happened every fifty years and which constituted a nationwide release of Israelite slaves.

Thus, an Israelite who sold himself into service was (a) to be treated as a hired man and (b) to serve only until the Jubilee (Chirichigno 1993:329). Furthermore, 25:41 outlines the particulars of his release: he was to be released with his family and be allowed to return to his tribe and to his property. Lastly, 25:42-43 contains two clauses pertaining to the treatment of Israelite slaves: "For they are my servants, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as slaves are sold. You shall not rule over them with harshness, but shall fear your God."

The motivation of the law of Jubilee was the remembrance that all Israelites were slaves to the LORD (25:55), who paid for their redemption from Egyptian slavery (25:38, 42), and who purchased them as his very own slaves. From this point of view, no Israelite could be sold as a permanent slave to another Israelite since the LORD was the owner of both the one selling himself and the one who bought. Non-Israelite slaves could become permanent slaves, and could be inherited from one generation to the next as a piece of property (25:46).

### **3.2.2.5 Conclusion on slavery in the three law codes**

According to the three law codes regarding Israelite slaves in the Old Testament, it is clear that a strong measure of protection was provided to Israelites who were slaves. This is a positive perspective of the social context of the Old Testament, as slavery was not a form of permanent bondage, but aimed at the reinstatement of freedom.

There are significant elements in these law codes:

- 1) an Israelite could sell himself as slave to a fellow-Israelite because of poverty;
- 2) the law placed a limitation of six years on Israelite servitude, including females, which meant that they could not be permanent slaves unless they (and their families) volunteered to stay with their masters because of love;
- 3) when a slave was set free, he or she had to be given provisions to start a new life;
- 4) the law was only applied to slaves who were Israelites, not to non-Israelite slaves; it protected Israelite slaves from any brutal treatment;
- 5) all the Israelite labourers had to be freed and receive their land back in the year of Jubilee;

- 6) whether one was slave or master, all the Israelites were slaves to God by Whom they had been ransomed from the bondage in Egypt; all the law codes were connected to the manumission of the Israelite slaves during the exodus event;
- 7) however, non-Israelite slaves were permanent and could be passed on to the next generation as property.

Having examined the concept of slavery in the three law codes of the Old Testament, it is now necessary to establish how this compares with the concept of slavery in Galatians.

I have defined slavery in Galatians as “the state in which a person finds himself completely controlled by another from a position of ownership as property, obligating him/her to fulfill the orders and wants within the authority sphere of the owner” (2.3.4 above). This definition emphasises that a slave is totally and permanently under the authority of the master as property. Moreover, within the Graeco-Roman social context, slaves had been alienated from their own family, tribe, identity, sense of honour and dignity, the capacity to knit new kinship bonds through marriage, and the legal protection enjoyed by free people (2.3.5 above).

In contrast, according to the three law codes of the Old Testament, Israelite slaves were not separated from their family unit because a debt-slave could be set free after six years' service or during the year of Jubilee. This regulation does not fit in with the definition of slavery in Galatians and the social context of Paul's time because, first of all, a slave is completely controlled by the owner as property; secondly, although slaves could buy their own freedom in Graeco-Roman times, they still participated in the patron-client system after becoming free persons. Therefore, in Graeco-Roman times a slave was never really set free from the authority of the master, whereas the manumission prescribed in the three law codes entailed total freedom. The relationship between the patron (the previous master) and client (the previous slave) meant that there remained a relationship of dependency. The patron could require gifts from the client and the client was also required to show respect and to render services to his patron.

Hence, based on the definition of slavery and the social context of the time of Paul, it is unlikely that Paul had the three Old Testament law codes in mind when communicating with the believers in Galatia.

### **3.2.3 Metaphorical use of slavery in the Old Testament**

#### **3.2.3.1 Introduction**

The concept of slavery is that a person is bought by a master. This master controls the slave completely as his property. The slave is obligated to fulfill the orders and wants of the owner.

Therefore, the person is transferred as a slave to the buyer (master) and the slave's life is completely under the authority of the new master.

As has been discussed, a metaphor is a figure of speech whereby we speak about one experiential thing in a certain culture in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another (see 1.4.1.3-4 above). When slave/slavery is used as a metaphor to refer to the people or a person in the Old Testament, it does not refer in reality to typical slaves, but uses the status of slave in a given social culture to evoke a vivid mental idea by suggesting another partial understanding of slavery in concrete experiences such as being controlled, loyalty, obedience and authority (Lakoff & Johnson 2003:154-155). Therefore, by operating the pattern of tenor and vehicle (Richards 1965:102), the slave acts as vehicle to carry an allusion to the subject as tenor which is people or a person (Heim 2017:42).

In the Old Testament, the image of slavery was mostly used to refer to religious and social realities. The metaphor depicted one's own or the nation's position before of God as one of humility. The self-presentation of Israel as slave of God is used in the Old Testament to convey human submission to God's authority (Hezser 2005:329). The same is the case with individuals, such as patriarchs, kings and prophets. The use of the image of slavery can be categorised in the following way:

- Self-presentation of Israel (the nation) as slave/slaves of God
- King referred to as slave of God
- Prophets collectively referred to as slaves of God
- Individuals identifying themselves in reverence as slave of God
- The servant (עֶבֶד) of the LORD in Isaiah

The usage of slave metaphors in these five categories is being investigated below.

### **3.2.3.2 The nation of Israel as slave/slaves of God**

The use of the image of slave/slaves of God with reference to Israel as a nation can be broadly categorised into (1) the explicit use of the image and (2) the implicit use.

#### **Explicit use**

The image is explicitly used with reference to Israel as a nation 28 times in the Old Testament.<sup>22</sup> The references can be categorised into four subunits: (1) Israel as slave of God by divine choice with security for salvation; (2) A person as slave of God with a special mandate; (3) Israel as disobedient slave; and (4) The faithfulness of God to his slave.

#### (1) Israel as slave of God by divine choice for salvation

In the canonical order of the books of the Old Testament the first depiction of Israel as slave of God is in Isaiah 41:8-9:

<sup>8</sup>But you, Israel, **my servant** (עַבְדִּי), Jacob, whom I have chosen, the offspring of Abraham, my friend; <sup>9</sup>you whom I took from the ends of the earth, and called from its farthest corners, saying to you, ‘You are **my servant** (עַבְדִּי), I have chosen you and not cast you off’ ; <sup>10</sup>do not fear, for I am with you, do not be afraid, for I am your God; I will strengthen you, I will help you, I will uphold you with my victorious right hand.”

Although the word עַבְדִּי (my slave) indicates a relationship between owner and slave where the slave has the obligation to accept the authority of the owner and to serve the owner’s interests (Goldingay 2005:98), in Isaiah 41:8-9 this is not the focus. Rather, the focus is on the security, caring and support that the owner (God) provides to the slave (Israel/Jacob), as well as the privilege of having been chosen by God. It is through these actions of God on Israel’s behalf that God has established their mutual commitment (Goldingay 2005:100).

#### (2) A person as slave of God with a special mandate

Isaiah 42:1 reads:

“Here is **my servant** (עַבְדִּי), whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights; I have put my spirit upon him; he will bring forth justice to the nations.”

In the context of Isaiah 42:1-4, God reveals what he expects a person whom he has chosen as his slave to do. Although the word “עַבְדִּי (my slave)” may refer to Israel (cf LXX), here it probably refers to the ideal model of a slave of God (Goldingay 2014:65; 2005:153). This person has a very specific mandate: to bring forth justice to the nations.

#### (3) Israel as a disobedient slave

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<sup>22</sup> Is 41:8-9; 42:1,19; 44:1-2,21,26; 45:4 [Jacob]; 48:20; 49:3, 5-7; 52:13; 53:11; 54:17; 56:6; 63:17; 65:8-9,13-15; 66:14; Jr 30:10; 46:27-28; Eze 28:25 [Jacob].

As has been mentioned, Israel as slave of God is mandated to bring justice to the nations. At this stage, however, Israel is a disobedient slave, not understanding the way of their Master who is bringing about his purpose (Goldingay 2014:65). This is evident from Isaiah 42:19:

“Who is blind but **my servant** (עֶבְדִּי), or deaf like my messenger whom I send?  
Who is blind like my dedicated one, or blind like **the servant** (קַעֲבָד) of the  
LORD?”

Israel as slave of God, who should have brought the light and justice to nations, is a deaf and blind slave who cannot exercise that ministry. These rhetorical questions emphasise the fact that Israel, as slave of God, failed to obey their Master’s instructions (Is 40:2; 42:18-25; 43:22-27; 47:7; 48:18; 50:1; 54:7; 57:17; 59:2) and cannot function as a slave should (Goldingay 2014:67-68).

In this image God is depicted as the master who has chosen Israel as his slave, takes care of and secures this slave in order to mandate him to show justice to the nations. God as master urges his slave to obey him (Hezser 2005:328).

#### (4) The faithfulness of God to his slave

Though Israel is not an obedient slave, the Lord is faithful to his slave and will restore Israel by his own power because the Lord God is the one who has chosen them and cared of them as his possession. This is evident from the following portions of scripture:

"You are my witnesses, says the LORD, and **my servant** (עֶבְדִּי) whom I have chosen, so that you may know and believe me and understand that I am he. Before me no god was formed, nor shall there be any after me" (Is 43:10).

“<sup>44:1</sup>But now hear, O Jacob **my servant** (עֶבְדִּי), Israel whom I have chosen! <sup>2</sup>Thus says the LORD who made you, who formed you in the womb and will help you: Do not fear, O Jacob, **my servant** (עֶבְדִּי), Jeshurun, whom I have chosen...”  
<sup>21</sup>Remember these things, O Jacob, and Israel, for you are **my servant** (עֶבְדִּי); I formed you, you are **my servant** (עֶבְדִּי); O Israel, you will not be forgotten by me...<sup>26</sup>who confirms the word of his servant, and fulfills the prediction of his messengers; who says of Jerusalem, ‘It shall be inhabited,’ and of the cities of Judah, ‘They shall be rebuilt, and I will raise up their ruins’” (Is 44:1-2, 21, 26).

An ordinary slave owner would have cast the disobedient slave out of his protection, but in the relationship between God and Israel the situation is different. God has made an initial commitment to his selected slave. Thus, he cannot get rid of him because the Lord God is the one who has made and formed Israel, and he is therefore committed to being the one who will

restore him and declare ownership of him (Goldingay 2014:66). By forgiving Israel's inadequacies and restoring his slave, God will turn him into a body of witness to who God is and what he does. Israel thus retains the position as slave of God.

God's restoration of Israel is not based on Israel's repentance and Israel's return to God. Rather, God, as merciful master, forgives and restores Israel. As a result of this action Israel has to return to God (Is 44:21-22).

### **Implicit use**

[To understand the faithfulness of God to his slave, it is necessary to go back to the historical event of Exodus that formed the basis of Israel's identity as the slave of God.]

The concept of Israel as the slave of God is implicitly present in Exodus, in Israel's encounter with God at Mount Sinai, e.g. in Exodus 19:4-6:

“<sup>4</sup>You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself. <sup>5</sup>Now, therefore, if you obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be **my treasured possession** out of all the peoples.”

After reading this passage together with Exodus 20:2 it becomes clear that God's redemptive action in Egypt is depicted as Israel being ransomed by God in the same way one does with slaves:

“<sup>2</sup>I am the LORD your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery.”

Israel is then commanded to be obedient and loyal to God (Hezser 2005:328), as becomes clear from Exodus 20:3-5, prohibiting them from acknowledging any master other than the LORD.

In the case of the Israelites, there is the transfer from being a slave of Pharaoh to being a slave of the Lord. The Lord's action brings protection, while they must show their loyalty through their obedience (Byron 2003:50; Hezser 2005:329; North 1990:112). As slave of God, Israel has the obligation to serve God in loyal obedience and to reject all others, as Joshua warned the Israelites before entering the Promised Land: “Now fear the LORD and serve him with all faithfulness. Throw away the gods your forefathers worshiped beyond the River and in Egypt, and serve the LORD...” (Jos 24:14; cf Dt 6:4, 12-15).

To call oneself an Israelite was the same as calling oneself a slave of God (Byron 2003:50-51). This is reminiscent of Leviticus 25:42: "For they are my servants (עֲבָדַי), whom I brought out of the land of Egypt" (cf 3.2.2).

When urged to keep God's commandments, the liberation of Israel from slavery in Egypt is repeatedly mentioned as motivation, e.g.:

"Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the LORD your God brought you out from there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore the LORD your God commanded you to keep the sabbath day" (Dt 5:15).

Punishment for disobedience is likewise linked to the earlier status in Egypt:

"And the LORD will bring you back to Egypt in ships ...And there you shall offer yourselves for sale to your enemies as male and female slaves ..." (Dt 28:68).

The Israelite as slaves of God must understand that they cannot retain their status as slaves of God when they serve another: "As you have forsaken me and served foreign gods in your land, so you shall serve strangers in a land that is not yours" (Jr 5:19).

However, the status as slaves of God can be reinstated once Israel returns to God in repentance, because God is a merciful and compassionate master who will not abandon his slaves:

"They refused to obey ... determined to return to their slavery in Egypt. But you are a God ready to forgive, gracious and merciful, slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love and you did not forsake them" (Neh 9:17)

The promise of reinstatement as slaves of God is clear in Jeremiah 30:8:

"On that day, says the LORD of hosts, 'I will break the yoke from off his neck, and I will burst his bonds, and strangers shall no more make a servant of him...'"

## **Conclusion**

From the explicit and the implicit use of the slave of God imagery with reference to Israel it is clear that God is depicted as a master who ransoms his slave by his own volition. Even when the slave chooses to serve another and in this way forfeits the status of being slave of God, repentance and return to God as only master will see the reinstatement of the status as slave of God. This is possible because of the faithfulness and everlasting love of the Lord, protecting Israel as his precious possession.

### 3.2.3.3 The king of Israel as slave of God

The image of slave of God with reference to the king is used 47 times in the Old Testament.<sup>23</sup>

These references can be categorised into four subunits on the basis of the facet of the relationship between God and the king that is highlighted by the metaphor slave of God: (1) the unconditional chosenness of the king to save Israel; (2) the devotional duty of the king; (3) the impact of transgressions of the king on the people of God; (4) the faithfulness of God concerning his promise to David.

#### (1) The unconditional choiceness of the king to save Israel

The king as slave of God to save his people can be seen in 2 Samuel 3:18, where Abner appeals to David to save Israel, saying

“...the LORD has promised David: Through **my servant** (עבְדִי) David I will save my people Israel from the hand of the Philistines, and from all their enemies.”

Due to the anxieties of the Israelites regarding foreign threats and the war between the houses of Saul and David (2 Sm 2:12-32), Abner’s oracle proclaims that David is slave of God who is the promised rescuer of Israel from the Philistines and their other enemies. It symbolises the Lord’s selection of David as the central human agent responsible for bringing deliverance to Israel.

King David, like Saul, is selected and anointed by the Lord with the divine Spirit (1Sam 9:15-16<sup>24</sup> 10:1; 16:13<sup>25</sup>). It is clear that David’s kingship rests on divine selection (Anderson 1989:60). The anointment symbolises the mandated by God to rule over the people (Byron 2003:52). As slave of God, the king is required to be loyal and obedient to God (like a slave to his master) and be unlike the rulers of other nations, but, rather, a king that stands under the stipulations of God (Moore 2009:108). This is evident from the conditional sentence in 1 Samuel 12:14-15<sup>26</sup>. Therefore, adherence to the commandments and to the LORD remains the foundation.

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<sup>23</sup> 2 Sm 3:18;7:5, 8,19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; 24:10; 1Kgs 3:6-9; 8:25-26, 28-30; 11:13, 32, 38; 14:8; 2Kgs 8:19; 19:34; 20:6; 1Chr 17:4,7; 17:17-19, 23, 27; 21:8; 2Chr 6:15-17; 6:19-22, 27; 6:42; 32:16; Is 37:35; Jr 33:21.

<sup>24</sup> “...the LORD had revealed to Samuel: ‘Tomorrow about this time I will send to you a man ...you shall anoint him to be ruler over my people Israel. He shall save my people from the hand of the Philistines ...’” (1 Sm 9:15-16).

<sup>25</sup> “Then Samuel took the horn of oil, and anointed him in the presence of his brothers; and the spirit of the LORD came mightily upon David from that day forward...” (1 Sm16:13).

<sup>26</sup> “If you will fear the LORD and serve him and heed his voice and not rebel against the commandment of the LORD, and if both you and the king who reigns over you will follow the LORD your God, it will be well; but if you will not heed the voice of the LORD, but rebel against

The chosen king of Israel is not the master of Israel, but the slave of God because God is the real master and savior who reigns over his people. God defeated Pharaoh's army rescuing his people from the bondage of Egypt (Moore 2009:95). Similarly, King David saves the people of God from their enemies. The king of Israel is the representative slave of God because God is the master who reigns over his people through a chosen king (Moore 2009:95).

King David's servitude to God, as well as the promise to establish his kingdom, is further evident in 2 Samuel 7:8-13:

<sup>8</sup>“you shall say to **my servant David** (לַעֲבָדִי): ...I **took** you from the pasture, from following the sheep to be prince over my people Israel ...<sup>11</sup>Moreover the LORD declares to you that the LORD will **make you a house** ...<sup>13</sup>I will **establish the throne of his kingdom forever**” (cf 1Chr 17:7, 17-19, 23, 27).

After being given rest from all his enemies (2 Sm 7:1) King David wanted to build a house for God, but God rejected him and instead promised him to establish the house of David forever. David's response shows that he had conquered not by his own strength, but through the Lord's unconditional selection to be the king of the people as slave of God:

“Who am I, O Lord GOD, and what is my house, that you have brought me thus far? And yet this was a small thing in your eyes, O Lord GOD; you have spoken also of **your servant's house** (אֶל־בַּיִת־עַבְדְּךָ) for a great while to come. May this be instruction for the people, O Lord GOD! And what more can David say to you? For you know **your servant** (אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ), O Lord GOD! Because of your promise, and according to your own heart, you have wrought all this greatness, so that **your servant** (אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ) may know it” (2 Sm 7:18-21).

## (2) The devotional duty of the king

The king is a model for the people. David is presented as extraordinarily devoted to God, praying and standing between God and the people (2 Sm 7:18-29; 24:10-25; Bridge 2013:24). Another example is King Solomon who, as an agent of God, offers praise to the LORD for fulfilling his promise to David. Solomon stands before the altar of the Lord in front of the Israelites and prays:

“...O LORD, God of Israel, keep for **your servant** (לַעֲבָדֶךָ) my father **David** that which you promised him, saying, ‘There shall never fail you a successor before me

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the commandment of the LORD, then the hand of the LORD will be against you and your king” (1 Sm 12:15).

to sit on the throne of Israel, if only your children look to their way, to walk before me as you have walked before me” (1Kgs 8:25).

King Solomon asked that God be faithful to the covenant with his slave David. However, the king, as slave of God standing between the LORD and the people, had to be loyal to the LORD so that the people of God would keep following the way of the LORD (Byron 2003:52-53). Therefore, as the agent of God on earth, the king – as a slave of God – was expected to serve the LORD and lead the people in loyal obedience to God. In this way the king exemplified what it meant to be slave of God.

### (3) The impact of transgressions of the king on the people of God

As slave of God, the king is a model to the people, exemplifying a life in loyal obedience to the LORD. If not, the transgressions of the king would have a direct impact on the people of God (Moore 2009:113). For example, David sinned against God by taking a census of the people of Israel (2Sm 24:4; cf 1Chr 21:8) with the result that a pestilence was sent on Israel, causing the death of seventy thousand people (2Sm 24:15). King David prayed to God:

“I have sinned greatly in what I have done. But now, O LORD, I pray you, take away the guilt of **your servant** (עַבְדְּךָ); for I have done very foolishly” (2Sm 24:10).

In addition, King Solomon’s heart was not fully devoted to the LORD. He turned away from the commandments by loving foreign women who seduced him into idolatry (1Kg 11:1-4; cf Dt 7:3-4) and sacrificing to other gods (1Kg 11:8). The punishment brought by the LORD was to tear the kingdom from Solomon’s hand giving it to one of his subordinates (1Kg 11:11). Not only was the kingdom torn apart, but the people of God were also surrounded by adversaries (1Kg 11:14-25). It is clear that the lives of the kings influenced the people of God – the king’s loyalty to the LORD or its lack impacted on the people.

Because the king had to work for the welfare of his people, he had to be loyal to God and just to the people of God. His motivation for doing so may not be his own benefit (Dt 17:15-20).

King Rehoboam did not take good care of the people and he put a heavy yoke on them (1Kgs 12:1-16). The way in which he performed his servanthood to the people is a reflection of his servanthood to God. Although the elders urged him, according to 1Kings 12:27, in this regard, he did not take heed. This eventually caused the split of the kingdom of Israel.

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<sup>27</sup> “And they said to him, “If you will be a servant to this people today and serve them, and speak good words to them when you answer them, then they will be your servants forever”.

The sins of King Solomon caused the kingdom to lose its greatness and eventually to “disappear”. King Solomon was not devoted to God as a slave of God should be. His own idolatry led to idolatry among the people. The king’s failure to fulfill the obligations of a slave to his master resulted in the judgment of God. For instance, in 2Kings 17:18-23 the exile of both Israel and Judah is explained as resulting from an apostate king’s continued rejection of God by serving other gods (cf also 1Sm 12:23-25).

#### (4) Faithfulness of God concerning his promise to David

The LORD promises his slave, King David:

“ ...I have been with you wherever you went, and have cut off all your enemies from before you; and I will make for you a great name (2Sm 7:9) ...I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom (2Sm 7:12) ...**Your house and your kingdom shall be made sure forever** before me; your throne shall **be established forever**” (2Sm 7:16).

The LORD remained faithful to his covenant, in which He promised to establish David’s name and kingdom forever. Despite this, King Solomon sinned against Him by turning away from the commandments of God to idolatry (1Kg 11:1-4; cf Dt 7:3-4). The LORD kept his promise by saying:

“Yet **for the sake of your father David** ...I will not, however, tear away the entire kingdom; I will give one tribe to your son, **for the sake of my servant (δοῦλόν μου) David** and for the sake of Jerusalem, which I have chosen” (1Kgs 11:12-13).

Once again, when Assyrian armies approached the cities of Judah, Hezekiah called upon the LORD to overthrow the armies of Sennacherib, and the LORD remained faithful to the promise given to his slave David, saying to King Hezekiah:

“For I will defend this city to save it, for my own sake and **for the sake of my servant (δοῦλόν μου) David**” (Is 37:35).

Although the city of Jerusalem was devastated and the people of God were captured, the LORD still kept his promise to his slave David – that he would restore the Davidic kingdom (Jr 33:14-16) – and the covenant (Jr 33:19-29) by saying:

“If any of you could break my covenant with the day and my covenant with the night, so that day and night would not come at their appointed time, only then could my covenant with **my servant (עבדִי) David** be broken, so that he would not have a son to reign on his throne” (Jr 33:20-21).

The idiom about breaking with the day and with the night is an emphatic way to state that the covenant made with the slave David cannot be broken (Huey 1993:302) because it is “eternal” (2Sm 7:16).

## Conclusion

The king was unconditionally chosen by God in order to save the people of God from their enemies, like God rescued his people from bondage in Egypt. The king as slave of God, mediating between God and his people was obligated to ensure that the worship of God was enforced under his royal leadership. The king needed to be a model of righteous obedience to God so that the people could imitate his relationship with God. Therefore the king was responsible to administer the cult and act as leader in worship, even executing some priestly activities. If the king was not devoted to the commandments of God, the consequences of his sins would impact directly on the people of God in its entirety. However, though the kings of Israel disobeyed the commandments of God, leading the people astray into idolatry and causing them to be captured, God, as the master, has been faithful to his covenant with his slave David to establish the Davidic kingdom forever.

### 3.2.3.4 Prophets collectively referred to as slaves of God

The image of slaves of God applied to the prophets collectively is used 16 times in the Old Testament.<sup>28</sup> These references can be categorised into four subunits: (1) the prophets as slaves of God in martyrdom or suffering; (2) the prophets as slaves of God proclaiming the judgment of God; (3) the people of God in continuity of disobedience to the prophets as slaves of God; (4) the prophets as slaves mediating between God and the people.

#### (1) The prophets as slave of God in martyrdom or suffering

The prophets' mission can involve a degree of persecution, suffering, and even death. The first metaphorical use of the collective prophets as slaves of God in the Old Testament shows that they were killed and murdered by persecutors:

“I may avenge ... **the blood of my servants** (עֲבָדַי) **the prophets** and **the blood of all the servants** (כָּל עֲבָדַי) **of the LORD**” (2Kgs 9:7).

This incident could refer to 1Kings 18:4, where Jezebel killed the LORD's slaves, his prophets. For this reason Obadiah had hidden a hundred prophets in caves.

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<sup>28</sup> 2Kgs 9:7; 17:13,23; 21:10; 24:2; Ezr 9:11; Jr 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 44:4; Eze 38:17; Dn 9:6,10; Am 3:7; Zch 1:6; 3:8.

The prophets as slaves of God were persecuted and killed because they were faithfully proclaiming the words of God, their master, to the people of God so that the people would return to their God. However, the people constantly ignored the admonitions of the prophets, and even intended to kill them, as God said to the people through Jeremiah:

“If you will not listen to me, to walk in my law ... and to **heed the words of my servants** (עֲבָדַי) **the prophets** whom I send to you ... I will make this city a curse for all the nations of the earth” (Jr 26:4-6).

The slave prophets were sent by God to remind the people to listen to the admonitions, so that they would turn from their evil ways and escape the disastrous judgment coming upon them. However, the people did not listen to what the prophets warned them about, because it was not what they wanted to hear. After the people heard the words commanded by God through the prophet Jeremiah, they grabbed him and said, “You shall die ... This man (Jeremiah) deserves the sentence of death because he has prophesied against this city” (Jr 26:8, 11).

The slave prophets were continually rejected; suffering is a crucial Jeremianic theme (Keown, Scalise & Smothers 1995:15). God kept sending prophets whose words the people constantly overlooked. The theme of rejected prophets is clear in Jeremiah 25:4 and occurs in four other passages in Jeremiah (7:25; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4):

“...the LORD **persistently** sent you all **his servants** (עֲבָדַי) **the prophets**, you have neither listened nor inclined your ears to hear” (Jr 25:4).

The rejection by the people exposed the prophets to persecution and suffering, even to the point of death. The prophet Elijah, like Jeremiah, persistently proclaimed the invitation of God to the people to return to Him. He even reached the point of wishing to die (1Kgs 19:4). Others lost their lives in the pursuit of their prophetic mission. For instance, the prophet Zechariah was killed during the reign of Joash (2Chr 24:20-21); Uriah, a contemporary of Jeremiah, was put to death by Jehoiakim (Jr 26:20-23) (Blenkinsopp 2002:119).

The purpose of prophets as slaves of God was to be loyal to the message of God, no matter how terrifying the message was, and to remind the people of God to keep the commandments of God their master, even in the face of rebellion. The prophets' message to the people was (1) to turn back from their evil ways (cf Jr 25:5; 35:15; 44:5); (2) not to worship other gods (cf Jr 25:6; 35:15; 44:5); (3) to amend their ways and their actions (Jr 26:13) (Keown *et al.* 1995:15).

(2) The prophets as slaves of God for proclaiming the judgment of God

When the people went astray into idolatry God sent the prophets to warn them, as seen in 2Kings 9:7 where the prophets declare the judgment of God to Jehu saying:

“You shall strike down the house of your master Ahab, so that I may **avenge on Jezebel the blood of my servants** (עֲבָדַי) **the prophets**, and the blood of all the servants of the LORD.”

The prophets proclaimed the judgment of God on the house of Ahab, the evil king of Israel. The judgment fell especially upon the king's wife, Jezebel, who killed numerous prophets of God (1Kgs 18:4, 13). Elisha had instructed one of prophets to anoint as king of Israel Jehu, through whom the judgment of God would fall upon the house of Ahab (2Kgs 9:1-10). Elijah had already predicted that Ahab's lineage would come to an end:

“I will bring disaster on you; I will consume you, and will cut off from Ahab every male, bound or free, in Israel; ... because you have provoked me to anger and have caused Israel to sin. Also concerning Jezebel the LORD said, ‘The dogs shall eat Jezebel within the bounds of Jezreel’” (1Kgs 21:21-23).

The judgment of God was coming upon Judah through the prophets when God spoke to the people through Jeremiah:

“Yet I persistently sent to you all **my servants** (עֲבָדַי) **the prophets**, saying, ‘I beg you not to do this abominable thing that I hate’” (Jr 44:4).

The people of God failed to heed the repeated warnings of God's prophets and, ultimately, called forth the anger of God kindled in the streets, burning the cities with the fire of judgment, causing destruction and desolation (Jr 44:7-14).

Because of the sins of Israel, judgment coming from God is seen clearly in the statement of the prophet Amos:

“Surely the Lord GOD does nothing, without revealing his secret to **his servants** (אֵלֵי-עֲבָדָיו) **the prophets**” (Amos 3:7).

The words emphasise that the cause of disaster in the cities of Israel was God himself. However, before inflicting destruction, God sent his slaves, i.e. his prophets, to remind his people. As the prophet Amos had heard the lion's roar of the judgment of God upon Israel (Amos 3:4), the roar struck fear in him because the lion's roar signaled a kill. Amos, like other prophets as slaves of God, only proclaimed the message spoken by God to Israel. Regardless of how terrifying the message was, the prophets had no choice but to announce it (Amos 3:8).

(3) The people of God in continuity of disobedience to the prophets as slaves of God

The word of God was spoken continuously through the prophet Zechariah, to warn the current generation against following the evil ways of their ancestors who had been punished for sin by being held captive and restored by God's graciousness through the Persian kings:

“Do not be like your ancestors, to whom the former prophets proclaimed ... Return from your evil ways ... But they did not hear or heed me ... I commanded **my servants** (עֲבָדַי) **the prophets**, did they not overtake your ancestors?” (Zch 1:4, 6)

However, the people of God continued to disobey the commandments of their God. As Ezra says,

“ ... For we have forsaken your commandments, which you commanded **by your servants** (עֲבָדַי) **the prophets**, saying, the land that you are entering to possess is a land unclean with the pollutions of the peoples of the lands, with their abominations” (Ezr 9:10-11).

Once again the people had neglected to take seriously God's commands (cf Dt 7:1-3; Lv 18:25) given through his slaves, the prophets, and sought peace and prosperity with foreign countries (Ezr 9:1), allowing intermarriage with foreigners (Ezr 9:12).

(4) The prophets mediating between God and the people

God's slave prophets not only had the function of proclaiming the admonitions of God; they also mediated between God and the people praying for the rebellious people, like Daniel:

“We have sinned and done wrong ... turning aside from your commandments ... We have **not listened to your servants** (עֲבָדַי) **the prophets** ... have not obeyed the voice of the LORD our God by following his laws, which **he set before us by his servants** (עֲבָדַי) **the prophets**” (Dn 9:5-6, 10).

God had graciously sent his “servants the prophets”, who were faithful in exhorting the people of Israel and their leaders to repent from their sins; but the people refused to listen, and even persecuted them. Daniel, like the prophets, remained faithful to the covenant of God; he not only warned the people of God, he also identified with the sinful people, including himself, using the pronoun “we” when praying for them.

## Conclusion

The prophets as slaves of God were not merely loyal to the message of God but also lived out in their lives what had been commanded by their master, who was at the same time the master of the people. Though their mission involved great persecution and suffering, even death, they

still proclaimed the words of God. The message of God through the prophets announced the judgment of God upon the people if they did not repent from their evil deeds. However, the people never returned to their God and continued to disobey the prophets sent by Him. Despite the continuous sinning of the people, the prophets of God acted collectively as mediator, identifying themselves with the people and praying for them. They stayed true to their role as “slaves of God”.

### 3.2.3.5 Individuals identifying themselves in reverence as slaves of God

In the Old Testament there are various persons depicted metaphorically as slaves of God in reverence. Reverence is a form of speech in which speakers humble themselves and portray the hearer (recipient) as being of a higher status than the speakers, establishing a situation of relative status. It is clear that ancient people recognised associations of slavery as being significant to relative status contexts. In all cases the association of slavery prompted a view of “inferior status”: the person who uses slave terms always takes the role of the inferior in the interaction, especially when the person calls himself a slave to the divine.

The image of slave of God used by individuals identifying themselves as slave of God is used 102 times in the Old Testament.<sup>29</sup>

#### Abraham identifying himself in reverence as slave of God

When God appears to Abraham at the oaks of Mamre, Abraham identified himself as slave of God saying,

“My Lord, if I find favor with you, do not pass by **your servant** (עַבְדְּךָ)” (Gn 18:3).

Based on his initial selection and promises to him – also in direct speech – Abraham, as slave of God, calls God his Lord in his direct interactions with Him (Gn 12:1-3, 15:1-6, 22:1-2) (Brueggemann 1997:570). This happens especially in Genesis 18, where Abraham converses with God, God acknowledges him within their relationship and hides nothing from his slave:

“Shall I hide from Abraham what I am about to do, seeing that Abraham shall become a great and mighty nation ...? No, for **I have chosen him**, that he may charge his children and his household after him to keep the way of the LORD by doing righteousness and justice...” (Gn 18:17-19; cf 12:2-3; 15:5-6).

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<sup>29</sup> **Abraham** (Gn 18:3,5); **Lot** (Gn 19:2,19); **Moses** (Ex 4:10; 14:31; Nu 11:11; 12:7,8; Dt 3:24; 34:5; Jos 1:1-2,7,13,15; 8:33; 9:24; 11:12,15; 12:6; 13:8; 14:7; 18:7; 22:2,4,5; 1Kgs 8:53,56,59; 2Kgs 18:12; 21:8; 1Chr 6:49; 2Chr 1:3; 24:6,9; Ne 9:14; 10:29; Dn 9:11); **Chaleb** (Nu 14:24); **Joshua** (Jos 5:14; 24:29; Jdg 2:8); **Samson** (Jdg 15:18); **Samuel** (1 Sm 3:9,10); **David** (1 Sm 23:10,11; 1 Kgs 3:6; 11:13,32,36,38; 14:8; 2Kgs 8:19; 19:34; 20:6; 1Chr 17:4,7; 17:17-19,23,27; 21:8; 2 Chr 6:15-17; 6:42; Is 37:35; Jr 33:21); **Solomon** (1Kgs 3:7,8,9; 8:25,26,28-30; 2Chr 6:19-21,22,27) **Ahijah** (1Kgs 14:18); **Elijah** (1Kgs 18:36; 2Kgs 9:36; 10:10); **Jonah** (2Kgs 14:25); **Hezekiah** (2Chr 32:16); **Job** (Job 1:8; 2:3; 42:7-8); **Isaiah** (Is 20:3); **Hilkiah** (Is 22:20); **Nebuchadnezzar** (Jr 25:9; 27:6); **Daniel** (Dn 9:17; 10:17); **Zerubbabel** (Hg 2:23); **Malachi** (Mal 4:4).

The promise given by God to Abraham becomes an important, fundamental relationship between God (master) and Israel (slave) and the nations.

Abraham's being a slave of God – his personal relationship with God – was not only for his own sake, but also for the sake of the people. One of the important functions of being a slave of God is to pray for the people. Abraham as slave of God prayed for the people of Sodom and Gomorrah who were living in grave sin, asking God to have mercy on them (Gn 18:20-33).

### **Moses identifying himself in reverence as slave of God**

When God called Moses to rescue his people from the bondage of Egypt, Moses replied identifying himself as slave of God:

“O my Lord, I have never been eloquent, neither in the past nor even now that you have spoken to **your servant** (עֶבְדְּךָ); but I am slow of speech and slow of tongue” (Ex 4:10).

God chose Moses to be his slave with the task of being his messenger and would send him to the Pharaoh to bring his people out of Egypt (Ex 3:10). But Moses was reluctant to accept this calling. Moses became a slave of God, not because of his ability, but because of God's unconditional election. It was God who initially revealed himself at the burning bush, making direct contact with Moses (Ex 3:1-6) and calling him to bring his people out of Egypt (Ex 3:7-4:17). Moreover, not only did Moses call himself slave of God, but God also identified him as his slave by saying,

“**[M]y servant (עֶבְדִּי) Moses**; he is entrusted with all my house” (Nu 12:7).

In their encounter Moses, as intimate slave of God like Abraham (Gn 18:22-23), was appointed with a calling, not for his own sake but for the sake of Israel, mediating between God and the people. He was established as one who has a personal connection with God for the greater benefit of Israel (Ex 32:11-14). For instance, when the people disobeyed God, who was about to destroy his people, Moses as slave of God prayed for them, reminding God of the promise to his slave Abraham:

“Remember **Abraham**, Isaac, and Israel, **your servants (עֶבְדֵיךָ)**, how you swore to them by your own self, saying to them, ‘I will multiply your descendants like the stars of heaven ...’” (Ex 32:13).

Both Abraham and Moses were slaves of God and were chosen to be mediators between God and the people, leading the people and illustrating with their own lives how to live in the way that God their master wanted them to.

Moses, as a slave of God, had been the foundational mediator of the Sinai covenant (Ex 19:29), reminding the people of God to remember God's instructions, not only as a matter of knowledge

of the law, but also as preparation to act, because the day of judgement, described as a furnace, is coming (Mal 4:1) (Brueggemann 1997:569). The laws that must be remembered and kept will always be associated with Moses, described as a slave of God by several people, such as Joshua (Jos 5:14; 24:29; Jdg 2:8), King Solomon (1Kgs 3:7,8; 2Chr 6:19-21, 22, 27), and King Hezekiah (2Chr 32:16).

Mosaic Law and the slave image are connected in several other passages (Josh 8:31-33; Dan 9:11, 13). Note especially Joshua 1:13, where Israel is commanded to “remember the command that **Moses the servant (עֶבְדְּךָ)** of the Lord gave you”, a command associated with rest and land, which are threatened if obedience to the covenant is not delivered (Mal 4:4, 6). When King Solomon completed the temple of God, he prayed to God for blessings:

“For you have separated them from among all the peoples of the earth, to be your heritage, just as you promised **through Moses, your servant (עֶבְדְּךָ)**...” (1Kgs 8:53; cf 1Kgs 8:56).

At the time of King Hezekiah Israel was about to be destroyed. King Hezekiah reformed temple worship “because they did not obey the voice of the LORD their God but transgressed his covenant – all that **Moses the servant (עֶבְדְּךָ)** of the LORD had commanded” (2Kgs 18:12).

Moses was designated as slave of God with the purpose of showing the devotion with which he conveyed the law of God, so that the people of God would know how to live and act as God wanted. As mediators between the people and God, the most important thing for both Abraham and Moses was not only to speak loyally of God’s intention for the people and act as an example of obedience in front of the people, but also to pray for the people of God. Moses functioned as a priest in his ministry of intercession and made atonement for the people of God:

“if you will only forgive their sin – but if not, blot me out of the book that you have written” (Ex 32:32; cf Nu 14:5, 8).

### **David as slave of God**

After Abraham and Moses David is one of the most important individuals in the Old Testament depicting himself as slave of God in reverence. Like Abraham and Moses, David as slave of God had an intimate relationship with God, even engaging in conversation with him when he was fleeing from King Saul:

“O LORD, the God of Israel, **your servant (עֶבְדְּךָ)** has heard that Saul seeks to come to Keilah ... will Saul come down as **your servant (עֶבְדְּךָ)** has heard? O LORD, the God of Israel, I beseech you, **tell your servant (לְעַבְדְּךָ)**. The LORD said ‘He will come down’” (1Sm 23:10, 11).

David identified himself as slave of God in his conversation with Him regarding the actions of King Saul who was about to kill him. God as David's intimate master responded to his prayer by protecting him and not handing him over to be slaughtered by King Saul (1Sm 23:14).

There were many occasions when David as slave of God called upon the name of his master God to rescue him from his enemies.

In Psalm 18 King David expresses thanks for the victories of the LORD rescuing him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul (Brueggemann & Bellinger, Jr. 2014:93). This episode is related to 2Samuel 22-23 (Brueggemann & Bellinger 2014:97), but it could also have a broader application for the community of faith (Brueggemann & Bellinger 2014:96). In this Psalm David is characterised as "the slave of God", and the context includes royal enemies represented by Saul. David uses the thanksgiving song as praise for God's deliverance:

"... O LORD, my strength ... my rock, my fortress, and my deliverer, my God, my rock in whom I take refuge, my shield, and the horn of my salvation, my stronghold ... the LORD, who is worthy to be praised, so I shall be saved from my enemies..."

David, who uses the first-person singular pronoun (my strength, rock, fortress, and deliverer), describes an intimate relationship between God and himself. The enemies as powers of chaos and evil, such as the Philistines and Saul, threaten him, but the LORD, strong as rock, fortress, deliverer, shield and stronghold, protects his slave.

Similarly, the LORD God as master also called David "my servant" when he gave him the promise through the prophet by saying:

"Through **my servant** (עֶבְדִּי) David I will save my people Israel from the hand of the Philistines, and from all their enemies" (2Sm 3:18).

God did not merely rescue his people through the hand of his slave David, as God did in rescuing David from the threat of King Saul, but he also promised to establish his kingdom forever (2Sm 7:8-13), which becomes the promise relating to David's descendants. As God reminded Solomon, who disobeyed and followed other gods and did not observe the commandments of God (1Kgs 11:10) when splitting the kingdom into pieces and saying,

"I will not, however, tear away the entire kingdom; ... for the sake of **my servant David** (עֶבְדִּי) ... which I have chosen ... for the sake of **my servant David** (עֶבְדִּי) and for the sake of Jerusalem ... **David my servant** (עֶבְדִּי) may always have a lamp before me in Jerusalem ... keeping my statutes and my commandments, as **David my servant** (עֶבְדִּי) did, I will be with you ..." (1Kgs 11:13, 32, 36, 38).

Afterwards, in the North of Israel, King Ahab would do evil things, similar to the evil things King Solomon did in the eyes of the LORD. The scriptures recall the promise God had made (and kept) to his slave, David:

“... He (Ahab) did what was evil in the sight of the LORD ... Yet the LORD would not destroy Judah, for the sake of **his servant** (עַבְדֵּי) **David**...” (2Kgs 8:18, 19).

When King Hezekiah was being threatened by Assyria, he prayed to God for help and God responded in accordance with his unfailing promise:

“For I will defend this city to save it, for my own sake and for the sake of **my servant** (עַבְדֵּי) **David** ... I will deliver you and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria; I will defend this city ... for **my servant** (עַבְדֵּי) **David's sake**” (2Kgs19:34; 20:6).

Though the descendants of King David did not follow the commandments of God as he did, God still kept his promise to give a lamp, forever, to his slave David.

King David had an intimate relationship with God, which included direct conversation between them. King David identified himself in reverence as slave of God with the purpose of rescuing the people of God from their enemies as God rescued him from King Saul, but he (David) also acted as model, leading the people to remember the promises of God. God chose to do this unconditionally. God has been keeping his promise forever, despite the fact that the descendants of David failed in doing the will of God their master.

## **Conclusion**

The individual slave of God has the same characteristics: the intimate relationship is initiated by an action of God, who reveals Himself to the chosen person because of his love and mercy. God as their master is not only faithful to his promise, but he also protects them from their enemies and grants them strength to carry out the tasks given to each one of them. The individual person as slave of God is designated with devotion to the master not merely to act as a model in terms of faith and obedience in front of the people, but also to instruct them on how God wants them to live, reminding them about the promise given by their master. Their lives are lived not simply for their own sake, but also for the sake of the people. Therefore, one of the important characteristics of the individual as slave of God is to pray for the people and even to make atonement for the people, so that all the people of God may return to their master.

### **3.2.3.6 The servant (עַבְדֵּי) of the Lord in Isaiah<sup>30</sup>**

I have shown in section 3.2.3.2, “The nation of Israel as slave/slaves of God” (Is 41-44) that Israel was chosen as a slave of God with the purpose of bringing light and justice to the nations.

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<sup>30</sup> Is 45:4; 49:1-6; 50:10, 4-11; 52:13-53:11.

However, Israel would not exercise the ministry given by God (42:19) and was instead deaf and blind to the instructions of God. Though Israel failed, God, as merciful master, would forgive and restore the nation (Is 44:21-22).

In order to restore his people, God initially elected a foreign king, Cyrus, to be the one who would bring back God's people from captivity (Is 45:1-3). As Isaiah 45:4 mentions:

“For the sake of **my servant** (עַבְדִּי) **Jacob**, and Israel my chosen, I call you by your name, I surname you, though you do not know me” (Is 45:4).

The sovereign master of Israel, who reigns over the entire world, rescued his slave by selecting Cyrus to overrun the earth, which was part of his purpose. This historical event was completed for the sake of his slave, Jacob; even the anointed king was subordinate to the slave of God. The next quotation clearly shows what King Cyrus' purpose meant to the slave of God (Jacob):

“Go out from Babylon, flee from Chaldea, declare this with a shout of joy, proclaim it, send it forth to the end of the earth; say, "The LORD **has redeemed his servant** (לְעַבְדִּי) **Jacob!**” (Is 48:20)

The first act in the redemption of Israel was the intervention of Cyrus, the anointed of the LORD. Even though King Cyrus was selected to bring back Israel, he was not the one through whom God would restore Israel to the world, but the one who was a real slave. Therefore, this stage served to prepare the next main figure of slave, who will take over the center of the stage.

Once again the prophet Isaiah mentioned the LORD's words: “You are my servant (עַבְדִּי־אֲתָהּ), Israel, in whom I will be glorified” (Is 49:3). However, he was not tasked with bringing light to Israel. The mission of restoration will be transferred to a specific slave in Isaiah 49:5-6:

“And now the LORD says, who formed **me** in the womb to be **his servant** (לְעַבְדִּי), to bring Jacob back to him, and that Israel might be gathered to him, for **I am honored** in the sight of the LORD, and my God has become **my strength**--he says, "It is too light a thing that you should be **my servant** (עַבְדִּי) to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the survivors of Israel; I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth” (Is 49:5-6).

In the context of 49:1-6 the first person singular cannot be identified clearly. It could possibly refer to the prophet Isaiah ben Amoz himself (cf. Is 20:3) (Goldingay 2005:372), or another prophet or royal who acts as a loyal slave to bring about the restoration of Israel (Freedman 1997:67). Here God uses the prophet or a royal person as his slave on an interim basis, in order to turn Israel into an entity that can itself be used in this way, because at this stage Israel is weak. This royal figure, or the prophet Isaiah, is a person who is willing to give God the kind of

response expected from a slave. The person acts as Israel only in order to enable Israel itself to be Israel and achieve the original mission of bringing light to the nations (Goldingay 2005:372; 2014:69).

The person as slave of God tries to carry out the duties assigned by God through suffering. The subject "I" reappears in Isaiah 50:4-9, where he describes not only his work as unsuccessful, but also the experience of people abusing him physically. Therefore this slave of God gives his listeners the challenge to decide whom they are going to follow:

"Who among you fears the LORD and obeys the voice of **his servant** (עֶבְדִּי), who walks in darkness and has no light, yet trusts in the name of the LORD and relies upon his God?" (Is 50:10)

The main theme in the context of Isaiah 50 is the suffering of the slave as a consequence of his loyalty to the LORD, his master, and the disastrous effects of his attempt to complete his mission. Suffering is one of the hazards of the slave's role and will be resolved in ultimate vindication (Freedman 1997:68). Therefore, the slave as prophet Isaiah himself or as a royal person invites people to join him in forming a faithful group within Israel that gives the LORD his proper response (Goldingay 2014:70).

The next two quotations with reference to the slave clearly describe the career of the slave:

"See, **my servant** (עֶבְדִּי) shall prosper; he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high" (Is 52:13; cf. 52:13-53:12).

The pattern of the slave's life extends from the extremes of humiliation (Is 52:14) to exaltation (Is 52:15), from death to resurrection, from condemnation as a criminal to acknowledgment as the lord of men (Freedman 1997:68). This slave was an unattractive person suffering from a terrible disease from which he died (Is 53:2-4). He is described as a criminal condemned and executed for a crime which he did not commit (Is 53:7-9). Though he was innocent, his death was part of his service of God to carry people's sins and diseases, which destroyed the slave:

"Out of his anguish he shall see light; he shall find satisfaction through his knowledge. The righteous one, **my servant** (עֶבְדִּי), shall make many righteous, and he shall bear their iniquities" (Is 53:11).

Here the principal obligation of the slave is to suffer in his work for his master. In this manner, his mission to the nation is accomplished, and the purpose of God is fulfilled through this slave. The slave was suffering with the people when he did not deserve to do so, like the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah or Ezekiel, who had been faithful to the LORD but shared in the suffering of exile with the people of God.

This prophetic and royal slave becomes the instrument to put Israel right with God, of Israel's personal renewal, and of the nations' coming to acknowledge the LORD as their master (Goldingay 2014:72).

## **Conclusion**

The servant (עֶבֶד) of the Lord in Isaiah evokes the image of Israel's master as sovereign God, who rules over the whole world. He even intervenes in human history by electing a foreign king as his slave to redeem and return his rebellious slave (Israel) from captivity. However, this foreign king as slave of Israel's God is not the one who is going to ultimately restore Israel. Rather, it will be the one who is the real slave of God. Through this obedient slave the mission to the nations is accomplished and the purpose of God is fulfilled. This faithful slave will suffer with the people, in spite of the fact that he does not deserve it. His suffering and death are part of his service to God to carry the people's sins and diseases. He even shares in the suffering of exile with the people of God. Therefore this prophetic and royal slave becomes the instrument to put Israel right with God and effects Israel's personal renewal. Through what he has done, the nation acknowledges the LORD as their master.

### **3.2.3.7 Conclusion on the metaphorical use of slavery in the Old Testament**

The metaphorical use of slavery regarding the nation of Israel, the kings of Israel, the prophets collectively and individuals as slave/slaves of God in the Old Testament evokes some significant illustrations:

- 1) God is depicted as the master who ransoms his slave (Israel) to be his precious possession through his almighty selection. Though this slave chooses to serve other gods, God, as the only master, will keep his promise and re-instate him as slave of God.
- 2) God, as master of his slave (Israel), has unconditionally chosen certain individuals, prophets and the kings in order to save Israel from their enemies, as well as to remind his people to follow the commandments of God. Being mediators between God and the people, these chosen individuals, prophets, and kings, as models of righteous obedience, are obligated to follow the instructions of their Master and to ensure that the instructions of God are being followed by the people. They are devoted to the commandments of God because their actions will directly impact the people of God.
- 3) Israel's master is the sovereign God, who rules over the whole world. The purpose of God is to rescue all the nations and put them under his sovereignty and this he wants to do through his selected slave (Israel). Israel, however, is a disloyal and disobedient

slave. God solves this by assigning one loyal slave who will suffer for Israel to fulfill this mission to the nations.

The slavery imagery, on the one hand, depicts God as a powerful master who punishes his disobedient slave. On the other hand, the image also illustrates God as a father who with his love and mercy tries to convince, rather than force, his son to do what is good for him. In the very same way, the slavery imagery, on the one hand, depicts the people as a loyal/disloyal slave, but, on the other hand, as a child who loves the Father and who wants to do what the father wishes.

It can be argued that the adoption imagery, as used by Paul, is referenced in the Old Testament. However, these references are incomplete, as will be illustrated in the following section (cf 3.3). I believe, though, that they can provide insight into the father-son relationship that is echoed in God's relationship with his people, Israel.

### **3.2.4 Conclusion: the relevance of slavery metaphors in the Old Testament for Galatians**

The metaphoric use of slavery in the Old Testament with reference to the nation of Israel, the kings of Israel, prophets, and individuals as slave/slaves of God, and the servant (עֶבֶד) of the LORD is highly relevant for the interpretation of Paul's slavery imagery in Galatians.

Primarily, based on the image of the nation of Israel as slave of God in the Old Testament, Paul knows that all people, Jews and Gentiles alike, sin against God. Israel, who was chosen by God to bring light to the nations, failed to follow the commandments of God because of sin. In Galatians slavery is depicted as a result of sin, because Jews and Gentile alike disobeyed God. Paul realizes that the solution to sin is in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the prophetic and loyal slave referred to in the Old Testament, and by whom is revealed the faithfulness and everlasting love of God. He is the one who will save the fallen slave of God (Israel) and all the nations from the master of flesh and sin. Jesus Christ is the one who will restore Israel and reinstate him in his status as the loyal slave of God, with the task to bring the nations back to God their master and their father.

Paul depicts the Lord Jesus Christ as this prophetic and royal slave; he gave himself for the sins of the people who believe in him to set them free according to the will of God (Ga 1:4; 2:20). The Lord Jesus Christ is the saviour in whom the promise to Abraham is fulfilled (Ga 3:7-20). Therefore, being in Christ and being justified by faith, Jew and Gentile believers are in unity with Christ, as in Galatians 2:19-20; 3:24, 26-28. In other words, Paul argues that in Christ Israel, as slave of God, will fulfil the commandments of God.

Secondly, Paul's description of himself as "slave of Jesus Christ" (Ga 1:10; Phil 1:1; Ro 1:1) relates to the image of the prophets, the kings and individuals who, as slave/slaves of God,

were loyal to God in terms of devotion and obedience to him. Paul, who is called by God, is a person of inferior status who – as a possession of God, who takes control of his life in the Lord Jesus Christ – through this act of God becomes superior. Therefore Paul identifies himself as slave of the Lord Jesus Christ.

### **3.3 ADOPTION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT**

#### **3.3.1 Introduction**

This study turns now to the discussion of adoption (υιοθεσία) in the Old Testament. Although there is no particular law of adoption (like the three law codes of slavery) in the Old Testament, and although the term υιοθεσία does not occur in the Septuagint or in any other Jewish source of the period (Burke 2006:46; Scott 1992:61), the concept of adoption is referred to by other terms and formulae.

This section investigates, first of all, the Scripture portions associated with the concept of adoption in the Old Testament (3.3.2). Then the metaphorical use of the concept of adoption in the Old Testament will be studied (3.3.3).

#### **3.3.2 Adoption as phenomenon in the Old Testament**

The concept of adoption occurs in at least three passages in the Old Testament: Genesis 48:1-7, Exodus 2:1-10, and Esther 2:5-7, 15. These portions, as substantial cases of adoption (Braaten 2000: 21; Scott 1992:74), are now investigated.

##### **3.3.2.1 Adoption in Genesis 48:1-7**

When Jacob was ill (Gn 48:1) and reminisced about the promise made to him by God (Gn 48:3-4), he met with his grandsons, Manasseh and Ephraim, elevating them to his own (adoptive) sons, making them leaders of the twelve tribes (Gn 48:5; cf Waltke 2001:596):

“Therefore your two sons, who were born to you in the land of Egypt before I came to you in Egypt, **are now mine**; Ephraim and Manasseh shall **be mine**, just as Reuben and Simeon are.”

With this passage it can be argued that Jacob formally adopted his grandsons (Hamilton 1995:629; Matthews 2005:863; Waltke 2001:596; Wenham 1994:463), putting them on par with his two eldest sons, Reuben and Simeon (Gn 29:32-22). The promise which Jacob had received from God (Gn 48:3-4<sup>31</sup>) empowered him to adopt the sons of Joseph as his sons. God had promised Jacob the increase of his seed into a multitude of peoples and Canaan as an eternal possession to his descendants, who now included the two sons of Joseph born in Egypt.

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<sup>31</sup> “ ... God Almighty appeared to me at Luz in the land of Canaan, and he blessed me, and (God) said to me, ‘I am going to make you fruitful and increase your numbers; I will make of you a company of peoples, and will give this land to your offspring after you for a perpetual holding.’”

Technically, Joseph's sons cannot be legitimate sons and tribal ancestors because they were born in Egypt of an Egyptian mother (Waltke 2001:596; Westermann 1987:314)<sup>32</sup>. Only Jacob could make this happen. Due to Jacob's proclamation, therefore, those outside his house received – by adoption – a share of the promised inheritance equal to that of his own eldest sons. This type of adoption within a family was considered customary in the ancient Orient as it is recorded in a text from Ugarit in which a grandfather adopts his grandson as his heir (Wenham 1994:463)<sup>33</sup>.

Another sign of adoption may be given by the following:

“ ... Joseph brought them near him; and he (Jacob) **kissed** them and **embraced** them” (Gn 48:10).

The phrase “kissed and embraced them” could be an indication of adoption (Wenham 1994:464). Later in the passage, Jacob mentions that “His younger brother shall be greater than he... (48:19)” and he “puts Ephraim ahead of Manasseh (48:20)” making them the ancestors of tribes tracing back to his own sons, such as Judah and Benjamin.

The following could indicate another allusion to adoption in Genesis:

"Joseph **removed** them (Manasseh and Ephraim) from his father's **knees**" (Gn 48:12).

The phrase "from his father's knees" does not imply that the boys were actually sitting on Jacob's knees. More reasonably, they had stood by his knees (Wenham 1994:464). The act of placing them upon his knees could symbolise a legitimization of them as equals of his sons, a demonstration of intra-family adoptions (Waltke 2001:596). Therefore, by proclaiming Manasseh and Ephraim as his, kissing, embracing and moving them to his knees, Jacob adopts them as his sons.

### 3.3.2.2 Adoption in Exodus 2:1-10

Because of the persecution under Pharaoh, Moses' mother (Jochebed) kept him alive by putting him in a papyrus basket left among the reeds of the river (Ex 2:2-3). Moses' sister, Miriam,

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<sup>32</sup> A stipulation in the Code of Hammurabi regarding adoption shows that, if the father had ever said “My children!” to the children whom the slave had borne him during his lifetime, thus having counted them with the children of the first wife, after the father has gone to fate, the children of the first wife and the children of the slave share equally in the goods of the paternal estate, with the first-born son of the first wife receiving a preferential share (Meek 1969: 170-174).

<sup>33</sup> Although many scholars think that Genesis 48:5 refers to the event of adoption, Westermann (1987:315) thinks that this is not an act of adoption in the strict sense because the sons remain with their parents. I agree with the viewpoint of Westermann that Genesis 48:5 could in a sense refer to adoption, which was, though, different from the concept of Paul regarding adoption in the first century of Graeco-Roman culture (cf Conclusion below).

watched to see what would happen to him (Ex 2:4). She suggested to the daughter of Pharaoh to get a wet nurse for the child, which she accepted (Ex 2:7-8). The act of adoption becomes clear when Pharaoh's daughter "... **took him as her son**. She named him Moses, because, she said, 'I drew him out of the water'" (Ex 2:10). Moses is legitimately adopted by the Princess as her son (Brueggemann 1994:699; cf Stuart 2006:92-93).

### **3.3.2.3 Adoption in Esther 2:5-7**

Esther 2:7 describes the relationship between Mordecai and Esther:

"Mordecai had brought up Hadassah, that is Esther, his cousin, for she had neither father nor mother; the girl was fair and beautiful, and when her father and her mother died, Mordecai **adopted** (לקחה) her as his own daughter" (Est 2:7).

Even though it clearly portrays the event of adoption (Braaten 2000:22; Breneman 1993:313), it was hardly a legal adoption since this practice was unknown in Old Testament law.

### **3.3.2.4 Conclusion on the phenomenon adoption in the Old Testament**

With regard to the phenomenon of adoption in the Old Testament, there are some elements presented as following:

- (1) In the event of Jacob's grandsons' adoption, Jacob was on his deathbed when he decided to adopt the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, as his own sons and to pass on the inheritance to them. This adoption was regarded as an intra-family adoption.
- (2) In the case of Moses' adoption, it was an informal adoption, not a legal one. Moses was brought up by Pharaoh's daughter for forty years, but he did not become an heir of Pharaoh.
- (3) According to the account of the adoption of Esther, Mordecai had raised his orphaned niece as a daughter. She did not continue the household of Mordecai.

## **3.3.3 Metaphorical use of adoption in the Old Testament and the early Jewish literature**

### **3.3.3.1 Adoption and/or sonship**

As has been argued, there is nothing in the Old Testament about the Israelites being adopted into God's family, nor is the institution of adoption of a single person into a family portrayed. Though one may think that the imagery of adoption as son of God emerges in the Old Testament, it is more about sonship than adoption, as becomes clear from the fact that the term

and concept of adoption are absent in the Old Testament and even in the early Jewish literature (Burke 2006:50).

However, the sonship metaphor can be construed as a vehicle for Roman adoption. Consequently, it is, from my perspective, necessary to take the sonship metaphor into consideration when studying the adoption metaphor, even though they are different concepts. Paul assumed that his audience was at least familiar with a Jewish frame of reference (Ga 3:6-9, 16-18; 4:21-31). Therefore, understanding the metaphor of Jewish sonship may explain why Paul chose not to use the sonship metaphor, but used instead the adoption (υιοθεσία) metaphor in Galatians. This may help to avoid falling into the traditional dichotomy between sonship and adoption metaphors in either Jewish or Graeco-Roman scholarly backgrounds.

The use of the image of the father-son relationship in the Old Testament can be categorised into two units: (1) the nation of Israel as son of God; (2) certain persons as children of God.

### 3.3.3.2 The nation of Israel as son of God

The imagery of the LORD identifying the nation of Israel as his son is evident in Exodus 4:22-23:

“Then you shall say to Pharaoh, ‘Thus says the LORD: Israel is **my firstborn son** (בְּנִי בְּכֹרִי).’ I said to you, ‘Let my son go that he may worship me...’”

The metaphor of the firstborn implies that Israel belongs exclusively to the LORD. It emphasises the special filial connection between the LORD and Israel by which Israel enjoys God’s care and protection from the threats of Pharaoh (Heim 2017:274). The purpose of calling Israel his son is to worship Him, because the LORD, as a father, elected Israel for no other reason than that he loved the son who was suffering, i.e. Israel (Ex 3: 7-8<sup>34</sup>; Burke 2006:48).

The metaphor of the father-son relationship is also used in Deuteronomy 8:5:

“Know then in your heart that as a parent **disciplines a child** so the LORD your God disciplines you.”

In this passage, after recounting Israel’s 40 years’ wandering in the wilderness (Dt 8:2), the LORD, as a father, disciplines his son’s moral behavior within the framework of the covenant.

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<sup>34</sup> Ex 3:7-8: “Then the LORD said, “**I have observed the misery of my people** who are in Egypt; I have heard their cry on account of their taskmasters. Indeed, **I know their sufferings**, and I have come down to deliver them from the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land to a good and broad land, a land flowing with milk and honey, to the country of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites.”

The father-son metaphor conveys the filial, intimate and responsible relationship between Israel as son and the LORD as father (Heim 2017:274).

Israel, like a disobedient son, goes against the LORD his father, as described in the song of Moses:

“[Yet] **his degenerate children** ([בְּנֵי] – singular) have dealt falsely with him, a perverse and crooked generation. Do you thus repay the LORD, O foolish and senseless people? Is not he **your father**, who created you, who **made you** and **established you**? (Dt 32:5-6).”

Israel, as son of the LORD, rebels against his Father. Having been faithless to the LORD, the LORD punished the Israelites by hiding from them (Dt 32:20) and making them jealous with “what is no people” and provoking them with “a foolish nation” (Dt 32:21<sup>35</sup>).

Similarly, Isaiah also uses the metaphor of the father-son relationship in the plural to describe the LORD’s faithfulness and Israel’s disobedience:

“Oh, **rebellious children** (sons [בְּנֵי]), says the LORD, who carry out a plan, but not mine; who make an alliance, but against my will, adding sin to sin...For they are a rebellious people, **faithless children** (sons [בְּנֵי]), **children** (sons [בְּנֵי]) who will not hear the instruction of the LORD” (Is 30:1,9).

Another example from Isaiah:

“...**bring my sons** (בְּנֵי) from far away and my daughters from the end of the earth - everyone who is called by my name, whom I created for my glory, whom I formed and made” (Is 43:6-7).

This passage speaks of Israel being gathered from the diaspora as sons and daughters of the LORD who created them and gave them safety and their enemies as ransom (Is 43:2-4<sup>36</sup>; cf Heim 2017:278). Even though Israel has been unfaithful to the commandments of their Father, the LORD is still faithful to his people, and loves and acts graciously toward his son, as Isaiah says:

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<sup>35</sup> Dt 32:21: “They made me jealous with what is no god, provoked me with their idols. So I will **make them jealous** with **what is no people, provoke them with a foolish nation.**”

<sup>36</sup> Is 43:2-4: “When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you; when you walk through fire you shall not be burned, and the flame shall not consume you. For I am the LORD your God, the Holy One of Israel, your Savior. I give Egypt as your ransom, Ethiopia<sup>1</sup> and Seba in exchange for you. Because you are precious in my sight, and honored, and I love you, I give people in return for you, nations in exchange for your life.”

“I will recount the gracious deeds of the LORD, the praiseworthy acts of the LORD, because of all that the LORD has done for us ... he has shown them according to his mercy, according to the abundance of his steadfast love. For he said, "Surely they are my people, **children (sons [בְּנֵי])** who will not deal falsely"; and he became their savior” (Is 63:7-8).

Likewise, Jeremiah anticipates the restoration of Israel as a whole after the exile; he proclaims the action of the LORD toward his son:

“I will lead them back ... for I have become **a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn**” (Jr 31:9).

God’s love for his son is also related in the book of Hosea 11:1:

“When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called **my son (לְבִנִי)**.”

Even though Israel as a stubborn, rebellious son, disobedient to his father, God, as a faithful father, restores his beloved son according to his mercy and steadfast love.

## **Conclusion**

According to these passages, the metaphor of the father-son relationship pertaining to the nation of Israel as son of God provokes the unique and exclusive privilege and position of Israel as the chosen son of God, whom He has called and created for Himself. This metaphor shows that, despite Israel’s disobedience and subsequent captivity into exile, the LORD, as a caring father, loves his son, will discipline him and restore his relationship with him. It is clear that the sonship metaphors have a strong component of nationalism and exclusivity.

### **3.3.3.3 The nation of Israel as son of God in the early Jewish literature**

Early in the Jewish era the metaphor of sonship was highly emphasised because of an aggressively Hellenized Jewish culture, which caused social conflict and cultural hostility between Jews and non-Jews. Under these circumstances, a much more compelling backdrop was provided for the sonship metaphor to be used for invigorating Jewish identity as son of God.

The sonship metaphor emphasises Israel’s nationalism as distinguished from other nations, as illustrated in the Book of Wisdom 12:19-21:

“Through such works you have taught your people that the righteous must be kind, and you have filled **your children [sons]** with good hope (καὶ εὐέλπιδας ἐποίησας **τοὺς υἱοὺς σου**), because you give repentance for sins. For if you punished with such great care and indulgence the enemies of your servants [**boys**] (**παίδων σου**)

and those deserving of death, granting them time and opportunity to give up their wickedness, with what strictness you have judged your children [sons] (υιούς σου), to whose ancestors you gave oaths and covenants full of good promises ...”

The context of this passage shows the ethnic division between the Israelites (τοὺς υιοὺς σου) and the Egyptians as their enemies (ἐχθροὺς παίδων σου) (Heim 2017:286). As in the Old Testament (Dt 8:5), God as a father disciplines his son Israel and brings redemption to him but tribulation to other nations (Egypt and Greece). God rescues his son by giving him the law, which is the imperishable light, leaving the other nations to live in darkness (Wis 18:1-4). Thus the law is the main issue that distinguishes the son of God from the other nations. The author tries to reinforce the boundary between Jewish audiences in the Hellenistic milieu in order to strengthen their national identity as children of God.

Another sonship metaphor is used in 3 Maccabees by the tyrant Philopater who says:

“<sup>27b</sup>Send them back to their homes in peace, begging pardon for your former actions! <sup>28</sup>Release **the children ([sons] υιοὺς) of the almighty and living God of heaven**, who from the time of our ancestors until now has granted an unimpeded and notable stability to our government” (3Ma 6:28).

In this passage the author employs the sonship metaphor by using the words of the Gentile king to underscore the particularity of the Jewish people as the children of God (cf 3Macc 2:2-20; 6:2-15; 7:6-7) (Heim 2017:286). There was no concern for making proselytes of the Gentiles, because God was only the father of Israel and He cared continuously for his son and made an alliance with them (3Ma 7:6-7<sup>37</sup>).

Echoing the concept of the particularity of the Jewish national identity is the sonship metaphor in Sirach 36:16-17:

"Gather all the tribes of Jacob, and give them their inheritance, as at the beginning. Have mercy, O Lord, on the people called by your name, on Israel, whom you have named your **firstborn** ..."

The context of Sirach 36 is a highly particular judgment on the enemies of Israel against the backdrop of the election of the Israelites as son of God, being “called” and “named”. The passage points out that Israel's God will maintain his covenant with them and Israel will lead all

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<sup>37</sup> 3 Ma 7:6-7: “Since we have come to realize that the God of heaven surely defends the Jews, always taking their part **as a father does for his children (ὡς πατέρα ὑπὲρ υἱῶν)**; and since we have taken into account the friendly and firm goodwill that they had toward us and our ancestors, we justly have acquitted them of every charge of whatever kind.”

nations to recognise his Father (Sir 36:22<sup>38</sup>). At last Israel will destroy the nations to show the glory of his father (Sir 36:3-4<sup>39</sup>). The contrast between the concept of the redemption of Israel and the judgment of other nations can also be seen in Judith 9:12-14<sup>40</sup> and Psalm of Solomon 17:26-29; 18:4-5 (cf Heim 2017:288-291).

## Conclusion

According to these passages from the early Jewish era the metaphor of Israel as son of God has the same meaning as in the Old Testament: it provokes the unique and exclusive privilege and position of Israel as the chosen son of God, whom He has called and created for Himself. This metaphor shows that, despite Israel's disobedience and subsequent captivity into exile, the LORD, as a faithful and caring father, loves his son, will discipline him, and restore his relationship with him. However, due to the reality of Hellenisation that aggravated their identity, the authors tried to uphold their identity as son of God by using the metaphor of sonship to make a distinction from other nations.

### 3.3.3.4 Persons as sons of God

The use of the image of sonship with reference to an individual person in the Old Testament happens with two persons: (1) Abraham and (2) King David.

#### (1) Abraham as son of God

Yahweh's election of Abraham could be seen as adoption (Braaten 2000:21). As Abraham says:

“The LORD, the God of heaven, who **took me** (לִקְחָנִי) from my father's house and from the land of my birth, and who spoke to me and swore to me, ‘To your offspring I will give this land,’ he will send his angel before you, and you shall take a wife for my son from there” (Gn 24:7).

The phrase “who took me from my father's house” may be construed as adoption, in spite of the fact that it does not use the word υιοθεσία but λαμβάνω (LXX). The LORD, as another father, took Abraham from his original father's house so that his offspring could inherit the land promised by Him. Here, Abraham recalls his own experience in terms of his calling in Genesis

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<sup>38</sup> Sir 36:22: “Hear, O Lord, the prayer of your servants, according to your goodwill toward your people, and all who are on the earth will know that you are the Lord, the God of the ages.”

<sup>39</sup> Sir 36:3-4: “Lift up your hand against foreign nations and let them see your might. As you have used us to show your holiness to them, so use them to show your glory to us.”

<sup>40</sup> Judith 9:12-14: “Please, please, God **of my father** (τοῦ πατρός μου), God of the heritage of Israel, Lord of heaven and earth, Creator of the waters, King of all your creation, hear my prayer! Make my deceitful words bring wound and bruise on those who have planned cruel things against your covenant, and against your sacred house, and against Mount Zion, and against the house **your children** (υἱῶν σου) possess.”

12:1-3<sup>41</sup> and the promise of the land in Genesis 12:7<sup>42</sup>. This picture shows that Abraham, as son of God, will have an inheritance, the offspring and the land from his new Father. The promise of the LORD to Abraham is a world-wide mission with the purpose of making all nations his descendants and to be children of God – thus constituting Israel as son of God.

## (2) King David as son of God

In the Old Testament there is another important passage which portrays a person as having a father-son relationship with the LORD. It is described in 2 Samuel 7:11-14:

“<sup>11</sup>Moreover the LORD declares to you that the LORD will make you a house...<sup>13</sup>I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever...<sup>14</sup>I will **be a father to him**, and he shall **be a son to me**...”

In this passage, which includes God’s promise of a royal dynasty, God enters into a unique covenant relationship with an individual, King David. The Davidic Covenant is related to the monarchical succession from father to son (Burke 2006:56).

King David, as son of God, had a unique relationship with God as an agent of the deity and representative of the people to God. However, King David, as the chief political ruler of Israel, was still subordinate to his Father. As the royal Psalms proclaim, the king was a son or firstborn of God who was, therefore, the king’s father (Ps 2:7<sup>43</sup>; 89:27<sup>44</sup>; 139; Byron 2003:52). Due to the fact that the king was anointed by the LORD, he was to be a channel of the divine Spirit (1Sm 16:13<sup>45</sup>) and the embodiment of his Father on earth to rule over a people, mediating between them and God.

## Conclusion

According to these passages the father-son relationship pertaining to certain individual persons as son of God provokes the unique privilege of these individuals as the chosen sons of God, who were called and given the covenant promises, not merely for their offspring, but also for all the nations. God, as a faithful father, will hold fast to his promises to his chosen individual sons. This metaphor shows that the chosen ones, as children of God, are not only to be mediators

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<sup>41</sup> Gn 12:1-3: “Now the LORD said to Abram, “Go from your country and your kindred and your father’s house to the land that I will show you. I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and the one who curses you I will curse; and in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed.”

<sup>42</sup> Gn 12:7: “Then the LORD appeared to Abram, and said, “To your offspring I will give this land.” So he built there an altar to the LORD, who had appeared to him.”

<sup>43</sup> Ps 2:7: “I will tell of the decree of the LORD: He said to me, ‘**You are my son**; today I have begotten you.’”

<sup>44</sup> Ps 89:27: “I will make him **the firstborn**, the highest of the kings of the earth.”

<sup>45</sup> 1 Sam 16:13: “Then Samuel took the horn of oil, and **anointed him** in the presence of his brothers; and the spirit of the LORD came mightily upon David from that day forward.”

between God and the people, but also to lead the people in worshipping and glorifying their Father.

### **3.3.3.5 Conclusion on the metaphorical use of the concept of adoption**

The metaphorical use of the nation of Israel as son of God and specific individuals as sons of God in the Old Testament and early Jewish literature evokes significant imageries:

1) Israel's God, as a father, selects the nation of Israel as his son. Israel is a rebellious son who always turns his back on his Father and goes astray from the right way. However, as a caring Father, God loves Israel and will bring him back to the intimate relationship with his almighty power.

2) As a caring Father, God chooses certain persons to be his sons, giving them the covenantal promises that he will never break according to his faithfulness. Thus chosen, the sons should be leaders of the people in worshipping and glorifying their Father.

3) The Lord acts on behalf of his son, Israel, disciplining them in order to show them mercy, and bringing them to repentance and restoration.

4) In the early Jewish era the image of the father-son relationship became stronger, distinguishing the nation of Israel from other nations.

### **3.3.4 Conclusion: the relevance of adoption metaphors in the Old Testament for Galatians**

The phenomenon of adoption is defined in the Old Testament according to the following three passages: Genesis 48:1-7; Exodus 2:1-10; Esther 2:5-7. However, the concept of adoption used by Paul in Galatians is defined as “the process through which a person declares formally and legally that someone who is not their own child is henceforth to be treated and cared for as a legitimate child, including complete rights of inheritance (2.4.4)”. It is not clear if adoption in the Old Testament was viewed as a legal device by which a person left their own family and became part of another family.

Another important element of adoption in Biblical times was that the heir had to be male. The fundamental reason for adoption was to make sure that the family line continued. If adoption was not possible, the family would be in danger of dying out. From this point of view, it is quite clear that adoption as a legal form does not apply to these three texts.

The reasons these three texts do not fit the definition of adoption in Galatians are as follows:

(1) According to the adoption of Jacob's grandsons, he was on his deathbed when he decided to adopt the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, and it is clear that

Jacob was passing on his inheritance to his grandsons as if they were his own sons. Nevertheless, in this case, Jacob was allotting rights of succession to persons who were within his own biological family and not outsiders (Burke 2006:200; Lyall 1969:461), as is defined in paragraph 2.4.4.

(2) In the case of Moses' adoption, although some scholars would regard this adoption as legitimate, it was a kind of informal adoption and, therefore, not legal. Moses was reared in Pharaoh's house by Pharaoh's daughter, remaining in the royal circle for forty years, but he did not see himself as an heir and did not consider himself as having any special privilege or authority because of the "adoption".

(3) According to the account of the adoption of Esther, Mordecai had taken his orphaned niece as daughter. Despite looking like a formal adoption, it is not, because such an adoption would not continue Mordecai's line, as Esther was a woman and could not have an inheritance<sup>46</sup>. Moreover, it cannot be seen as a formal adoption because, as I have mentioned, a fundamental requisite of adoption is that the family continues only through the male line.

Therefore it becomes clear that the above-mentioned cases of adoption are not the same as the adoption to which Paul refers in Galatians. Furthermore, there is no clear depiction of the father-son relationship that Paul uses when referring to being adopted by God.

In light of the metaphorical use of adoption in the Old Testament and in early Jewish literature, it is reasonable to conclude that, in most passages where the metaphor of sonship is used, the image of the father-son relationship has a strong component of nationalism and exclusivity, alluding to a dichotomy between Israel and other nations. This may be the reason why Paul uses adoption (υιοθεσία) rather than the (Jewish) sonship imagery in Galatians, so as to eliminate the concept of nationalism. By using the concept υιοθεσία, Paul alludes to the possibility for Gentiles to be incorporated into the family of the Father.

### **3.4 CONCLUSION**

Firstly, the phenomenon of slavery in the Old Testament, as has been discussed in 3.2.2, does not fit the definition of slavery in the social context of the time of Paul. It would have been hard for Paul to use the concept of the three law codes in the Old Testament as a platform to communicate with the Gentile believers in Galatia. Secondly, the phenomenon of the father-son relationship and its metaphorical use in the Old Testament and early Jewish literature cannot be

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<sup>46</sup> Most of the scholars (Duguid 2005:21; Luter & Davis 1995:151; Paton 1908:172) use the term adoption, but they do not expand much on the issue of adoption when they discuss Esther 2:7.

easily identified in Galatians because of a lack of linguistic evidence pertaining to υιοθεσία (cf 3.2.3 above). Moreover, the definition of adoption or sonship given in the Old Testament and early Jewish literature is very vague. The former uses the word adoption to include all people, Israelites and Gentiles, who inherit the blessings of God the Father, while the latter uses sonship to isolate Israel from other nations. It is impossible to trace Paul's adoption concept to Jewish law and literature because nowhere do the Old Testament, early Jewish literature, or 1st century AD Jewish culture speak of the Israelites being adopted into God's family in the same way as the Pauline references.

Most of the slavery imagery Paul uses comes from the metaphor of slavery in the Old Testament describing how God, as a master, copes with his disobedient slave, Israel, who is not able to follow his commandments because of sin. As has been shown in the texts on slavery imagery, God is not only regarded as a strict master but also as a merciful father who wants to make Israel repent with the purpose that they may bring the nations back to Him. But they failed in their entire history. This evokes another image of the father-son relationship between God and Israel. Nevertheless, Paul does not use sonship as a vehicle to convey the message of God's salvation, but rather uses the concept of adoption as son, which was understood only within a 1st century Graeco-Roman social framework. Using the adoption imagery also illustrates the possibility of redemption for the Gentiles.

Consequently, slavery and adoption imageries are two sides of the same coin. Both imageries emphasise God as the powerful master and merciful father, who rules over the whole world and selects all people, Jews and Gentiles, to be part of his family. The requirement for believers is a willingness to obey his commandments as master and love Him as father. These mandates can only be fulfilled by believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the one who obeyed the commandments of God completely. The process of freedom for believers is, on the one hand, going from being a slave of sin to being a slave of the Lord Jesus Christ; on the other hand, going from being a slave of sin to being adopted as son through the Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, those who believe in Jesus Christ identify themselves as slaves of the Lord Jesus Christ and as children of God.

The concept of slavery imagery will be further discussed in chapter 4 (Slavery imagery in 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Jewish culture), the adoption imagery in chapter 5 (Adoption imagery in 1<sup>st</sup> century Graeco-Roman world).



## 4 SLAVERY IMAGERY IN 1ST CENTURY AD JEWISH CULTURE

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Having discussed the concept of slavery and adoption in ancient Israelite tradition as found in the Old Testament, this chapter turns to slavery imagery in 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD Jewish literature.

In the first century AD Paul regarded himself a Pharisee: “circumcised on the eighth day ... as to the law, **a Pharisee**; as to zeal, persecutor of the church...” (Phil 3:5-6). Like his family before him, he knew himself to be bound by the traditions of his Palestinian homeland, but he was also influenced by Hellenistic Judaism in the Diaspora. Jewish life and thought continued to thrive during the intertestamental period between the time of Nehemiah and the last of the Biblical prophets (ca. 400 BC) and the birth of Jesus (Gray 2012:23). Therefore, understanding Judaism in the first century involves much more than reading the acknowledged Scriptures of the Old Testament. In this regard, because the theological thought of Paul concerning the Gentiles was rooted in the fundamental convictions of Hellenistic Judaism of his time, an investigation into the ideas of Second Temple Literature and contemporary literature on the topic of slavery and how they related to Paul's perspective and influenced his thoughts is indispensable. The Christian faith in Paul's letters was born out of a Judaism that had been immersed in Greek and Roman culture for centuries (Gray 2012:26).

This chapter aims to contextualise slavery as a phenomenon in 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Jewish culture and slavery metaphors as part of the Second Temple Period. The primary sources of Jewish literature in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (4.2.2) and the Second Temple Literature, including slavery imagery used by Josephus and Philo (4.2.3 below), are investigated in order to enable the researcher to construct an image of slavery of this period and to provide the most direct parallel with the Pauline usage of slavery in Galatians. Due to the large number of references to slavery, however, it is necessary to limit the analysis to those passages where the concept of slavery is used and the metaphor is diachronically emphatic or resonates in its own right, and to texts in which unique terminology pertaining to Israel, or individuals, is used. The investigation will enable me to construct a framework for the interpretation of the concept and the imagery of slavery by utilising the socio-historical context of early Judaism. The results of the analysis and the interpretation will be used as a socio-historical context when studying the relevance to Galatians in Chapter 6.

The development of Jewish law can be divided into two periods: pre- and post-Talmudic periods (Elon 1994:39; Lapin 2006:207). This section focuses on the first century of Jewish law regarding slavery, which is the period from the Zugot (160 BC to 1 AD) to the Tannaim (70 AD to 220 AD) (Elon 1994: 41-42). Jewish law was religious in nature and was interpreted

exegetically from the Ten Commandments and the Law given to Moses at Sinai. The teachings passed on to rabbinic literature from the first to the sixth centuries (Fonrobert 2007:4). This is different from Greek and Roman law, both of which developed into secular legal systems (Elon 1994:283).

The sources from the periods of the Sinaitic Revelation to the Tannaim are the Torah, the Prophets and the *Hagiographa* - the three parts of the Hebrew Old Testament (Elon 1994:1020-1027; Fonrobert 2007:4). Other sources are papyri, the Septuagint, the works of Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus, and the Apocrypha (Elon 1994:1028-1036).

The Tannaitic period to the redaction of the Talmud can be seen in the following sources: the Aramaic Targumim (translation of Scripture; 1BC), collections of Halakhic Midrashim (1AD), the Mishnah (70-200AD), the Tosefta (250AD), and the Jerusalem (or Palestinian; 300AD) and Babylonian Talmuds (500AD) (cf Lapin 2006:206).

This section of the study investigates the Mishnah (repeated/memorized tradition) and the Tosefta (supplement) from 70 AD to 250 AD (Goodman 2007:22) since the Mishnah was the first Jewish document after the Torah to organise an almost comprehensive system of Jewish law and practice (Kraemer 2006:299), with six orders arranged according to large themes and topics<sup>47</sup>. Both of these texts are regarded as separate works reflecting a varied selection from a prior and oral tradition. However, their contents and structures are so deeply intertwined that it becomes difficult to separate them. In other words, the Mishnah can be said to be the core document and the Tosefta is a kind of rambling commentary. Both are legal in focus, and divided, like ancient law codes, into major topics and subtopics (Fonrobert 2007:4:5-6). These sources were written and developed through methods of tradition, interpretation, legislation, custom, case or incident and legal reasoning (Elon 1994:238-239). The literature was formulated, transmitted, and edited by the Jewish intellectual elite such as priests, scribes and rabbis who did not belong to the social elite because they did not own land or wealth. They were middle class merchants and artisans (Hezser 2005:12-13).

Investigating the sources of Mishnaic Hebrew will shed light on the first century Jewish law regarding slavery. The Mishnah, pertaining to the topic of slavery, shows that the slave's inherent characteristics are the same as those of free persons, but this has no bearing on their status since that is determined by his relationship to his owners (Flesher 1988:2). This concept of slavery was built on the foundations of the Old Testament (Flesher 1988:11) and refers to the three law codes: The Covenant Code, the Holiness Code, and the Deuteronomic Sources.

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<sup>47</sup> Kraemer (2006:300-301) gives more detail of the six orders, which is not explained in this study.

## 4.2 SLAVERY AS PHENOMENON IN 1<sup>st</sup> CENTURY AD JEWISH CULTURE

### 4.2.1 Slavery in Jewish law

<b>Mishnah Kiddushin 1:3</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
<p>עבד פנעני נקנה בכסף ובשטר ובחזקה, וקונה את עצמו בכסף על ידי אחרים, ובשטר על ידי עצמו, דברי רבי מאיר. וחקמים אומרים, בכסף על ידי עצמו ובשטר על ידי אחרים, ובלבד שיהא הכסף משל אחרים</p>	<p>A Canaanite slave is acquired through money, brought a document or through <i>chazakah</i> [a presumption of ownership, generally regarding landed property, established by unchallenged, publically known possession for a certain period of time, together with legally acceptable claim regarding how the property come into the possessor's hands]. And he acquires himself through money by a third party or through a document by himself...</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b> This passage describes that the Gentile slaves are a property, like houses, fields, etc.</p>	

<b>Mishnah Maasrot 3:1</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
<p>המעביר תאנים בחצרו לקצות, בניו ובני ביתו אוכלין ופטורין. הפועלים שעמו, בזמן שאין להם עליו מזונות, אוכלין ופטורין</p>	<p>One who was taking figs through his courtyard to be dried, his children and the members of his household may eat [of them] and are exempt [from tithing].</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b> This passage mentions “his children” and “the members of his household” side by side, which denotes that slaves were considered part of the owner’s household (Goede 2010:55:69). Thus a slave’s social status was determined by the status of his owner.</p>	

<b>Mishnah Maaser aheni 4:4</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
<p>אמר אדם לבנו ולבתו הגדולים, לעבדו ולשפחתו העבדים, הילך מעות אלו ופדה לה מעשר שני זה. אבל לא יאמר בן לבנו ולבתו הקטנים, לעבדו ולשפחתו הפנענים, מפני שידין כידו</p>	<p>A man may say to his adult son or daughter, or to his Hebrew manservant or maidservant: “Take these coins and redeem for yourself this <i>Ma’aser Sheni</i> (second tithe).” But he may not say so to his young son or daughter or to his Canaanite manservant or maidservant, because their hand is an extension of his own hand.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b> This section of the Mishnah distinguishes between Hebrew and Canaanite slaves in connection with the transfer of ownership. The passage shows that a Canaanite slave is no different from a Hebrew slave since Jewish owners would customarily circumcise and immerse their non-Jewish slaves in Jewish ritual events (Hezser 2005:47). Therefore, in the first and second centuries, Jewish household slaves’ ethnic and religious origins were more important than their state of slavehood.</p>	

Although Jewish owners could receive a foreign slave as a member of the household by circumcision and immersion, it was forbidden to force the Gentile slaves to be circumcised under Roman law in the first and the second centuries (Hezser 2005:41). Under these circumstances, Rabbis warned Jewish slave owners not to sell their Jewish slaves to Gentiles or Diaspora Jews, into households where they could not adhere to a proper Jewish lifestyle (cf Mishnah Gittin 4:6; Hezser 2005:43).

According to the Mishnah, non-Jewish slaves were not regarded as human beings, but rather as the property of their owners. Jewish people in the first and second centuries tried not to sell their Jewish slaves to foreigners so they could keep a lifestyle based on Mosaic Law.

#### 4.2.2 Enslavement

<b>Mishnah Kiddushin 3:12</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
<p>וְכָל מִי שֶׁאֵין לָהּ עַלְיוֹ קְדוּשֵׁין אֲבָל יֵשׁ לָהּ עַל אַחֲרִים קְדוּשֵׁין, הַיֵּלֵד מִמֶּזֶר. וְאִיזָה, זֶה הַבָּא עַל אַחַת מִכָּל הָעֵרִיּוֹת שֶׁבַתּוֹרָה. וְכָל מִי שֶׁאֵין לָהּ לֹא עַלְיוֹ וְלֹא עַל אַחֲרִים קְדוּשֵׁין, הַיֵּלֵד כְּמוֹתָהּ. וְאִיזָה, זֶה יֵלֵד שִׁפְחָה וְנִכְרִית</p>	<p>[With] any [woman] for whom there is no betrothal to him, but there is betrothal to others, the child is a <i>mamzer</i> (a forbidden relation). Which is this? This is one who has sexual intercourse with any one of the forbidden sexual relations [mentioned] in the Torah. Any [woman] for whom there is no betrothal either to him or to others, the child is like her. Which is this? This is the child of a [non-Jewish] maidservant or a non-Jewish woman.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This section of the Mishnah deals with the social order of women, especially regarding betrothals. The passage shows that slave status is passed on by birth. In the case of slaves, the children inherit the status of their mothers, irrespective of whether the mother is Jewish or not (Goede 2010:55). This statement does not refer to the enslavement of fellow Israelites because of poverty, who would be treated as hired workers or temporary residents.</p>	

According to the Mishnah, children born to female slaves were slaves themselves.

#### 4.2.3 The legal status of slaves

<b>Mishnah Yadayim 4:7</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
<p>אוֹמְרִים צְדוּקִין, קוֹבְלִין אָנוּ עֲלֵיכֶם, פְּרוּשִׁים, שֶׁאַתֶּם מְטַהְרִים אֶת הַנְּצוּק. אוֹמְרִים הַפְּרוּשִׁים, קוֹבְלִין אָנוּ עֲלֵיכֶם, צְדוּקִים, שֶׁאַתֶּם מְטַהְרִים אֶת אֲמַת הַמַּיִם הַבָּאָה מִבֵּית הַקְּבָרוֹת. אוֹמְרִים צְדוּקִין, קוֹבְלִין אָנוּ עֲלֵיכֶם, פְּרוּשִׁים, שֶׁאַתֶּם אוֹמְרִים, שׁוֹרֵי וְחֲמוּרֵי שְׁהִדִיקוּ, חִיבִין. וְעַבְדֵי וְאִמְתֵי שְׁהִדִיקוּ, פְּטוּרִין. מֵה אִם שׁוֹרֵי וְחֲמוּרֵי, שֶׁאֵין חִיבֵי בְּהֵם מְצוּת, הֲרִי אֲנִי חִיב בְּנִזְקוֹן. עַבְדֵי וְאִמְתֵי, שֶׁאֵין חִיבֵי בְּהֵם מְצוּת, אֵינוֹ דִין שֶׁאֵהָא חִיב בְּנִזְקוֹן. אֲמָרוּ לָהֶם, לֹא. אִם אֲמַרְתֶּם בְּשׁוֹרֵי וְחֲמוּרֵי, שֶׁאֵין בְּהֵם דַּעַת, תֵּאמְרוּ בְּעַבְדֵי וּבְאִמְתֵי, שֶׁיֵּשׁ בְּהֵם דַּעַת. שֶׁאִם אֲקִנִּיטֶם,</p>	<p>The Sadducees say: We denounce you, Pharisees, for you declare pure the stream [which flows when a liquid is poured from a clean vessel into an unclean one]! The Pharisees say: We denounce you, Sadducees, for you declare pure a channel of water which flows from a cemetery! The Sadducees say: We denounce you, Pharisees, for you say, if my ox or my donkey cause any damage, I am liable [to</p>

<p>יְלֵךְ וְיִדְלִיק גְּדִישׁוֹ שֶׁל אַחֵר וְאַהֲא חַיִּב לְשַׁלֵּם</p>	<p>compensate], but if my manservant or maidservant cause any damage, I am exempt [from compensating]! Just as with regard to my ox and my donkey, with which I am not obligated to perform any <i>mitzvot</i>, and I am thereby [still] liable [to compensate] for damages, does it not follow with regard to my manservant or maidservant, with whom I am obligated to perform <i>mitzvot</i>, that I should be liable [to compensate] for damages [which they cause]?! They [the Pharisees] said to them, 'No. If [i.e. just because] you stated this [law] with regard to my ox or my donkey, which do not have cognitive capabilities, would you say this with regard to my manservant or maidservant who do have cognitive capabilities?!" For [if that logical leap is made], if I offend [one of] them, he may go and set fire to another's [grain] pile, and I will be liable to pay for damages!</p>
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**Interpretation:**

This passage denotes that slaves, unlike animals, are able to understand what is right and wrong. The intentionally evil behaviour explicated in the last sentence is formulated from the perspective of the slave owner. The attribution of reason to slaves and viewing them as responsible subjects rather than irresponsible objects serves to protect the slave owner against having to pay fines for damages caused by his slaves (Hezser 2005:66-67). This idea can also be seen in Mishnah Bava Metziah 7:6<sup>48</sup> where it emphasises the comprehension of human ability.

<b>Mishnah Horayot 3:8</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
<p>כֹּהֵן קוֹדֵם לְלוֹי, לְיוֹי לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמַמְזֵר, וּמַמְזֵר לְנִתְיָן, וְנִתְיָן לְגֵר, וְגֵר לְעֶבֶד מִשְׁחָרָר. אֵימַתִּי, בְּזִמְנֵי שְׂכָלָן שְׂוִין. אֲבָל אִם הָיָה מַמְזֵר תַּלְמִיד חֶכֶם וְכֹהֵן גְּדוֹל עִם הָאֲרֶז, מַמְזֵר תַּלְמִיד חֶכֶם קוֹדֵם לְכֹהֵן גְּדוֹל עִם הָאֲרֶז</p>	<p>A priest supersedes a Levite, a Levite supersedes an Israelite, and Israelite supersedes a production of a forbidden relation [<i>mamzer</i>], a product of a forbidden relation supersedes a <i>Natin</i> [member of a caste of Temple servants (slaves), historically descended from the Gibeonites], a <i>Natin</i> supersedes a convert, and a convert supersedes a freedman. When? When they are all equal. But if the product of a forbidden relation is a Sage and the high priest is an <i>Am Ha'Aretz</i> [one who is lax in observing tithes and purity laws], the product of a forbidden relation who is sage supersedes the high priest who is an <i>Am Ha'Aretz</i>.</p>

<sup>48</sup> Mishnah Bava Metziah 7:6: "A person may stipulate for himself, and for his son or daughter who are adults, and for his adult male slave or adult female slave, and for his wife, because these have comprehension. But he may not stipulate for his son and daughter who are minors, or for his minor male slave or minor female slave or for his cattle, because these do not have comprehension."

**Interpretation:**

This passage of the Mishnah deals with erroneous decisions and their effects with respect to the provisions of Leviticus 4 and 5, which describe how the Israelites made their sacrificial offering for those who committed sins unintentionally.

One can see clearly that this passage establishes a hierarchy of social classes. The freedman is considered inferior to various other categories of Israelites who are seen as deficient in some conditions (Hezser 2005:97). The freedman may have been placed next to the proselyte because both, as foreigners, lacked proper Jewish ancestry. In the case of the slave, the lack of proper ancestry would be supplemented by the degradation suffered during the time of enslavement (Hezser 2005:97). In the Mishnah and Tosefta, freedmen are often seen in correlation with proselytes, as in the description below.

<b>Tosefta Horayot 2:10</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
<p>מפני מה הכל קופצין לישא את הגיורת ואין הכל קופצין לישא את המשוחררת מפני שהגיורת היתה בחזקת משומרת ושפחה משוחררת היתה בחזקת מופקרת. ר"א בר"צ אומר מפני שמצוין לקללה בפי כל הבריות. מפני מה הכל נשאלין על העבד מפני שעסקו רע עם הבריות</p>	<p>R. Shimon b. Eliezer says: Logically, the freedman should precede the proselyte, for this one [the slave] grew up in holiness but that one [the proselyte] did not grow up in holiness. But [the Mishnah rules that the proselyte precedes the freedman] because this one [the slave] is subject to a curse, but this one [the proselyte] is not subject to a curse.</p>

**Interpretation:**

This passage presents a further explanation of the Mishnah and another criterion for determining the difference in status of the freedman and the proselyte. The criterion that may conflict with genealogical distinctions is brought up by Torah scholars. Whether the *mamzer* (a forbidden relation) is mentioned as an example for all other lower categories here or whether the rule applies only to him is unclear, but a paradigmatic nature of the statement seems more likely. If this were the case, rabbis would consider a freedman who became a Torah scholar superior to a priest or an ordinary Israelite who was an ignoramus. Rabbis' emphasis on Torah learning as a status criterion undermined the common criteria which determined one's status (Hezser 2005:98). In the Mishnah, Torah learning does not undermine the boundaries between slaves and free Israelites; it merely serves to elevate the status of freed Israelites of a lower category.

In first century Jewish households there were some slaves who had a higher status in their master's household than others because of their special relationship to the master or their education in the Torah, as was the case with R. Gamliel and his slave Tabi (Mishnah Berakhot 2:7<sup>49</sup>). Furthermore, Gamliel did not see his slaves as animals or things, but as people, which is evident in the mourning for his dead slave (cf Hezser 2005:158).

According to the Mishnah and Tosefta, non-Jewish slaves were property of their owners, but they were regarded higher than any other property, such as objects and animals, because of

<sup>49</sup> Mishnah Berakhot 2:7: "And when [Rabban Gamliel's] slave Tavi died, he received words of comfort for him. His students said to him: 'Didn't you teach us, our teacher, that one does not receive words of comfort for slaves? He said to them: My servant Tavi was not like other servants. He was Kasher [acceptable].'"

their comprehension of right and wrong. Moreover, slaves could be elevated to family members by learning the Torah and having a good relationship with their owners.

#### 4.2.4 The rights of slave-owners with reference to their slaves

<b>Mishnah Pirkei Avot 2:7</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
מְרַבָּה שְׂפָחוֹת, מְרַבָּה זָמָה. מְרַבָּה עֲבָדִים, מְרַבָּה גָזֵל	The more man-servants, the more theft.
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This section of the Mishnah deals with damages in ethical matters. The passage indicates the evil nature of slaves who need to be disciplined. It claims that slaves are prone to sexual immorality and dishonesty. Slaves who need to be disciplined can be related to the teaching of two proverbs in the Old Testament which indicate the relationship between slave-owner and slave and give a picture of the general mistrust in slaves (Pr 29:19, 21<sup>50</sup>). The use of physical punishment is allowed in the management of slaves and warning is given against a too lenient approach.</p>	

<b>Mishnah Gittin 1:6</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
שֶׁזָכִין לְאָדָם שֶׁלֹּא בְּפָנָיו וְאִין חֵבִין לוֹ אֶלָּא בְּפָנָיו	For if a person wants not to feed his slave, he may do so, but not to feed his wife, he may not.
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This tractate of the Mishnah deals with divorce and remarriage based on Deuteronomy 24:1-5. The sentence quoted is mentioned as an aside in a greater context. It demonstrates that a husband is obliged to support his wife legally, but responsible for his slave morally without legal enforcement.</p>	

In the case of the rights of the owner regarding his slave, Jewish owners were allowed to discipline their slaves physically to make them obedient under the authority of their owners. Owners were more obliged to their slaves regarding moral issues.

#### 4.2.5 Manumission of slaves and freedmen

<b>Mishnah Kiddushin 1:2</b>	<b>Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)</b>
עֶבֶד עֲבָרִי נִקְנָה בְּכֶסֶף וּבְשֵׁטֶר, וְקִנְיָהּ אֶת עַצְמוֹ בְּשָׁנִים וּבִיּוֹבֵל וּבִגְרָעוֹן כֶּסֶף. יִתְּרָה עָלָיו אִמָּה הָעֲבָרִיָּה, שֶׁקִּינְיָהּ אֶת עַצְמָהּ בְּסִימָנֶיהָ. הַנְּרָצָה נִקְנָה בְּרִצְיָעָה, וְקִינְיָהּ אֶת עַצְמוֹ בִּיּוֹבֵל וּבְמִיתַת הָאָדָם	A Hebrew slave is acquired through money or through a document, and acquires himself through years [of service], through the Jubilee Year, or through prorated monetary [payment]. A Hebrew maidservant has an advantage over him, in that she acquires herself through [physical] signs [of puberty]. [A slave] who

<sup>50</sup> Proverbs 29:19, 21: “By mere words servants are not disciplined, for though they understand, they will not give heed ... if a man pampers his servant from youth, he will bring grief in the end.”

	[has his ear] pierced is acquired through [the] piercing, and acquires himself through the Jubilee Year or with the death of the master
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This passage reiterates the message in the Old Testament that Jewish slaves are released in the seventh year (Ex 21:2; cf 3.2.2.2) and in the Jubilee Year (Lv 25:54; cf 3.2.2.4). This principle was only applied to Jewish slaves and provided them with remarkable protection, but foreign slaves were considered to be property. The Mishnah lacks any reference to the various types of work done by freedmen who engaged in the patron-client relationship (Herzer 2005:114).</p>	

<i>Mishnah Kiddushin 1:3</i>	Translation (Translated by Goede 2010)
<p>עבד כְּנַעֲנִי נִקְנָה בְּכֶסֶף וּבִשְׂטֵר וּבְחֻזְקָה, וְקוֹנֶה אֶת עַצְמוֹ בְּכֶסֶף עַל יְדֵי אֲחֵרִים, וּבִשְׂטֵר עַל יְדֵי עַצְמוֹ</p>	<p>A Canaanite slave is acquired through money, through a document or through <i>chazakah</i> [a presumption of ownership, generally regarding landed property, established by unchallenged, publically known possession for a certain period of time, together with a legally acceptable claim regarding how the property came into the possessor's hands]. And he acquires himself through money by a third party or through a document by himself.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This passage of manumission is commonly acknowledged in both Greek and Roman law; in the Old Testament slave law, a foreign slave was not set free.</p>	

According to the Mishnah, manumission in the first and second centuries only focused on Jewish slaves and was based on regulations in the Old Testament. There is no mention of manumission for foreign slaves.

#### 4.2.6 Conclusion on slavery in Jewish law

According to the Mishnah and Tosefta, these are some elements regarding the concept of slavery in the period of 70-250AD:

- (1) The non-Jewish slave was enslaved at birth.
- (2) The non-Jewish slaves were regarded as the property of their owner. However, their value was much higher than objects and animals because of reason, and by learning the Torah they could be elevated in the esteem of their owners.
- (3) Jewish owners were allowed to discipline their non-Jewish slaves with physical punishment to enforce moral behaviour.

(4) Manumission of non-Jewish slaves is not mentioned. However, Jewish owners are warned not to sell Jewish slaves to non-Jewish households. Manumission of Jewish slaves was based on regulations in the Old Testament.

#### **4.3 METAPHORICAL USE OF SLAVERY IN 1<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY AD JEWISH CULTURE**

Investigation of slavery in ancient Israelite laws and traditions in the Old Testament brought to light that the book of Exodus is the basis for the concept of slavery to God. It reveals not only the basic source of Israel's enslavement to God, but also points to a bridge between the Israelites and God. The events in Exodus illustrate that God demanded loyalty and obedience from Israel. Therefore, whenever Israel returned to slavery under a foreign oppressor, it was interpreted as the result of disobedience to God and failure to be loyal to God (cf 3.2.3; Byron 2003:60). In the Old Testament, captivity and exile happened because Israel, as slave of God, had not been obedient to the commandments of God. God, as kind master, sent his slaves, the kings and prophets, to instruct his people so that they would turn back to Him. However, Israel did not repent from their transgressions, which resulted in the entire nation being taken into exile and slavery.

Slavery is a big part of Jewish history. History from 538 BC to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD portrays the oppression and enslavement of Jews by different nations up to the Roman Empire. From the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (ca. 175-164 BC), who was a Hellenistic Greek of the Seleucid Empire, many Jew were sold into slavery (2 Ma 5:14). Then, the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 BC caused 12,000 Jews to be slaughtered while many were enslaved. Cicero mentions that Jews like Syrians were “a nation born to be enslaved (tradidit in servitatem Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis ervituti)” (De Provinciis consularibus oratio 5.10). Afterwards, the failure of the Jewish revolt against Rome (66-73/4 AD) resulted in the enslavement of 97,000 Jews (Jwr 6.420-421) and the slaughter of the Jewish aristocracy in 73 AD (Jwr 7.420-436). Based on their experience as slaves under the power of Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome, the early Jews, as slaves of God, tried to respond to their circumstances.

Josephus believed that God started to favour the Romans (cf 4.2.3.6: *Jewish War*). This fact required the Jews to submit to Roman rulers. However, Josephus regarded the destruction of the second temple as the conceptual equivalent of the destruction of the first temple (586 BC) and followed Jeremiah and the Deuteronomic Historian who interpreted it as a confirmation of the validity of the covenant, but not as marking the covenant's abrogation (Schwartz 2006:31). From early Jewish literature to the post-Destruction period, some writings responded to the foreign rule of the Jews. Early Jewish literature, like Judith and 2 Maccabees on the one hand, encouraged Jews not to surrender to a foreign ruler; on the other hand, the surviving Jewish

Apocalypses of the immediate post-Destruction period, like 1 Baruch, 2 Baruch, and 4 Baruch, reach similar conclusions as Josephus. These books insist that, although the Temple is gone, the Jews still have the Torah and, once they repent, God will restore his beloved slave. Both Josephus and the authors of Baruch explicitly polemicised against Jews who had rejected the Torah, implying that this was a common response among literate Jewish survivors of revolt.

Given this background, the aim of this section is to investigate the metaphorical use of slavery in the Jewish culture. The investigation will shed light on aspects of the Jewish people pertaining to the image of slavery in the Graeco-Roman period. Some Jewish literary sources describe and respond to situations like enslavement in order to interpret the reasons for the events, whether they are justified (4.2.3.1 and 4.2.3.2) or unjustified (4.2.3.3 and 4.2.3.4), and give a theological explanation of what was happening between God and his people.

### **4.3.1 The book of Judith<sup>51</sup>**

#### **4.3.1.1 Introduction**

The book of Judith is a Jewish work written for Jews as a portrayal of the ideal Jewish heroine: the name "Judith" means "Jewess" (Gera 2014:11). This book could have been written during the post-exilic era: the Persian Era (6th-4th century BC), early Maccabean Era (168-135 BC), or the Hasmonean Era (135-63 BC). Due to the fact that it is too difficult to determine the exact date of the setting of Judith, this study agrees with Efthimiadis-Keith (2004:19) and Gera (2014:39) that Judith reflects a political-religious crisis in which the faithful are threatened by the offence of a foreign nation. This kind of crisis is most often associated with the Hellenistic period of Jewish history from 323 BC to 30 BC.

The author of Judith implies ignorance or perhaps does not distinguish between Assyria and Babylonia. Thus, this is pseudo-history, though not incorrect history because the author is well acquainted with the history of the Jews as recorded in the Old Testament. The author used the Old Testament as a whole with figures, situations and clusters of phrases, and reworked them in a fictitious story (Gera 2014:26). By using the notorious figures of Nebuchadnezzar, the Assyrians and the Babylonians, the author created a fictitious account which serves as a general lesson about the Israelites, their God and their foes (Gera 2014:27).

According to Cohen (2006:50), Judith came into existence in a time marked by the intense interaction between Judaism and its surrounding cultures, raising, in some quarters, hatred of Judaism, but in others an attraction to it that resulted in converts and God-fearers. In this situation, the purpose of the book of Judith was to restore the Jewish religion during a time of

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<sup>51</sup> The Greek quotations from Judith are from *LXX Septuaginta* (Old Greek Jewish Scriptures), edited by Alfred Rahlfs (1935), published in BibleWord 9. The English quotations are from the *New Revised Standard Version Bible* (NRSV).

identity crisis. The story raises awareness of the Jewish people and defends their religion, identity and the values.

Concerning the biblical situations, characters, themes and theology, Judith has been described as a “symphony of biblical allusions” (Gera 2014:45). Its narrative is reminiscent of many biblical salvation stories, chief among them the paradigmatic tale of the exodus from Egypt. It is clear that the story of Exodus 1-16 and, in particular, the Song of the Sea (Ex 15:1-20) have left their mark on this work. The author of Judith utilises the first section of the book of Exodus in a variety of ways. As in Exodus, the weak and frightened Israelites are threatened by an arrogant foreign leader and his powerful army and here, too, cry out to God (Ex 4:13). Nebuchadnezzar and his Assyrians are similar to Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and Judith, who rescues her people, is seen as a “female Moses” (Byron 2003:67; Gera 2014:45). Her praise in the Song of the Sea echoes phrases and themes of Exodus 15, both in prayer and victory song (Gera 2014:45). To be enslaved by a foreign country seems radically unjustified, because the Jews thought that God is the only one who can be their God and Master; therefore, they can only be slaves of God.

#### **4.3.1.2 Slavery in Judith**

In the book of Judith the image (and in some cases reality) of slavery is explicitly used, with reference to a person as slave of God or slave of Nebuchadnezzar, 28 times. These references can be categorised into four subunits: (1) all the people in the world as slaves of Nebuchadnezzar; (2) Holofernes as slave of Nebuchadnezzar; (3) Judith as slave of God; (4) Judith as slave of God in response to slavery.

##### **(1) The people in the whole world as slaves of Nebuchadnezzar**

The image of slavery is used for the first time in Judith 3:2:

“[Behold!] We, the servants (slaves) of Nebuchadnezzar (ἡμεῖς οἱ παῖδες Ναβουχοδοσορ βασιλέως), the Great King, lie prostrate before you. Do with us whatever you will.”

The story of Judith begins with Nebuchadnezzar, the master of all nations in the twelfth year of his reign. His powerful influence has overwhelmed all the nations surrounding him and forced them into slavery (οἱ παῖδες Ναβουχοδοσορ). The people can only beg for peace and protection under the power of Nebuchadnezzar (Jdt 3:1) because of his authority over the people of Assyria and all his allies, which reveals that King Nebuchadnezzar was hungry for dominion. He waged wars and commanded his army to destroy the nations who refused to surrender. As Israel's God requires loyal obedience, Nebuchadnezzar is also regarded as a

deity to be worshipped. His name is connected with the terror and destruction of Israel. With this powerful force threatening whole nations, the people promises to be loyal slaves of Nebuchadnezzar. Even though the non-Israelite Achior reminds them of how powerful Israel's God is, the people still proclaim:

“[W]e his **slaves** (ἡμεῖς οἱ **δοῦλοι** αὐτοῦ) will destroy them (Israelites) as one man. They cannot resist the might of our cavalry” (Jdt 6:3; cf 6:11-16).

The people were even willing to fight for Nebuchadnezzar against Israel to seize their spring water:

“... keep all the men in your forces with you; let your servants (slaves) (ἐπικρατησάτωσαν οἱ **παῖδες σου**) take possession of the spring of water that flows from the foot of the mountain ...” (Jdt 7:12).

Nebuchadnezzar does not simply see himself as some kind of a god, the people worship him as a god instead of Israel's God.

## **(2) Holofernes as a loyal slave of Nebuchadnezzar**

The loyal slave (commander) of Nebuchadnezzar is named Holofernes (Ολοφέρνης), which means “all carrier” (Hobyane 2012:29). This may bear connotation to carrying the Assyrian army on behalf of Nebuchadnezzar, because the king is like a master who needs to be subjected to unconditionally. Holofernes demands that the people surrender to his master by saying,

“Take courage, woman (Judith), and do not be afraid in your heart, for I have never hurt anyone who chose to serve Nebuchadnezzar as slave (**δουλεύειν** βασιλεῖ Ναβουχοδοσορ), king of all the earth ...No one will hurt you. Rather, all will treat you well, as they do the slaves of my lord (γίνεται **τοῖς δούλοις** τοῦ κυρίου μου) King Nebuchadnezzar” (Jdt 11:1, 4).

Those who refuse obedience would be punished with destruction, captivity and death (2:3<sup>52</sup>, 9-11<sup>53</sup>). Holofernes incited fear and terror in the opposition (Hobyane 2012:29). He was commissioned by his master (one can also say “his god”), Nebuchadnezzar, to punish the western nations. All his actions involved going out in the name of Nebuchadnezzar to destroy the nations who had disobeyed him and to spare those who submitted. Nebuchadnezzar is

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<sup>52</sup> Jdt 2:3: “They decided that every one who had not obeyed his command should be destroyed [καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔκριναν ὀλεθρεῦσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα οἱ οὐκ ἠκολούθησαν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ].”

<sup>53</sup> Jdt 2:9-11: “I will lead them away captive to the ends of the whole earth. You shall go and seize all their territory for me in advance. They must yield themselves to you, and you shall hold them for me until the day of their punishment. But to those who resist show no mercy, but hand them over to slaughter and plunder throughout your whole region.”

proclaimed by Holofernes “the lord of the whole earth” (Jdt 2:5), controlling “the face of whole earth” (Jdt 2:7, 9, 19<sup>54</sup> 7:4). Nebuchadnezzar’s powerful influence is recorded in Judith 3:8: “...for he had been commissioned to destroy all the gods of the land, so that **all nations should worship Nebuchadnezzar alone**, and that **all their dialects and tribes should call upon him as a god**.” The king instructs Holofernes in Judith 2:7: “You shall command them to prepare earth and water...”, signifying a Persian form of libations to a deity.

The Israelites are afraid of this power threatening the whole world (Jdt 7:4):

“For it would be better for us to be captured by them. We shall indeed become slaves (ἔσόμεθα γὰρ εἰς δούλους)” (Jdt 7:27).

Having been intimidated by the powerful force of Nebuchadnezzar and faint from lack of water, the Israelites abandon their identity as slaves of God and compell the leaders of Bethulia to surrender to Nebuchadnezzar so that they may be slaves under his protection (Jdt 7:23-24<sup>55</sup>). Following the complaints of the people, the elders and leaders put God to the test by setting a time for salvation, asking that God rescue them according to their plan (Jdt 7:30-31<sup>56</sup>; cf 8:11-12). According to the leaders, if God did not intervene in their crisis, it would be appropriate to become slaves of Nebuchadnezzar.

The leaders of Bethulia were encouraged to be an example of enduring obedience in difficult times, because people are sometimes tested just like the patriarchs before them in Egypt (Jdt 8:24-27). If the Israelites humbled themselves as slaves before God, he would give them triumph over their enemies. This pattern of self-humiliation is Bethulia’s response to the situation depicted in the story of Judith (Jdt 4:9). God is the God of the humble (Jdt 9:11), so, because of their act of humility, they will again rejoice in triumph when God defeats their enemies (Jdt 16:11).

### (3) Judith as a slave of God

Even though there is no place where Judith identifies herself as a slave of God, the frequent reference to God as “the Lord Almighty” is a declaration of Judith as a slave of God. For example when she reproaches the elders:

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<sup>54</sup> Jdt 2:7, 9: “...<sup>2:7</sup>cover the whole face of the earth (πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς) with the feet of my troops ...<sup>2:9</sup>captive to the ends of the whole earth (πάσης τῆς γῆς) ...<sup>2:19</sup>King Nebuchadnezzar and to cover the whole face of the earth (πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς) to the west with their chariots and cavalry and picked foot soldiers.”

<sup>55</sup> Jdt 7:23-24: “... said before all the elders ... You (elders) have done us a great injury in not making peace with the Assyrians.”

<sup>56</sup> Jdt 7:30-31: “... Let us hold out for **five days more**; by **that time** the Lord our God will turn his mercy to us again ... But if these days pass by, and no help comes for us, I will do as you say.”

“You are putting **the Lord Almighty** (κύριον παντοκράτορα) to the test, but you will never learn anything!” (Jdt 8:13).

After Judith brings down the wrath of God on those who threatened the covenant and the Temple and cuts the head of Holofernes with her deceptions, the high priest and leaders of Israel, who put the Lord to the test, praise her bravery by saying:

“You have done all this with your own hand; you have done great good to Israel, and God is well pleased with it. May **the Almighty Lord** (τῷ παντοκράτορι κυρίῳ) bless you forever!” (Jdt 15:10).

Judith emphasises that God overthrows arrogance (Jdt 9:9<sup>57</sup>), empowers the weak (Jdt 9:11<sup>58</sup>), and even slaughters them through the deceptions of a weak and small widow in order to make them feel ashamed of their pride. Judith praises her master, God, in her song:

“... the **Lord Almighty** (κύριος παντοκράτωρ) has foiled them by the hand of a woman ...Woe to the nations that rise up against my people! **My Lord Almighty** (μου κύριος παντοκράτωρ) will take vengeance on them in the day of judgment; he will send fire and worms into their flesh; they shall weep in pain forever” (Jdt 16:5; 16:17).

Judith, as a slave of God, is a God-fearing woman (Jdt 11:17<sup>59</sup>). All the days of her widowhood are characterised by her devotion to fasting and praying (Jdt 8:6, 8<sup>60</sup>). Not only does she serve the God of heaven day and night and does not eat unclean food and does not take alcohol (Jdt 12:2; 12:19<sup>61</sup>); she also refuses to indulge in sexual immorality with Holofernes when she deceives him in the tent (Jdt 13:16<sup>62</sup>; 16:22). Though Nebuchadnezzar may claim to be the king of the whole earth, from the perspective of Judith, by calling God the Lord Almighty, He is, in fact, the King of creation (Jdt 9:12). Hence, all of creation is enslaved to God, including Nebuchadnezzar (Jdt 16:14) (Byron 2003:68). Judith gives the message that it is God, not

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<sup>57</sup> Jdt 9:9: “Look at their **pride** [βλέπον εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν], and send your wrath upon their heads. Give to me, a widow, the strong hand to do what I plan.”

<sup>58</sup> Jdt 9:11: “But you are the God of the lowly, helper of the oppressed, **upholder of the weak** [βοηθός ἀντιλήμπτωρ ἀσθενούντων], protector of the forsaken, savior of those without hope.”

<sup>59</sup> Jdt 11:17: “Your servant is indeed God-fearing and serves the God of heaven night and day ... [ὅτι ἡ δούλη σου θεοσεβής ἐστὶν καὶ θεραπεύουσα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ...].”

<sup>60</sup> Jdt 8:6, 8: “<sup>8:6</sup>She fasted all the days of her widowhood ... <sup>8:8</sup>No one spoke ill of her, for she feared God with great devotion.”

<sup>61</sup> Jdt 12:2, 19: “<sup>12:2</sup>But Judith said, “I cannot partake of them, or it will be an offense; but I will have enough with the things I brought with me ... <sup>12:19</sup>Then she took what her maid had prepared and ate and drank before him.”

<sup>62</sup> Jdt 13:16: “I swear that it was my face that seduced him to his destruction, and that he committed no sin with me, to defile and shame me.”

Nebuchadnezzar, who will protect Israel (Jdt 9:14<sup>63</sup>), and, like Nebuchadnezzar, God has a slave (Judith) who will lead the people in service of the one true God (Jdt 11:17) (Byron 2003:68). Having been impacted by the words and deeds of Judith, the people also proclaim their God as the Almighty Lord (Jdt 15:10).

#### **(4) Judith as a slave of God in response to slavery (Nebuchadnezzar)**

Judith disagrees with the leaders of Israel in Bethulia saying that to be in slavery is intolerable:

“... [W]herever **we serve as slaves** (οὗ ἔαν δουλεύσωμεν); and we shall be an offense and a disgrace in the eyes of those who acquire us. For our **slavery** (ἡ δουλεία ἡμῶν) will not bring us into favor, but the Lord our God will turn it to dishonor” (Jdt 8:22-23).

Judith admonishes the Israelites by saying that to be slaves of Nebuchadnezzar is dishonorable to God, is intolerable because the Israelites cannot be anyone’s slaves but God’s. Not only does Judith reprimand them for testing God, she also encourages the Israelites not to just wait until God saves them (Jdt 8:17), because this attitude is wrong. Then Judith herself takes action to honor God and goes to the army of the enemy.

After coming back from the tent of Holofernes, Judith's announcement to the Assyrian camp attests to her bravery (Jdt 13:12-15). Addressing the elders, Judith commits herself completely to defend God's honor and plans to reveal the hollowness of Holofernes' boast against God by creating an opportunity for God to bring defeat and shame upon Holofernes and his army. The driving force behind Judith's bravery is her faith in and loyalty to God as his slave, with the ultimate purpose of setting the right example to the next generation in opposition to the leaders of Bethulia (Jdt 8:24). Her actions and courageous attitude contrast sharply with the attitude and actions of the elders and the rest of the people of Bethulia. Judith's persistent prayer life and her brave act of going to the Assyrian camp are a good example of the expression “pray and work” and show her initiative to save the people while the elders and the rest of the Bethulians pray and wait. This all seems to suggest that victory for Israel would not come as a result of prayer alone, but the crisis needed the combination of the two: prayer and brave action (Hobyane 2012:44).

#### **4.3.1.3 Conclusion**

Even though Nebuchadnezzar is seen as the master and god of the whole world with a powerful army, Judith, as a slave of God, proclaims that the only God is Lord Almighty. This Lord

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<sup>63</sup> Jdt 9:14: “Let your whole nation and every tribe know and understand that you are God, the God of all power and might, and that there is no other who protects the people of Israel but you alone!”

Almighty intervenes in human history, his power is stronger than all the empires in the world. There is, therefore, no other god but Him who created the whole earth and who is the real master of the nations. The Lord Almighty can use a weak person like Judith to defeat an enormous empire and to shame them because of their arrogance.

In Judith one can see two responses to the situation of enslavement. The first response is from the people of Israel and the elders who suggest that all the people surrender and become slaves of Nebuchadnezzar, as this is the only way to save their lives (Jdt 7:23-27). The second response is from Judith, a slave of God, who blames the elders for their lack of faith and declares that God will deliver the city through her, and rejects the intolerable slavery to the enemy. Consequently, Judith becomes the pious Jewess who will not waver from her trust in God and who proclaims that no one can be their master except God. Jews cannot surrender to another king or gods to be slaves to them.

Judith, unlike the ancestors in Egypt and the leaders of Bethulia, thinks that the earlier generations of Jews are not guilty of the act of worshipping other gods, which is the only reason why they would be taken into captivity (Jdt 8:22; cf Byron 2003:69). To surrender when they are not guilty would not mean gaining God's favor (Jdt 8:23). Accordingly, from the perspective of Judith, enslavement to Nebuchadnezzar is to be resisted. The Israelites can only be slaves of God.

This attitude which regarded slavery as intolerable can also be seen in 2 Maccabees.

### **4.3.2 The book of 2 Maccabees 6:8-7:42<sup>64</sup>**

#### **4.3.2.1 Introduction**

2 Maccabees, like Judith, seems to admonish against slavery under a foreign king, exemplified in the intolerable situation when Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BC) tried to force the pious Eleazar, the seven brothers and their mother to eat pork so that they may abandon their loyalty to God (2 Ma 6:18-7:42). However, 2 Maccabees, a rhetorical narrative, was written by the author in order to motivate his readers not to surrender to a foreign king.

This period of time was very difficult for the Jews because of the overwhelming Hellenistic world view. Hellenism was well established in various domains like literary system, philosophy and metaphysics (Jordaan 2017:194). Pressurised from all sides by Hellenism, the Jews found themselves in a difficult position. Hellenism was superior to Judaism and its power could not be challenged because Antiochus IV Epiphanes was considered as a true revelation of God.

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<sup>64</sup> The Greek quotations from 1 Baruch are from the *LXX Septuaginta* (Old Greek Jewish Scriptures) edited by Alfred Rahlfs (1935), published in BibleWord 9. The English quotations are from the *New Revised Standard Version Bible* (NRSV).

Therefore the author of 2 Maccabees tried to hold fast to the identity of Judaism and loyalty to God in the narrative of the martyrs which was handed down from generation to generation (Jordaan 2017:186).

#### 4.3.2.2 Slavery in 2 Maccabees 6:18-7:42

The image of slavery is used with reference to a person as a slave of God only twice<sup>65</sup> in 2 Maccabees 6:18-7:42. Slavery imagery is illustrated by the exemplary conduct of Eleazar who is already aged, honorable in appearance, high in principles, and has been of good behaviour since childhood (2 Ma 6:18). Eleazar was presented with a serious challenge: he had the choice between not eating pork and suffering torment and brutally losing his life, or eating pork without suffering and remaining alive (2 Ma 6:19-20). For him, to eat pork was prohibited by the commandment of his master, God, in the Law of Moses. He states:

“Even if for the present I would avoid the punishment of mortals, yet whether I live or die I shall not escape the hands of **the Almighty** (τὰς τοῦ παντοκράτορος χεῖρας)” (2 Ma 6:26).

Eleazar refuses to eat pork and be disloyal to God’s commandment. He rejects the idea of abandoning his faithfulness to God in order to escape persecution, because he knows that his Master is omnipotent. He would rather accept death with honour than live a shameful life in the eyes of **the Almighty** (2 Ma 6:19). The purpose in doing this is, like for Judith, to set an example to the youth (2 Ma 6:28; cf Jordaan 2017:188). The result is that Eleazar dies a violent, painful death rather than forsake his faithfulness to the commandment of God.

The martyr Eleazar wanted to impact the youth and influence the seven brothers, some of whom are obviously adolescents, as well as their mother, who followed his example. Afterwards, Antiochus IV Epiphanes persecuted the seven brothers and their mother as he had Eleazar, and treated them in even harsher and crueller manner.

Despite having been threatened by Antiochus IV Epiphanes with mutilation of their bodies, scalping and loss of life (2 Ma 7:4-5), the seven brothers and their mother remained loyal to their master, the Lord God, responding:

“... <sup>2</sup>we are ready to die rather than transgress the laws of our ancestors ... <sup>6</sup>The Lord God is watching over us ... as Moses declared in his song that bore witness against the people to their faces, when he said, ‘And he will have compassion on **his slaves (δούλοις αὐτου)**’” (2 Ma 7:2, 6).

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<sup>65</sup> 2 Ma 7:6, 33.

The seven brothers and their mother gladly suffered for the nation so that God would stop punishing them. Therefore their martyrdom is not the problem but the solution (Schwartz 2006:32). As loyal to God as Eleazar, after the first brother died the second brother, being intimidated by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, responds:

“You accursed wretch, you dismiss us from this present life, but **the King of the universe** (ὁ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεὺς) will raise us up to an everlasting renewal of life, because we have died for his laws” (2 Ma 7:9).

This proclamation demonstrates that even though the seven brothers and their mother would die violently, they would be rewarded for their noble death because God was able to recreate something out of nothing (giving back life) (2 Ma 7:28, 30; cf 7:11, 14, 23; Jordaan 2017:190).

Having used all kinds of torture on six of the brothers who are now all dead, Antiochus IV Epiphanes tries to convince the last one to forsake his loyalty to God by promising that he would make him rich if he would relinquish his faith (2 Ma 7:24). The youngest brother remains faithful to his master, God, by proclaiming:

“... <sup>30</sup>I will not obey the king's command, but I obey the command of the law ...<sup>32</sup>For we are suffering because of our own sins ...<sup>33</sup>And if our living Lord is angry for a little while, to rebuke and discipline us, he will again be reconciled with **his own slaves** (τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις)” (2 Ma 7:30, 32, 33).

#### 4.3.2.3 Conclusion

Eleazar, the seven brothers, as well as their mother, as slaves of God are loyal to their Master even to the point of death. Slavery under a foreign king is seen as disloyalty to God, which is intolerable. Their loyalty to God and courage astonished their perpetrators. Where before there had been various opinions and personal beliefs regarding the possibility of life after death, now there is certain life after death and certain judgments by God who either rewards or punishes. The lives of the martyrs will be restored because their Lord is able to create from nothing and because he is the one who created the whole world and all human beings. Therefore, loyalty to their Master and persecutions were not a problem, the solution was to remain faithful to God. Faithfulness changed defeat into victory, the transient into the eternal. The Jews cannot be slaves of any other gods or lords but only of the Lord God of Israel.

### 4.3.3 The book of 1 Baruch<sup>66</sup>

#### 4.3.3.1 Introduction

Having argued that enslavement to foreign countries had been viewed as unjustified, this section now turns to a different concept of slavery which deems enslavement under foreign dominion to be tolerable.

1 Baruch is an account of Jeremiah and his scribe Baruch, who lived in Jerusalem and Babylon during the exile. Some passages from the book of 1 Baruch contain highly developed metaphors of Israel as slave of God and certain persons as slaves of God, such as Moses, the prophets and Nebuchadnezzar. By using these images of slavery, the author of 1 Baruch reinforces God not merely as the real master of the Israelites, but also as the master of the entire world who will in future restore his slaves by his mighty power. The metaphor of slavery in 1 Baruch serves to undergird the Jews' distinctive identity in the Hellenistic milieu.

#### 4.3.3.2 Slavery in 1 Baruch

The slavery metaphors occur in the section of 1 Baruch related to the judgment and salvation of God's people in the exodus. In each sub-section the metaphor is used for a period of the exile which was a result of Israel's sin. The consequence of sin occurred in a pattern involving four phases: sin, exile, repentance and return (Harrington 1999:92), which is also described by Byron (2003:62) as the pattern of Sin-Exile-Return.

1 Baruch consists of four sections, each of which is a genre in itself. The book includes an historical introduction (1 Baruch 1:1-14), which introduces Baruch and the exile community in Babylon, and presents the letter to those who remained in Jerusalem; a confession of sin in a prayer (1:15-3:8), which states that the exile was God's punishment for Israel's sin and, therefore, they ask for God's mercy to forgive and restore them from exile; this is followed by an eulogy of wisdom (3:9-4:4), which reveals the indescribable wisdom of God in the Torah that makes repentance and return possible; then follows a Psalm for Zion (4:5-5:9), in which the exile is presented as punishment for Israel's sin, and the Israelites are encouraged to turn from this sin (Byron 2003:61; Harrington 1999:93<sup>67</sup>).

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<sup>66</sup> 1 Baruch was probably written in the period 200 - 50 BC. It may reflect the national revival under the Maccabees when the project of Antiochus IV Euphrones and his Jewish collaborators was defeated (cf Harrington 1999:94). The exact date of origin is not important for this study. The Greek quotations from 1 Baruch are from *LXX Septuaginta* (Old Greek Jewish Scriptures), edited by Alfred Rahlfs (1935), and published in BibleWord 9. The English quotations are from *New Revised Standard Version Bible* (NRSV).

<sup>67</sup> The place of the pericope can be displayed clearly in the book: 1. A historical introduction (1:1-14): the prescript (1:1-2); the historical scene (1:3-9); the instruction from the Jewish exiles in Babylon to Jews in Jerusalem (1:10-14). 2. A corporate confession of sin (1:15-3:8): a confession

The metaphor of slavery occurs frequently in section 1 Baruch 1:1-3:8, which is the focus of this investigation. This image of slavery is explicitly used seven times in the book of 1 Baruch, and can be categorised into three subunits: (1) Israel as slave of God being given the law and their disobedience to the law; (2) Moses and the prophets as slaves of God through whom the curse comes upon Israel; (3) Nebuchadnezzar as slave of God bringing judgement and salvation to the people.

### **(1) Israel as slave of God being given the law, and their disobedience to the law**

Israel as slave of God is referenced in 1 Baruch 3:36:

“He (God) found the whole way to knowledge, and gave her to **his servant (slave) Jacob and to Israel** (Ιακωβ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰσραηλ), whom he loved” (NRSV).

“Her” refers to the book of God’s commandments, which is God’s wisdom, the law that lasts forever (1 Bar 4:1<sup>68</sup>; cf Harrington 1999:93). By this wisdom Israel, as slave of God, can find peace with Him (1 Bar 3:13); Israel is urged to find understanding, strength and intelligence so that their lives will be long (1 Bar 3:14<sup>69</sup>). This wisdom is not to be found by foreign rulers with their power (1 Bar 3:21-23). Only God knows her (1 Bar 3:32-35<sup>70</sup>) and he gives her to **Jacob, his slave**. However, as slave of God, Israel failed to heed the voice of God and was disobedient to the Torah. God used the Babylonians as a means to punish his people with exile.

### **(2) Moses and the prophets as slaves of God, through whom the curse comes upon Israel**

1 Baruch describes that Baruch, who is in exile, instructs the people in Jerusalem, makes known to them that the reason for their exile is the fact that they are not following the commandments of Moses, slave of God, and asks them to confess their sins to God:

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of sinfulness (1:15-2:10); a prayer for God’s mercy (2:11-35). 3. A conclusion (3:1-8). 4. A eulogy of wisdom (3:9-4:4): the first stanza—calling Israel to hear the commandments and to learn wisdom (3:9-14); the second stanza—the search for wisdom (3:15-23); the middle stanza—calling on Israel in recognition of the great house of God (3:24-28); the fourth stanza—the elusive character of wisdom (3:29-37). 5. A Psalm for Zion or the poem of consolation (4:5-5:9): an introductory exhortation of the exiles (4:5-8); personification of Jerusalem to the neighbors of Zion (4:9-16); personification of Jerusalem to the exiles (4:17-29). 6. An exhortation to Jerusalem for returning home from the exiles (4:30-5:9).

<sup>68</sup> 1 Bar 4:1: “She is **the book of the commandments of God, the law** that endures forever... [αὐτὴ ἡ βίβλος τῶν προσταγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ...].”

<sup>69</sup> 1 Bar 3:14: “Learn where there is **wisdom**, where there is strength, where there is understanding, so that you may at the same time **discern where there is length of days, and life**... [ποῦ ἐστὶν σύνεσις τοῦ γνῶναι ἅμα ποῦ ἐστὶν μακροβίωσις καὶ ζωὴ].”

<sup>70</sup> 1 Bar 3:32-35: “But the one who knows all things knows her, he found her by his understanding...He found the whole way to knowledge, and **gave her to his servant Jacob and to Israel** ... [ἔξευρεν πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἰακωβ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰσραηλ...]” (1 Bar 3:36).

“So to this day there have clung to us the calamities and the curse that the Lord declared through **his servant (slave) Moses (Μωυσῆ παιδι αὐτου)** at the time when he brought our ancestors out of the land of Egypt to give to us a land flowing with milk and honey” (1 Bar 1:20).

This quotation shows that before the exile took place the Lord gave the Torah to his slave, Moses, on Mount Sinai. A preview of Israel’s future cycle of sin, exile and return (cf Dt 30<sup>71</sup>) can be seen in this statement:

“... <sup>26</sup>because of **the wickedness** of the house of Israel and the house of Judah ...<sup>27</sup>O Lord our God, in all your kindness and in all your great compassion ...<sup>28</sup>as you spoke by **your servant (slave) Moses** on the day when you commanded him to write your law in the presence of the people of Israel, saying, ...<sup>29</sup>**If you will not obey** my voice ...I will **scatter** them...” (1 Bar 2:26-29).

These verses emphasise again that the reason Israel is now being scattered in a foreign country is their wickedness and disobedience to the commandments (wisdom) which were presented to them by **Moses as slave of God**. Not only did God send Moses, but he also kept sending **the prophets as his slaves** to remind the Israelites to return, but they would not repent from their sin.

### **(3) Nebuchadnezzar, as a slave of God, bringing judgement and salvation to the people**

Afterwards, due to disloyalty to her master God, Israel would be enslaved by the king of Babylon, fulfilling a warning from the prophets<sup>72</sup>:

“For you have sent your anger and your wrath upon us, as you declared by **your servants (slaves) the prophets (παίδων σου τῶν προφητῶν)** ...we did not obey your voice, **to serve (ἐργάσασθαι) the king of Babylon**; and you have carried out your threats, which you spoke by **your servants (slaves) the prophets**” (1 Bar 2:20, 24).

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<sup>71</sup> Dt 30: 1-3: “When all these things have happened to you, the blessings and the curses that I have set before you, if you call them to mind among all the nations where the LORD your God has driven you, and return to the LORD your God, and you and your children obey him with all your heart and with all your soul, just as I am commanding you today, then the LORD your God will restore your fortunes and have compassion on you, gathering you again from all the peoples among whom the LORD your God has scattered you.”

<sup>72</sup> The reference is to Jeremiah 26:4-6; 8, 11 where it is clear that Israel did not listen to God’s slaves, the prophets, whom he sent again and again to admonish Israel to follow the law. However, Israel not only did not listen to the words of Jeremiah, they even wanted to kill him because he asked them to surrender to the king of Babylon (cf 3.2.3.4 above).

1 Baruch uses the book of Jeremiah to show that, at the time when the author of 1 Baruch was writing, Israel, as slave of God, failed to heed God's voice, which resulted in "the calamities and the curse" (1 Bar 1:20) like those of their ancestors (1 Bar 1:19). Nevertheless, the Israelites continued in their sinful ways to serve other gods (1 Bar 1:21-22 – ἐργάζεσθαι θεοῖς ἑτέροις]) (Harrington 1999:95). According to the author of 1 Baruch, those who were living as exiles in Babylon were slaves of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon:

"... we shall live under the protection of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, and under the protection of his son Belshazzar, and **we shall serve them (as slaves) many days** (δουλεύσομεν αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας πολλὰς) and find favor in their sight" (1 Bar 1:12).

Here one can see that the Greek terms δουλεύω and ἐργάζομαι refer to the same concept of slavery. The relation between these terms could be explained as follows: because of their disloyalty to God, Israel, as slave of God, was commanded by God to serve as slaves of the king of Babylon (Bar 2:21-22 – ἐργάσασθε τῷ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλῶνος), who is also slave of God. This image resonates with the image in the book of Jeremiah where the prophet demonstrates that the sovereignty of the master, God, takes charge of rulers throughout the world, even of the king of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar is the slave of God<sup>73</sup> by whom God brings judgment and salvation upon God's slave Israel who rebelled against him. God used the exile as a means to make Israel serve God through acts of obedience and loyalty during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (Harrington 1999:99).

The exile is not the end, but a temporary condition whereby God will keep his promise and restore his slave, Israel:

"... I am the Lord their God. I will give them a heart that obeys and ears that hear; they will ... remember my name and turn from their stubbornness and their wicked deeds ... I will bring them again into the land that I swore to give to their ancestors, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they will rule over it; and I will increase them ..." (1 Bar 2:31-34).

#### 4.3.3.3 Conclusion

The author of 1 Baruch responded to the situation of tolerable enslavement in Babylon by recognising it as a punishment for Israel's failure to keep covenantal fidelity and loyal service to God. God has been loyal to his slave, Israel, by sending his slaves, Moses and the prophets, to remind them to turn back to Him. However, they still did not repent from their sins. Thus, the

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<sup>73</sup> This slave imagery can be related to Jeremiah 25:9 (Nebuchadnezzar) and Isaiah 45:1-4 (Cyrus).

slavery in Babylon can be interpreted as an opportunity for Israel to be restored to its proper position as a slave of God.

Slavery is therefore used as a metaphor to remind the Jewish audience of their unique identity as the chosen people of God. They are his slaves who have been bestowed with the wisdom of God which is the law. Though they were still being ruled by ancient Greece, God, their master, would restore them as he had done with the empire of Babylon, since God is the master of the entire world and has the power to turn his slave back to him from Greek Hellenisation.

#### **4.3.4 The book of 4 Baruch<sup>74</sup>**

##### **4.3.4.1 Introduction**

4 Baruch, probably written from 41 AD to 135 AD, is about the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple in 70 AD, which had major social, political and religious consequences. The loss of the temple required a fundamental transformation of religious life in Palestine. The driving force behind the post-70 AD reorientation and reconsolidation was provided by rabbis from the Pharisaic wing of Judaism (Herzer 2005:xxx). Within the context of political defeat and forcible subjection to the Caesar in Rome, rabbis were concentrating on the spiritual-religious dimension to save the Jewish people from disappearing. In response to this situation, rabbis of Pharisaic Judaism proclaimed the eventual revival of hopes of restoration.

The message of 4 Baruch is similar to 1 Baruch and has the same pattern of sin, exile and return. 4 Baruch recounts that Jeremiah, Baruch and Abimelech, as slaves of God, received the warning about the Babylonian (*in casu* Roman) captivity of the people and the destruction of Jerusalem. Therefore, they committed themselves to pray for the restoration of the people.

##### **4.3.4.2 Slavery in 4 Baruch**

The image of slavery is explicitly used with reference to certain persons as slaves of God eight times in the book of 4 Baruch.<sup>75</sup> They can be categorised into two subunits: (1) Jeremiah as a slave of God, praying for the people; (2) Baruch as a slave of God, praying for the restoration of the people.

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<sup>74</sup> 4 Baruch, the work of a Jewish author, was given an additional ending by Christian circles (4 Baruch 6:25-9:10-32). It is generally agreed that the book was probably written from 41 AD to the Bar Kokhba rebellion against Hadrian (132-135 AD) (cf Robinson 1985:414). The Greek style of 4 Baruch points to an author whose mother tongue was Hebrew or Aramaic, but who was working in a Hellenistic environment in the Diaspora and was shaped by the Greek tradition of the Old Testament (cf Herzer 2005:xxxvi). Even though it was written in Greek, there still remains a strong Semitic sense to the book (cf Byron 2003: 64). This element is used to make the case for it being a translation from Hebrew into Greek.

The Greek quotations from 4 Baruch are from *The Greek Pseudepigrapha*. Electronic text prepared by Graig A. Evans in 2008. The English quotations are from from *New Revised Standard Version Bible* (NRSV).

<sup>75</sup> 4 Bar 1:4, 6; 3:12; 6:13, 19, 24; 9:6.

## (1) Jeremiah as slave of God, praying for the people

The first time slavery imagery is used in 4 Baruch 1:1-5 it is in a conversation between God and Jeremiah, where Jeremiah is given the prominent role of prophet as chosen slave of God. Jeremiah identifies himself as a slave of God by saying:

“... I beseech you, Lord, permit me **your servant (slave)** (ἐπίστρεψέν μοι τῷ δούλῳ σου), to speak before you ... And the Lord said to him: ‘Speak, my chosen Jeremiah (ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου Ἰερεμίας)’” (4 Bar 1:4, 5).

This passage illustrates the master-slave relationship between God and Jeremiah. God provides the opportunity for Jeremiah and Baruch to escape Jerusalem before God causes Israel to be taken into captivity because of “the multitude of the sins of those who dwell in it (διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν κατοικούντων)” (4 Bar 1:1, 8). Regardless of the prayer of the slave Jeremiah that the city be not destroyed (4 Bar 1:7), his master, God, has made a decision and handed over the city as punishment for the sins of Israel, since Jerusalem would never have been destroyed if God had not abandoned it (4 Bar 1:9<sup>76</sup>; 4:7).

Another important image of the master-slave relationship between God and Jeremiah is evident in the prayer of Jeremiah in 1:6; 9:6 (cf 3:12) in the usage of the word “κύριος”:

“<sup>1:6</sup>**Lord Almighty (κύριε παντοκράτωρ)**, (will you) deliver the chosen city into the hands of the Chaldeans...<sup>9:6</sup>I beg you, **Lord Almighty** of all creation (**κύριε παντοκράτωρ** πάσης κτίσεως) ...<sup>3:12</sup>I appeal to you, **Lord (κύριε)** ...”

The title “Κύριε παντοκράτωρ”, which Jeremiah uses, not only expresses his relationship with God as part of a master-slave duality, but it also points to God's universal authority. From this perspective, God alone is the almighty ruler who decides the fate of his people, even in captivity (Herzer 2005:49). Therefore, in 4 Baruch 3:15<sup>77</sup> the situation changes and God commands Jeremiah to go to Babylon with the people, with the task of preaching to them during captivity, while Baruch remains in the vicinity of Jerusalem and is required to intercede for the people. Jeremiah accepts God's decision because he knows God is the almighty ruler of the entire universe.

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<sup>76</sup> 4 Bar 1:9: “For neither the king, nor his power, will be able to enter it, except I (the Lord) first open her gates [οὔτε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὔτε ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ, δυνήσεται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς αὐτήν, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ πρῶτος ἀνοίξω τὰς πύλας αὐτῆς].”

<sup>77</sup> 4 Bar 3:15: “But you, Jeremiah, depart with your people to Babylon, and remain with them sharing good news with them, until I should return them to the city [σὺ δὲ Ἰερεμίας, ἄπελθε μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ σου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ μένον μετ’ αὐτῶν εὐαγγελιζόμενος αὐτοῖς ἕως οὗ ἐπιστρέψω αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν].”

Jeremiah, as slave of God, does not only pray for Israel, but he also prays for the non-Israelite Abimelech, an Ethiopian:

“I appeal to you, Lord, show to me what I should do to **Abimelech the Ethiopian**, because he has done many kindness to **your servant (slave) Jeremiah** (ὅτι πολλὰς εὐεργεσίας ἐποίησε τῷ **δούλῳ σου Ἰερεμῖα**)” (4 Bar 3:12).

Abimelech, being a non-Israelite, also becomes slave of God, praying together with Baruch later in the narrative (4 Bar 6:11<sup>78</sup>). Thus in 4 Baruch to be slave of God is not a matter of a certain ethnicity or region, but a matter of obedience to God. Furthermore, by creating a separation between Baruch, who remains in Jerusalem, and Jeremiah, who is exiled with the people, 4 Baruch gives a new perspective to the idea of slavery to God. Self-identification as a slave of God mainly distinguishes those who are people (Israelites) of God, insiders, from those who are not associated with God (non-Israelites), or outsiders (cf Jon 1:9; Ezr 5:11; Byron 2003:66). Jeremiah, Baruch and Abimelech are insiders, not because they are Israelites belonging to the covenant community, but because they are obedient to their Master. Therefore, they are separated from the captives who are judged on the basis of disobedience.

## **(2) Baruch, as slave of God, praying for the restoration of the people**

Like Jeremiah as slave of God, Baruch also identifies himself as slave of God in his prayer:

“We exhort and beseech your goodness, the great name, which no one is able to know, hear the voice of **your servants (slaves)** (ἄκουσον τῆς φωνῆς **τῶν δούλων σου**), and let knowledge be in our heart” (4 Bar 6:13).

Another passage where Baruch regards himself as slave of God is in a letter to Jeremiah:

“Baruch, **the servant (slave) of God** (Βαρούχ ὁ **δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ**), writes to Jeremiah in the captivity of Babylon ...” (4 Bar 6:19).

Baruch identifies himself as slave of God like Jeremiah with the purpose that they may pray to God for Israel, acting as a protective wall around the city and to prevent God’s judgment. 4 Baruch 1 had mentioned that the people had committed a terrible sin which caused the lamentation of the slave of God, Jeremiah. Later, in 4 Baruch 4, this same sin causes Baruch's

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<sup>78</sup> 4 Bar 6:11: “ ... Baruch says to Abimelech: ‘Arise, and let us pray, that the Lord may make known to us how we should be able to send the report to Jeremiah in Babylon... [ὁ Βαρούχ, λέγει τῷ Ἀβιμέλεχ· Ἀνάστηθι, καὶ εὐξώμεθα, ἵνα γνωρίσῃ ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος πῶς δυνησώμεθα ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν φάσιν τῷ Ἰερεμῖα εἰς Βαβυλῶνα...].”

lamentation, because the destruction of Jerusalem was caused by Israel's sin and not by the power of Babylon and Chaldea (4 Bar 4:7<sup>79</sup>; 1:1) (Herzer 2005:46).

Still another important word, *παῖς*, only occurs once in 4 Baruch 6:24, where God speaks to Baruch and describes Jeremiah as slave (*παῖς*) of God:

“If therefore you hear my voice, says the Lord, from the mouth of Jeremiah my child (slave) (*ἐκ στόματος Ἱερεμίου τοῦ παιδός μου*), he who heard, I will bring him up out of Babylon.”

The usage of *παῖς* is similar to 1 Baruch, where the term points out that slavery under Babylon is a consequence of disobedience (2 Bar 2:2-7) (Byron 2003:65). The prayers give information that, as slaves of God, they are intercessors for the people.

#### 4.3.4.3 Conclusion

The reason for Israel's exile in 4 Baruch is the people's multitude of sins which, as the author specifically wants the reader to know, caused the slaves of God Jeremiah and Baruch to lament. Because of the sins of the people God, as the almighty master, brings about the destruction of Jerusalem, which does not happen because of the power of Babylon and Chaldea (Roman Empire).

However, if the Jews would repent from their sins and obey the will of God, there could be a restoration and God would return them to Jerusalem because, even though they were defeated, God is, from the beginning, the main engineer of the exile. Even the main characters, Jeremiah, Baruch and Abimelech, as his slaves, act only in response to God's command. The one important element in 4 Baruch is that it gives a new perspective to the idea of slavery to God: to be a slave of God is not limited to Jews, but includes also non-Jews. The slaves of God did not only proclaim the judgment of God, but also proclaimed salvation – possible only through God if the people repent from their disobedience. The slaves of God did not merely devote themselves to praying for the sake of the people; like Jeremiah, they would also live with the people, even in exile, to proclaim the words of God.

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<sup>79</sup> 4 Bar 4:7: “Why was Jerusalem desolated? On account of the sins of the beloved people she was delivered into hands of enemies, and account of our sins and of the people.”

### 4.3.5 The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs<sup>80</sup>

#### 4.3.5.1 Introduction

Most scholars (De Jonge 1985; Hollander 1985) think that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (T12P) was first written by Jews and was later redacted by the early Christian movement which added some elements of eschatological material (Byron 2003:70; De Jonge 1985:168). Even though they were probably written around the late second century AD, some fragments could be related to a set of pre-Christian traditions<sup>81</sup> because they connect with a common set of traditions surrounding Early Judaism and Christian thoughts. It is better to say that both traditions are combined as a whole (Hollander 1985:74), integrating the elements of biographical and eschatological passages. Concerning the biographical passages, the authors give much more information about the Patriarchs' lives than Genesis does, whereas, concerning the eschatological passages, the Testaments deal with the future combining Jewish and Christian elements. This section of study will focus on the former. Knowledge of the Patriarchs can really shed light on the image of slavery in the context of early Judaism.

#### 4.3.5.2 Slavery in the Testaments

Most of the concept of slavery is associated with the pattern of "Sin-Exile-Return" – also found in 1 Baruch and 4 Baruch – which describes the reason why Israel was punished through exile for their disobedience. In the Testaments of Levi, Judah, Issachar and Naphtali the narrative warns that the people's continued disobedience to the commandments of God will result in the destruction of the land followed by captivity and slavery (Byron 2003:71). When they repent and obey God, they will be rescued from their enemies and returned to their land. However, there is another pattern of slavery which is presented by Joseph in *T. Joseph: Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* (Byron 2003:132). This pattern, related to the works of Josephus and Philo who were contemporaries of the Apostle Paul, is going to be investigated in the next section.

#### (1) The natural law

Before delving into slavery in *T. Joseph*, it is necessary to understand the natural law in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The Testaments are not emphatic on the cultic stipulations such as Sabbath, circumcision and dietary regulations (De Jonge 1985:165-166),

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<sup>80</sup> The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (T12P) is a pseudepigraphon originally written in Greek and consists of twelve parts or 'testaments'. Each testament contains the last words to each of the twelve sons of Jacob, addressed to his sons by Jacob at the end of his life. The content can be called "the farewell speech", similar to Genesis 49 (De Jonge 1986:196; cf Hollander 1985:71). The most important message in the testaments is the call on the sons to be obedient to God and to obey his commandments.

<sup>81</sup> One can see the genealogy of Bilhah in the Hebrew Qumran fragments 4Q215, 1Q21 and 4Q213-214 - a set of pre-Christian traditions which relate to the T. Naphtali and T. Levi (cf Byron 2003:70-71).

but focus on the natural law. Kee (1978:260-263) demonstrates that the Testaments' understanding of law is conceived "in broad moral terms," or, the law is being interpreted from the perspective of universal law or natural law (*T.Naph.* 3:2-3<sup>82</sup>) developed by the Stoics, and that the virtues that are extolled are expressed not in terms of legal precepts quoted from the Torah, but in the moral commonplaces of Stoicism (cf 5.2.4; Byron 2003:71). This natural law becomes a general ethic code devoid of the ritual elements associated with the law in the biblical or rabbinic sense of the term (De Jonge 1986:198<sup>83</sup>; Slingerland 1986:40). In the Testaments, which are replete with imperative forms, the main point is to keep the commandments of God (Slingerland 1986:44<sup>84</sup>).

Joseph fulfills the role of one who accomplishes the natural law. Joseph has a tendency to the natural law because he appears to be a good man, either in the context of chastity or in reference to the love of one's brother (*T.Naph.* 8:9; cf Hollander 1985:72). On the one hand, Joseph is the paradigm of virtue, whose self-control/moderation, patience/endurance and purity are to be emulated in the circumstances of slavery. On the other hand, he is merciful, forgiving and compassionate in his dealings with others. Above all, he demonstrates that it is possible to fulfill the double love commandment (Hillel 2007:183). For this humility of heart he is, in the end, rewarded and exalted by God. In contrast with Reuben who was enslaved (*συλλαμβάνω*) into iniquity with Bilhah (*T.Reub* 3:11-15; *T.Jud* 13:3), Joseph guarded himself against being enslaved, despite the Egyptian woman's attempts to seduce him. Moreover, Benjamin also refers to Joseph as the epitome of a good man (*T.Benj* 3: 1-5; 4:1). Benjamin's sons are exhorted to be Joseph's imitators (Hollander 1985:85). Because he humbly endured various trials in slavery, the life of Joseph provided interpreters with an ideal example of how those who are unjustly enslaved should preserve their integrity.

## (2) Slavery in the Testament of Joseph

The slavery image is explicitly used eight times in the *Testament of Joseph*,<sup>85</sup> depicting that true freedom is only possible if a person remains "slave of God" under his commandments.

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<sup>82</sup> "Sun and moon do not change their order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of deceit."

<sup>83</sup> The Universalist element became gradually stronger in the course of the Jewish transmission of this writing, and was used with a Christian direction once the Testaments were taken up by the church.

<sup>84</sup> "Do not change the law of God" (*T.Naph* 3:2); "heed the commands of the Lord" (*T.Asher* 6:1); "keep the law of the Lord" (*T.Asher* 6:3); "keep the commands of the Lord" (*T.Jos* 19:6); "keep his commands" (*T.Benj* 3:1); "keep the law of the Lord and his commandments" (*T.Benj* 10:3); "keep the commands of God" (*T.Benj* 10:5).

<sup>85</sup> *T. Jos* 7:1, 2, 5, 8; 8:5; 10:3; 18:2, 3.

As a result of the evil deed of his brothers, Joseph endured suffering (ἡ μακροθυμία ... ἡ ὑπομονή – *T.Jos* 2:7), supported by prayer and fasting, with a humble heart (ὑπομονῆ καὶ ταπεινώσει καρδίας – *T.Jos* 10:2). Joseph knew that his master was God and he was subject, not to evil desires, envy or hatred, but to the commandment of his Lord (ἐντολαῖς κυρίου – *T.Jos* 18:1). When the Ishmaelites asked him the reason for his slavery and he had the chance to be set free, Joseph did not repay evil for evil to his brothers to put them to shame (*T.Jos* 15:3). Instead, he endured his situation so that his brothers would not be disgraced (*T.Jos* 10:6).

Having fallen into slavery because of the evil deed of his brothers, Joseph was humble before God, which made him an example during times of suffering. The objective is to endure trial without becoming entangled by evil desires and without attempting to gain relief by accusing others. Therefore Joseph encouraged his children:

“... love one another, and with long-suffering hide you one another's faults” (*T.Jos* 17:2).

Moreover, in the narration of Joseph's dealings with the “Egyptian woman”, Joseph says that a man who has fallen before the passion of evil desire would become **enslaved** by it (τις πάθει ὑποπέση ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς καὶ τούτῳ **δουλωθῆ** ὡς κάκεινη) (*T.Jos* 7:8).

The Egyptian woman told a lie to her husband and caused Joseph to be put into prison (*T.Jos* 8:3-4) when he refused to submit to her desire. Afterward she continually (Πολλάκις) pressured Joseph by saying:

“... Consent to fulfill my desire, and I will **release** you from your bonds (**λυτρώσω** σε τῶν δεσμῶν), and I will **free** you (**ἀπαλλάξω** σε) from the darkness” (*T.Jos* 9:1).

Joseph retained his status as “slave of God” by not allowing himself to be enslaved by evil desire. On the contrary, he stayed true to the commandments of God.

Instead of responding to the sinful, desirable Egyptian woman, Joseph was not enslaved by the desire to commit adultery. He refused to be captured by sin and desire and remained obedient to God his master by saying:

“... I gave thanks to **the Lord** and sang praises in the abode of darkness, and with glad voice rejoiced, glorifying my God that **I was delivered** (**ἀπηλλάγην**) from the lustful desire of the Egyptian woman” (*T.Jos* 8:5).

And Joseph says:

“I might lie with her; for she was very beautiful, splendidly adorned in order to deceive me. And **the Lord guarded me** from her devices (ὁ κύριος ἐφύλαξέ με ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγχειρημάτων αὐτῆς)” (*T.Jos* 9:5).

Because Joseph was obedient to his God (master) he was free of sin and guilt. Even though he was taken into slavery because of the evil deed of his brothers, he was free in the sight of God. Thus Joseph encourages his children to be obedient to the Lord and to resist desire, no matter the consequences, and says:

“[W]herever the Most High dwells, even though **envy**, or **slavery**, or slander befalls [a man] (κἄν τις περιπέσῃ φθόνῳ ἢ δουλείᾳ ἢ συκοφαντίᾳ ἢ σκοτίᾳ), the Lord ... not only delivers him from evil, but also exalts him even as me” (*T.Jos* 10:3).

Joseph emphasises again to his children that, if they walk in the commandments of the Lord, the Lord will exalt them and bless them with good things forever (*T.Jos* 18:1). Therefore he says:

“And if any one seeks to do evil to you, do well to him, and pray for him, and you will **be redeemed of the Lord** from all evil (ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ **λυτρωθήσεσθε διὰ κυρίου**)” (*T.Jos* 18:2).

With the desire for a pure heart, Joseph not only resisted the advances of the Egyptian woman, he also appealed to her to fear and obey God:

“... <sup>6</sup>The Lord wills not that those who respect Him should be in uncleanness, nor does He take pleasure in them that commit adultery, but in those that approach Him with a pure heart and undefiled lips ... <sup>5:2</sup>Woman, respect God, and do not this evil deed, otherwise you be destroyed ...” (*T.Jos* 4:6; 5:2).

At last, when Joseph had experienced much suffering and had remained obedient, he was bought by the Memphian woman with gold. Not seeking to repay evil with evil, he says:

“... [O]ut of my humility and long-suffering ... And a hundred talents of gold were given me with her, and the Lord made them to **serve me** (κύριός μοι αὐτοὺς **ἐδούλωσεν**)” (*T.Jos* 18:3).

Because Joseph remained a true “slave of God”, God delivered him from his slavery.

#### 4.3.5.3 Conclusion

Although the evil deed of his brothers caused Joseph to fall into external bondage, it does not mean that Joseph was not free, because he remained true to his status as “slave of God”

remaining obedient to his commandments. He was not enslaved by internal evil desire. He may have been enslaved physically, but he was free spiritually. Having been enslaved because of an evil deed, Joseph did not return the evil of his brothers and did not fall into the temptation of the Egyptian woman. Rather, he was humble and obedient during all his unjust sufferings. Because of obedience to his Lord, he was exalted, which presents him as an example of the pattern of Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation.

#### **4.3.6 The book of Jewish War**

##### **4.3.6.1 Introduction**

*Jewish War* was written in Aramaic in 73 AD and translated into Greek around 75-81 AD (Bird 2013:399; Mason 1991:56). It served as an official account of, as well as propaganda for the Jewish War. Josephus wrote the book as a warning against a revolution against Rome (Byron 2003:81). It is an apology from the Romans to the Jews, because God was on the side of the Romans due to Judean impiety; it was also a defense of Judean character from caustic criticism following the disaster of 70 AD (Bird 2013:399).

Josephus responds to the slavery issue by explaining the ramifications of slavery in the concept of Jewish understanding of themselves as slaves of God. Before investigating how Josephus uses slavery imagery, it is necessary to grasp some knowledge of the Fourth Philosophy that is rejected by Josephus in *Jewish War* (1984).

##### **(1) The Fourth Philosophy**

Josephus calls people of the Fourth Philosophy those rooted in Jewish piety and theological motivation because of their zeal and nationalism. They were insistent on the autocratic rule of God (like Judith and 2 Maccabees). This is evidenced by Judas, a Galilean, who incited the Jews to revolt against Rome by not paying taxes, emphasising God as their only master in the world and that surrender to Rome was intolerable. Therefore, to be under the reign of the Roman Emperor was like committing idolatry, as is described in *Jewish War* (1984:7:323):

“Since we, long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be **servants [slaves]** (**δουλεύειν**) to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone is the true and just Lord of mankind, the time is now come that obliges us to make that resolution true in practice.”

Judas, who believed in synergy with God, incited the people to revolt so that God could come to their assistance. To be a slave of God does not allow surrender to a foreign power which should be resisted:

“... those who were compelled to come, many preferred death to **captivity** (ἦς αἰχμαλωσίας)” (Jwr 1:311).

It is clear that for Josephus submission to slavery in reality cancels the high status of being “slave of God”.

## (2) Διάκονος and δοῦλος in *Jewish War*

When Josephus identifies himself as slave of God, he does not use δοῦλος, which was applied by the prophets in the Old Testament to themselves. Instead, he uses the word διάκονος. Even though both of these words can be applied to different concepts, διάκονος is used in the context of *Jewish War* to emphasise obedience as a synonym for slavery. He does not use δοῦλος, so he can separate himself from the prophets in the Old Testament even though he echoes some of their thoughts (Byron 2003:87). Thus, διάκονος retains for Josephus the same meaning as δοῦλος did for the prophets.

### 4.3.6.2 Slavery in Jewish War

The image of slavery can be categorised into two subunits: (1) Josephus as slave of God, and (2) being a slave of God under Roman rule.

#### (1) Josephus as slave of God

After the Jews were defeated by the Romans, Josephus was given dreams (Jwr 3:351<sup>86</sup>) and identified himself as slave of God by saying:

“... I willingly give them my hands, and am content to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter of the Jews, but as **a minister** (slave [διάκονος]) from you” (Jwr 3:354).

When Josephus was discovered by Romans in the cave of Jotapata, he had a series of dreams which revealed knowledge of the prophecies of the Scriptures (Jwr 3:351-354<sup>87</sup>). He recognized

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<sup>86</sup> Jwr 3:351: “And now, as Nicanor pressed hard on Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand both the future calamities of the Jews, and the events that concerned the Roman emperors.”

<sup>87</sup> Jwr 3:351-354: “<sup>352</sup>Now Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books, as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests; <sup>353</sup>and just then was he in an ecstasy; and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said: ‘Since it pleases you, who has created the Jewish nation, to depress the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans; and since you have made choice of this soul of mine to foretell what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly give them my hands, and am content to live. And I protest

that God had already decided to destroy the Temple through the Romans. With this understanding, Josephus surrenders himself to the Romans. For him, submitting to Rome does not equal abandoning the Jewish nation in order to save his own life, but rather, as obedient slave of God, he allows this to happen.

The status of Josephus as slave of God is also given by Vespasian:

“... It is a shameful thing (said he) that this man, who has foretold my coming to the empire beforehand, and been **the minister (διάκονος)** of a divine message to me” (Jwr 4:626).

The acts of Josephus, as obedient slave of God, include willingness to submit to Caesar Vespasian because he thought that physical enslavement under Rome was merely a temporary state in which he could still fulfill his duty as slave of God. Josephus refused to rebel against those whom God has established as the new sovereign of the world. It was possible to be an obedient slave of God even when enslaved to the Roman emperor (Byron 2003:88).

## (2) Slave of God under Roman rule

Likewise, the Jews can still be slaves of God in the reign of Rome, as Josephus says:

“That they must know the Roman power was invincible, and that they had been used to **serve** them” (Jwr 5:364).

Josephus, as slave of God, proclaims that God is on the side of the Romans (cf Jwr 2:358, 361, 365<sup>88</sup>, 373, 377-379) because the Jews are being tested by God concerning their obedience to God's commandments (Jwr 5:402-412). If the Jews rebel against Rome, it would be an act of disobedience to God (Jwr 5:367<sup>89</sup>; 378). Agrippa's speech in *Jewish War* 2:345-401 dissuades his fellow Jews from fighting against the Romans (Hezser 2005:342).

By using an example from the history of Israel, Josephus points out that slavery to the Roman Empire should not be resisted:

"You are also acquainted with **the slavery** we were under at Babylon (ἴστε καὶ τῆν

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openly, that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter of the Jews, but as a minister from you (ὡς ... σὸς εἶμι διάκονος).”

<sup>88</sup> Jwr 2:365: “Perhaps it will be said, it is hard to endure slavery. Yes; but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun! These, though they inhabit in a large country, are in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods. It is the same case with the Macedonians, who have more just reason to claim their liberty than you have.”

<sup>89</sup> Jwr 5:367: “And evident it is, that fortune is on all hands gone over to them; and that God, when he had gone around the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts, as well as among men, to yield to those who are too strong for them; and to allow those to have the dominion who are too hard.”

ἐν Βαβυλῶνι **δουλείαν**), where the people were captives for seventy years ... God made Cyrus his gracious instrument in bringing it about; accordingly, they were set free by him ... we can produce no example wherein our fathers had any success by war, or failed in success when without war they committed themselves to God ..." (Jwr 5:389-390).

Further emphasis of this concept is Egypt's threat of slavery. The right response was not to fight the oppressor, but to remain obedient to God and commit themselves to the situation. This obedience caused the Egyptians to free them (Jwr 5:382-383). Similarly, Abraham did not fight with Pharaoh when Sarah was taken from him, but prayed to God and God returned his wife (Jwr 5:379-381).

After giving these positive examples of slavery in foreign countries, Josephus recounts some negative examples of attempts to resist the enemy through war and violence and asks:

"[W]hat can it be that has stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? Is it not the impiety of the inhabitants? Where did our servitude commence?" (Jwr 5:395).

And:

"Was it not derived from the seditions that were among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pompey upon this city" (Jwr 5:396).

These historical events of Jewish captivity show that all the people whom they waged war against, such as Zedekiah, the Maccabees, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and Antigonus, were all plundered and destroyed (Jwr 5:391<sup>90</sup>-398). Therefore, rather than fighting back, it was better to remain obedient to God under any kind of oppression, because slavery does not depend on human effort but on being committed to God, who will exalt his slaves over their oppressors (cf 4.2.5; Byron 2003:93).

#### **4.3.6.3 Conclusion**

In *Jewish War*, Josephus, as slave of God, shows that the Jews can still be slaves of God under the reign of the Roman Empire, because to be under the power of a foreign country requires a dependence on God's providence. By submitting themselves to God's providence as obedient

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<sup>90</sup> Jwr 5:391: "... <sup>391</sup>for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our King Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to what predictions were made to him by Jeremiah the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the temple demolished. Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king, than is that of your present governors, and that of the people then under him, than is that of yours at this time!"

slaves of God, God will lift them up over their oppressors. For Josephus there is no contradiction. The image of slavery for Josephus is that all humanity can become slaves of God and history illustrates God's providence in the world. Therefore, a true slave of God remains obedient to God – also when there is physical slavery.

### **4.3.7 The book of Antiquities**

#### **4.3.7.1 Introduction**

*Antiquities* was probably written in 93-94 BC (Bird 2013:399; Feldman 1984:136). *Antiquities* is an interpretation of the Old Testament narratives. The style of writing is apologetic and reworks Jewish tradition to make it comprehensible for a Graeco-Roman public (Attridge 1976:17; Feldman 1984:135). More specifically, by changing forms of the scriptures, Josephus' apologetic tendency presents Judaism in a favorable light to a non-Jewish audience in an atmosphere of anti-Semitism (Ant 14:187, 16:174-175; Bilde 1988:93; Goldenberg 1984:198). His purpose is to convince non-Jewish readers of the truth and value of the ancient Jewish scriptures, religion and history (Bilde 1988:98-99). Moreover, by using the Old Testament narratives, Josephus, using personal creative ways, reflects on his experience and responds to the requirements of a particular situation. All his efforts constitute an attempt to proclaim the significance of Judaism to the Graeco-Roman world (Attridge 1976:27; Ant 3:33; 4:2, 10, 60). Moral behaviour plays an important part in the transformation of scripture intertwining moral actions with a relationship with God.

Before investigating the image of slavery in *Antiquities*, there are some important elements that differ from slavery images in the Old Testament which need to be understood due to the specific social context. Firstly, the covenant which separates Israel from the Gentiles is never mentioned in *Antiquities*. The covenants between God and certain persons or the nation are turned into an agreement between God and all people; the giving of the Law at Mt. Sinai is not mentioned (Attridge 1976:80; cf Byron 2003:77; Feldman 1984:145). By changing covenant into agreement, benefactor terminology is upheld, i.e. patron-client relationships, and there is potential for universal application in the arrangement between God and all human beings (Ant 1:14, 20; Attridge 1976:81; Feldman 1984:146). Such an idea emphasises that Israel's God is universal and provides aid and protection to a favored people who act in loyalty and obedience to his stipulations (Byron 2003:77). Therefore, Israel is a chosen nation who makes God known to other nations. Instead of recounting the history of individuals who act on behalf of the Israelites, *Antiquities* places emphasis on God's providence.

In *Antiquities* Josephus removes the concept of return and restoration (Dt 30:3) which was prominent in Jewish literature in the pattern of Sin-Exile-Return. This is because Josephus' theology is not based on the covenant, but on all people's obedience to God in response to

God's provision (Byron 2003:80). Therefore, without focusing on the covenant of Israel, Josephus transforms Israel's God from the God of a certain nation (Jews) to the God of all humanity.

#### 4.3.7.2 Slavery in Antiquities

The image of slavery can be categorised into four subunits: (1) Israel as slave of God; (2) slavery to pleasure; (3) slavery to passion; (4) slavery to envy.

##### (1) Israel as slave of God

The slavery image is used in *Antiquities* 2:329, 345:

“<sup>329</sup>But Moses ... out of his trust in God, who, as he had afforded them the various steps already taken for the recovery of their liberty ... (God) would not now suffer them to be subdued by their enemies, to be either made **slaves** or be slain by them ... <sup>345</sup>when those that would have forced them into **slavery** were killed ... they found they had God so evidently for their protector.”

God, as master, grants his help to a certain favored people, the Israelites (Ant 2:332), and protects them when they are threatened by the Egyptians who make them their slaves. God's providence to his chosen people is made manifest in miraculous salvific acts and continued encouragement to remain faithful to him (Attridge 1976:78). In the prayer of Moses (Ant 2:334-337<sup>91</sup>), the language refers to God as the one who helps (βοηθός) and acts as an ally (σύμμαχος) to humanity (Byron 2003:77). This kind of prayer is characteristic of many biblical personas, such as Abraham (Ant 1:229<sup>92</sup>; cf Feldman 1984:147), Isaac (Ant 1:273), Joseph (Ant 2:122<sup>93</sup>) and Moses (Ant 3:302; 4:182, 185). Thus, Josephus points out that the Lord of Israel is the master of the whole world and will be a Helper and an Assistant to all the people who ask Him.

##### (2) Slavery to pleasure

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<sup>91</sup> Ant 2:334-337: “... <sup>2:334</sup>Moses was come to the sea shore, he took his rod, and made supplication to God, and called upon him to be their **helper** (βοηθόν) and **assistant** (σύμμαχον) ... <sup>335</sup>You are not ignorant, O Lord, that it is beyond human strength and human contrivance to avoid the difficulties we are now under; but it must be your work altogether to procure deliverance to this host, which has left Egypt at your appointment. <sup>336</sup>We are in a helpless place, but still it is a place that you possess; still the sea is yours, the mountains also that enclose us are yours; so that these mountains will open themselves if you command them, and the sea also, if you command it, will become dry land. Nay, we might escape by a flight through the air, if you should determine we should have that way of salvation ...”

<sup>92</sup> Ant 1:229: “... God ... has thought fit now to require this testimony of honour to himself, on account of **the favours** he has conferred on me, in being to me a **supporter** (σύμμαχος) and defender.”

<sup>93</sup> Ant 2:122: “... [H]e replied that the God over all was his protector.”

After being rescued from slavery by God, Israel wandered around from place to place because water was either bitter or scarce (Ant 3:3; Ant 3:10). They blamed their leader, Moses, wanting to stone him (Ant 3:11, 13). Moses reminded them of how God, their master, saved them from Egypt in order to test his slave, Israel, saying:

“he (God) may learn whether you (Israelites) have souls great enough to bear want of food, and scarcity of water, on its account; or whether you rather love to be slaves (ἢ **δουλεύειν** μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶτε), as cattle are slaves to such as own them ...” (Ant 3:20).

The image of slavery illustrates that, like animals, people can allow the pleasure of food and water to enslave their souls. This is the reason why God delays assisting them from this affliction because He, as Moses says, will first test their fortitude (Ant 3:19).

In *Antiquities*, the pleasure of the people is envisioned as an evil power, as Noah saw humanity around him being enslaved to their wicked pleasures (οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας ἀλλ’ ἰσχυρῶς **ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς** – Ant 1:74). Similarly, the young inhabitants of Gibeah, who were overcome **by their pleasures** (**ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς** εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἐξαμαρτάνοντας –Ant 5:144), wanted to sexually assault a guest (Ant 5:143). The evil pleasure could be either greed or sexual immorality.

Josephus portrays Joseph as a good example of a human being who follows the Law of God by running away from the evil pleasure offered by Potiphar’s wife:

“... [A]s regarding that state of slavery he was in, and not his moral character [καὶ πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τότε **δουλείας** ἀλλ’ οὐ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον]” (Ant 2:42).

By using this example Josephus demonstrates that, even though Joseph holds slave status, his heart is free in accordance with the Law of God (cf 4.2.3.5: *T. Joseph*). Joseph remained true to his status as “slave of God”. It does not matter what a person status or race is, but whether a person lives in a manner that is pleasing to God. The main lesson of *Antiquities* (1:14; 20 - τὸ σύνολον; **τὸ παιδεύμα**) is that God is watchfully caring (πρόνοια) for the world and rewards obedient people with happiness (εὐδαιμονία) but punishes disobedience. God’s intervention in human affairs is indeed a consistent emphasis of Josephus’s biblical paraphrase (Mason 1991:184).

Thus, the concept of the Law relates to moral capability and virtue of the people (Ant 1:14, 20, and 23) (Bilde 1988:101). Joseph and Moses are presented as the perfect expression of virtue and teach that men should strive to attain this moral attribute.

### **(3) Slavery to passion**

Another example of wickedness in the human heart is passion by which people are enslaved. Like Cleopatra:

“... all this suffice so extravagant a woman, who was a **slave to her lusts** (**δουλεύουση ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις**), but she still imagined that she wanted everything she could think of ...” (Ant 15:91).

Women, according to Josephus, are easily enslaved to an extravagant and luxurious way of living which in turn enslaves their lovers, like Pheroras who

“... was greatly **enslaved** (**ἐδεδούλωτο**) to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister” (Ant 17:34).

Accordingly, the woman of the household could take advantage of the weaknesses of her husband, son and lover and exploit them for her purposes, as Mariamne did:

“As for her (Mariamne), she was in other respects a chaste woman, and faithful to him; yet had she something of a woman rough by nature, and treated her husband imperiously enough, because she saw he was so fond of her as to **be enslaved to her** (**δεδουλωμένω** διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν) ...” (Ant 15:219).

The passage shows criticism of the weakness and foolishness of men, as well as stereotyping women as seductresses prone to plots and intrigues (Hezser 2005:335).

The one who is enslaved by his passion for self-reputation would be a cruel murderer. For instance, Herod was defeated by his own passion (Ant 16:153) to be honoured by all people. If they did not honour him, he would persecute his kin and friends, punishing them as severely as his enemies (Ant 16:156-157<sup>94</sup>).

#### **(4) Slavery to envy**

Still another example of wickedness in the human heart, according to Josephus, is envy (**φθόνος**). It can also enslave people and cause disobedience to God's chosen leader, like Korah provoked people against Moses:

“And now all were, in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from **their**

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<sup>94</sup> Ant 16:156-157: “if anyone was not very obsequious to him in his language, and would not confess himself to be **his slave** (**τὸ δοῦλον** ἐξομολογούμενος), or but seemed to think of any sedition in his government, he was not able to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies” (Ant 16:156).

**slavery** under him who, under colour of the Divine laid violent injunctions upon them ...” (Ant 4:22).

The tumult here is raised by Korah who envies Moses and thinks that his own status is the same as that of Moses (Ant 4:19). Korah stirs up people to reject Moses’ leadership because he thinks that Moses chose his brother Aaron to be a priest by his own will. Therefore the people must be relieved from slavery under this tyrant (Moses). Even though the slavery imagery here refers to Moses as the one who enslaves the people, this is not the case, because the real oppressor is envy that captivates the heart of Korah (Ant 4:14 - εἶχεν ὑπὸ φθόνου), causes rebellion against their leader and makes the community fall into disorder (Ant 4:6, 11).

By using rebellious Korah, Josephus referred to the Zealots who did not obey the Law of God and incited the people to go against Rome for their own political desire. This is the reason God abandoned the temple and sent the Romans to afflict the people with slavery (Byron 2003:80):

“... the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city; and as for the temple ... brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it; and brought upon us, our wives, and children, **slavery** (δουλείαν), as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities” (Ant 20:166).

Josephus thought that the Jews would have learned how to live under foreign dominion, because the prophet Jeremiah had already predicted that God would liberate them from Babylonian slavery after seventy years (Ant 10:112-113; cf Hezser 2005:343). Therefore, resistance is pointless.

#### **4.3.7.3 Conclusion**

In *Antiquities* Josephus pictures the Israelites as being rescued by God as his slaves, and therefore obliged to obey the Law of God. The purpose of the Israelites as slaves of God is to show who God really is and what God intends for humanity. The Jews have to be disciplined and restrained from being enslaved to any kind of wicked pleasure, passion and envy. This slavery is not only limited to the Jews, but includes all humanity. All the people in the world must be obedient to God in order to have a good life. Therefore, being slaves of God is no longer a distinctive mark of identity for the Jews.

## 4.3.8 The treatise of That Every Good Person Is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit)

### 4.3.8.1 Introduction

The treatise of That Every Good Person Is Free was written by Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 BC – 50 AD<sup>95</sup>), whose writings provided a context for the early churches of the Diaspora<sup>96</sup>. Philo was a Jewish scholar, philosopher and politician who was devoted to the Jewish religion (Byron 2003:101; Schenck 2005:9; Seland 2013:405). He was a Diaspora Jew. As such, he provides us with important information about the boundaries of Judaism, the similarities and differences of Diaspora Jews in comparison with the Jews who lived in Israel (Schenck 2005:2).

Even though Greek education and philosophy (Platonism, Stoicism and Pythagoreanism) influenced Philo's writings, he strived to maintain his Jewish faith in a foreign setting (Schenck 2005:3; Seland 2013:406). The treatise of That Every Good Person Is Free is filled with the ideas of Stoicism (cf 5.2.4). The main concern of this treatise is not physical slavery, but rather the implications of moral slavery.

### 4.3.8.2 Slavery in That Every Good Person Is Free

The image of slavery in the treatise can be divided into three categories: (1) physical slavery; (2) slavery to passions and vices; and (3) true freedom.

#### (1) Physical slavery

Philo states that slavery should not be evaluated by the physical:

“...<sup>34</sup> men are compelled and constrained to put their hands (ὕφ' οἷ βιασθέντες ἐγχειρεῖν) to the most ignominious and slavish tasks (καὶ τοῖς δουλοπρεπεστάτοις), digging and cultivating the ground and laboring at the employments of handicrafts-

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<sup>95</sup> At this period of time the Roman Empire allowed Alexandrian Jews to be autonomic by retaining their own ancestral customs, a foreign king could be tolerated. Under these circumstances the voluntary submission to foreign domination strongly contrasts with the ideology of The Fourth Philosophy identified by Josephus (cf 4.2.3.6 above). Therefore, Philo, like Josephus, agrees that it is possible to serve God even under the reign of a foreign king. Philo, like Josephus, avoids the use of covenant language to emphasise a special relationship between Jews and God. He only strives to provide a philosophical explanation of events of Jewish tradition and interprets the covenant as a gift from God to those who have gained virtue and wisdom and who are determined to live free of sin and guilt. These people will receive assistance from God. Therefore, Philo thinks that the Jewish relationship with God is a service to God on behalf of all humanity (cf Byron 2003:103-104).

<sup>96</sup> There are three different categories in the writings of Philo: (1) commentaries on Scripture; (2) apologetic/historical treatises; and (3) philosophical treatises. Most of his writings belong to the first category (Schenck 2005:14-22). This study will focus on his commentaries on Scripture and the philosophical treatises pertaining to the image of slavery. Philo gives an explanation of slavery from a philosophical point of view, while staying true to his Jewish background. The best contribution on the topic of slavery is in his treatise *That Every Good Person Is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit)*. His exegetical works are subsequently investigated.

men, and serving without hesitation for the sake of procuring food to support life ...

<sup>35</sup>There are others also who are **slaves by birth** (εἰσὶν ἐκ γένους δοῦλοι) ... they have become stewards of houses, and properties, and large possessions, and sometimes they are even appointed rulers of their fellow slaves ... they are slaves, though employed in borrowing, in buying, in collecting revenues, and though they are themselves attended by other servants ..." (Prb 34-35).

Philo argues that some people who are slaves by birth or by the misfortune of being kidnapped and sold as workers, labourers, stewards of houses, are not really slaves. Even though these people are slaves in status, they may learn to appreciate the true freedom of virtue by which happiness and joy of life in any circumstances are gained (Prb 41; cf Byron 2003:107). On the contrary, some free men who are enslaved by anger are not free, even though they are born into nobility. Philo argues that true slavery is not a matter of physical subjection but captivity and domination of the soul by a desire for pleasure and passion (Prb 17).

## **(2) Slavery to passions and vices**

A real slave is controlled by passions and vices, the unlawful masters of the soul (οἱ ψυχῆς παρανομώτατοι ἄρχοντες; cf Prb 22):

"there are a great many things which stand in the way of the liberty of a wicked man; covetousness of money (φιλαργυρία), the desire of glory (φιλοδοξία), the love of pleasure (φιληδονία), and so on" (Prb 21; 64-65).

One who is enslaved by covetousness of money is inwardly a slave, deceived by the very sight of money (Prb 65). The one who is enslaved by a desire for glory cannot be a teacher to set slaves free even if he gains the glory of a title, because he himself is a slave to that desire (Prb 156-157).

Slavery is a matter of the soul, because external things enslave one so that one cannot be free. This kind of person

"[O]ut of a lowly and slavish spirit submits himself to lowly and slavish actions in spite of his deliberate judgment, is really and truly a slave ... " (Prb 24).

A real slave does not look on mortal things, which are

"... tossed about in an everlasting storm and fluctuation of affairs so as to be subject to the greatest variety of changes and vicissitudes ... " (Prb 24).

Philo compares this slave to

“...folly [which] is a light thing easily tossed about in every direction ...” (Prb 28).

Even if one is born into a noble family to a become leader, a fool will turn to the tyrants of passion and pleasure and become enslaved:

“... those who are under the dominion of anger, or appetite, or any other passion, or of treacherous wickedness, are in every respect slaves ...” (Prb 1:45).

Therefore, true freedom is not accorded by status, but by an inner-being that is not compelled by passions. True freedom is possessed by the person who acts sensibly, with wisdom, and who cannot be forced to do anything contrary to virtue (Byron 2003:107).

### **(3) True freedom**

A real free person is one that has

“... by diligent consideration fully assured himself that all divine things are honoured by eternal order and happiness” (Prb 1:24).

Genuinely free persons are not those who claim self-determination, but those who honour and are ruled by God:

“... in real truth, that man alone is free who has God for his leader ...” (Prb 1:20).

A truly free person is one who allows God to rule over their soul, rather than passions or vices, like, according to Philo, Moses:

“the lawgiver of the Jews ventures upon a more bold assertion even than this, inasmuch as he was, as it is reported, a student and practicer of plain philosophy; and so he teaches that the man who is wholly possessed with the love of God and who **serves** (θεραπεύω) the living God alone, is no longer man, but actually God, being indeed the God of men, but not of the parts of nature, in order to leave to the Father of the universe the attributes of being both and God” (Prb 43).

Moses is an epitome of slave of God because he possessed the love of God, served the living God and was not enslaved by passions. Having served God, Moses earned the status of a free person rather than of a slave because he had God as his friend and worshipped him as the only true God (*De sobrietate* 55; cf Garnsey 1996:160;Hezser 2005:420):

"Is it right, then, to think a man who is invested with such privileges as these a slave, or rather as the only one who is free? Who, even though he may not be thought worthy of himself of being classed as God, one nevertheless ought by all

means to pronounce happy, by reason of his having God for his friend ... "(Prb 44).

Therefore Moses is a virtuous and wise man who is not easily agitated by outward things so that, serving the living God, he can be a leader of flocks (Prb 28-30). God is the only source of wisdom.

#### **4.3.8.3 Conclusion**

Philo emphasises that slavery does not depend on a person's status or where a person is born, but whether a person is enslaved in his soul. A person who rejects God as master is enslaved by unwise passions. A real free man is one who worships the only true God, like Moses, and is a friend of God rather than slave of God.

### **4.3.9 The commentaries of Scripture**

#### **4.3.9.1 Introduction**

The main purpose of the commentaries of Scripture was to comment on the Pentateuch and to provide Jewish and Hellenistic readers with an understanding of its theology (Byron 2003:109).

#### **4.3.9.2 Slavery in the commentaries of Scripture**

Philo's thoughts on slavery in these reflections are more theological than philosophical in meaning. The use of the image of slavery in these treatises can be divided into two categories: (1) Slavery of the soul and (2) slavery to God.

##### **(1) Slavery of the soul**

Philo thinks that slavery and freedom are matters of morality. The battleground where these qualities are won and lost is in the human mind, which must be ruled by reason as opposed to pleasure. Philo gives an allegorical explanation of Esau and Jacob, who each represents a different moral inclination:

"... they say that Jacob and Esau, the former being the ruler, and governor, and master, and Esau being the subject and the **slave (δοῦλον)**, had their several estates appointed to them while they were still in the world ... Two nations are in thy womb, and two people shall come forth from thy bowels, and one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall save the younger (ὁ μείζων **δουλεύσει** τῷ ἐλάσσονι)"(Leg 3:88).

Esau, who is wicked and void of reason, is a slave in the eye of God (Leg 3:39; 88-89) and so has to be led by his younger brother (Garnsey 1996:165). Here, pleasure is presented as deceiver (τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπατώσης; cf Leg 3:63) and makes reason the slave of pleasure (Leg 2:17, 26), which is related to the consumption of food and drink. Philo reminds himself:

"I myself ... know that it has done so with regard to many of the passions, for when I have gone to entertainments where no respect was paid to discipline, and to sumptuous banquets, whenever I went without taking Reason with me as a guide, I became a **slave** (**δοῦλος** ἐγενόμην) to the luxuries that lay before me, being under the guidance of masters who could not be tamed, with sights and sounds of temptation, and all other such things also as work pleasure in a man by the agency of his senses of smell and taste. But when I approach such scenes in the company of reason, I then become a **master instead of a slave** (**δεσπότης ἀντὶ δούλου** γίνομαι): and without being subdued myself win a glorious victory of self-denial and temperance; opposing and contending against all the appetites which subdue the intemperate" (Leg 3:156).

With the loss of reason, individuals become enslaved to the passions that drive them to pleasure and are not able to control themselves. Adam and Eve were also enslaved by passions in *On the Creation (De Opificio)*:

"But its juggleries and deceits pleasure does not venture to bring directly to the man, but first offers them to the woman, and by her means to the man; acting in a very natural and sagacious manner. For in human beings the mind occupies the rank of the man and the sensations that of the woman. And pleasure joins itself to and associates itself with the sensations first of all, and then by their means cajoles also the mind, which is **the dominant part** (οἷ ὤν καὶ τὸν **ἡγεμόνα** νοῦν φενακίζει) ... " (Opi 1:165; cf Moses [De vita Mosis] 1:299-301<sup>97</sup>).

The serpent symbolizes pleasure, which deceives Adam and Eve and causes them to devote themselves to evil things. This deception was not physical, but mental and led to

"... drunkenness and voracity, and licentiousness, breaking through and inflaming the appetites of the belly, and enslaving them in subjection to gluttony (ἀνδραποδίζουσαι πρὸς γαστριμαργίαν), by which they strengthen the impetuous passions, the seat of which is beneath the belly; and make them break forth" (Opi 1:158).

Human beings were

"neither irrational pleasures to obtain **mastery over** the soul (ἡδοναὶ ψυχῆς **δυναστεύωσι**) raising up a wall of gluttony and lasciviousness, nor desires of glory, or power, or riches, to assume **dominion over life** (τὸ τοῦ βίου κράτος

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<sup>97</sup> The passages of scripture describe that Israelites were deceived by pleasure and seduced by women to be slaves of passion.

**ἀνάψωνται**), nor pains to contract and warp the intellect, nor that evil councilor" (Opi 1:79).

Because they were made in the image of God, human beings were not made to be enslaved, but rather to have dominion over the animals. (Opi 134) However, human beings enslave themselves. They

"... become **the slaves of pleasure** (τῆς ἡδονῆς ... γενόμενοι δοῦλοι) immediately receive the wages of this miserable and incurable passion" (Opi 1:167).

Philo points out that enslavement to pleasure is the main reason why God's wisdom is rejected:

"On account of the external sensation, the mind, when it has become **enslaved** (ὅταν αὐτῇ **δουλωθῇ**) to it, shall leave both its father, the God of the universe, and the mother of all things, namely, the virtue and wisdom of God, and cleaves to and becomes united to the external sensations, and is dissolved into external sensation, so that the two become one flesh and one passion ..." (Leg 2:49).

## **(2) Slavery to the master, God**

Philo made the following assumptions about God as a master in *On the Creation (De Opificio)* 171-172:

"... <sup>171</sup>the world also which was thus created is one, since also the Creator is one, and he, making his creation to resemble himself in its singleness, employed all existing essence in the creation of the universe ... <sup>172</sup>the Creator must always care for that which he has created, just as parents do also care for their children ..."

It shows that God is the creator of all creation, not out of need, but out of love. Philo, therefore, indicates in *On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)* that human beings

"are slaves, follow our master (ἐψόμεθα οἱ δοῦλοι τῷ δεσπότῃ), admiring, in an exceeding degree, the great First Cause of all things, and not altogether despising our own nature ..." (Mut 46).

God, as a kind master, gave the covenant to Abraham through whom the gift of grace is attained by all men (Mut 58). Abraham, like a slave, fell on his face when he met God (Mut 54) and God changed his name from Abram to Abraham — from being a bad man to a wise man to learn the sublime subject (Mut 63). As Moses indicates, Abraham is a wise leader (Mut 152) because he has the wisdom of God. His name was changed as proof that his character had changed (Mut 124). As slave of God, Abraham's loyalty and obedience provided him with the

boldness to talk openly with God. In *Who Is the Heir of Divine Things? (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)* 7-8:

"When therefore is it proper for the servant [**slave**] (τοῦ θεοῦ **δοῦλον**) of God to use freedom of speech to the ruler and master of himself (ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόνα καὶ **δεσπότην**), and of the whole world? ... it ... is aware in his conscience that he loves **his master** (**φιλοδέσποτον**), feeling more joy at the fact of **being a servant of God** (**θεράπων θεοῦ γενέσθαι**), than he would if he were sovereign over the whole race of mankind, and were invested without any effort on his part with the supreme authority over land and sea. ... Abraham displayed his love to **his master** (τὰς δὲ **φιλοδεσπότους** θεραπείας καὶ λειτουργίας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ) in the last sentence of the divine oracle given to his son, 'I will give to thee and to thy seed all this land, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because Abraham your father obeyed my voice, and kept all my precepts, and all my commandments, and my laws, and my judgments.'"

God, as the master who creates all, can manipulate the order of creation to order Manna from heaven and water from the rock. Philo emphasises the power of God in *On The Life of Moses (De Vita Mosis)* 1:201 by saying:

"But it is not one portion only of the universe, but the whole world that belongs to God, and all its parts obey their master (δεσπότη δοῦλα ὑπηρετήσοντα), supplying everything which he desires that they should supply" (Mos 1:201).

God is the master of all, including human beings who are under the complete sovereignty of God. Therefore, Philo proclaims that humanity must be obedient with holy reverence to God, who is their master, ruler, and king, in *On the Giants (De Gigantibus)* 46-47:

"... <sup>46</sup> And it is not safe for subjects to do wrong in the presence of their rulers, nor for **slaves** (**δούλοις**) to err before their **masters** (**δεσποτῶν ἀδικεῖν**); for when the punishers are near, those whose nature is not quick at submitting to admonitions are held in restraint and order by fear for God, having filled everything with himself, is near at hand, so that he is looking over everything and standing by, we being filled with a great and holy reverence."

Moses prays in *On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)* that all things created are dependent on the creator:

"For, O **master** (**δέσποτα**), you are the maker of all good and holy things, as, on the other hand, corruptible creation is of what is evil and profane. Reign you

throughout infinite eternity over the suppliant soul; not leaving it for a single moment without a governor. For an uninterrupted **service** (γὰρ ἀδιάστατος παρὰ σοὶ **δουλεία**) under them is not only better than freedom, but even than the most extensive dominion" (PLA 53).

Without God, humanity cannot rule over the created and their souls have no one to guide them through eternity. Humanity must be obedient and loyal to God, as a slave to the master, as Joseph responds to his brothers about his dream, in *On Dreams (De Somniis)* 2:100:

"in being whose servants we rejoice more than anyone else can do in his liberty; for to be **the servant (slave) of God** (γὰρ ἔστι τὸ **δουλεύειν θεῷ**) is the most excellent of all things which are honoured in creation."

#### 4.3.9.3 Conclusion

Philo points out that slavery is a matter of morality. Humanity must be ruled by God-given reason. However, human beings who have been enslaved by pleasure or passion, like Adam, Eve and Esau, are separated from God when they gratify their desire for pleasure. Not only are human beings submitted to the Creator as his slaves, like Abraham who was loyal to his master and changed by him; they can really know how to live or rule their lives with wisdom under the dominion of their master, without being enslaved by anything.

#### 4.4 CONCLUSION

In 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Jewish culture, as tensions between the Jews and Rome increased because of the destruction of the Temple in 66-70 AD, the Mishnah and Tosefta became very important to the Jews to explain the legal norms of the Pentateuch's law in their social context. Following the basic standard of the Pentateuch's law regarding slavery, the Mishnah and Tosefta valued slaves higher than objects and animals, based on their ability to reason, but slaves had to be disciplined in order to have good moral behaviour. However, manumission of non-Jewish slaves is not mentioned.

The metaphorical use of slavery in 1st century AD Jewish culture can be summarised as follows:

- 1) Judith and 2 Maccabees place emphasis on nationalism as a criterion of slavery because Israel was ruled by foreign nations. As slave of God, the Jews strove to resist slavery because they could only be ruled by God or those who were elected by God. Thus slavery under a foreign king was intolerable.
- 2) The pattern of Sin-Exile-Return (1 Baruch and 4 Baruch) accentuates that slavery under a foreign king came about because of the sins of the people which resulted in the

exile. Slavery to the foreign king is tolerable only if the people repent and return to their master, God, who, as a powerful master, will restore his slaves (the Jews).

3) The pattern of Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation (the Testament of Joseph) posits that a slave of God has to humble himself before God and be obedient to the commandments in any kind of enslavement. God, as master, will then exalt his slave. Thus, to be slave of God in foreign countries is tolerable when a slave of God humbles himself before God and lives a moral life.

4) Some authors of Judaism were influenced by the Graeco-Roman philosophical thoughts and focuses even more on living a moral life (Josephus and Philo). They believed that it is possible to be a slave of God while being enslaved to a foreign power, because the real slave is one who is enslaved by passion, desire and pleasure. The one who enslaves the people is changed from a physical Empire to a spiritual moral type of dominion. Thus, ethnicity is no longer important because every good person is free before God if they are not under the subjection of evil intention, but under the commandments of God – and thus true to the status of “slave of God”.

5) All the authors of the above-mentioned early Jewish writings underscore the monotheism of the Old Testament, which depicts Israel's God as the one who created the whole world.

Like the authors of early Jewish literature, Paul knew that Israel's God is the Lord of the entire world. He kept his promise to Abraham by sending Jesus Christ, his son, to intervene in human history and restore the world. Therefore, by the death and resurrection of his only son, Jesus Christ, who is the perfect model of obedience to God, God redeemed all the nations so that everyone who believes in Jesus Christ can have access to the Father.

Like Jeremiah, Baruch and Abimelech (1 Baruch and 4 Baruch), Paul identifies himself as slave of God, although, in the case of Paul, he is slave of the Son of God, Christ, (χριστοῦ δοῦλος; Ga 1:10), who gave himself for him (Ga 2:20) and for all the people who believe (Ga 1:4), and who called him to be a messenger (slave of Christ) to the nations. The transformation of becoming a slave of God and a slave of Christ is very similar, according to Paul. The purpose of being a slave of Christ, who is a model of obedience to God, is not to please people (Ga 1:10), but to proclaim the true Gospel, not only to the Jews, but also to all the nations, so that everyone who believes in Jesus Christ the Lord will be one in him, without any social and gender distinctions (Ga 3:28). Similar to the prophet Jeremiah and Baruch, Paul believed that to be a slave of God/Christ is to be loyal to the message of his Lord even in the face of persecution, oppression, or even death.

Furthermore, the concept of slavery changed from slavery to nations (Judith and 2 Maccabees) to slavery to sin (The Testament of Joseph), which imprisons all things under it (Ga 3:22). All people, even Jews, are powerless to obey the commandments of God due to the fact that sin enslaves their hearts (Ga 3:22). Not only have the Jews been imprisoned by the law (Ga 3:23), the Gentiles have been enslaved under the elemental spirit of the world (Ga 4:3, 8) because of sin. Therefore God sent his Son to give himself for the sins of all people, to free them from the present evil age (Ga 1:4), so that all the nations may obey the commandments of God through the Lord Jesus Christ.

For Paul slavery, like in *T. Joseph*, Josephus, and Philo, does not concern physical appearance, but the sinful nature in human hearts. Whether Jews or non-Jews, all human beings are enslaved by the power of sin (Ga 3:22). To be set free from this savage master (sin) is only possible through the Lord Jesus Christ, a new master by faith, and not by any human standards including the Mosaic Law (which is different from *T. Joseph*, Josephus, and Philo). Therefore the idea of nationalism as a characteristic of being a slave of God is replaced to include every person who enters into an allegiance with this new master.

Because of this new master, the Lord Jesus Christ, everyone who believes in him is no longer Jew or Greek, slave or free, male or female; all human beings are one in Christ Jesus (Ga 3:28). In this new master, Jesus Christ, all the social boundaries are nullified. Therefore the one who is Jewish by birth is not allowed to exclude people from being “slave of Christ Jesus”. In Galatians, Paul tries to fight against the idea of nationalism, which is described in the words of flesh and circumcision, because God, who is the Creator of the whole world, sent his only son, Jesus Christ, to redeem all the nations to be part of his family.

The relevance of the use of slavery imagery in early Jewish literature for the interpretation of this imagery in Galatians will be utilised in Chapter 6.



## **5 SLAVERY AND ADOPTION IMAGERY IN 1ST CENTURY AD GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

Having discussed the concept of slavery, adoption and sonship in ancient Israelite tradition as found in early Jewish literature, this chapter turns to slavery and adoption in Greek and Roman law and the usage of slavery and adoption imagery in 1<sup>st</sup> century Graeco-Roman world.

Paul was a citizen of the Roman Empire (Acts 22:27; cf Burke 2006:47; Schnelle 2005:81-82), spoke Greek, lived in the city of Tarsus, and identified with Graeco-Roman Hellenism. Given these circumstances, he was influenced by the laws of Greece and Rome and shaped by their popular philosophical traditions. Paul traded tradition for something new to make recipients understand the Gospel (Schnelle 2005:81-83). The success of the early Christian mission can be seen as a process of communication and understanding in the letters to the churches with whom Paul had a relationship. It is necessary to consider that, apart from his Jewish heritage, Paul was well versed in Graeco-Roman culture and was also familiar with Roman law.

This chapter aims not only to explain the rights and duties of slaves and slave-owners and the system of slavery and adoption, but also social conventions pertaining to slavery and adoption imagery as part of the socio-historical context of Galatians. In order to achieve this aim, firstly the primary sources referring to Greek and Roman law in the Graeco-Roman context on slavery and adoption will be investigated (5.2.2-5.2.3 and 5.3.2-5.3.3). This will show how the law developed from Greek law to Roman law. The differences between them will enable me to prove which Law best fitted in with Paul's social context, since he was influenced by these two traditions. Secondly, the sources of Greek and Roman philosophical slavery and adoption imagery in the Graeco-Roman contexts will be studied (5.2.4 and 5.3.). This chapter will not only investigate the definition of Greek and Roman legal laws, but also try to understand the social practices of these environments, since the legal definitions are not sufficient to provide a whole picture. The investigation will construct Graeco-Roman slavery and adoption imagery in the first century and enable me to interpret more accurately the meaning of slavery and adoption imagery in Galatians (Chapter 6).

### **5.2 SLAVERY IN 1<sup>st</sup> CENTURY AD GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD**

#### **5.2.1 Introduction**

The study of Greek law regarding slavery is necessitated by the fact that most of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire did not use Roman law (Pringsheim 1950:481) and some slaves were under Greek law during the first century (Bartchy 1973:40). Furthermore, this part of the Roman Empire preserved the Greek language and the products of classical Greek

literature and science (Kelly 1992:82). Doubtlessly, most of the slaves were under Roman law. Therefore, both Greek and Roman law have to be taken into consideration.

In the narrow sense, slaves can mean chattel slaves of the classical Athenian type (Garlan 1988:201). In the broad sense, slaves included “all types of legally defined personal dependency to which the Greeks sometimes referred as ‘unfree labor’” and being “the extraction of the largest possible surplus from the primary producers” (De Ste. Croix 1981:173). However, this definition was not used in the context of Greeks and Romans, since they did not define people as slaves on the basis of labour, but on the division of mankind in free and slave. Moreover, the chattel slave is related to the domination of the whole life as slave, including unfree labour. The definition of chattel slavery based on its legal foundation is defined by Patterson (1982:1-2) as slavery in relation to power and authority:

- The social aspect, namely one person is controlled by another by the use or threat of violence;
- The psychological aspect of influence, namely the capacity of persuading another person to change the way he perceives his interest and circumstances; and
- The cultural aspect of authority, namely one person is forced into obedience as a duty.

With this understanding, slavery can be seen as a permanent state of being violently dominated and dishonoured, with no birth-rights and no sense of belonging (Fischer 1993:5-6; Horsley 1998:1). Hence, slavery is social death (Patterson 1982:5) or a kind of social murder (Horsley 1998:1). Chattel slavery was a multi-faced social phenomenon, which can be defined and studied with reference to its legal and social foundations.

### **5.2.2 Slavery in Greek law**

Unlike Roman systematic legal knowledge, Greece did not have a substantial legal system. Instead, they only had legal science in the broader sense of historical and comparative jurisprudence, the analysis of legal concepts, and the philosophy of law. The Greek world was divided into many independent political units, each with its own body of laws (Calhoun 1977:2; Harris 1999:31). Local laws were only effective in their respective territories. However, one can still construct some legal knowledge through writers, philosophers and orators of ancient Greece. It is necessary to take Greek law into consideration to gain knowledge of the social context when studying the meaning of slavery imagery as used by Paul in Galatians.

### 5.2.2.1 Greek law

The legal definition of freedom and slavery in Greek law is the following:

Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt- Inschriften (Westermann 1959:10)	Translation (Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:605)
<p>ἐφ' οἷτε ἀφέπαπτο[υς] εἶμεν καὶ αὐτὰν καὶ τὰ παιδάρια ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον, ποιοῦντας ὅ κα θέλωντι καὶ οἰκεούσας εἴ κα θέλωντι καὶ ἐρπούσας οἷς κα θέλωντι. εἰ δὲ τις ἐφάπτοιτο τοῖς τρείσι, ἔστω ὁ παρατυχῶν συλέων ὡς ἐλευθέρους.</p>	<p>..., on condition that we cannot be reclaimed [having been manumitted] and to doing as he wishes and living where he wishes and doing where he wishes. But if someone claims as his property in terms of the three, let a chance passerby rescue like a free man.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b> This passage dates from 170-157/6 BC (Westermann 1959:10). Before one can define the meaning of slavery in ancient Greece, it is necessary to understand what the meaning of freedom was. This passage gives an excellent definition of the four elements pertaining to freedom in Greek thought: a free man is not subject to be captured as property; he may do what he wishes; he may go wherever he wishes; he is his own master in all legal matters (cf Harris 1999:31). Without these basic elements he would be a slave (Goede &amp; Van Rensburg 2009:606).</p>	

Aristotle: <i>Politics</i> 125b.32	Translation (Rackham 1944)
<p>ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ κτήσις μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κτητικὴ μέρος τῆς οἰκονομίας ... ὥσπερ δὲ ταῖς ὠρισμέναις τέχναις ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη ὑπάρχειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ὄργανα, εἰ μέλλει ἀποτελεσθήσεσθαι τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω καὶ τῶ οἰκονομικῶ. τῶν δ' ὀργάνων τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα τὰ δὲ ἔμψυχα ... οὕτω καὶ τὸ κτῆμα ὄργανον πρὸς ζωὴν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ κτῆμά τι ἔμψυχον, καὶ ὥσπερ ὄργανον πρὸ ὀρυάνων τὰς ὑπηρέτης</p>	<p>Since therefore property is a part of a household and the art of acquiring property a part of house management ... and since, just as for the particular arts it would be necessary for the property tools to be forthcoming if their work is to be accomplished, so also the manager of a household must have his tools, and of tools some are lifeless and others living ... so also an article of property is a tool for the purpose of life, and a slave is a live article of property. And assistant is as it were a tool that serves for several tools...</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b> Aristotle's (ca. 435-335 BC) definition forms part of a section dealing with management, especially the relationship between slave-owner and slave (Goede &amp; Van Rensburg 2009:606). This passage identifies the two natures of a slave as being property (in this context a tool) and a human being ("a living thing"). Thus a slave was more than only a property (Harrison 1968:163). As a living tool, its purpose was to provide his owner with a good life (cf Harris 1999:31; Goede &amp; Van Rensburg 2009:607).</p>	

According to the Greek legal definitions mentioned above, the distinctions between free and slave are clear: a free person is not captured as property, he may do as he wishes, go

anywhere he wishes, and he is his own master in all legal matters. A slave is diametrically opposite, because he forfeits movement and autonomy, is subjected to another person's will without any legal right.

### 5.2.2.2 Enslavement

The reasons for being enslaved in Greece are clear from the following:

<b>Xenophon Cyropaedia 7.5.73</b>	<b>Translation (Miller 1914)</b>
<p>καὶ μηδεὶς γε ὑμῶν ἔχων ταῦτα νομισάτω ἀλλότρια ἔχειν: νόμος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀϊδιὸς ἔστιν, ὅταν πολεμοῦντων πόλις ἀλῶ, τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα. οὐκ οὐκ ἀδικίᾳ γε ἔξετε ὅ τι ἂν ἔχητε, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωπίᾳ οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεσθε, ἢν τι ἔατε ἔχειν αὐτοῦς.</p>	<p>And let not one of you think that in having these things he has what does not belong to him; for it is a law established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of the inhabitants thereof belong to the captors. It will, therefore, be no injustice for you to keep what you have, but if you let them keep anything, it will be only out of generosity that you do not take it away.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Cyropaedia was written by Xenophon who lived in Athens during the fifth century BC. It constitutes a pseudo-historical account of the life of Cyrus the Great, king of Persia (557-530 BC). In Chapter 7, Xenophon depicts Cyrus reiterating his claims on the slaves and other property that were seized during the campaign against Babylon (Goede 2010:49). This passage shows that slavery was a legally accepted practice in times of war (Harris 1999:33; Harrison 1968:165; Horsley 1998:34).</p>	

<b>Demosthenes Orations (In Neaeram) 16</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:50)</b>
<p>Ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ἀστῆ συνοικῆ τέχνη ἢ μηχανῆ ἠτινιοῦν, γραφέσθω πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας Ἀθηναίων ὁ βουλόμενος οἷς ἔξεστιν. ἐὰν δὲ ἀλῶ, πεπράσθω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἔστω τοῦ ἐλόντος. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἐὰν ἡ ξένη τῷ ἀστῶ συνοικῆ κατὰ ταῦτά, καὶ ὁ συνοικῶν τῇ ξένη τῇ ἀλούσῃ ὀφειλέτω χιλίας δραχμάς.</p>	<p>But if a foreigner lives with a female citizen in any cunning or contrived manner, let anyone of the Athenians who wishes to do so [and] is permitted to, charge him before the lawgivers. And if he is convicted, he will be sold, he and his property, and a third share will be granted to the one who secures his conviction. And also when a male citizen let [the law be applied] accordingly, and let the one who lives with the foreign woman as her husband be fined one thousand silver coins.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>In this passage Demosthenes, in his private speeches in the courts of Athens, claims that slavery may have been imposed as punishment for unlawful deeds (Goede 2010:50).</p>	

Plato: <i>Laws (leges)</i> 11. 930d	Translation (Bury 1967/1968)
<p>[930d] ὅταν δὲ ὁμολογῆται μὲν τὸ γενόμενον εἶναι τῶν ποιουμένων ἕκγονον, δέηται δὲ κρίσεως τίτι τὸ γεννηθὲν ἔπρεσθαι χρεῶν, δούλη μὲν ἂν συμμείξῃ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ ἢ ἀπελευθέρῳ, πάντως τοῦ δεσπότης ἔστω τῆς δούλης τὸ γεννώμενον, ἂν δὲ τις ἐλευθέρα δούλῳ συγγίγηται, τοῦ δεσπότης ἔστω τὸ γινόμενον τοῦ δούλου: ἂν δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ δούλης ἢ ἐκ δούλου ἑαυτῆς, καὶ περιφανὲς τοῦτ' ᾗ, τὸ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς ἄλλην χώραν ἐκπεμπόντων [930ε] σὺν τῷ πατρὶ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἱ νομοφύλακες σὺν τῇ γεννησάσῃ.</p>	<p>[930d] Whenever, in spite of agreement as to who a child's parents are, a decision is required as to which parent the child should follow, the rule is this: in all cases where a slave-woman has been mated with a slave or with a free man or a freedman, the child shall belong to the slave-woman's master; but if a free woman mates with a slave, the issue shall belong to the slave's master; and if the child be a master's by his own slave-woman, or a mistress's by her own slave, and the facts of the case are quite clear, then the women officials shall send away the woman's child, together with its father, [930e] to another country, and the Law-wardens shall send away the man's child, together with its mother.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>In this passage Plato argues that any child born of a slave, regardless whether the slave is the mother or the father of the child, will be a slave, belonging to the owner of the mother or father. It is clear that a child is regarded as free only if both parents are free (Goede 2010:51; Harrison 1968:164).</p>	

Dio Chrysostomos 15.3	Translation (Goede 2010:51)
<p>ἢ οὐ πολλὰ ἄσται γυναῖκες δι' ἑρημίαν τε καὶ ἀπορίαν, αἱ μὲν ἐκ ξένων ἐκύησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐκ δούλων, τινὲς μὲν ἀγνοοῦσαι τοῦτο, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάμεναι; καὶ οὐδεὶς δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν οὕτω γεννηθέντων.</p>	<p>Have not many female citizens, because of loneliness and embarrassment, been impregnated by foreigners on the one hand or by slaves on the other, some on the one hand not knowing the fact but some on the other hand knowing full well? And of the children thus begotten none is a slave but only a non-Athenian.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Dio Chrysostomos, a first century philosopher of the Stoic and Cynic traditions, spoke regarding the distinction between slavery and freedom (Goede 2010:51). He thought that the child of a free woman who was a citizen was free despite the slave-status of the father. This idea is different from what Plato wrote between the fifth and the fourth centuries. However, it is better to focus on the first century concept of slavery, because children born of a free woman were probably free in the time of Paul even if the father was a slave (cf Ga 4:21-31).</p>	

According to enslavement in Greek law, one became a slave by way of captivity, punishment or birth. According to Plato, in Athens a member of the civic body could not be enslaved (cf Harris 1999:30-31).

### 5.2.2.3 The legal status of slaves

The legal status of slaves under Greek law is evident from the following:

Plato: <i>Laws</i> 11.914e	Translation (Bury 1967/1968)
<p>Ἀγέτω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δουλόμενος, ἐὰν ἔμφρων ᾖ, χρῆσόμενος ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλη τῶν ὀπίσσω ὄσια·</p>	<p>Any person – provided that he be in his senses – may lay hands, if he wishes, on his own slave, to employ him for any lawful purpose.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b>  <i>Laws</i> of Plato (c. 429-347 BC) maintains social morality in opposition to individual morality. Plato stated that an expert ruler could be corrupted by power. However, political division and strife can only be overcome by complete obedience to the laws, because the laws are the product of rational reflection (Goede &amp; Van Rensburg 2009:613). Based on this idea, an owner has absolute authority over his slave within the confines of the law (Goede &amp; Van Rensburg 2009:613).</p>	

Demosthenes: <i>Against Timocrates</i> 167	Translation (Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:613)
<p>καὶ μὴν εἰ θέλετε σκέψασθαι παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς δικασταί, τί δοῦλον ἢ ἐλευθέρον εἶναι διαφέρει, τοῦτο μέγιστον ἂν εὔροιτε, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν δούλοις τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀπάντων ὑπεύθυνόν ἐστιν, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις ὕστατον τοῦτο προσήκει κολάζειν.</p>	<p>Indeed, honourable members of the jury, if you are willing to consider in your judgment of them what is the difference between being a slave and a freedman, you would find the most important difference: That on the one hand, in the case of slaves, the body is answerable for all their wrongs, but on the other hand, in the case of freedmen, this [corporal punishment] is fitting only as punishment of last resort.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b>  As the greatest of the Athenian orators, Demosthenes (384-322 BC) spoke in the courts of Athens (cf Harrison 1971:169). This passage contains excerpts of the law of Athens. It indicates that slaves were subjected to corporal punishment while free men were seldom punished in this way. One may deduce that owners of slaves had complete authority to punish their slaves physically, and slaves were not able to defend themselves from physical abuse by their masters with recourse to the law (Goede &amp; Van Rensburg 2009:613; Harrison 1968:172).</p>	

Homer: <i>Iliad</i> 7.472-475	Translation (Murray 1924)
<p>ἔνθεν οἰνίζοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δ' αἰθωνι σιδήρῳ, ἄλλοι δὲ ῥινοῖς, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῆσι βόεσσιν,</p>	<p>[472] From these ships the long-haired Achaeans bought them wine, some for bronze, some for gleaming iron, some for hides, some for whole cattle, [475] and some for slaves; and they made them a rich feast.</p>

**Interpretation:**

This passage is from the poem written in the eighth century BC by Homer with reference to a few weeks of fighting during the Trojan War (Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:614). It indicates that slaves were considered as property, used in trade and commerce (cf Harrison 1968: 228-230). Therefore, slaves could be bought, sold, hired, bequeathed, or donated (Goede & Van Rensburg 2009:614). Yet, Athenian law also recognized to a limited extent the humanity of slaves, considering the slave's relationship with his owner to be personal.

According to the status of slaves in Greek law, a slave could be traded as property since a slave-owner had complete power and authority over his slave. The slave's humanity was depreciated with very little legal consequences.

**5.2.2.4 The rights of slave-owners with reference to their slaves**

The relationship between owner and slave according to Greek law becomes clear from the following:

<b>Plato: <i>Laws</i>. 3.690a-b</b>	<b>Translation (Bury 1967/1968)</b>
{ΑΘ.} τέταρτον αὖ δούλους μὲν ἄρχεσθαι, δεσπότης δὲ ἄρχειν. {ΚΛ.} πῶς γὰρ οὐ;	Athenian: "The fourth right is that slaves ought to be ruled, and masters ought to rule." Clinias: "Undoubtedly." [litt. "For how not?"]
<b>Interpretation:</b> In this passage, Plato states the general principle which applies in an owner-slave relationship: owners rule completely over their slaves.	

<b>Demosthenes: <i>Speech</i> 47.72</b>	<b>Translation (Murray 1939)</b>
κελεύει γὰρ ὁ νόμος, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐπεξιέναι μέχρι ἀνεψιαδῶν (καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρκῳ διορίζεται ὃ τι προσήκων ἐστίν), κἂν οἰκέτης ᾖ, τοῦτων τὰς ἐπισκήψεις εἶναι.	For the law, men of the jury, ordains that prosecution shall be by relatives within the degree of children of cousins; and that in the oath inquiry shall be made as to what the relationship is, even if the victim be a servant; and it is from these persons that criminal actions shall proceed.
<b>Interpretation:</b> In this passage, Demosthenes (384-322 BC) addresses the law of Athens regarding an owner's right to persecute the perpetrator of a crime against his slave.	

<b>Plato: <i>Laws</i>. 3.865c ; 868a</b>	<b>Translation (Goede &amp; Van Rensburg 2009:620)</b>

<p><sup>865c</sup> ἔὰν μὲν δοῦλον κτείνει, νομίζων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διειργάσθαι τὸν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος δεσπότην ἀβλαβῆ παρεχέτω καὶ ἀζήμιον, ἢ δίκην εἰς τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ὑπεχέτω διπλῆν...</p> <p><sup>868a</sup> δοῦλον δ' ὁ κτείνας ἑαυτοῦ μὲν καθηράσθω, ἐὰν δὲ ἀλλότριον θυμῶ, διπλῆ τὸ βλάβος ἐκτεισάτω τῷ κεκτημένῳ,</p>	<p>Indeed, if he kills a slave, let him promise to the owner of the deceased to indemnify him against damage and loss, calculated customarily like a slave of his own, or let him be liable to a penalty for double value of the deceased...</p> <p>He that slays a slave of his own shall purify himself; and if he kills another man's slave in rage, he shall pay to the owner twice the damage.</p>
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**Interpretation:**

In this passage Plato points out that an owner is authorised to take compensation from a perpetrator who kills his slave unlawfully.

<p><b>Demosthenes: <i>Against Aphobus</i> 1. 27.9</b></p>	<p><b>Translation (Murray 1939)</b></p>
<p>ὁ γὰρ πατήρ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, κατέλιπεν δύο ἔργαστήρια, τέχνης οὐ μικρᾶς ἑκάτερον, μαχαιροποιούς μὲν τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς, ἀνὰ πέντε μνᾶς καὶ ἕξ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἢ τριῶν μνῶν ἀξίους,</p>	<p>My father, men of the jury, left two factories, both doing a large business. One was a sword-manufactory, employing thirty-two or thirty-three slaves, most of them worth five or six minae each and none worth less than three minae...</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>In this private speech, Demosthenes (384-322 BC) establishes the value of a disputed estate. This passage indicates that the slaves on estates are seen as part of the property. Thus, the owners have a right to bequeath their slaves (Goede &amp; Van Rensburg 2009:623).</p>	

<p><b>Aristotle: <i>Politics</i> 1255b. 9-15</b></p>	<p><b>Translation (Rackham 1944)</b></p>
<p>(τὸ <sup>10</sup> γὰρ αὐτὸ συμφέρει τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ, καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος μέρος τι τοῦ δεσπότητος, οἷον ἔμψυχόν τι τοῦ σώματος κεχωρισμένον δὲ μέρος: διὸ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶ τι καὶ φιλία δούλῳ καὶ δεσπότητι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς φύσει τούτων ἡξιωμένοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, <sup>15</sup> ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ βιασθεῖσι, τούναντίον).</p>	<p>(for the same thing is advantageous for a part and for the whole body or the whole soul, and the slave is a part of the master – he is, as it were, a part of the body, alive but yet separated from it; hence there is a certain community of interest and friendship between slave and master in cases when they have been qualified by nature for those positions, although when they do not hold them in that way but by law and by constraint of force the opposite is the case.)</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>The metaphor of the slave being a part of the owner's body indicates that, whatever personal relationship an owner may have with his slave, the owner completely and legally owns his slave.</p>	

According to Greek law concerning the relationship between owner and slave, the owner had absolute power over his slave as property. With full authority over his slaves, the owner could sell or bequeath them to others and claim compensation if any perpetrator “damaged” them.

### 5.2.2.5 Manumission of slaves and freedmen

Aristotle: <i>Politics (Politica)</i> 7. 1330a 25, 30	Translation (Rackham 1944)
<p><sup>25</sup>τοὺς δὲ γεωργήσοντας μάλιστα μὲν, εἰ δεῖ κατ' εὐχῆνι, δούλους εἶναι, μήτε ὁμοφύλων πάντων μήτε θυμοειδῶν ... <sup>30</sup>τίνα δὲ δεῖ τρόπον χρῆσθαι δούλοις, καὶ διότι βέλτιον πᾶσι τοῖς δούλοις ἄλλον προκεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν.</p>	<p><sup>25</sup>Those who are to cultivate the soil should best of all, if the ideal system is to be stated, be slaves, not drawn from people all of one tribe nor of a spirited character ... <sup>30</sup>How slaves should be employed, and why it is advantageous that all slaves should have their freedom set before them as a reward, we will say later...</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b> In this passage Aristotle’s implication is clear: freedom was conceived as a reward for those who were loyal to their masters. The manumission of slaves was only authorised in the owner’s interests (Goede 2010:84).</p>	

Demosthenes: <i>In Neaeram</i> 29-32	Translation (Goede 2010:84)
<p>ἀφιέναι οὖν αὐτῇ ἔφασαν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν χιλίας δραχμάς, πεντακοσίας ἑκάτερος· τὰς δ' εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἐκέλευον αὐτὴν ἐξευροῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι.</p>	<p>Therefore they offered to discharge her of paying one thousand drachmae towards her freedom, five hundred drachmae each. And they urged her to pay them twenty minae when she has found it.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b> The context of this description: in ancient Greece Neaera was a prostitute in Corinth, bought as a slave from the brothel-owner by two co-owners. When her owners were about to marry, they let her buy her freedom. This passage shows that, in this period of time, it was possible for slaves to buy their freedom only if their owners allowed them to (Goede 2010:84).</p>	

Herodotus: <i>Histories (Historiae)</i> 2.135.1-2	Translation (Godley 1920)
<p>Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆκετο Ξάνθης τοῦ Σαμίου κομισαντός [μιν], ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρῶ-νύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφῶς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. Οὕτω δὴ ἡ Ῥοδῶπις ἐλευθερώθη καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ...</p>	<p>Rhodopis came to Egypt to work, brought by Xanthes of Samos, but upon her arrival was freed for a lot of money by Kharaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis lived as a free woman in Egypt...</p>

**Interpretation:**

Herodotus (484-425 BC) is the earliest Greek historical narrator. His whole narrative, which was more story than serious history, was built around two concepts, namely kinship and reciprocity (Goede 2010:84). This passage strengthens the point made by Demosthenes that a slave's freedom could be bought by a third party only if the owner allowed it.

<b>Aeschines: <i>Against Ctesiphon</i> (In <i>Ctesiphontem</i>) 3.44</b>	<b>Translation (Adams, 1919)</b>
<p>... καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον, μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου, φησί, μηδενός, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα.</p>	<p>He expressly forbids the manumission of a slave in the theater, or the proclamation of a crown by the tribe or deme, "or by any one else," he says, "and the herald who disobeys shall lose his civic rights."</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Aeschines (ca. 397-322 BC) was an Athenian orator and this speech was to attack Demosthenes who was crowned in the theatre in the city of Ctesiphon. In this passage he declared that the city's decree was contrary to the existing law that a slave may not be freed and a person may not be crowned in a theatre because it will disturb the theatrical experience. The purpose was to lend publicity to the manumission, but it was outweighed by the need for public control by the Assembly (Zelnick-Abrahmovitz 2005:72).</p>	

<b>Plato: <i>Laws (Leges)</i> 915a-915b</b>	<b>Translation (Bury 1967/1968)</b>
<p>ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, ἐάν τις μὴ θεραπεύῃ τοὺς ἀπελευθερώσαντας ἢ μὴ ἱκανῶς· θεραπεία δὲ φοιτᾶν τρις τοῦ μηνὸς τὸν ἀπελευθερωθέντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀπελευθερώσαντος ἐστίαν, ἐπαγγελλόμενον ὅτι χρὴ ὄραν τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἅμα δυνατῶν, καὶ περὶ γάμου ποιεῖν ὅτιπερ ἂν συνδοκῇ τῷ γενομένῳ δεσπότη. πλουτεῖν δὲ τοῦ ἀπελευθερώσαντος μὴ ἐξεῖναι μᾶλλον· τὸ δὲ πλεόν γιγνέσθω τοῦ δεσπότη.</p>	<p>And a man may arrest also a freedman, if in any case he fails to attend, or to attend sufficiently, on those who have freed him; and such service shall consist in the coming of the freedman three times a month to the home of the man that freed him, and there undertaking to do those duties which are both just and feasible, and in regard to marriage also to act as may seem good also to his former master. The freedman shall not be permitted to be wealthy [wealthier] than the man who freed him; and if he is, the excess shall be made to his master.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Plato defines the relationship between a slave and his former owner who was now his patron. In this passage he conveys that manumission does not split completely the ties between former slave and owner. The freed man was not free, but was still owned by his former owner (the patron) as a client, to visit him three times per month and offer his services, to uphold his marriage out of respect for his patron, and not to overtake his patron in wealth (Goede, 2010:86).</p>	

<b>Dio Chrysostomos: <i>Orationes</i> 15.17</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:86)</b>
οὐκ οἶσθα τὸν Ἀθήνησιν, ἔφη, νόμον, παρὰ πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις, ὅτι τὸν φύσει δοῦλον γενόμενον οὐκ ἔῃ μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας;	Do you not know, he continued, the Athenian law, equally in many other cities, that one who became a slave by birth is not allowed to partake in citizenship?
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Dio Chrysostomos was a first century philosopher of the Stoic and Cynic traditions (cf 5.4.5.5). In this speech he deals with the distinction between slavery and freedom and implies that a slave by birth could never be a citizen even if he was manumitted to be a freedman (Harris, 1999:30).</p>	

According to Greek law, manumission of a slave was by the sole authority of the owner on the condition of his slave's loyalty to him. Under the authority of the owner, a slave could be sold to a third party or buy his own freedom. Even though a slave may have gotten permission from his/her owner to buy his/her own freedom, the relationship between slave and owner did not completely sever, but transformed into the patron-client relationship. In this relationship, a slave still had an obligation to serve and honour his former owner in many facets, because a slave by birth could never be totally free as a citizen.

### 5.2.2.6 Conclusion on slavery in Greek law

According to Greek law, there are significant elements regarding the concept of slavery in the Athenian Democracy (503-338 BC) and the Hellenistic Period (338-30 BC):

- (1) One was enslaved in various ways such as captivity, punishment, or birth.
- (2) Once one was enslaved, subjection included the inability to exercise one's free will and forfeiture of movement; as living property of the owner a slave could be traded and bequeathed to others without legal protection.
- (3) Under the power and authority of their owners, slaves were protected for the benefit of their owners. If any perpetrator tried to "damage" them, the owners had the right to compensation by law.
- (4) Even though slaves could be legally manumitted by their owners, they would still be under an obligation to their owners as they entered into a patron-client relationship. Slaves, who were not citizens, would never be free from the authority of their owners. Thus, free men could still be part free and part slave.

### 5.2.3 Slavery in Roman law

Roman law was more systematic throughout the whole Empire because it was established by the elite on legal matters, especially by the jurists (Goede 2010:37). The law, therefore, was monopolized by the jurists who exhibited a form of legal logic and interpretation (Johnston 2004:5). The Romans were driven by the pursuit of clarity of legal ideas without sufficiently taking social and economic factors into account.

The development of Roman law began in 509 BC with the struggle between the Patricians and the Plebeians to run the Roman Republic (Johnston 2004:2). During this struggle, Roman private law was established in 451-450 BC with the promulgation of the Twelve Tables (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:29; Johnston 2004:3). The Twelve Tables became the foundation of the characteristics of Roman law, which can be seen from 200 BC. Between 46 and 44 BC, Cicero explained the law by writing *Topica*, which was more a philosophical than a juristic treatise (cf Goede 2010:40). The primary sources were transmitted mainly by way of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*<sup>98</sup> commissioned by the Emperor Justinian in the early sixth century AD (Johnston 2004:12-14; Robinson 1997:56). The general context of the Roman law on slavery, which permeated every aspect of the Roman private law, is investigated in this section.

#### 5.2.3.1 Roman law

The legal definitions of freedom and slavery in the Roman law become clear from the following:

Justinian: The <i>Institutes</i> 1.3.pr	Translation (Goede 2010:45)
Summa itaque divisio de iure personarum haec est, quod omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi.	And thus the most important division in the law of persons is that all people are either free persons or slaves.
<b>Interpretation:</b> This sentence is in the first book of the <i>Institutes</i> dealing with the law of persons and makes a particular definition of natural law, civil law, and the law of nations (Goede 2010:45). It denotes that Roman private law recognised two principle categories of persons: some are free (independent: <i>sui iuris</i> ) and others are slaves (dependent: <i>alieni iuris</i> ) (Johnston 2004:30). The law of persons refers to all institutions in effect of the legal status of persons in which it assumes rights and obligations between the free and the slave. These institutions include liberty	

<sup>98</sup> This collection consists of four parts, namely *Institutes*, *Digest*, *Code*, and *Novels*. *Institutes* is designed as an elementary work for first-year law as a student's manual (Nicholas 2012:738) and contains a clear account of classical law and procedure. *Digest* is an edited collection of the writings of the great jurists, such as Gaius and Paul, pertaining to a general discussion of the difficulties of trying to write history based on legal sources. This was the principal source for attempting to reconstruct the law of classical collection. *Code* is a collection of imperial legislation, including much of the material contained in the *Theodosian Code*, and *Novels* contained Justinian's own subsequent legislation. The *Institutes* and *Digest* were published together in 529 AD and *Code* a year later (Bradley 1994:17; cf Goede 2010:38; Johnston 2004:11-14; Robinson 1997:20).

and slavery, citizenship, family and marriage.

<b>Justinian: <i>Digest</i> 1.1.4</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:46)</b>
<p>... Et cum uno naturali nomine homines appellaremur, iurei gentium tria genera esse coeperunt: liberi et his contrarium servi et tertium genus liberti, id est hi qui desierant esse servi.</p>	<p>...And although we were called “humans” by one natural name, three kinds originated according to the law of nations: Free born men and their opposite namely slaves, and a third kind namely freedmen, being those who have stopped being slaves.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b>            This sentence defines the law of nations and lists some of its elements, including manumission, and describes that former slaves who have been set free by their owners become freedmen (cf Justinian D 3.11.2; Goede 2010:46).</p>	

<b>Justinian: <i>Institutions</i> 1.3.1 (cf <i>Digest</i> 1.5.4.pr)</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:47)</b>
<p>1. Et libertas quidem est, ex qua etiam liberi vocantur, naturalis facultati eius quod cuique facere libet, nisi si quid aut vi aut iure prohibetur.</p> <p>2. Servitus autem est constitutio iuris gentium, qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subicitur.</p> <p>3. Servi autem ex eo appellati sunt, quod imperatores captivos vendere iubent ac per hoc servare nec occidere solent: qui etiam <i>mancipia</i> dicti sunt, quod ab hostibus manu capiuntur.</p>	<p>1. And freedom, from which the term “freedman” is also derived, is indeed every person’s natural capacity to do as he pleases, except if it is prohibited either by force or by law.</p> <p>2. However, slavery is an institution of the law of nations, in terms of which one is contrary to the natural order, subjected to the ownership of another.</p> <p>3. Slaves are so called because commanders order captives to be sold and saved in this manner rather than killing them. They are also called <i>mancipia</i> because they are physically taken from the enemy.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b>            The Roman law in sentence one depicts that freedom is for all persons. The Roman jurists considered freedom “every person’s natural state”. From a Roman perspective, slavery is contrary to nature (Bartchy 2013:170). This view is different from Aristotle who defined a Greek slave as “a living tool” and insisted that some human bodies made their enslavement appropriate: they were “slaves by nature” (Aristotle 1944:1252a-1255b; cf Bartchy 2013:170).            Sentence two confirms the viewpoint that slavery is not the natural state of man, but rather a state imposed by the law common to nations (all people) (Goede 2010:47).            Sentence three seems to contain a moral justification for slavery, arguing that to be sold or to be taken captive into slavery is a fate to be favoured when compared to being killed (cf Bradley 1994:25-26; Horsley 1998:35). The concept of the slave as property (<i>mancipium</i>) and the term slave (<i>servus</i>) were both traced by the Romans to a military origin (Harris 1999:37). Slaves were <i>mancipia</i> because they were captured by armed forces (Horsley 1998:34). A <i>servus</i> was</p>	

someone kept safe or preserved and, therefore, not slain in war. Slaves gained their names because generals sold their captives, thus saving them from death.

Justinian: <i>Digest</i> 1.1.4	Translation (Goede 2010:47-48)
... nam quamdiu quis in servitute est, manui et potestati est ...	... for as long as someone lives in slavery he is subjected to the power and authority of another ...
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This fragment describes the essence of slavery as a legal institution. A slave is subject to the power (<i>manus</i>) and authority (<i>potestas</i>) of his owner for his/her entire life (Goede 2010:48). It shows that owners had all the power to dominate as <i>paterfamilias</i>, a power which was passed down from the Early Republic of the Twelve Tables (c. 450 BC) (Johnston 2004:30). Paternal power (<i>patria potestas</i>) extended to the power of life and death over those in the family and the power to sell surplus children or set slaves free (cf 2.3.5 below; Johnston 2004:30). Slaves, as property of their owners, were considered to be part of the family unit (Goede 2010:48). However, slavery must not only be understood in terms of property, but also in terms of the relation between the master and the slave that distinguishes slavery from other forms of compulsory degraded labour (Callahan, Horsley &amp; Smith 1998:1).</p>	

Justinian: <i>Digest</i> 40.12.37	Translation (Goede 2010:48)
CALLISTRATUS libro secundo quaestionum. Conventio privata neque servum quemquam neque libertum alicuius facere potest.	Callistratus. Questions. Book II. A private agreement cannot make anyone either a slave or a freedman of another.
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This fragment dictates that no person can by way of private agreement be made a slave or a freedman. The procedures for enslavement and manumission had to adhere to the proper legal rules (Goede 2010:48).</p>	

Justinian: <i>Digest</i> 50.17.32 (cf 28.8.1.pr)	Translation (Goede 2010:53)
ULPIANUS libro quadragensimo tertio ad Sabinum. Quod attinet ad ius civile, servi pro nullis habentur: non tamen e iure naturali, quia, quod ad ius naturale attinet, omnes homines aequales sunt.	Ulpianus. On Sabinus. Book XLIII. In terms of civil law, slaves are not considered to be persons. However, this is not the case in terms of natural law, for natural law regards all men as equal.
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>The Roman legal position of slaves clearly states that slaves are not persons, but property. However, Roman law is in contradiction to natural law which declares that all persons are equal. This passage seems to emphasise the idea of the above-mentioned <i>Institutions</i> 1.3.1.</p>	

According to the Roman legal definitions mentioned above, all persons are free and no one is slave by nature. A man's freedom is restricted by law. Slavery is defined in terms of the slave's

subjection to the power and authority of his owner who has ultimate power to set him free or put him to death.

### 5.2.3.2 Enslavement

The reasons for being enslaved in Rome become clear from the following:

Justinian: <i>Institutions</i> 1.3.4 (cf <i>Digest</i> 1.5.5.1; 49.15.5.1)	Translation (Goede 2010:51)
<p>Servi autem aut nascuntur aut fiunt. Nascuntur ex ancillis nostris: fiunt aut iure gentium, id est ex captivitate, aut iure civile, cum homo liber maior viginti annis ad pretium participandum sese venundari passus est. In servorum condicione nulla differentia est.</p>	<p>Moreover, slaves are either born slaves or they become slaves. They are born from our female slaves, or they become slaves either in accordance with the law of nations namely by way of captivity or in accordance with civil law, for example where a free man over the age of twenty years permits himself to be sold for the sake of a share of the price. No difference exists in the legal status of slaves.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>The context deals with the rights of persons under Roman private law, which are categorised as either free or slave. The first two instances (born slaves and those enslaved by captivity) are clear, but the third one referring to the sale of a free man into slavery is more obscure and problematic. It refers to a fraudulent scheme because a free man would pretend to be a slave and be sold by an accomplice to a purchaser (Goede 2010:52). After having received the price, the free man would prove his freedom and share the price with the accomplice (Goede 2010:52). According to Roman law, the sale of a free man by another free man was illegal. This type of fraudulent contract was punished by enslavement in order to prevent fraud.</p> <p>Simply put, the ways of becoming a slave are clear: reproduction of slave women, captivity during war, self-sale, and punishment for committing a crime (Horsley 1998:35-36). In addition, persons could also become slaves through infant exposure and trade by their owners and piracy by brigands (Bradley 1994:25-39; Horsley 1998:35).</p>	

Justinian: <i>Digest</i> 4.5.11	Translation (Goede 2010:52)
<p>PAULUS libro secundo ad Sabinum. Capitis deminutionis tria genera sunt, maxima media minima: tria enim sunt quae habemus, libertatem civitatem familiam. Igitur cum omnia haec amittimus, hoc est libertatem et civitatem et familiam, maximam esse capitis deminutionem: cum vero amittimus civitatem, libertatem retinemus, mediam esse capitis deminutionem: cum et libertatis et civitas retinetur, familia tantum mutatur, minimam esse capitis deminutionem constat.</p>	<p>Paulus. On Sabinus. Book II. There exist three forms of loss of civil status, namely greatest loss, intermediate loss and least loss. Indeed, there are three civil states that we may hold, namely those of freedom, citizenship, and family. Therefore, if we lose all of these, being freedom and citizenship and family, it constitutes the greatest loss of civil status. Moreover, if we lose citizenship but retain freedom, it constitutes intermediate loss of civil status. And when freedom and citizenship are retained, and only family is altered, it constitutes minimum loss of civil status.</p>

**Interpretation:**

This passage deals with changes in status. It depicts, firstly, that the loss of freedom entailed the loss of both citizenship and family and, thus, complete loss of status; secondly, loss of citizenship which meant loss of family, but retention of freedom and, thus, intermediate loss of status; and, lastly, loss of family by way of marriage or otherwise, which had some social effect but little legal impact and, thus, minimal loss of status (Goede 2010:52).

This passage shows that the consequences of slavery were severe because they automatically entailed a loss of freedom as well as of civil status and family.

According to enslavement in Roman law, one was enslaved through birth, captivity of warfare, self-sale, punishment, infant exposure, trade, and piracy. Enslavement led to the loss of freedom and, thus, of civil status and family.

**5.2.3.3 The legal status of slaves**

<b>Gaius: <i>Institutions</i> 2.14a</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:58)</b>
<p>Est etiam alia rerum divisio: Nam aut mancipii sunt aut nec mancipi. Mancip sunt velut fundus in Italico solo, item aedes in Italico solo, item servi et ea animalia quae collo dorsove domari solent, velut boves equi muli asini...</p>	<p>There is, however, also another division of things: For they are either <i>mancipi</i> or not <i>mancipi</i>. <i>Mancipi</i> are, for instance, land on Italian soil, likewise buildings on Italian soil, likewise slaves and those animals that are commonly broken in for draught or burden, such as oxen, horses, mules, and asses...</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This passage delineates that slaves were primarily considered to be objects, property rather than persons. However, a formal legal purchase of possession (<i>mancipi</i>) indicated their value and worth to their owners and society in general (Goede 2010:58). Thus the number of slaves in a household could also reflect the owner's wealth and status since slaves were not inexpensive (Harris 1999:34<sup>99</sup>).</p>	

<b>Justinian: <i>Digest</i> 9.2.3</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:58)</b>
<p>ULPIANUS libro octavo decimo ad edictum. Si servus servave iniuria occisus occisave fuerit, lex Aquilia locum habet.</p>	<p>ULPIANUS. On the Edict. Book XVIII. Where a male or female slave has been unlawfully killed, the <i>Lex Aquilia</i> is applicable.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Book 9 title 2 of <i>Digest</i> deals with the <i>Lex Aquilia</i>. This fragment accentuates that a slave was regarded as the property (<i>res</i>) of his/her owner. <i>Res</i> refers <i>inter alia</i> to physical things, which, by nature, can be touched (D. 1.8.1.1). As a <i>res corporales</i>, a slave is equal to any other material object of his owner (Goede 2010:58). Therefore, if an unlawful act "damaged" or</p>	

<sup>99</sup> Harris (1999:34) shows that the normal price of a slave in the Hellenistic period was 500-600 denarii for an unskilled male adult, but a skilled worker, such as a vinedresser, tutor or doctor, could cost as much as 2,000 denarii. A denarius was a labourer's average daily pay.

“destroyed” the property of the owner, the *Lex Aquilia* provided for the owner an action instituted to the defendant for his property (Goede 2010:59).

<b>Justinian: <i>Institutions</i> 2.1.37 (cf <i>Digest</i> 5.3.27; 6.1.16.pr; 47.2.48.6)</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:59)</b>
<p>In pecudum fructu etiam fetus est, sicuti lac et pilus et lana: itaque agni et haedi et vituli et equuli statim naturali iure dominii sunt fructuarii. Partus vero ancillae in fructu non est itaque ad dominum proprietatis pertinet: absurdum enim videbatur hominem in fructu esse, cum omnes fructus rerum natura hominum gratia comparavit.</p>	<p>Also, offspring is the fruit of the flock, as are the milk, hair, and wool. Thus, according to natural law, lambs, kid-goats, calves, and colts at once become the property of the usufructuary. Nevertheless, the offspring of a female slave are not fruits and thus belong to the owner of the property, for it seems absurd that a person should be fruit, since all the fruit of things were provided for the benefit of mankind.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This passage deals with the classification of things. According to the classification, slaves belong to the category of property that can be owned by individual persons. In this context, one person holds as usufruct the property of another, and is entitled to the fruits of that property (Goede 2010:59).</p> <p>In contrast to the aforementioned sources that refer to slaves as things or property rather than persons (<i>Institutions</i> 2.14a; <i>Digest</i> 9.2.3), this passage points out the contradiction that slaves are not only regarded as things but also as persons, because slaves are not the same as fruits. Varro (116-27 BC), the Roman politician and polymath, described a slave as “a kind of talking tool” (<i>instrumenti genus vocale</i>; <i>De Re Rustica</i>. 1.17.1<sup>100</sup>; cf Harris 1999:37). Owners of an estate, therefore, would classify slaves as pieces of “articulate equipment”, as opposed to oxen which are “inarticulate equipment.”</p>	

<b>Justinian: <i>Digest</i> 4.5.3.1</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:59)</b>
<p>PAULUS libro undecimo ad edictum. ... quia servile caput nullum ius habet...</p>	<p>Paulus. On the Edict. Book XI. ... a person living in slavery has no legal status ...</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This passage deals with changes in condition or status. Fragment three describes the changing in conditions when a child is emancipated and the manumission of a slave (Goede 2010:59). According to this extract, a slave cannot change his own condition because he/she has no legal status and is regarded as object (Goede 2010:60).</p>	

<b>Justinian: <i>Digest</i> 50.17.22</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:60)</b>

<sup>100</sup> *De Re Rustica*. 1.17.1: “... Some divide these into two parts ... ; others into three: the class of instruments which is articulate, the inarticulate, and the mute; the articulate comprising the slaves, the inarticulate comprising the cattle, and the mute comprising the vehicles.”

ULPIANUS libro vicensimo octavo ad Sabinum. In personam servilem nulla cadit obligatio.	Ulpianus. On Sabinus. Book XXVIII. No obligation binds a person in slavery.
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This fragment is contained in a collection of diverse legal rules added at the end of <i>Digest</i>. It shows that slaves were not only without rights, but could not be legally obliged even if a court of judgment did not bind the slave (Goede 2010:60). Thus, slaves could not be obliged by law to defend their own cases unless ordered by their owners. This principle indicates that the owners completely ruled over their slaves in a legal capacity (Patterson, 1982:1; Callahan <i>et al.</i> 1998:1). This definition could be applicable to the whole of <i>Digest</i> and, by implication, to Roman private law (Goede 2010:60; Johnston 2004:30).</p>	

<b>Justinian: <i>Digest</i> 50.16.215</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:60)</b>
PAULUS libro singulari ad legem Fufiam Caniniam. 'Potestatis' verbo plura significantur: in persona magistratum imperium: in persona liberorum patria potestas: in persona servi dominium.	Paul. Single volume. On the Lex Fufia Caninia. Various things are signified by the word "power": Official authority in the case of magistrates, parental control in the case of children, and ownership in the case of a slave.
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This fragment offers a substantial definition of an owner's ownership over his/her slaves, indicating that slavery was the most extreme form of relationship based on domination of the owner over his slave.</p>	

According to the legal status of slaves expressed in Roman law, a slave was regarded as property, with no legal status, and was completely subjected to his/her owner's authority. However, in view of natural law, slaves were human, better than objects, or moving, talking multi-tools.

#### 5.2.3.4 Manumission of slaves and freedmen

<b>Ulpian: <i>Tituli ex corpore Ulpiani</i> 1.5, 6</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:88)</b>
5. Libertorum genera sunt tria, cives Romani, Latini Iuniani, dediticiorum numero. 6. Cives Romani sunt liberti, qui legitime manumissi sunt id est aut vindicta aut censu aut testamento, nullo iure impediante.	5. There are three types of freedmen namely Roman citizens, Junian Latins, and those included among the number of the <i>dediticii</i> . 6. Those freedmen who have legally been set free by way of <i>vindicta</i> or census or will are Roman citizens provided there is no legal obstacle.
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Sentence five identifies three categories of freedmen: the first refers to a Roman citizen (<i>Civis Romanus</i>), who was a citizen either by birth or otherwise, became an integral part of the Roman</p>	

people and enjoyed public and private rights; the second refers to Junian Latins (*Latini Iuniani*), slaves whose manumission was either in contravention of certain statutory requirements or according to forms not recognized by civil law. Their freedom was limited to becoming Latins without the rights of a Roman citizen; the third category included the *dediticii*, citizens of a foreign state or community who surrendered to Rome during war. They were free, but lacked Roman citizenship and all public rights (Goede 2010:88).

Sentence six indicates the forms of formal manumission recognized by civil law through *vindicta*<sup>101</sup>, census, or will. It shows that there was no legal obstacle limiting the powers of owners to set their slaves free and enable them to receive citizenship. Therefore, formal manumission by Roman law signified that a slave was set free and simultaneously given Roman citizenship, and was admitted at once into the Roman civic community (Bradley 1994:155).

Although free, freed slaves remained stigmatized by their previous status (Patterson 1982:247), which could last for two or three generations (Horsley 1988:51). The manumission, in fact, was only a way to manipulate slaves to be more loyal to their masters and most of them never attained freedom. Thus, Roman imperial society was not a ladder to be climbed (Martin 1990:15-22), but rather a chasm which lay between the two classes of the Empire, the wealthy *honestiores* and the impoverished *humiliores*, and certainly impossible for slaves to cross (Callahan *et al.* 1998:5).

<b>Gaius: 1.17</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:89)</b>
<p>Nam in cuius persona tria haec concurrunt, ut maior sit annorum triginta, et ex iure Quiritium domini, et iusta ac legitima manumissione liberetur, id est vindicta aut censu aut testamento, is civis Romanus fit; sin vero aliquid eorum deerit, Latinus erit.</p>	<p>For where the following three requirements meet in a slave, namely where he is at least 30 years old, and he is according to ancient Roman law (<i>iure Quiritium</i>) the property of his owner, and where he is set free by proper and lawful manumission, be it by way of court order or census or will, he becomes a Roman citizen. But if one of these requirements is lacking, he becomes a Latin.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Book one deals with the law of persons, and especially the manumission of slaves. This passage refers to the legal requirements and consequences of manumission. It describes the threefold requirements of manumission: firstly, a slave must be at least 30 years old; secondly, he must be the lawful property of his owner; lastly, the manumission must be proper and lawful. If these requirements were met, the freed slave became a Roman citizen. If not, he became a Latin, because of the legal deficiencies in his manumission.</p> <p>This law strengthens the previous passage showing that the freed slave could receive Roman citizenship if the requirements were achieved. However, in social reality, slavery was not salvation, nor was manumission mercy under Roman hegemony. In fact, this law does not say that slaves must be manumitted at age thirty, but rather prescribes not to liberate them since the life-expectancy of slaves was, on average, thirty (Callahan <i>et al.</i> 1998). Having been exploited as much as possible over the years, they did not have the privilege to enjoy their freedom (cf Lucian, <i>De Mercede Conductis</i>, 39). Manumission was only manipulation of slaves in order to control them.</p> <p>Another way to freedom was the <i>peculium</i>, which refers specifically to resources at the disposal</p>	

<sup>101</sup> *Vindicta* was a fictitious trial during which owner and slave would appear before a magistrate to answer to a claim by a third party that the slave was free.

of the slave, such as money, food and livestock, granted by an owner to his slave (Goede 2010:74). Even though it legally belonged to the owner, it could be counted as the property of the slave, not only giving the slave a sense of responsibility and some taste of independence, but also helping him/her in buying their manumission (Horsley 1998:47). The *peculium* was, nonetheless, the best means for motivating the slave to perform efficiently on his owner's behalf, since the cost of manumission was high and most slaves could not afford it in reality (Horsley 1998:47; Patterson, 1982:185-186). Therefore the *peculium* actually benefited the owner.

<b>Justinian: Digest 50.17.176.1</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:89)</b>
Infinita aestimatio est libertatis et necessitudinis.	The value of freedom and kinship is boundless.
<b>Interpretation:</b> This fragment expresses the inestimable value the Romans attached to freedom and family, two of the elements of civil status (Goede 2010:90).	

<b>Justinian: Digest 50.17.20</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:90)</b>
Pomponius libro septimo ad Sabinum. Quotiens dubia interpretatio libertatis est, secundum libertatem respondendum erit.	Pomponius. On Sabinus. Book VII. Whenever the meaning of a grant of freedom is doubtful, the opinion is in favour of freedom.
<b>Interpretation:</b> The value attached to freedom is expressed in this fragment. It gives voice to the principle of favouring freedom ( <i>libertatis</i> ) even though obtaining freedom legally was doubtful ( <i>dubia</i> ) (Goede 2010:90).	

<b>Gaius:1.42, 43</b>	<b>Translation (Goede 2010:91)</b>
42. Praeterea lege Fufia Caninia certus modus constitutus est in servis testamento manumittendis. 43. Nam ei qui plures quam duos neque plures quam decem servos habebit, usque ad partem dimidiam eius numeri manumittere permittitur; ei vero, qui plures quam x neque plures quam xxx servos habebit, usque ad tertiam partem eius numeri manumittere permittitur. At ei, qui plures quam xxx neque plures quam centum habebit, usque ad partem quartam potestas manumittendi datur. Novissime ei qui plures quam C nec plures quam D habebit, non plures manumittere permittitur quam quintam partem; neque plures quam D servos habentis mentio in ea	42. By way of the Lex Fufia Caninia a certain limit is established with regard to the manumission of slaves in terms of a will. 43. For a person who has more than two and less than ten slaves is permitted to set free half of that number. However, if he has more than ten and less than thirty slaves, he is permitted to set free a third of that number. Moreover, if he has more than thirty and less than one hundred slaves, he is granted authority to set free a quarter of his slaves. Finally, if he has more than one hundred and less than five hundred slaves, he is not permitted to set free more than one fifth. And indeed, of him who has more than five hundred slaves, mention is made in the law,

lege habetur: sed praescribit lex, ne cui plures manumittere liceat quam C. Quod si quis unum servum omnino aut duos habet, ad hanc legem non pertinet, et ideo liberam habet potestatem manumittendi.	as the law prescribes that no person may set free more than one hundred slaves. Now, where a person has one or two slaves, this law will not apply, and therefore he has free power to set free.
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**Interpretation:**

These sentences form part of a section dealing with the ways in which a Latin may become a Roman citizen. Sentence 42 describes the *Lex Fufia Caninia*, which was enacted in 2 BC by emperor Augustus to restrict the number of slaves that could be manumitted by the will of the owner (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:100). By this legislation, Augustus' concern for the quality of persons obtaining Roman citizenship, rather than for the numbers of slaves being manumitted, cannot be ignored (Goede 2010:91), even though this reform on manumission was politically motivated (Bradley 1987:82-84).

Concerning the manumission of slaves in Roman law, the decision to manumit a slave was entirely at the discretion of the owner and usually based on the owner's self-interest. A slave could neither force his owner to set him free nor resist manumission when his owner decided to free him. Secondly, the forms of manumission ranged from formal manumission, resulting in the slave becoming a free person and a citizen, to informal manumission, with fewer legal rights. Moreover, manumission did not result in absolute freedom, rather, the freedman continued to owe his former owner who specified services required at the time of involuntary manumission. In other words, both, owner and slave, entered a social, reciprocal system (Lyll 1981:78): a freedman/woman had to give gifts to the patron and to his family on special occasions, showing obedience and respect towards the patron who was also heir to the property of the freedman/woman if he/she passed away without heirs; the patron had to show the freedman/woman some measure of respect by not treating him/her as a slave (Goede 2010:92).

Manumission served as an incentive for obedient servitude of slaves, most of whom never attained their freedom. Because slaves were systematically dehumanized and intensely desired freedom, Roman slave-masters used the possibility of manumission to manage and manipulate their household staff (Horsley 1998:52). For the owners, manumission was economically rational because it encouraged slaves to increase their productivity. Therefore, the main concern of the law of manumission were the owners, not the slaves. By holding out the promise of freedom and redemption, the master provided himself with a motivating force more powerful than any whip (Patterson 1982:101).

**5.2.3.5 Conclusion on slavery in Roman law**

There are significant elements regarding the concept of slavery in Roman private law:

(1) No one was a slave by nature, because a person became a slave through birth to a parent who was a slave, captivity during war, self-sale, punishment, infant exposure, trade, and/or piracy. Enslavement led to the loss of freedom and thus civil status and family.

(2) Slavery was defined in terms of the slave's subjection to the absolute power and authority of the owner to set him free or put him to death.

(3) A slave was regarded as property, foremost because of his/her legal status. However, in view of natural law, slaves were human, not just inanimate objects to be used at the owner's will.

(4) The decision to manumit a slave was entirely at the discretion of the owner and usually based on the owner's self-interest. Formal manumission resulted in the slave becoming a free person and a citizen. However, manumission did not attain absolute freedom, but became a social reciprocal system between client and patron. There was no real salvation (freedom) under Roman hegemony.

#### **5.2.4 Slavery in Graeco-Roman philosophy in the Hellenistic Period**

##### **5.2.4.1 Introduction**

Having discussed slavery from the perspective of Greek and Roman law, this section investigates slavery in the philosophical teachings of the Hellenistic Period (322 BC to 138 AD). Even though the writings of the philosophers may not represent wider public perceptions regarding slavery, the writers do discuss deficiencies in Greek and Roman legal arrangements and provide some important perspectives on slavery. Different philosophical writers are investigated diachronically, without differentiating between philosophical schools, because most writers eclectically used ideas from the Cynic, Epicurean, Stoic, and Sceptic schools.

##### **5.2.4.2 Diogenes the Cynic**

Diogenes (ca. 400-ca. 325 BC) of Sinope in Bithynia gained notoriety while living in Athens and Corinth (Malherbe 1986:18). None of his writings have survived, but there are some details of his life from anecdotes by Diogenes Laertius (ca. early third century AD) (Konstan 2012:456). Therefore the concept of slavery of Diogenes the Cynic can be observed from the writings of Diogenes Laertius (2018).

Diogenes Laertius tells the story of Diogenes the Cynic captured by pirates and put up for sale as a slave. Being asked his trade (Laertius 2018:6.74), Diogenes the Cynic replied that he knew no trade, but

“In ruling men [ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν]’ ... ‘Sell me to this man (Xeniades); he needs a master [τούτω με πώλει: οὗτος δεσπότης χρήζει]” (Laertius 2018:6.74).

In this story, although Diogenes the Cynic was captured and enslaved, he was free in his soul, which enabled him to lead people who were enslaved in their minds although they were free in status. Xeniades, the master of Diogenes the Cynic, liked his spirit and hired him to tutor his children (Garnsey 1996:132). Later, the story was told of how Diogenes the Cynic took his master in hand and taught him and his children how they ought to behave (Laertius 2018:6.75). Xeniades, eventually, says about Diogenes that

"A good genius has entered my house [ἀγαθὸς δαίμων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μου εἰσελήλυθε]" (Laertius 2018:6.74).

Diogenes the Cynic became a Stoic hero, playing in literature the role of the model of a wise man. Based on the ideas of Diogenes the Cynic, which were passed on to the Stoics, legal slavery is not important to a person because external status, like health and illness, wealth and poverty, is not in one's control. (Garnsey 1996:132). It can be judged as neither good nor bad, just indifferent. True slavery, like true freedom, is a condition of the soul, not of the body. A free soul or mind may exist within an un-free body. Only the soul, especially the reasoning faculty, is under one's control, through the dispensation of the gods.

Following this understanding of slavery from Diogenes the Cynic, Diogenes Laertius utilised it for the Stoics and says:

“The Stoics say: **‘Only he (the wise man) is free, but the bad are slaves.** For freedom is the power of autonomous action, but **slavery** is the lack of autonomous action [μόνον τ’ ἐλεύθερον, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους δούλους: εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοπραγίας, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν στέρησιν αὐτοπραγίας]. There is also a different slavery which consists in subordination, and a third consisting in possession as well as subordination; this last is contrasted with despotism, which also is a bad state ...” (Laertius 2018:7.121-122<sup>102</sup>; Garnsey 1996:130).

### 5.2.4.3 Menander

Menander (344/3-292/1 BC) was the leading writer of New Comedy written from the last quarter of the fourth century BC onwards (Arnott 2012:929). His plays were always set in contemporary Greece, in Athens or Attica. The plots focused on domestic problems and often included important roles for slaves (Arnott 2012:930).

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<sup>102</sup> This idea that a wise or good man is free influenced Zeno who founded the Stoics in Athens in 313 BC. Later on, it was applied by Philo in the early first century (cf 4.4.2.2).

Menander has a different attitude to slaves than that of the Greek legal perspective, coming close to the view of Diogenes the Cynic. When writing about slavery, he focused on moral slavery and spoke figuratively:

"Serve willing as a **slave**. You will **not be a slave** [ἐλευθέρως δούλευε. δούλος οὐκ ἔσσι]" (Fragment 857; Goede 2010:123).

This statement shows a more progressive attitude to slavery, distinguishing between legal and moral slavery. Menander emphasises that a slave may be free and an owner enslaved depending on moral attitude and inward condition, not outward and external status (Goede 2010:123).

#### 5.2.4.4 Seneca

Seneca (ca. 4 BC - AD 65) was a Roman aristocrat, the son of the rhetorician Seneca the Elder. He was a tutor and later became a political adviser to Emperor Nero (Malherbe 1986:21; Reynolds, Griffin & Fantham 2012:93).

Seneca agreed with Stoic thought that slaves should be recognized as human beings just like free men:

"Kindly remember that he whom you call your slave sprang from the same stock, is smiled upon by the same skies, and on equal terms with yourself breathes, lives, and dies. It is just as possible for you to see in him a free man as for him to see in you a slave"<sup>103</sup> (Seneca *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* 47.10; Goede 2010:126).

Seneca emphasises that slaves are born in exactly the same way, breath the same air and are subject to the same mortality as the free. The reason they are slaves is accidental (Bradley 1994:136). Therefore, slaves are not to be treated with cruelty and arrogance but, because they are human beings, with consideration and courtesy.

Slavery is a condition of the body, not of the mind; slaves can transcend their physical bondage by exercising that freedom of the spirit that knows no subjection (Bradley 1994:136). As Seneca mentions in *De Beneficiis* (2011:3.20.):

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<sup>103</sup> "Vis tu cogitare istum quem servum tuum vocas ex isdem seminibus ortum eodem frui caelo, aequae spirare, aequae vivere, aequae mori! tam tu illum videre ingenuum potes quam ille te servum."

“It is erroneous if anyone is of the opinion that slavery penetrates into the whole of man: the better part of him is exempt. Bodies are at the mercy and disposition of owners; but the mind is indeed its own owner”<sup>104</sup> (Seneca 2011; Goede 2010:126).

Seneca’s conclusion is based on the argument that owner and slave are equals as far as the mind is concerned. Thus, an owner may be enslaved in his mind, yet his slave may be free in this respect (Goede 2010:126). True freedom is freedom of the mind and is detached from physical slavery.

#### 5.2.4.5 Musonius Rufus

Musonius Rufus (ca. AD 30-100; cf Malherbe 1986:20) was one of the four great Roman Stoic philosophers, the other three being Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius (King 2011:9; 13). He was the Stoic teacher of Epictetus and Dio Chrysostomos (Malherbe 1986:20). In his views on slavery (as well as on women, marriage, and children) Musonius abandons the rigorous asceticism of the Cynics (Malherbe 1986:20). He expresses the general conviction that philosophy educates away from passions toward self-control.

When discussing human beings, Musonius observes with optimism man’s inherent inclination toward virtue:

“... the whole notion of virtue were something that came to us from without, and we shared no part of it by birth, just as in activities pertaining to the other arts no one who has not learned the art is expected to **be free from error**, so in like manner in things pertaining to the conduct of life it would not be reasonable to expect anyone to **be free from error** who had not learned virtue, seeing that virtue is **the only thing that saves us from error** in daily living<sup>105</sup> ... a human being is born with an inclination toward to virtue ...” (Musonius 1975 [Lecture 2]; cf Malherbe 1986 :41)

According to Musonius the divine endows virtue to all people, including women, children and slaves, with reason. People must live according to the divine’s will, which is to search for a philosophical life with reason given by gods (Malherbe 1986:32). Even though it seems to imply that all people are enslaved by pleasure, envy and malice, Musonius indicates that the destiny of all people is to follow the law of Zeus:

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<sup>104</sup> “Errat, si quis existimat servitatem in totum hominem descendere: pars melior eius excepta est. Corpora obnoxia sunt, et adscripta dominis : mens quidem sui iuris.”

<sup>105</sup> “καίτοι ἔχρην, εἰ ὀλονέπεισακτον τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἦν, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ φύσει ἡμῖν μετῆν, ὥσπερ οὐδ’ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας οὖσιν ἔργοις οὐδεὶς ἀπαιτεῖται εἶναι ἀναμάρτητος, μὴ μεμαθηκῶς τὴν τέχνην, οὕτως μηδ’ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον μηδένα ἀπαιτεῖσθαι εἶναι ἀναμάρτητον, ὅστις ἀρετὴν μὴ ἐξέμαθεν, ἐπεὶπερ ἀρετὴ μόνη ποιεῖ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν ἐν βίῳ ...”

“His command and law are that men be just and honest, beneficent, temperate, high-minded, superior to pain, **superior to pleasure, free of all envy and malice** ... we study philosophy with the soul and with a very small part of it, that which we call the reason ... **free from all compulsion and in its own power** ... in thinking out what man's duty and meditating upon it”<sup>106</sup> (Musonius 1975 [Lecture 16]; Malherbe 1986:32).

According to the writings of Musonius pertaining to slavery, all human beings are born with the inclination toward virtue with reason, whatever their status. The only thing that enslaves human beings is lack of reason in their lives. Therefore, a person can be freed by reason and learn to refrain from passion, pleasure and greed.

#### 5.2.4.6 Dio Chrysostomos

Dio Chrysostomos (AD 40 – after 112), a student of Musonius Rufus, was a Greek orator and popular Stoic philosopher from Prusa in Bithynia (Bradley 1994:137; Malherbe 1986:42). He followed the common Stoic doctrine, which taught that only the wise man could be truly free (Diogenes the Cynic and Zeno [313 BC]). Here, the metaphor, of course, is far more important than the reality (Bradley 1994:137). The teaching of Dio Chrysostomos is less positive than that of his teacher Musonius. Instead of reflecting on the innate seeds of virtue in human beings, Dio Chrysostomos is impressed by the helplessness and ignorance of human beings (Malherbe 1986:42).

When discussing the natural slave, Dio Chrysostomos disagrees with the definition of freedom and slavery as objective states concerning one's birth or external origin. This is clear from the following passage:

“And so when a man is well-born in respect to virtue, it is right to call him noble, even if no one knows his parents or his ancestors either ... we should make no distinction between the two classes. Nor is it reasonable to say that some are of ignoble birth and mean, and that **others are slaves**”<sup>107</sup> (*De servitute et libertate* 2 31; Schnelle 2005:545).

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<sup>106</sup> “πρόσταγμά τε γὰρ ἐκείνου καὶ νόμος ἐστὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι δίκαιον, χρηστὸν, εὐεργετικόν, σώφρονα, μεγαλόφρονα, κρείττω πόνων, **κρείττω ἡδονῶν, φθόνου παυτὸς καὶ ἐπιβουλήs πάσης καθαρὸν** ... φυχῆ δὲ καὶ ταύτης ὀλίγω μέρει, ὃ δὴ διάωσιαν καλοῦμεν ... **καὶ ἀνάγκης πάσης ἐκτὸς ἐλευθέραν καὶ αὐτεξούσιον** ... ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν ἃ χρῆ καὶ διανοεῖσθαι.”

<sup>107</sup> *De servitute et libertate* 2:31: “οὐκοῦν δηλον ὅτι καὶ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἔχει ἄν. ὥστε ὃς ἂν ἦ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καλῶς γεγονώς, τοῦτον προσήκει γενναῖον λέγεσθαι, κἂν μηθεὶς ἐπίσθηται τοὺς γονέας αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τοὺς προγόνους ... καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τὸ τῆς δουλείας ἔθος ἦν ἐπὶ τε ἵππων λέγεσθαι καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνων καὶ κυνῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλους μὲν γενναίους εἶναι ἐλέγομεν, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλευθέρους, οὐδὲ **ἄλλους μὲν δούλους**, ἄλλους δὲ ἀγεννεῖς.”

Dio Chrysostomos thought that human beings are not enslaved by status but by evil, and do not know how to be free from it:

"... all men are fools ... no one considers how to rid himself of the evils that beset him and of his great ignorance and confusion of mind ... they all are being thrown into confusion and are swept round and round ... to wit money and reputation and certain **pleasure of the body** ... no one is able to **rid himself of these the set his own soul free** ... I fancy, that things that get into a whirlpool are tossed and rolled without being able to **free** themselves from the whirling"<sup>108</sup> (*Oration* 13.13; Malherbe 1986:42).

Crysostomos, like Epictetus (see below), represents a broad stream of tradition in the history of ancient philosophy that flows through the Cynic, the Stoics and the Epicureans all the way to the Sceptics: true freedom is the inner independence of the wise, those who have made peace with their own feelings, who have placed themselves under the law of nature by a knowledge of their own emotions and by refusing to be dominated by them (Schnelle 2005:545).

#### 5.2.4.7 Epictetus

Epictetus (ca. AD 55-135), a former slave, was a student of Musonius Rufus (Malherbe 1986:18).

Epictetus thought that all men are equal because all human beings are created by Zeus:

"Do you not remember what you are, and over whom you rule? That they are kinsmen, that they are brothers by nature, that they are the offspring of Zeus? [οὐ μεμνήσῃ τί εἶ καὶ τίνων ἄρχεις; ὅτι συγγενῶν, ὅτι ἀδελφῶν φύσει, ὅτι τοῦ Διὸς ἀπογόνων;]" (*Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae* 1.13.4-5).

Epictetus applied this thought to Rome, where everyone is the slave of the emperor, even a rich senator with a high position:

"Caesar rules over everyone ... you are **a slave** in a very large household..."<sup>109</sup> (*Diatribes* on freedom 4.13; Dobbin 2010).

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<sup>108</sup> Oration 13:13: "... μοι πάντες ἄφρονες ... οὐδεις οὐδὲν ὦν ἔδει πράττειν οὐδὲ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν παρόντων κακῶν καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἀμαθίας καὶ ταραχῆς ἐπιεικέστερον καὶ ἄμεινονβιώσεται, κυκώμενοι δὲ καὶ φερόμενοι πάντες ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ σχεδόν, περὶ τε χρήματα καὶ δόξας καὶ σωμάτων τινὰς ἡδονάς, **οὐδεις ἀπαλλαγῆναι τούτων δυνάμενος οὐδὲ ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν**: καθάπερ οἶμαι τὰ ἐμπεσόντα εἰς τὰς δῖνας εἰλούμενα καὶ περιστρεφόμενα καὶ οὐχ οἷά τε ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς δινήσεως."

<sup>109</sup> Diatribe on freedom 4:13: "ἀλλὰ τίς με δύναται ἀναγκάσαι, εἰ μὴ ὁ πάντων κύριος Καῖσαρ; ... μεγάλης οἰκίας **δοῦλος** εἶ"

Epictetus also indicated that everyone is not only enslaved by the social hierarchy of state and household, but also by the beautiful things in one's life:

"A pretty woman has made of me (a person) **a perfect slave**, something not even my fiercest enemies could accomplish. Poor guy, to **be enslaved** to a whore, and a cheap one at that! What right do you still have to call yourself **free**?"<sup>110</sup> (*Diatribes* on freedom 4.1.20b-21; Dobbin 2010).

Epictetus states that a person who recognises no compulsion or necessity, but exercises freedom of will, is truly free (Malherbe 1986:158):

"He is free who lives as he wills, who is subject neither to compulsion, nor hindrance, nor force, whose choices are unhampered, whose desires attain their end ... there is **no bad man is free** ... who (bad man) wishes to live in grief, fear, envy, pity, desiring things and failing to get them ..."<sup>111</sup> (*Discourse* 4.1.1-5; Malherbe 1986:159).

#### 5.2.4.8 Conclusion on slavery in Graeco-Roman philosophy in the Hellenistic period

Although most of the philosophers of the Hellenistic period were influenced by different schools, when it comes to the topic of freedom and slavery all of them emphasise moral slavery in accordance with the Stoics' teachings. The significant elements regarding the slavery imagery can be summarised as follows:

(1) Philosophers of this period shifted the focus from legal to moral slavery. Instead of believing that some people are naturally slaves because of a lack of reason, they ask how humans can free their souls from the enslavement to pleasure, evil passion and emotion. Thus, slavery according to the law, is an external sphere which is beyond one's control, so it is not worthy of concern.

(2) Real slavery is not the condition of the body or an external status, but the condition of the soul and of the mind.

(3) Only the wise or good man is truly free; the foolish or bad man is a slave.

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<sup>110</sup> *Diatribes* on freedom 4.1.20b-21: "παιδισκάριον με, φησίν, καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελές, ὃν οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν πολεμίων οὐπώποτε. τάλας, ὃς γε καὶ παιδισκαρίου δοῦλος εἶ καὶ παιδισκαρίου εὐτελοῦς. τί οὖν ἔτι σαυτὸν ἐλεύθερον λέγεις; τί δὲ προφέρεις σου τὰς στρατε."

<sup>111</sup> *Discourse* 4.1.1-5: "ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν ὁ ζῶν ὡς βούλεται, ὃν οὐτ' ἀναγκάσαι ἔστιν οὔτε κωλύσαι οὔτε βιάσασθαι, οὐ αἱ ὄρμαι ἀνεμπόδιοι, αἱ ὀρέξεις ἐπιτευκτικαί, αἱ ἐκκλίσεις ἀπερίπτωτοι. τίς οὖν θέλει ζῆν ἁμαρτάνων; — οὐδεὶς. — τίς θέλει ζῆν ἐξαπατῶμενος, προπίπτων, ἄδικος ὢν, ἀκόλαστος, μεμψίμοιρος, ταπεινός; — οὐδεὶς. — **οὐδεὶς ἄρα τῶν φαύλων ζῆ ὡς βούλεται: οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν.** τίς δὲ θέλει λυπούμενος ζῆν, φοβούμενος, φθονῶν, ἐλεῶν, ὀρεγόμενος καὶ ἀποτυγχάνων, ἐκκλίνων καὶ περιπίπτων; — οὐδὲ εἷς. — ἔχομεν οὖν τινα τῶν φαύλων ἄλυτον, ἄφοβον, ἀπερίπτωτον, ἀναπτόευκτον; — οὐδένα. — οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερον."

(4) Most philosophers view that human beings are inclined to be enslaved by evil pleasures or passion. Only Musonius views all human beings as born with an inclination toward virtue.

### **5.2.5 Conclusion: the relevance for Galatians of the use of slavery imagery in Graeco-Roman philosophy in the Hellenistic period**

Firstly, considering the evidence provided in the context of Greek and Roman law, both of these legal systems have a common feature: slaves were legally regarded as property and completely subject to the will of their owners. However, there are also differences between Greek and Roman laws: (1) Greek law defines slavery (non-Greek) as the antithesis of freedom (the Greek), and a slave, therefore, can never receive citizenship, even if manumitted; (2) Roman law, however, allows a slave to establish social relations and gain citizenship through the power of the owner. The master of the Roman household had absolute authority to set slaves free as citizens of Rome. This went beyond any social distinctions for slaves and enabled them to knit new kinship bonds, establish a sense of honour and dignity, and share in the legal protection enjoyed by free people in the Graeco-Roman social context.

The illustrations of master and slaves in Roman law fit the definition of slavery in Galatians, as “the state in which a person finds himself completely controlled by another from a position of ownership as property, obligating him/her to fulfill the orders and wants within the authority sphere of the owner” (2.3.4). This definition emphasises that a slave is totally and permanently under the authority of the master as property. It is only natural for Paul to use this imagery to identify a new master, the Lord Jesus Christ, who has the same authority to establish a new household for anyone who believes in Him.

Secondly, although most of the philosophers of the Hellenistic period were influenced by different schools, when it comes to the topic of freedom and slavery all of them emphasised moral slavery in accordance with the Stoics’ teachings.

Paul thought through the relation between social-political freedom and theological freedom. He made connections with a broad stream of ancient thought in which true freedom is understood as internal freedom. For Paul, firstly, there is no distinction if one is in Christ because all social boundaries are abolished through him (Ga 3:26-28). Secondly, Christian freedom is not as indifferent as for the philosophers. Instead, freedom comes from being a participant in an authentic relationship with other Christians within the household of God. Thirdly, human beings do not have an inclination toward virtue with reason, as Musonius thought, because they are all enslaved by passion, pleasure and greed through the power of sin. Fourthly, the way for human beings to be free does not lie in training one’s mind through reason or education. Although Paul accepts the concept of inner freedom, he makes a decisive modification in its structure,

emphasising that freedom comes from outside the human soul rather than from inside. True freedom comes from being tied to God through the Lord Jesus Christ who is the only way . Freedom is not the result of one's own resolute decision, but is a grace that can only be received from God and is realised in Christ's love. Therefore, those set free by God and placed in the expanse of freedom live their lives by the standard of love to others exemplified by Jesus Christ. Love recognises other human beings as God's sons/daughters, adopted into his family through Christ.

The implication of the use of slavery imagery in Graeco-Roman philosophy in Galatians will be utilised in Chapter 6.

### **5.3 ADOPTION IN THE 1<sup>st</sup> CENTURY AD GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD**

#### **5.3.1 Introduction**

Having discussed slavery in the Graeco-Roman context, I now focus on the other important image used by Paul in Galatians: adoption.

This section aims to construct the concept of adoption in the Greek context (5.3.2) and in the Roman context (5.3.3). In each context the investigation of the purpose of adoption (5.3.2.1 and 5.3.3.1) is followed by an examination of the rights and duties in adoption (5.3.2.2 and 5.3.3.2) and of the types of adoption (5.3.2.3 and 5.3.3.3). I then turn to social advance through adoption (5.3.3.4) and the metaphorical use of adoption: the Roman emperor as *paterfamilias* (5.3.3.5). The section ends by formulating the relevance of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Graeco-Roman concept of adoption for the interpretation of the concept in Galatians.

#### **5.3.2 Adoption in the Greek context**

I have mentioned that Greece, unlike Rome, did not have a substantial legal system (see 5.2) because Greek civilisation consisted of a number of city-states, each with its own legal system and organization. This is also true concerning Greek adoption laws. However, there are some sources of knowledge: some philosophers, historians and the speeches of Isaeus and Demosthenes. These sources provide an interesting perspective on the social and cultural norms pertaining to fathers and adopted sons. It is clear that there was no one single legalized adoption procedure prescribed by law. Nevertheless, these fragments give a meaningful context for understanding Paul's metaphor of adoption (Burke 2006:60). These documents did not intend to demonstrate the legal customs of adoption, but the norms and values to which they appeal in statements and arguments on disputed adoptions permit deductions regarding the customs and conventions pertaining adoption in the Greek context (Heim 2017:136).

### 5.3.2.1 The purpose of Greek adoption

Isaeus 2.10-12	Translation (Edwards 2007:34)
<p>ἡγούμην μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐποιήθη ὑπὸ τινος κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ ἐγὼ ποιηθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἰπεῖν οὐδένα τολμήσαι ὡς ἐποιήσατό με Μενεκλῆς παρανοῶν ἢ γυναικὶ πειθόμενος ...<sup>10</sup>μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρόνου διαγενομένου ἐσκόπει ὁ Μενεκλῆς ὅπως μὴ ἔσοιτο ἄπαις, ἀλλ' ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ ὅς τις ζῶντά γηροτροφήσοι καὶ τελευτήσαντα θάψοι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ ποιήσοι. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἑώρα ἓνα μόνον υἱὸν ὄντα, ὥστε ἐδόκει αὐτῷ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἄπαιδα τοῦτον καθιστάντα ἀρρένων παίδων αὐτῷ κελεύειν δοῦναι τοῦτον εἰσποιήσασθαι. <sup>11</sup>εὕρισκεν οὖν οὐδένα ἄλλον οἰκειότερον ὄνθ' ἡμῶν ... παῖδας αὐτῷ μῆγενέσθαι, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας υἱὸν αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, ὅθεν καὶ φύσειπαῖδας ... <sup>12</sup>... τε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι δέοιτο ἢ τε ἡλικία καὶ ἡ παροῦσα ἐρημία ἐκείνου τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιδημήσοντος: “ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν” ἔφη “συμβαίνει ἀποδημία, ὡς σὺ οἶσθα: ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς οὐτοσί” ἐμὲ λέγων “τῶν τε σῶν ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν, ἐὰν βούλη τοῦτον ποιήσασθαι.” καὶ ὁ Μενεκλῆς καλῶς ἔφη αὐτὸν λέγειν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τούτου ποιεῖταί με.</p>	<p><sup>2.1</sup>I thought, gentlemen, that if anybody was ever adopted by someone according to the laws, then I was that man, and nobody could ever dare say that Meneclēs adopted me when out of his mind or under the influence of a woman ...<sup>10</sup>Some time after this, Meneclēs began to consider how not to remain childless but instead to have someone to look after him in his old age, bury him when he died, and afterwards perform the customary rites for him. He saw that my opponent had only one son, so he thought it would be wrong to ask him to give him this son for adoption and deprive him of male children. <sup>11</sup>He could therefore find no other relative closer than us ... he should adopt a son from the family out of which he would have wanted to have children naturally ... <sup>12</sup>... his proposal and said that because of his age and present state of loneliness he needed someone who would take care of him and be in Athens ... Meneclēs ... in this way adopted me."</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>It is clear from Isaeus' surviving speeches and fragments that he concentrated mainly on composing forensic speeches for lawsuits regarding matters of inheritance (Davis 2012: 744; Edwards 2007:2). This speech was delivered in just such a trial for a false witness. Meneclēs' brother questioned the validity of the adoption of Philonides, who was adopted by Meneclēs, and claimed the estate for himself as next of kin of Meneclēs (Edwards 2007:28). He accused Philonides of giving false testimony about his adoption.</p> <p>Sentence one demonstrates that adoption was considered valid: the adopter had to be in his right mind and had to be acting on his own volition, not be forced by madness, senility, drugs, sickness, or be under the persuasion of anyone, especially a woman (cf Dem 46; Harrison 1986:87).</p> <p>Sentence 10 claims that adoption had taken place to continue the family line (Cox 1998:126, 148) and to provide a means of securing care and a future heir for the adoptive father in his old age (Cox 1998:127; Heim 2017:136; Scott 1992:4). Another reason for adoption, in sentence 12, was to remedy the loneliness of the adoptive father.</p> <p>Sentence 11 delineates that the head of the household should first want to find another close relative with male children to be adopted.</p>	
Isaeus 2.17	Translation (Edwards 2007:35)

<p>ὡς μὲν τοίνυν ἐξῆν τῷ Μενεκλεῖ ποιήσασθαι ὑὸν αὐτῷ ὃν τινα ἐβούλετο, ὁ νόμος αὐτὸς δηλοῖ: ὡς δὲ ἐποιήσατο, οἱ τε φράτορες καὶ οἱ δημόται καὶ οἱ ὀργεῶνες ὑμῖν μεμαρτυρήκασιν: ὥστε περιφανῶς ἀποδέδεικται ἡμῖν ... <sup>46</sup>... <b>μηδεῖς τιμᾶ μήτ' ἐναγίζῃ αὐτῷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, ἀλλὰ ἀφαιρῆται τὰς τιμὰς τὰς ἐκείνου: ἃ προνοηθεῖς ὁ Μενεκλῆς, κύριος ὢν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐποιήσατο ὑὸν ἑαυτῷ, ἵνα τούτων ἀπάντων τυγχάνῃ.</b></p>	<p><sup>2.17</sup>The law itself shows that Meneclēs was allowed to adopt any son he liked for himself, and his phratry members, his demesmen and the members of his religious association have testified that he did adopt one ... <sup>46</sup>... there will be <b>nobody to honor the family cults</b> on his behalf or to make the annual offerings for him, and he will be deprived of the honors due to him. Meneclēs foresaw this, and being in control of his own property, he adopted a son, to secure all these things.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Sentence 17 strengthens the previous statement that adoption was not only to continue the family line but also to operate the cultic ceremonies of the household (Edwards 2007:7). It also shows that, although the head of a household was free to adopt whomever he wished, the law prescribed that the adopter and the adoptee had to be citizens (Harrison 1968:87-88). Also, the adopter had to be without a legitimate son and free from outstanding debts (cf Demosthenes 22.34<sup>112</sup>; 44.49).</p> <p>From this passage it can be deduced that adoption was only available to a male (Isaeus 7.9; 11.8, 41; Edwards 2007:10; cf Harrison 1968:84).</p>	

### 5.3.2.2 Rights and duties in Greek adoption

Isaeus 2.18, 36	Translation (Edwards 2007:35)
<p>ὁ Μενεκλῆς γυναῖκά μοι, καὶ ἔφη με χρῆναι γῆμαι: καὶ ἐγὼ λαμβάνω τὴν τοῦ Φιλωνίδου θυγατέρα. κάκεινός τε τὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐστὶ πατέρα περὶ ὑέος ἔχειν ... <sup>36</sup>καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ ποιητὸς ἐκεῖνόν τε ζῶντα ἐθεράπευον, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐμὴ γυνή, θυγάτηρ οὕσα τουτοῦ Φιλωνίδου, καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ παιδίῳ ἐθέμην τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐκείνου, ἵνα μὴ ἀνώνυμος ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ γένηται ...</p>	<p><sup>2.18</sup>... Meneclēs was concerned for me as is reasonable for a father to be for his son, and I and my wife together took care of him and respected him in the same way <b>as if he were my natural father</b>; and so he praised us to all his demesmen... <sup>36</sup>Yet I, Meneclēs' adopted son, took care of him while he was alive, I and my wife, the daughter of Philonides here, and named my little boy after him, so that his house would not lose the name ...</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>These sentences emphasise that the adopted son had the duty to fulfill the purpose of his adoption and be the perpetuator of his adoptive father's family. When the adoptive father was of</p>	

<sup>112</sup> Demosthenes 22.34: "Prove, therefore, that your father was not a defaulter, or that he left the prison, not by running away, but by paying his debts. If you cannot prove that, then you had no right to move your resolution; for the law makes you a partner in the disqualification of your father, and being disqualified you had no right either to speak or move. Also with regard to the laws which we have cited in court, I think that if he tries to cheat and mislead you, gentlemen, you must give him the reply that I have indicated (Demosthenes 1939) [ὡς οὖν οὐκ ὦφλ' ὁ πατήρ σου, τοῦτ' ἐπίδειξον, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀποδράς ἐξήλθεν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου, ἀλλὰ τὰ χρήματ' ἐκτείσας. εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦθ' ἔξεις δεικνύναι, οὐκ ἐξὸν γέγραφας: κληρονόμον γάρ σε καθίστησ' ὁ νόμος τῆς ἀτιμίας τῆς τοῦ πατρός, ὄντι δ' ἀτίμῳ σοι λέγειν οὐ προσήκεν οὐδὲ γράφειν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν νόμων οὐς παρεγραψάμεθα, οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἂν τι φενακίζειν ἐγχειρῆ καὶ παράγειν οὗτος, ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνειν ἃ διεξελήλυθ' ἐγώ]."

old age, the adopted son had to take care of him and honor him as faithfully as a natural son would do (Lindsay 2009:44; Scott 1992:7). Moreover, the adopted son took a new name from the adoptive father, usually that of his new paternal grandfather. In this case, the adopted son named his little boy after his adoptive father (cf 7.17; Demosthenes 39.27).

Isaeus 7.25	Translation (Edwards 2007:124)
<p>μητρός δ' οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἐκποίητος, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ὑπάρχει τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι μητέρα, καὶ ἐν τῷ πατρῷῳ μένη τις οἴκῳ καὶ ἐκποιοθῆ.</p>	<p>Nobody is removed from his mother's family by adoption, but the fact remains that he has the same mother whether he remains in his father's house or is adopted out of it.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This sentence warns that the adopted son could lose membership (Edwards 2007:9), legal ties and the religious links to his natal family (Harrison 1968:93). He did not completely sever the relationship with his natural mother and brothers (cf Isaeus 6.44; Heim 2017:138) even though he associated with his adoptive father's family and got the right of inheritance from him (Burke 2006:59; cf Harrison 1968:94).</p>	

### 5.3.2.3 Types of Greek adoption

There were three types of adoption recorded in Greek sources: *inter vivos*, testamentary adoption, and posthumous adoption.

In the case of *inter vivos* adoption, the adopted son was adopted while the adoptive father was still alive (Harrison 1968:83; Lindsay 2009:43-44; Scott 1992:5), and the adoption was presented for public enrollment in a deme or phratry, which was a way to secure citizenship and inheritance rights for such sons (Burke 2006:58; Heim 2017:136). However, since this type of adoption could not be annulled, problems might arise if the adopter later had a son of his own, in which case the son and adopted son had to divide the estate (Isaeus 6.63; Edwards 2007:9; cf Harrison 1968:85). For instance, Meneclēs adopted a son while he was still alive (cf Edwards 2007:9); cf the quotation from Isaeus 2.10-12 in 5.3.2.1 above.

In the case of testamentary adoption, the adoptive father included the adopted son in his last will and made a testament which took effect after his death (Harrison 1968:83; Scott 1992:5). It could also legally bound an adopted son to marry the testator's legitimate daughter (Harrison 1968:85) or the will and the adoption became invalid, and the door was opened for the next of kin to claim the daughter and estate (Burke 2006:59). For instance, Philoctemon made a testamentary adoption:

"... <sup>6.6</sup>It was the elder of these, Chaerestratus here, whom Philoctemon adopted as his son. <sup>7</sup>Under the terms of his will, if he had no child by his wife, Chaerestratus inherited his estate"<sup>113</sup> (Isaeus 6.6-7; Forster 1962).

In the case of posthumous adoption, if a man died without legitimate male offspring, and without having adopted a son, the closest kin or that person's offspring inherited the estate and was adopted into the family of the deceased (Dem. 43; 44:19; see Harrison 1968:91; Lindsay 2009:52-54).

#### 5.3.2.4 Conclusion

According to Greek law, adoption occurred on the volition of the adoptive father, a male adult without debt, in order to perpetuate the estate, the inheritance, and the household cult. Adoptees were obligated to take the name of the adoptive father, to care for him and honour him – also after his death.

### 5.3.3 Adoption in the Roman context

Greek adoption and Roman adoption differ slightly in terms of cultural values. Roman law, however, was more coherent than Greek law pertaining to adoption.

There is considerable continuity between the earliest Roman legal sources and later sources such as the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* by Justinian (cf 5.3.3.1). This indicates that the ideology driving the legal practice of adoption remained more or less constant over the course of several centuries (cf 5.3.3.1; Heim 2017:138). In order to construct the social meaning of adoption the Roman law is investigated together with philosophers and poets.

#### 5.3.3.1 The purpose of Roman adoption

<b>Modestinus: <i>Rules, book 2 [libro secundo regularum]</i></b>	<b>Translation (Krueger &amp; Watson 1985:19-20)</b>
Magistratum, apud quem legis actio est, et emancipare filios suos et in adoptionem dare apud se posse Neratii sententia est	... a magistrate before whom a statutory action-at-law is competent has power both to emancipate his own sons and to give them in adoption in his own court
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This sentence points out that Roman adoption was officially enforced by law with witnesses. The status of an adoptive son was not regarded as lower than that of a biological son because adoption was precisely the legal and cultural construction which enabled the adoptee to take</p>	

<sup>113</sup> Isaeus 6.6-7: “τούτων τὸν πρεσβύτερον τουτονὶ Χαίρεστρατον ἐποίησατο υἱόν: καὶ ἔγραψεν οὕτως ἐν διαθήκῃ, εἰ μὴ γένοιτο αὐτῷ παιδίον ἐκ τῆς γυναικός, τοῦτον κληρονομεῖν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ.”

over the social position of his adoptive father (Peppard 2011:54). Moreover, the status and rank of an adoptive son was not diminished but increased by adoption (*Digest* 1.7.35<sup>114</sup>).

Justinian: Digest 28	Translation (Krueger & Watson 1985:19-20)
<p>In adoptionibus eorum dumtaxat, qui suae potestatis sunt, voluntas exploratur: sin autem a patre dantur in adoptionem, in his utriusque arbitrium spectandum est vel consentiendo vel non contra-dicendo</p>	<p>In adoptions, inquiry is made as to their wishes only of those who are <i>sui juris</i>. But if people are being given by their father into adoption, in relation to them the choice of both parties must be considered through their consenting or their failing to make objection</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Roman adoption was to ensure the inheritance and the transmission of power from the father to the adoptee. The primary purpose was for the <i>paterfamilias</i> to be able to pass on his <i>potestas</i> to a suitable heir after his death: one had to possess the <i>potestas</i> with legal independence (<i>sui juris</i>). From this perspective, an adopted son would really become the son and agent of the adoptive father; he was neither a substitute son, nor some kind of second-class son, but exchanged his own status for the status of the adoptive father (Peppard 2011a:54). His former father's name, status, and family cult were gone; everything had been brought under the power of his new father.</p>	

Ulpian, <i>Sabinus</i> , book 26	Translation (Krueger & Watson 1985:21)
<p>Si pater familias adoptatus sit, omnia quae eius fuerunt et adquiri possunt tacito iure ad eum transeunt qui adoptavit</p>	<p>If a head of household (<i>pater familias</i>) should be adopted, everything which belonged to him and which can be claimed by him is by tacit operation of law transferred to his adopter.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This passage emphasises the transmission of power from the adoptee, even if he himself is <i>paterfamilias</i>.</p>	

Justinian: Digest 85	Translation (Krueger & Watson 1985:22)
<p>Ex adoptiuo natus adoptiui locum optinet in iure civili.</p>	<p>The offspring of an adoptive son acquires the same position in civil law as if he were himself adopted</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This passage demonstrates that Roman adoption was conferred not only to the adoptive son, but also to his offspring.</p>	

<sup>114</sup> *Digest* 1.7.35: "A person's rank is not lowered by **adoption, but it is raised** [Per adoptionem dignitas non minuitur, sed augetur]" (Krueger & Watson 1985:22).

<b>Institutes 1.11.4</b>	<b>Translation (Heim 2017:141)</b>
Minorem natu non posse maiorem adoptare placet: adoptio enim naturam imitatur et pro monstro est ut maior sit filius quam pater. debet itaque is qui sibi per adrogationem vel adoptionem filium facit, plena pubertate, id est <b>decem et octo annis</b> praecedere	A younger person cannot adopt an older; for adoption imitates nature; and it seems unnatural that a son should be older than his father. Anyone, therefore, who wishes either to adopt or arrogate a son should be the elder by the term of complete puberty, that is, <b>by eighteen years</b>
<b>Interpretation:</b>	
This passage shows that adoption was meant to “imitate nature” ( <i>naturam imitatur</i> ) and it was expected that the adoptive <i>paterfamilias</i> had to be older than his adoptee by at least eighteen years (cf <i>Digest 1.7.40</i> <sup>115</sup> ; Buckland 1921:124; Lindsay 2009:66).	

<b>Institutes 1.103-104</b>	<b>Translation</b>
<sup>103</sup> Illud vero utriusque adoptionis commune est, quod et hi, qui generare non possunt, quales sunt spadones, adoptare possunt. <sup>104</sup> Feminae vero nullo modo adoptare possunt, quia ne quidem naturales liberos in potestate habent.	<sup>103</sup> It is a rule common to both kinds of adoption that persons who are incapable of begetting children, such as eunuchs, can adopt. <sup>104</sup> Women, however, cannot in any way adopt other persons, for the reason that they cannot exercise authority even over their natural children.
<b>Interpretation:</b>	
Sentence 103 demonstrates that a man who can not have children could have a son by adoption. Childlessness appears to have been the most common reason for adoption in Rome because of low fertility (Lindsay 2009:103). Therefore, the practice of adoption enabled a father during his lifetime to select an individual from outside the family group to be his heir and in this way to introduce new blood into the household system.	
Sentence 104 reminds that women could not adopt because they could not possess <i>patria potestas</i> (cf <i>Digest 1.7.30</i> <sup>116</sup> ; Buckland 1921:124; Scott 1992:11).	

<sup>115</sup> *Digest 1.7.40*: “Not only when someone is adopting but also when he is adrogating, he must be older than the person he is making his son by *adrogatio* or by adoption. What is more, **he must be of complete puberty, that is, he must be eighteen years** older than the person in question [“Non tantum cum quis adoptat, sed et cum adrogat, maior esse debet eo, quem sibi per adrogationem uel per adoptionem filium facit, **et utique plenae pubertatis: id est decern et octo annis** eum praecedere debet. Spado adrogando suum heredem sibi adsciscere potest nec ei corporate uitium impedimento est]” (Krueger & Watson 1985:22).

<sup>116</sup> *Digest 1.7.30*: “For adoption confers an agnatic tie, not a blood tie. So if I adopt a boy, my wife is not in the place of mother to him ... but he whom I adopt does become brother to my daughter, since my daughter is in my family ... [Et ideo si filium adoptavero, uxor mea illi matris loco non est ... sed filiae meae is quem adoptavi frater fit, quoniam in familia mea est filia ...]” (Krueger & Watson 1985:22).

### 5.3.3.2 Rights and duties in Roman adoption

<p><b>Cicero: <i>On his house</i> [<i>De Domo sua</i>] 35</b></p>	<p><b>Translation (trans. Yonge 1891)</b></p>
<p>summa senectute alter Oresten, alter Pisonem adoptavit, quas adoptiones sicut alias innumerabilis hereditates <b>nominis pecuniae sacrorum secutae</b> sunt.</p>	<p>when extremely old, adopted as sons, the one Orestes, and the other Piso. And these adoptions, like others, more than I can count, were followed by the inheritance of <b>the name</b> and <b>property</b> and <b>sacred rites of the family</b>.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>Cicero (106-43 BC) was a member of a prominent Roman family (Malherbe 1986:17).</p> <p>This passage shows that the Roman concept of adoption was rooted closely in the religious basis of the household, where each family had its own cult or <i>sacra</i> (sacred things) (Burke 2006:66). Duty of a person who was adopted was not only to carry on the name (<i>nomen</i>) of the adopter, but also to inherit the property (<i>pecunia</i>), and, most important, to protect the sacred (<i>sacrum</i>) of a family from dying out (Peppard 2011a:51; Scott 199:9). The ancient Roman household was filled with gods and each god was venerated in accordance with ancestral custom. Gods provided for the family, guarding the storehouse and guaranteeing the supply of food, and protecting the entire household (Burke 2006:66). The <i>genius</i> (the divine spirit) or <i>numen</i> (divine power) of the family was the focus of domestic worship and referred to as its protective force and the living spirit of the <i>paterfamilias</i>.</p> <p>Roman adoption was a means of passing on wealth and status to an heir in order to secure the continued existence of the family line. Roman adoption focused on the <i>paterfamilias</i> in order to ensure the future of a father and of his inheritance; it was not so that a child could gain a home of love and care (Heim 2017:140; Lindsay 2009:41; Peppard 2011a:51, 60).</p>	

<p><b><i>Digest</i> 5.2.22.3 (Tryphonius, Disputations 17)</b></p>	<p><b>Translation (Lindsay 2009:107)</b></p>
<p>item si adrogavi eum qui instituerat litem de inofficioso testamento eius qui mihi legatum dedit, litemque peregero nomine filii nec optinero: perdere me legatum non oportet, quia non sum indignus, ut auferatur mihi a fisco id quod derelictum est: cum non proprio nomine, sed iure cuiusdam successionis egi.</p>	<p>Likewise, if I adrogated a person who had begun an action for an undutiful will against a man who had given me a legacy, and I have carried through the case in the name of my son and not won, it is not right for me to lose my legacy, because I do not deserve to have taken from me by the imperial treasury what was left to me. For I have acted not in my own name, but through the right of a type of succession.</p>
<p><b>Interpretation:</b></p> <p>This passage emphasises the previous statement indicating that the adoptee (adrogated son) was responsible for securing his adoptive father's rights and perpetuate succession. Otherwise, the adopted son could lose his legacy under Roman law (Lindsay 2009:107).</p>	

### 5.3.3.3 Types of Roman adoption

There were three types of adoption under the Roman law: *adrogatio*, *adoptio*, *testamentum* (cf Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* [*Noctes Atticae*] 5.19<sup>117</sup>; cf C. Suetonius Tranquillus (1889), *Divus Julius* 83.2<sup>118</sup>). An *adrogatio* involved the adoption of a son who was already independent under the *potestas* (power) of another *paterfamilias* (*sui iurii*) (Buckland 1921:125). The process of adoption was, firstly, that an adoptee had to defect from his original *familia*, which included his previous inheritable goods, such as wealth, family, honor, and cult (Heim 2017:141; Lindsay 2009:48). Secondly, after detachment from the *potestas* of the previous *paterfamilias*, the new *paterfamilias* adopted and transmitted the *potestas* upon him with the purpose that he maintain the cult of his adoptive *familia* (Lindsay 2009:48; Scott 1992:12). It can be illustrated as follows: The father A sold X, the son, to B, the adoptive father. B freed him (X) and he reverted to A's *potestas*. This was repeated until the third sale to destroy the *potestas* (Buckland 1921:123; Lindsay 2009:63, 104<sup>119</sup>). Thirdly, the court had to consider whether the adopter could have natural children and whether the property and wealth of the adoptee was being sought under false pretenses (Heim 2017:142). All of the procedures were overseen by the emperor's authority or by command of a magistrate. Therefore, three parties were involved: the natural father, the adopting father, and a third party (the court of Rome [*comitia curiata*: curiate meetings and for lawsuits]; cf Lindsay 2009:76). The procedure of *adrogatio* adoption gives a glimpse of how significant household religion within Roman society was.

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<sup>117</sup> Attic Nights [*Noctes Atticae*] 5.19: "The meaning of adoptatio and also of adrogatio, and how they differ; and the formula used by the official who, when children are adopted, brings the business before the people ... [Quid sit adoptatio, quid item sit adrogatio, quantumque haec inter se different; verbaque eius quae qualiaque sint, qui in liberis adrogandis super ea re populum rogat...]" (Rolfe 1927).

<sup>118</sup> "At the instance of Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, his will was opened and read in Mark Antony's house. He had made it on the ides (13th) of the preceding September ... that in all the wills he had signed, from the time of his first consulship to the breaking out of the civil war, Cneius Pompey was appointed his heir, and that this had been publicly notified to the army. But **in his last will**, he named three heirs, the grandsons of his sisters; namely, Caius Octavius for three fourths of his estate, and Lucius Pinarium and Quintus Pedius for the remaining fourth. Other heirs [in remainder] were named at **the close of the will, in which he also adopted Caius Octavius, who was to assume his name, into his family; and nominated most of those who were concerned in his death among the guardians of his son** ... [postulante ergo Lucio Pisone socero testamentum eius aperitur recitaturque in Antoni domo, quod Idibus Septembris proximis ... Quintus Tubero tradit heredem ab eo scribi solitum ex consulatu ipsius primo usque ad initium civilis belli Cn. Pompeium, idque militibus pro contione recitatum. sed nouissimo **testamento tres instituit heredes sororum nepotes, Gaium Octavianum ex dodrante, et Lucium Pinarium et Quintum Pedium ex quadrante reliquos; in ima cera Gaium Octavianum etiam in familiam nomenque adoptavit; plerosque percussorum in tutoribus filii** ...]."

<sup>119</sup> The triple sale of the son comes from the Twelve Tables regarding issues of personal status within the family, written in the Institutes of Gaius: "If a father gives his son in sale three times, let the son be free from his father [si pater filium ter venum duit, filius a patre liber esto]" (1.132) It illustrates the power of *patria potestas* that enabled to control or set free any of the household members. Therefore, breaking or issuing father's *patria potestas* was most important for household members in Rome.

In contrast to *adrogatio*, *adoptio* was a private transaction between the natural *paterfamilias* and the adoptive *paterfamilias*, putting the son of a household under the legal power and authority of another (*alieni iuris*) (Burke 2006:67). It was used by some priests to transfer patricians to plebs (Lindsay 2009:76<sup>120</sup>). The procedure was not as serious as *adrogatio*: the natural *paterfamilias* would sell his son three times with a fictitious purchase into slavery to another; the other party would manumit the son each time after he was sold (Burke 2006:68; Heim 2017:142; cf Scott 1992:12). The first two times the natural father would sell the son into civil bondage (*in mancipio*), making him a slave, but after the third sale the father's *potestas* over his son was broken. Once the *potestas* was broken, the adoptee came under the *potestas* of the adoptive *paterfamilias* by decree of the magistrate with the signatures of seven witnesses (Burke 2006:69).

The last type was *testamentum* (testamentary adoption) which was not treated by legal writers and many authorities but is mentioned several times in literary works of the late Republic or early Empire. Under this arrangement the beneficiary does not change his tribe (Lindsay 2011:203; Scott 1992:10)

The main functions of the three types of adoption were similar. They show the power and importance of the father of a household in the Roman social context and that an adoptee was able to perpetuate the family line and inherit the adopter's name, property and family cult.

#### **5.3.3.4 Social advance through adoption**

Because freedmen could receive citizenship (Lindsay 2009:123), Roman law also provided the opportunity for an earlier slave to be adopted by a *paterfamilias* to perpetuate his line. This is encapsulated by Justinian: "A person's rank is not lowered by adoption, but it is raised" (Justinian *Digest* 1.7.35<sup>121</sup>; Krueger & Watson 1985:22).

Since adoption included an artificial mode of acquiring status within the Roman family, adoption had clear relevance to freedmen because of the possibility it presented for them to be adopted by Roman citizens (Lindsay 2009:131:131). In this way, freedmen could make rapid social advances.

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<sup>120</sup> This type of adoption had been applied by Caesar as Pontifex Maximus in 59 BC to transfer Clodius to the plebs under an adoption.

<sup>121</sup> *Digest* 1.7.35: "Per adoptionem dignitas non minuitur, sed augetur."

Although Roman law prohibited freedmen from marrying into the senatorial class, (*Digest* 23.2.32<sup>122</sup>), they could, through adoption, gain social status and rise from the bottom (slave) to the middle-class, aristocrats, or knights (Figure 5-1):

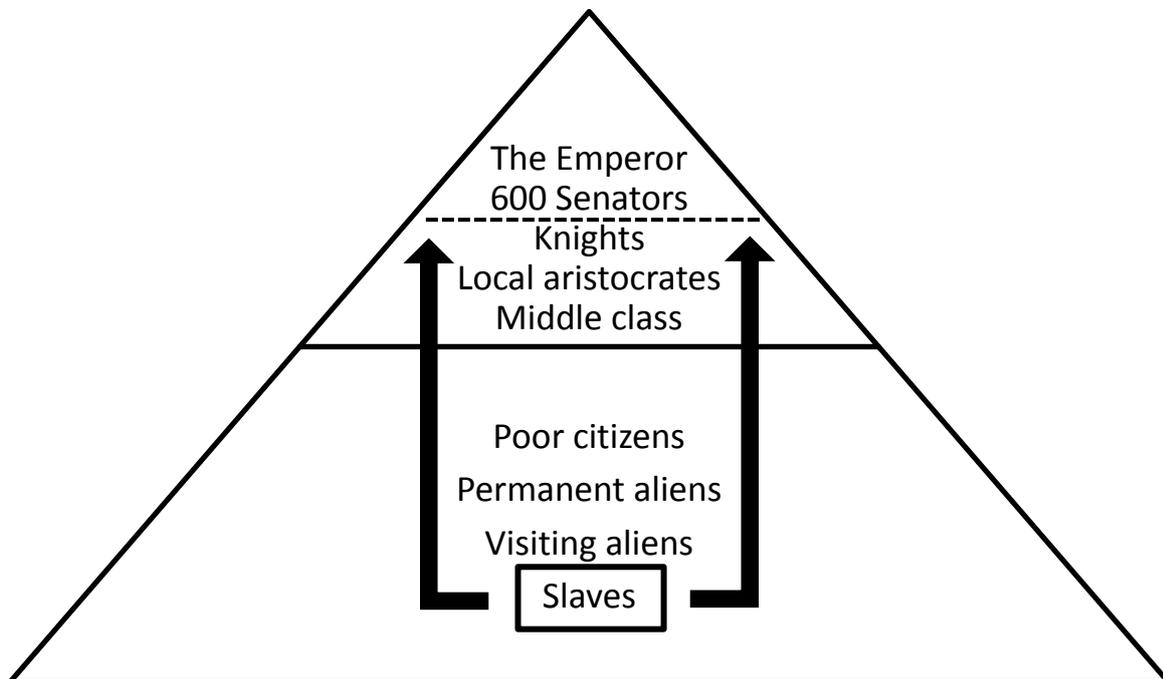


Figure 5-1: Social upward mobility

Adoption as a vehicle for gaining social prestige and upward mobility can also be observed in the writings of Seneca the Elder (1974) who, writing on how one should examine a woman before deciding to marry her, compares the situation to a youth being requested for adoption:

“If [a young man] wants to go, he should inquire how many ancestors the old man who seeks him has, what rank they are, what the old man's wealth is — whether he can auction himself off at a sufficient price” (Seneca 1974:1.6.6<sup>123</sup>; Peppard 2011a:56).

Seneca also mentions upward mobility:

“Now through adoption, this [child] from the very bottom is **grafted** on to the nobility, and made other remarks to his effect” (Peppard 2011a:57; Seneca 1974:2.4.13<sup>124</sup>).

<sup>122</sup> *Digest* 23.2.32: “It must be known that a freedman who has given himself in adrogation to a freeborn man, although he obtains the rights of a freeborn man within his adopter’s familia, is nevertheless, on grounds of being a freedman, to be barred from a senatorial marriage [Sciendum est libertinum, qui se ingenuo dedit adrogandum, quamvis in eius familia ingenui iura sit consecutus, ut libertinum tamen a senatoriis nuptiis repellendum esse].”

<sup>123</sup> “si volet ire, quaerat senex ille qui petit quales et quot habeat maiores, quanta bona, an satis magno se possit addicere”.

<sup>124</sup> “Cum diceret partem adolescentis Latro et tractaret adoptionis locum, dixit: iam iste ex imo per adoptionem nobilitati **inseritur**; et alia in hanc summam.”

### 5.3.3.5 Metaphorical use of adoption: the Roman emperor as *paterfamilias*

In 2 BC, on February the 5<sup>th</sup>, Caesar Augustus was given the title of *pater patriae* (father of the fatherland):

“In my thirteenth consulship the Senate, the equestrian order, and the whole people of Rome gave me **the title of *pater patriae***, and resolved that this should be inscribed in the porch of my house and in the Curia Julia and in the Forum Augustum ...” (Augustus *Res Gestae* 35.1<sup>125</sup>; Peppard 2011:60).

After his death, the fatherly image of the divine Augustus was conferred on the legend of a new coin issue: “*Divus Augustus Pater*” (Peppard 2011:61). In Roman worldview, especially during the first century, the father-son relationship was not primarily a generational or begotten relationship, but relied on the father’s power and determination – as was the case in the relationship between the Roman Emperor and the Roman citizens.

Strabo (63 BC-24 AD) regarded Augustus' fatherly status as a metaphor for good authority:

“But it were a difficult thing to administer so great a dominion otherwise than by turning it over to one man, as **to a father**; at all events, never have the Romans and their allies thrived in such **peace and plenty as that which was afforded them by Augustus Caesar**, from the time he assumed the absolute authority ...” (Strabo Geography 6.4.2<sup>126</sup>).

Seneca the Younger (4 BC-65 AD) muses about the fatherly title:

“This [clementia] is the duty of a *parens*, and it is also the duty of a *princeps*, whom not in empty flattery we have been led to call “***pater patriae***.” For other designations have been granted merely by way of honor; some we have styled “the great” and “the fortunate” and “the august,” and we have heaped upon pretentious greatness all possible titles as a tribute to such men. But to the ***pater patrae*** we have given the name in order that he may know that he has been entrusted with ***patria potestas***, which is most forbearing in its care for the interests of his children and subordinates his own to their” (Peppard 2011:62; Seneca 2009: 1.14.2).

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<sup>125</sup> *Res Gestae* 35.1: “Tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam, senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae, idque in vestibulo aedium mearum inscribendum et in curia Iulia et in foro Aug...”

<sup>126</sup> Geography 6.4.2: “χαλεπὸν δὲ ἄλλως διοικεῖν τὴν τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν ἢ ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψαντας ὡς πατρί. οὐδέποτε γοῦν εὐπορήσαι τοσαύτης εἰρήνης καὶ ἀφθονίας ἀγαθῶν ὑπήρξε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν, ὅσην Καῖσάρ τε ὁ Σεβαστὸς παρέσχεν ἀφ’ οὗ παρέλαβε τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοτελεῖ ...”

The metaphoric use of the adoptive father is clear: the stability and peace Augustus' power brought to the world was built upon the emperor's role as father of the Empire similar to that of the *paterfamilias* of a large family (Harrison 2011:80). The emperor was not merely the father of Rome, as Romulus was; he was also the father of everyone in the Province of Asia (Peppard 2011:66).

### **5.3.3.6 Conclusion**

What has been discussed above is a general depiction of adoption in Roman law and literature and provides a clear understanding of how adoption worked.

In Roman law, the power of the father (*paterfamilias potestas*) to adopt was supreme. Adoption was a means to secure a future for his inheritable estate, to carry on his name, and to officiate his household cult. An adopted son, who could supersede a natural son in favour, had the responsibility to increase the inheritance of his adoptive father. Furthermore, he could also be promoted from the bottom of society and installed among nobility.

According to several examples of social advancements made through adoption, and the metaphorical use of adoption, adoption might have been a way to advance one's status through the father's power, which was based on the authority of the Emperor who brings stability and peace to the people and adopts a son to whom he transfers his power.

### **5.3.4 Conclusion: the relevance for Galatians of the concept of adoption in the Graeco-Roman world**

It is clear that adoption imagery was not foreign to Paul's addressees in Galatia (Burke 2006:71; Heim 2017:145; Peppard 2011a:135), as it was evident in the social context of Graeco-Roman household practices pertaining to adoption.

Focusing on the rights of inheritance, adoption can be seen clearly in Galatians 3:23-4:7, where Paul envisions that whoever is granted sonship by adoption also receives inheritance, which includes not only land and other wealth, but also the family name, the family glory, and a share of the family's sacred affairs. The adopted son was not regarded less than biological sons, nephews or grandsons. It was the power of the adoptive father that ensured the rights of the adopted son.

## **5.4 CONCLUSION**

Roman law and the Graeco-Roman social context emphasised that the master, who completely controlled his slaves as property, had absolute authority either to take the life of a slave or to restore his/her status through manumission, by which a slave could attain Roman citizenship. The law made it possible for a slave to establish his/her social network through the power of the

master. The other role of the master of the household was that of father. As a father, he had power to adopt a son who was not of his blood and give him the privilege, like to a biological son, of inheriting his name, his estate, and the glory of the family.

The law gave the master authority to provide manumission to a slave so that he could become a Roman citizen (free person) and, by adoption, promote him to the father-son relationship in the household. A slave was set free from slavery and advanced from a freedman into the household of the master as an adopted son so that he could inherit all the privileges from the master who was now his father. In other words, a person would, from being a slave, become a son and go, from a lack of kinship bonds and sense of honour and dignity, into the protection of a family through the power of the master and the love of the father. Paul was able to apply the powerful figures of master and father of the first century household to God the Father, who is more powerful than any human being in the world and has the absolute authority to set people free from any bondage and to adopt them into his family through the Lord Jesus Christ, his only son.

Another dimension of liberation, as has been discussed, is that of a person being set free from the enslavement of pleasure, evil passion and emotions, or the sin which Paul refers to. Sin, as capturer, enslaves everyone's heart, even the hearts of emperors, masters, and fathers of the household. Sin is the primary cause of dissention in the relationship between God and human beings and also causes discrimination among people.

For the philosophers it is possible to be set free from evil intentions through self-efforts or philosophical education. For Paul this is only possible through Jesus Christ, who can set a person free from sin, restore the broken relationships of human beings and abolish all discrimination between persons, so that they can join the household of the heavenly Father. Therefore the believers can identify themselves as slaves of the Lord Jesus Christ and children of God the Father through the redemptive act of Jesus Christ through whom they have the privilege of entering the household of God without any social distinctions.

The full relevance for the interpretation of the slavery and adoption imagery in Galatians will be discussed in Chapter 6.



## 6 FREEDOM AND THE IMAGERY OF SLAVERY AND ADOPTION IN GALATIANS

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Metaphors are based on semantic conventions within a given book, a particular context, and/or a certain social historical context (1.4.1.1-2). The metaphors of slavery and adoption have been discussed diachronically – their occurrence in the Old Testament (ch.3); and synchronically – in the 1<sup>st</sup> century Jewish culture and in the 1<sup>st</sup> century Graeco-Roman world.

The focus now shifts to Paul’s letter to the Galatians. The relation between freedom (cf 6.2) and imageries of slavery (cf 6.3) and adoption (cf 6.4) will be studied utilising a philological analysis which aligns with a grammatico-historical approach to exegesis. It includes not simply the study of the socio-historical context, but also the use of linguistic methodological principles and methods within a primarily philological enquiry (Van der Watt 2000:157-200).

The pericopes in Galatians that will be exegeted have been determined in Chapter 2 (cf 2.2.5, 2.3.5, and 2.4.5).

I utilise the method of exegesis developed by Van Rensburg and others (2015). This means that I will analyse each pericope utilising the following steps: (1) establish the place of the pericope in Galatians (2) establish the genre of the pericope, (3) analyse the thought structure of the pericope, (4) determine the socio-historical context of the pericope, (5) do word study of important relevant concepts in the pericope, (6) establish the revelation-historical place and meaning of the pericope, and (7) establish the communicational goal of the pericope.

First the pericopes containing words that refer to the concept “freedom” are exegeted (6.2), then pericopes containing concepts related to “slavery” (6.3), and finally pericopes containing concepts related to “adoption” (6.4). The chapter ends with a conclusion (6.5).

### 6.2 FREEDOM IN GALATIANS

To establish the meaning of freedom in Galatians the following pericopes are exegeted (cf 2.2.5): Galatians 1:1-5 (ἐξαιρέω); 2:1-10 (ἐλευθερία); 3:6-14 (ἐξαγοράζω); 3:23-29 (ἐλεύθερος); 4:5 (ἐξαγοράζω); 4:21-5:1 (ἐλεύθερος, ἐλευθερία, ἐλευθερώω); 5:13-24 (ἐλευθερία).

#### 6.2.1 Galatians 1:1-5: ἐξαιρέω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<sup>1:1</sup> Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι’ ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, <sup>2</sup> καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί ταῖς	<sup>1:1</sup> Paul — an apostle not from human nor through human, but according to Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him out of dead — <sup>2</sup> and to all the brothers who [are] with

<p>ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, <sup>3</sup>χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ <sup>4</sup>τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως <b>ἐξέληται</b> ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, <sup>5</sup>ὧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.</p>	<p>me, to the churches of Galatia: <sup>3</sup>Grace to you and peace from God our father and the lord Jesus Christ, <sup>4</sup>who gave himself for our sins in order to <b>set us free</b> from the present evil ages according to the will of God and our Father, <sup>5</sup>to whom [be] the glory forever and ever, Amen.</p>
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### 6.2.1.1 Place of Galatians 1:1-5 in Galatians

In Chapter 2 (2.2.5) I indicated that I am utilising the pericope break down of Galatians proposed by De Boer (2011). Accordingly, the pericope 1:1-5 forms part of the Letter Opening (Ga 1:1-10):

- |   |
|---|
| <p>1. Letter Opening (1:1-10)<br/> <b>1.1 Prescript (sender, recipients, grace greeting) (1:1-5)</b><br/> 1.2 Rebuke and Imprecation (1:6-10)</p> |
|---|

It is clear that Galatians uses the same epistolary conventions as in Paul's other letters, following a tripartite division: letter opening, letter body, and letter closing (Oakes 2015:22), derived from Graeco-Roman or Jewish epistolary conventions (Aune 1987:184).

Galatians 1:1-5 is the prescript of the Letter Opening. In this prescript Paul deals with the divine origin of his apostleship: "an apostle not from human nor through human, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father..." (Ga 1:1) and the gospel of Christ "giving himself for our sins in order to set us free from the present evil ages" (Ga 1:4). Thus, the pericope is about the real apostle and the real gospel.

### 6.2.1.2 The genre of Galatians 1:1-5

The opening of the letter is Pauline in style, following Greek rhetorical techniques through which Paul deals with a specific problem faced by the churches in Galatia (Van Rensburg, *et al.* 2015:46). Galatians is particularly distinctive from his other letters because of its exceptionally long phrases that emphasise his status as an apostle, like in his letter to the Romans (Ga 1:1-2a; cf Ro 1:1-6). This pericope immediately focuses on Paul's official apostleship. In Roman diplomatic epistolary, the sender identified himself with the appropriate title, accentuating its official character (Aune 1987:184). By using the epithet "an apostle" at the beginning of the letter, the opening of the letter functions as in an official correspondence: Paul is presenting himself as an official apostle sent by God and the Lord Jesus Christ.

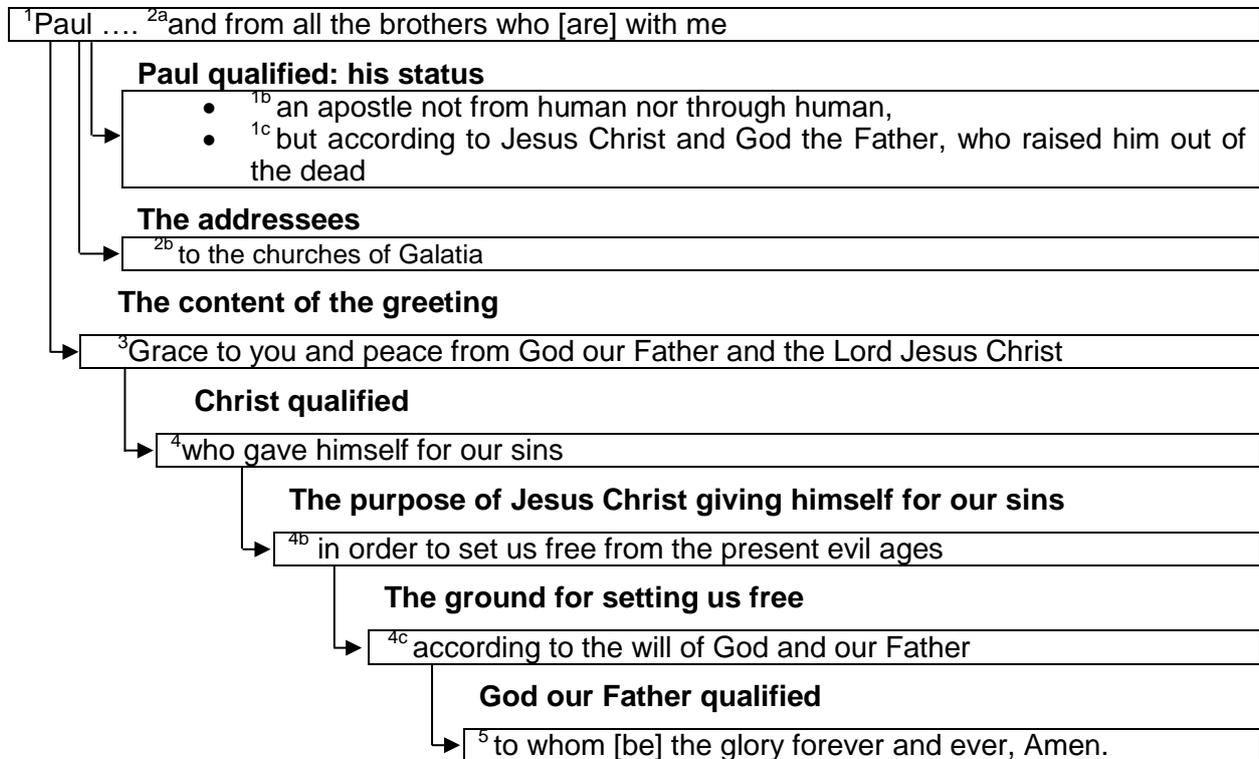
The purpose of using the title “apostle” is to get the audience’s attention and to make known that his apostleship is directly from the Lord Jesus Christ and God the Father. The opening is framed by an inclusion (Ga 1:1, 10), emphasising that Paul’s identity and actions are not related to the realm of humanity (ἄνθρωπος) and flesh (σάρξ; Ga 6:13-14), but to the authorisation of Jesus Christ and God. Paul presents himself as example of someone who has been set free from “this present evil age” through Christ’s rescue mission (Ga 1:4), and expands with a reference to Christ to oppose his opponents who are devoted to the realm of humanity and flesh and want to enslave Galatian believers (Ga 6:12-13; cf Oakes 2015:24).

### 6.2.1.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 1:1-5 on microlevel



#### 6.2.1.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 1:1-5 on macrolevel

##### The identification of the authors of the letter



The place of “freedom” in the argument of Galatians 1:1-5 is, therefore, grace and peace which are from the father through the Lord Jesus Christ who gave himself with the purpose that those who believe in him will be set free from the present evil ages and will have peace with the father in his household forever.

#### 6.2.1.5 Social-historical context of Galatians 1:1-5

This pericope identifies itself with the household of the first century since the description of God as “Father” is used three times in Galatians 1:1-5 (1:1, 3, 4). This is more times than in the equivalent opening segment of any other Pauline letter (Oakes 2015:38). It can evoke either the power of fatherhood in the first century or be rooted in the Israelites’ tradition of “messianic” texts such as 2 Samuel 7:12-17. Taking the social-historical context of Paul and his addressees into account, the father metaphor is related more to the household of the first century than to the image of the father-son relationship of the Old Testament which has a strong component of nationalism to demarcate Israel from the other nations (cf 3.3.3).

The power of fatherhood in the Graeco-Roman social context involved issues of obedience to authority, authority which, according to Roman law and social code, extended to the power of life and death over those in the household (cf 5.3). Paul stresses God's role as father because God, with his paternal power (*patria potestas*), raised his son Jesus Christ (Ga 1:16; 2:20; cf Ga 4:4, 6) from the dead.

Secondly, under the will of God as the Father, Jesus Christ was designated as κύριος ("the Lord"). This title – for Paul's addressees – would have referred not only to the many lords in the household of Roman society, gods and goddesses, but also to the Roman emperor who had authority and power over the Graeco-Roman world (De Boer 2011:28). However, the way in which God created a new household, by "giving himself for human sins to set his people free from the present evil age" (Ga 1:4), was different from how the emperors of Rome established a household through military force.

The phrase τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ ("present evil age") can refer to the Roman Empire since Roman rulers dominated the Mediterranean World. Around 55 AD, when the letter was written, Emperor Nero reigned in an age of peace and prosperity and, by his power, brought inter-ethnic harmony (Oakes 2015:41). This phrase could also refer to the power of sin as the master that enslaves all human beings (Ga 3:22), and what is frequently referred to as σὰρξ (the flesh), which dominates the addressees (Ga 5:13-24) (De Boer 2011:35). Whether it refers to the Roman Empire or to the power of sin as master, the Lord Jesus Christ has set all people, Jews and Gentiles, free from the power of the law, sin and flesh by which even the Roman Empire was enslaved.

#### **6.2.1.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 1:1-5**

Ἐξαιρέω (Ga 1:4) is one of two important concepts related to freedom in the pericope.

According to Louw and Nida (1996), ἐξαιρέω can be used for the following meanings:

- Be in a place (domain 85A)
- Put or place (domain 85B)
- Remain or stay (domain 85C)
- Leave in a place (domain 85D)
- Dwell or reside (domain 85E)

Contextually, domain 85D (Leave in a place) fits Galatians 1:4 best as it can be interpreted "to take something out of the place where it is - 'to take out, to remove'" (Louw & Nida 1996) or "to deliver someone from peril or confining circumstance; to set free or rescue" (BDAG 2000). Based on these two definitions, there are different versions of this verse in different translations of the Bible: to rescue (NIV), to deliver (NKJ), or to set free (NRSV). In the context of this

pericope, three of them are applicable. The translation of the NRSV is to the point: “The Lord Jesus Christ who gave himself for our sins **to set us free from** the present evil age” (Ga 1:4; NRSV). This is confirmed by the etimologically related words ἐλευθερία (Ga 2:4), ἐλεύθερος (Ga 3:28; 4:22-23, 26. 30-31; 5:13), ἐλευθερώω (Ga 5:1) and ἐξαγοράζω (Ga 3:13; 4:5) in Galatians to denote “The state of a person who has been set free by someone who has paid the ransom money. In this way, the person is not only taken from a state of confined life, but also moved to a more elevated position” (cf 2.2.4).

Ἀδελφός (Ga 1:2) is an important concept implying freedom since it refers to having God as common father, and therefore being part of his household.

According to Louw and Nida (1996), ἀδελφός can be used for the following meanings:

- a brother as next of kin (domain 10C: Kinship relations of same generation);
- a fellow-member of a religious group or class (domain 11B: Socio-religious groups or classes).

Within domain 11B, Louw and Nida distinguish between fellow-member generally (11.23), fellow Jews of the same age group (11.15), fellow-countrymen (11.57), and neighbours (11.89). In the context of this pericope, ἀδελφός is used to reference fellow-members of a socio-religious group, in this instance the Galatian believers who are brothers (and sisters)<sup>127</sup> of Paul and his co-workers (Ga 1:2; 1:11; 3:15; 4:12, 28; 31; 5:11, 13; 6:18) with God as common father and therefore in his household through the Lord Jesus Christ. The rendering of the NRSV encapsulates this correctly: “... all the members of God’s family who are with me...” (Ga 1:2). It is thus to be understood as a spiritual brotherhood in the household of God referring to fellow believers (cf TDNT:22). Such family membership implies equality in the Lord (Ga 3:28; cf Col 3:11) and opposes false brothers (ψευδοἰδελφούς) who come to spy on their freedom in Christ Jesus (Ga 2:4).

#### **6.2.1.7 Revelation-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 1:1-5**

Paul defines Jesus Christ as the Lord who sets all people, Jews and other nations, free from the power of sin, and brings them into a new family according to the will of God the Father. Passages in the Old Testament that relate to the same perspective are: Exodus 4:22-23; Deuteronomy 8:5; 15:15; 32:5-6; Leviticus 25:55; Isaiah 30:1,9; 43:6-7, 10; 44:1-2, 21, 26; 49:5-

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<sup>127</sup> Ἀδελφός literally translates to “brother” and because of its masculine bias will lead modern readers to misunderstand its meaning. However, the Greek term itself is inclusive when used by Paul to encompass both female and male believers in Galatia (cf de Boer 2011:3). Therefore, it is better to translate it as “brother and sister” (NIV) or “the members of family” (NRSV).

6; 63:7-8. Other passages in the New Testament support this perspective (cf Mt 20:28<sup>128</sup>; 1Jn 2:2<sup>129</sup>; Ro 4:25<sup>130</sup>; 1Cor 15:3<sup>131</sup>; Eph 5:2<sup>132</sup>; Tt 2:14<sup>133</sup>). All of these scriptures focus on Jesus Christ giving himself as a ransom for the sin of human beings according to the will of God and to glorify Him, in this way effecting their freedom.

### **A summary of the revelation in the whole Bible on freedom**

Firstly, in the Old Testament all the Israelites were slaves to God by whom they had been ransomed from the bondage of Egypt. Secondly, through a prophetic and royal slave God will set not only Israel free from exile but also the nations, to be His people and make the whole world acknowledge that Israel's God is the master of the world (Is 49:5-6; cf 3.2.3.6). God is not only Israel's master but also their father who will discipline his son and restore his relationship with him (Ex 4:22-23; Dt 8:5; 32:5-6; Is 30:1, 9; 43:6-7; 63:7-8; Jr 31:9). Lastly, in the New Testament, the figure of the obedient slave refers to the Lord Jesus Christ who is not to be served but who serves (Mat 20:28) in order to make an atoning sacrifice for the sins of the whole world (1 Jn 2:2; Ro 4:25; 1 Cor 15:3; Eph 5:2) and to make them the people of God (Tt 2:14).

### **The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 1:1-5**

In contrast to the above-mentioned pericopes, Galatians 1:1-5 does not focus so much on the figure of the master within the household but on the figure of the father who graciously grants freedom with mercy to all the people who enter His family through the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ as the Lord is not like the lords who are being served by others; instead, he is the Lord who is willing to give himself up for all the people so that they can be children of God through his sacrifice. Through the figures of father and master, the believers are sons (and daughters) of God and slaves of the Lord Jesus Christ.

#### **6.2.1.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 1:1-5**

The aim of the pericope is to sensitise Galatian believers to two important facts: (1) Paul's apostleship, which comes directly from the Lord Jesus Christ and God the Father, and (2) that

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<sup>128</sup> Mt 20:28: "just as the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many."

<sup>129</sup> 1Jn 2:2: "... he is the atoning sacrifice for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world."

<sup>130</sup> Ro 4:25: "... who was handed over to death for our trespasses and was raised for our justification."

<sup>131</sup> 1Cor 15:3: "For I handed on to you as of first importance what I in turn had received: that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures."

<sup>132</sup> Php 4:20: "live in love, as Christ loved us<sup>1</sup> and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God."

<sup>133</sup> Tt 2:14: "He it is who gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity and purify for himself a people of his own who are zealous for good deeds."

they, like Paul himself, have already been set free from the present evil age into the household of God the Father.

This “being set free” is possible because of Jesus Christ’s obedience to the will of “our Father” to give himself for people’s sins in order to set them free from the present evil age. Because of what Jesus Christ has done for those who believe, God is not only a father to Paul and to his co-senders (“all the brothers with me”, Ga 1:2a), but also to the churches of Galatia (Ga 1:2b; 3:26; 4:6-7; cf De Boer 2011:28) through his son, Jesus Christ (Ga 1:16). Thus, through the son of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, God establishes a new family as a kind of assembly (ἐκκλησία), like the meetings of citizens (Louw & Nida 1996:11.78).

### 6.2.2 Galatians 2:1-10: ἐλευθερία

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>2:1</sup>Ἐπειτα διὰ<sup>1</sup> δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον· <sup>2</sup>ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ’ ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. <sup>3</sup>ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἕλλην ὢν, ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι <sup>4</sup>διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους, οἵτινες παρεισήλθον κατασκοπεῖσαι <b>τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ</b>, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν, <sup>5</sup>οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνη πρὸς ὑμᾶς. <sup>6</sup>ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι, - ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει· πρόσωπον [ὃ] θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει· ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, <sup>7</sup>ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, <sup>8</sup>ὃ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, <sup>9</sup>καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρναβᾶ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν</p>	<p><sup>2:1</sup>Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus along with me. <sup>2</sup>I went up in response to a revelation. Then I laid before them (though only in private meeting with the acknowledged leaders) the gospel that I proclaim among the Gentiles, in order to make sure that I was not running or had not run, in vain. <sup>3</sup>But even Titus, who was with me, was not compelled to be circumcised though he was a Greek. <sup>4</sup>But because of false brothers [believers]<sup>134</sup> secretly brought in, who slipped in to spy on <b>the freedom we have in Christ Jesus</b>, so that they might enslave us — <sup>5</sup>we did not submit to them even for a moment, so that the truth of the gospel might always remain with you. <sup>6</sup>And from those who were supposed to be acknowledged leaders (whatever they actually were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality) — those leaders contributed nothing to me. <sup>7</sup>On the contrary, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel for the uncircumcised, just Peter had been entrusted with the gospel for the circumcised <sup>8</sup>(for he who worked through Peter making him an apostle to the circumcised also worked through me in sending to the Gentiles), <sup>9</sup>and when James and Cephas and John, who were acknowledged pillars, recognized the grace that had been given to me, they gave to Barnabas and me the right hand of fellowship, agreeing that we should go to the</p>

<sup>134</sup> The word ψευδαδέλφους in NRSV is translated as “false believers.” However, I think it is better to retain the original meaning of “false brothers” which are in opposition to the real “brothers”, including Paul and his coworkers (Ga 1:2) in the household of God.

περιτομήν·<sup>10</sup>μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα  
μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ  
τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

Gentiles and they to the circumcised.<sup>10</sup> They  
asked only one thing, that we remember the poor,  
which was actually what I was eager to do.

### 6.2.2.1 Place of Galatians 2:1-10 in Galatians

#### 2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)

##### 2.1 The origin and the truth of the gospel (1:11-2:21)

##### 2.2.1 The origin of the gospel 1: Paul's conversion and calling (1:11-17)

##### 2.2.2 The origin of the gospel 2: Paul's visit with Cephas in Jerusalem (1:18-24)

##### **2.2.3 The truth of the gospel 1: The Apostolic Conference in Jerusalem (2:1-10)**

##### 2.2.4 The truth of the gospel 2: Conflict with Cephas in Antioch (2:11-14)

This pericope is the third paragraph of the first major section of the letter body (Ga 1:11 – 2:21). In the previous two pericopes (Ga 1:11-17 and 1:18-24) Paul explains that the origin of the gospel, which was proclaimed to the Galatians, is directly from God, who revealed his Son to him (Ga 1:12, 15-16), and gives evidence of no immediate contact with (“Then [Ἐπειτα] through three years ... to Jerusalem (Ga 1:18) ... then [Ἐπειτα] I went into (Ga 1:21) ...”) the leaders of Jerusalem to prove that his gospel did not come from any human authority. This pericope (Ga 2:1-10) represents a considerable length of time (Then through fourteen years [Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν] ...; Ga 2:1) during which Paul stayed away from Jerusalem and its sphere of influence. The next pericope (Ga 2:11-14) deals with the truth of the gospel in conflict with Jerusalem's leader, Peter, while he was in Antioch, whose behaviour was not consistent with the true gospel that Paul was sharing.

### 6.2.2.2 The genre of Galatians 2:1-10

This pericope belongs to Paul's autobiographical statements (Ga 1:11 – 2:21; cf Aune 1987:189; Oakes 2015:24). Most of these statements are located at the beginning of his letters. For Paul the purpose of these statements is often to defend himself and his gospel from the accusations of opponents (cf 1 Th 2:1-12; Ga 1:11-2:21; 2 Cor 1:12-2:17, 7:5-16, 10:7-12:13; Php 1:12-26, 3:2-14). Paul, like other Graeco-Roman orators, uses autobiographical statements for several reasons: (1) the speaker (Paul) wishes to project a trustworthy image of himself; (2) to create the right impression; and (3) to accentuate the character of his opponents plausibly so that his own version would be more persuasive (Aune 1987:190). The structure of Galatians 1:11 – 2:21 is in accordance with conventional autobiographical *topoi* (Aune 1987:190): (1) *proimion* — Paul's divine gospel (Ga 1:11-12); (2) *anastrophe* (behaviour) — Paul's character as a persecutor (Ga 1:13-14) and as a preacher of the gospel (Ga 1:15-17); (3) *praxis* (deeds) — Paul's conduct (Ga 1:18-2:10); (4) *synkrisis* (comparasion) — Cephas and Paul (Ga 2:11-20); (5)



4  
 ἠναγκάσθη he was compelled  
 ↳ περιτιμηθῆναι to be circumcised  
 ↳ διὰ δὲ τοῦς παρεισάκτους because of, however, the...secretly brought in  
 ↳ ψευδαδέλφους false brothers

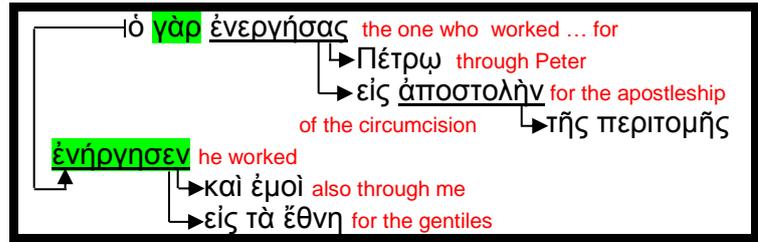
5  
 ↳ οἵτινες who  
 ↳ παρεισῆλθον slipped in  
 ↳ κατασκοπήσαι to spy on  
 ↳ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν the freedom  
 ↳ ἡμῶν of us  
 ↳ ἣν which  
 ↳ ἔχομεν we have  
 ↳ ἐν Χριστῷ in Christ  
 ↳ Ἰησοῦ Jesus  
 ↳ ἵνα ἡμᾶς so that ... us  
 ↳ καταδουλώσουσιν they might enslave

6  
 ↳ οἷς οὐδὲ and to them not  
 ↳ πρὸς ὥραν for a moment  
 ↳ εἴξαμεν we did submit  
 ↳ τῇ ὑποταγῇ in submission  
 ↳ ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια so that ... the truth  
 ↳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου of the gospel  
 ↳ διαμείνη might always remain  
 ↳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς with you  
 ↳ Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων And from those who pretend  
 ↳ εἶναι to be  
 ↳ τι something

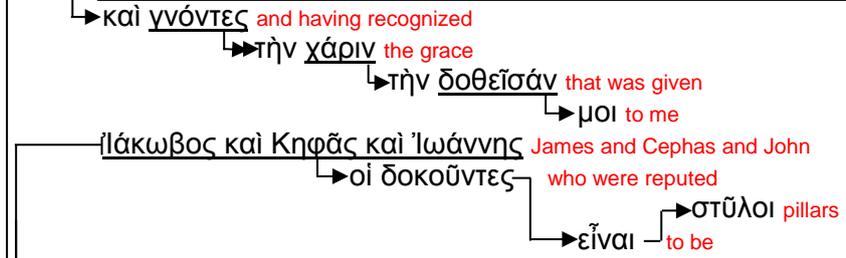
ὅποιοί ποτε what formerly  
 ↳ ἦσαν they actually were  
 ↳ οὐδὲν μοι not to me  
 ↳ διαφέρει- it makes difference  
 ↳ πρόσωπον partiality  
 ↳ [ὁ] θεὸς God  
 ↳ ἀνθρώπου of man  
 ↳ οὐ λαμβάνει- shows not

7  
 ↳ ἐμοὶ γὰρ to me ... for  
 ↳ οἱ δοκούντες those who pretend  
 ↳ οὐδὲν nothing  
 ↳ προσανέθεντο they contributed  
 ↳ ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον  
 ↳ ἰδόντες On the contrary ... having seen  
 ↳ ὅτι πεπίστευμαι that I had been entrusted  
 ↳ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον the gospel  
 ↳ τῆς ἀκροβυστίας of the non-circumcision  
 ↳ καθὼς Πέτρος just as Peter  
 ↳ (πεπίστευται) had been entrusted  
 ↳ (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) with the gospel  
 ↳ τῆς περιτομῆς of the circumcision

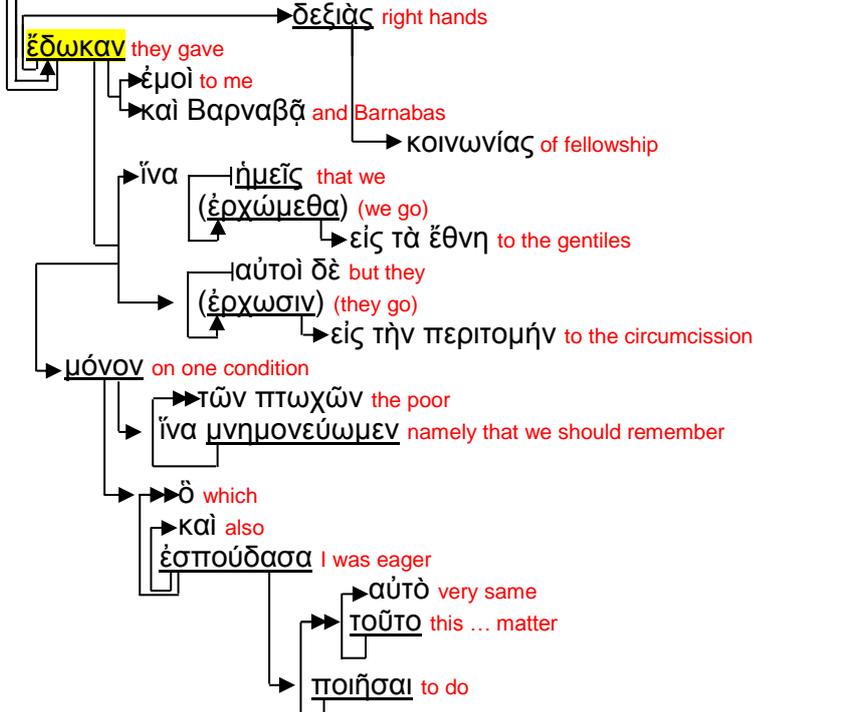
8.



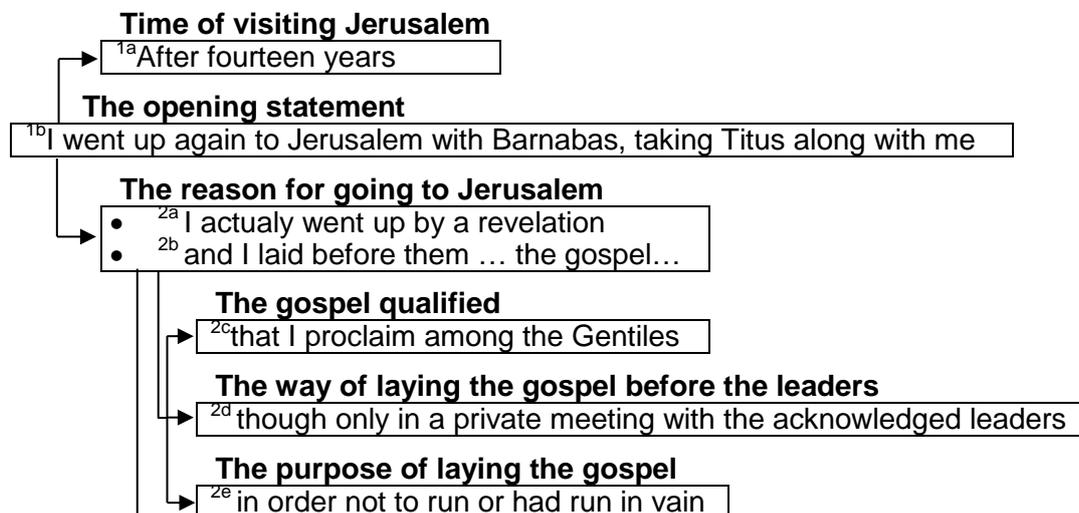
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10



### 6.2.2.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 2:1-10 on macrolevel





The fact that Titus was not compelled to be circumcised – in spite of the efforts of false brothers – was evidence of the acceptability of the gospel preached by Paul. The first reason for Paul not to submit to the demands of the false brothers was that those false brothers added nothing. The second reason was that the leaders of Jerusalem accepted the gospel proclaimed by Paul agreeing that, while they proclaimed the gospel to the circumcised, Paul would proclaim it to the Gentiles. The only condition was that Paul should remember the poor.

The place of “freedom” in the argument of Galatians 2:1-10 is therefore that freedom is what false brothers try to steal by demanding circumcision as a prerequisite (2:3a). In this pericope freedom entails remaining free from the demands of circumcision.

#### **6.2.2.5 Social-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 2:1-10**

In the framework of the Mediterranean social context, Jews were not to have social interaction with uncircumcised Gentiles because of the risk of idolatry. The believers in Jerusalem, who advocated circumcision of Gentile Christians, would regard the arrival of the uncircumcised Titus as a challenge (Esler 1997:130; Oakes 2015:67). Thus, by bringing Titus to Jerusalem, Paul was probably challenging the Jerusalem community.

However, in this pericope Paul did not challenge the Jerusalem leaders in general, but specifically “the false brothers” (cf Ga 2:4) since he met with the leaders privately. If it was possible, Paul would have challenged them in public in order to win public honour, but he did not so because he was not concerned with his own honour, but rather with the honour of the gospel of the cross (Ga 6:14). Although, under pressure from the false brothers, Paul proclaims the true gospel by using Titus, an uncircumcised Gentile, as an example (Ga 2:3-5) of someone actually living according to this gospel. The leaders in Jerusalem accepted Paul’s gospel with regards to the non-circumcision of the Gentiles (Ga 2:7) and recognised that grace had been given to him (Ga 2:9a-c). This is signalled by their acceptance that Titus remains uncircumcised.

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, Graeco-Roman households were highly stratified societies with parents, children, partners, permanent foreigners, hired labourers, liberated slaves and slaves (cf 2.3.6). Every group had strong boundaries and different functions in the household and in society. The boundaries could also simply be distinguished as boundaries between freedmen and slaves according to Roman law (Institutes 1.3; cf 5.3.2), and between circumcised and uncircumcised according to the Jewish law.

For Paul, the truth of his gospel is proven by the example of Titus remaining uncircumcised and the leaders of Jerusalem accepting this fact. This gospel is not only for the Jews, but also for the Gentiles (the uncircumcised), without any social boundaries in the Lord Jesus Christ because he set all people free to enter into the warm household of God the Father. However, the false

brothers secretly slipped in, trying to take away their freedom as family members in order to enslave (καταδουλώω; Ga 2:4) them. The enslavement here can refer to forced (ἀναγκάζω) circumcision (Ga 2:3) or to the law, which is depicted later in the letter as a form of slavery (cf Ga 4:21-31) from which Christ “has freed us” (Ga 5:1; 3:13; 4:4-5; 5:13; cf De Boer 2011:114).

Surrounded by values of honour and shame in the first century, Jews were honoured by being Jewish, especially those who observed the Law, which was the primary instruction for an honourable man or woman. Circumcision was a mark revered among Jews as a sign of belonging to the covenant with Abraham and Moses through mutilation of the human body (DeSilva 2012:38). They kept observing it as a definition of honour even when they were not isolated from non-Jewish verdicts in respect to the different systems of honour and dishonour. If Gentiles wanted to be part of them, they had to be circumcised or forfeit all honour and dignity of the covenant.

According to first century Roman law, one was enslaved through several methods: birth, captivity during war, self-sale, punishment, infant exposure, trade, and/or piracy, all of which led to the loss of freedom and thus civil status and family (Digest 4.5.11; cf 5.2.2.2). In the Graeco-Roman social context, being enslaved meant to be separated from a person’s family, tribe, identity, sense of honour and dignity, the capacity to knit new kinship bonds, and the legal protection enjoyed by free people (cf 2.3.5).

The false brothers act like thieves or pirates trying to enslave the Galatians by snatching them away from the household of God in Christ Jesus. Paul challenges his opponents and uses combative language like “false brothers (ψευδαδέλφους)” (Ga 2:4a), referring to some persons who “pretend to be a close member of a social-religious group” (Louw & Nida 1996). This expression can be contrasted with Galatians 1:1-5, where Paul calls Galatian believers “brothers [ἀδελφοί]” (Ga 1:2, 11), and understood as persons who pretend to be brothers in the household of God. Moreover, Paul uses another negative adjective, παρείσακτος (secretly brought in) to further qualify these false brothers who were “secretly brought in” (Ga 2:4a) to spy on their freedom (Ga 2:4b). Their purpose was to enslave true brothers and sisters (Ga 2:4c).

However, the Lord Jesus Christ has paid the ransom and set all believers free from a state of confined life to a more elevated position as family members in the household of God (cf 2.2.4). In the Lord Jesus Christ, believers are free and restored to the new identity of family members with honour, dignity and legal protection, which is the true gospel of Christ. This true gospel, which Paul proclaims in this pericope, brings about a new household that includes persons from all nations and different status into the household of the Father through the Lord Jesus Christ.

### 6.2.2.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 2:1-10

There are three important concepts related to freedom in this periscope:

ἀναγκάζω (Ga 2:3), καταδουλώω (Ga 2:4) and ἐλευθερία (Ga 2:4):

#### 1. Ἀναγκάζω (Ga 2:3)

According to Louw and Nida (1996), ἀναγκάζω can be used for the following meanings:

- Control, restrain (domain 37.1-32A)
- Compel, force (domain 37.33-34B)
- Exercise authority (domain 37.35-47C)
- Rule, govern (domain 37.48-95D)
- Assign to a role or function (domain 37.96-107E)
- Seize, take into custody (domain 37.108-110F)
- Hand over (domain 37.111-113G)
- Imprison (domain 37.114-118H)
- Guard, watch over (domain 37.119-126)
- Release, set free (domain 37.127-138)

Contextually, the domain 37.33-34B (compel, force) fits Galatians 2:3 best as its definition is to compel someone to act in a particular manner. Ἀναγκάζω is used twice, in Galatians 2:3 and 2:14, with reference to the false brothers who not only compelled Gentile Christians to be circumcised (Ga 2:3), but also forced them to live in the Judean manner (Ga 2:14; cf BDAG 2000). In Galatians 2:14 it means to be compelled to adopt the way of life characteristic of Jews (ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαίειν), that is to become Jews or live among the Jews (Oakes 2015:69). Thus, the false brothers act as the owner in the household and want to control the Gentile believers.

In Galatians the meaning in which ἀναγκάζω is used can also be expressed with eleven other words: δοῦλος, ἐνέχω, ὑπὸ + accusative, παραδίδωμι, δουλόομαι / δουλεύω, δουλεία, ἐξαγοράζω, καταδουλώω, παιδίσκη, δούλη, and συγκλείω, all of which can be defined as “the state in which a person finds himself completely controlled by another from a position of ownership as property, obligating them to fulfil the orders and wants within the authority sphere of the owner” (cf 2.3.4). All of these words stress the social position of slaves’ dependence on the master.

#### 2. Καταδουλώω (Ga 2:4)

According to Louw and Nida (1996), the word καταδουλώω occurs in domain 37.1-37.32 (a control, restrain) and is defined as: “to gain control over, to make a slave of, to cause someone to be subservient to, to cause to be like a slave.”

The word καταδουλώ overlaps with ἀναγκάζω above. In this pericope, καταδουλώ presupposes circumcision and the law as the “enslaver”. It refers to being enslaved under a curse (ὑπὸ κατάραν; Ga 3:10), a sin (ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν; Ga 3:22), the law (ὑπὸ νόμον; Ga 3:23), a guardian and trustee (ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους (Ga 4:2), or to the elements of the world (ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου; Ga 4:3), on which Paul elaborates in Galatians 3:10 — 4:11.

### **3. Ἐλευθερία (Ga 2:4)**

Louw and Nida (1996) reference ἔλευθερία as the state of being free — ‘to be free, or freedom.’

The word ἔλευθερία is located in the same domain (37.1-37.138) as the words ἐλεύθερος, ἐλευθερόω and ἐξαγοράζω. In the Graeco-Roman social context these words were in contrast to slavery since slaves belonged to others, not to themselves. Slavery was accepted as an institution; hence freedom arose both theoretically and practically for those who were politically free (cf 5.2.2; 5.3.2). This freedom was freedom within the law, which provided security in the city with equality of voice, honour, dignity, and power. The philosophical concept of freedom in Graeco-Roman society was much more than political freedom since to find freedom one must explore human nature. One could not control external family, body, property and status in society, but one could control the soul (cf 5.4).

In Galatians, however, freedom is received by an act of Jesus Christ who gave himself up for all human beings, Jews and Gentiles alike (Ga 1:4) and made them free (Ga 5:1) to join the household of God. This is the true gospel. By this gospel, believers are called to freedom (Ga 5:13), which is the basis of new life. In the context of this pericope, freedom is in contrast to the constraints of the Mosaic Law that requires circumcision (Ga 2:4; 5:1; cf BDAG 2000).

#### **6.2.2.7 Revelation-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 2:1-10**

The false brothers who teach the wrong message of the gospel of God can be compared to the false prophets of the Old Testament. Unlike the true prophets, they did not speak with divine authority, as can be seen in Deuteronomy 18:20; Jeremiah 14:14; 23:21, 32; and Ezekiel 13:2-7. Passages in the New Testament to support this perspective include Acts 15:24; 2 Corinthians 11:26; 2 Peter 2:1.

#### **A summary of the revelation in the whole Bible on freedom**

Cf under 6.2.1.7 above.

#### **The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 2:1-10**

In contrast to the above-mentioned pericopes, Galatians 2:1-10 does not mention a close relationship between Paul and the Jerusalem leaders because the journey to Jerusalem is in response to a divine revelation, he was not summoned by the Jerusalem leaders. By using the example of Titus and the fact that the leaders of Jerusalem allowed him to remain uncircumcised, Paul confirms the truth of the gospel, which is freedom in Jesus Christ – the very gospel he had been preaching. According to this gospel, soteriologically speaking, Jesus Christ came to free believers from the legal requirements of circumcision, which distinguishes Jews from other ethnicities; socially speaking, he came to also free them from the social hierarchical stratifications of the first century Graeco-Roman culture, giving them equal status in the household of God.

### 6.2.2.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 2:1-10

The communicational goal of this pericope is to persuade the readers not to be deceived by false brothers. Paul, on the one hand, tries to build up his own image as the one who is loyal to the gospel. On the other hand, he expresses his negative impression of his opponents (the new teachers) in order to show that his gospel is the true gospel. By taking Titus to Jerusalem as the first example of freedom in Jesus Christ, he wants to inculcate in the reader the correct view of what the freedom they have in Christ Jesus entails. By being given the right hand of fellowship from the leaders of Jerusalem, the second example, Paul proves that his gospel is not only directly from God but is also being accepted by the Jerusalem leaders. The Galatians are free and must guard against being enslaved by false brothers by giving in to the demand to be circumcised.

It can thus be concluded that freedom in Galatians 2:4 refers to freedom from the imposition of circumcision. This freedom in Christ Jesus has been explained earlier, in Galatians 1:4: through Christ's redemption (τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν) all the brothers and sisters have been set free from any kind of bondage, accepted into the household of God the Father (cf 6.2.1.8) with equal status.

### 6.2.3 Galatians 3:6-14: ἐξαγοράζω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>3:6</sup>καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην· <sup>7</sup>Γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσὶν Ἀβραάμ. <sup>8</sup>Προϊδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοῖ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεός, προευηγγελίσαστο τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὅτι Ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· <sup>9</sup>ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογοῦνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ. <sup>10</sup>Ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν· γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι</p>	<p><sup>3:6</sup>Just as Abraham “believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness,” <sup>7</sup>so, you see, those who believe are the descendants of Abraham. <sup>8</sup>And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, declared the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, “All the Gentiles shall be blessed in you. <sup>9</sup>For this reason, those who believe are blessed with Abraham who believed. <sup>10</sup>For all</p>

Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά. <sup>11</sup>ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιοῦται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δῆλον, ὅτι Ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται. <sup>12</sup>ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως, ἀλλ' Ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. <sup>13</sup>**Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρρα**, ὅτι γέγραπται, Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, <sup>14</sup> ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

who rely on the works of the law are under a curse; for it is written, “Cursed is everyone who does not observe and obey all the things written in the book of the law.” <sup>11</sup>Now it is evident that no one is justified before God by the law; for “The one who is righteous will live by faith.” <sup>12</sup>But the law does not rest on faith; on the contrary, “Whoever does the works of the law will live by them. <sup>13</sup>Christ **redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us** — for it is written, “Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree” — <sup>14</sup>in order that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come to the Gentiles, so that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

### 6.2.3.1 Place of Galatians 3:6-14 in Galatians

#### 2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)

2.1 The origin and the truth of the gospel (1:11-2:21)

2.2 The Spirit and the true heirs of the promise made to Abraham (3:1-4:7)

2.2.1 The reception of the Spirit in Galatia (3:1-5)

**2.2.2 The blessing of Abraham and the curse of the law (3:6-14)**

2.2.3 The promise to Abraham and the law of Moses (3:15-22)

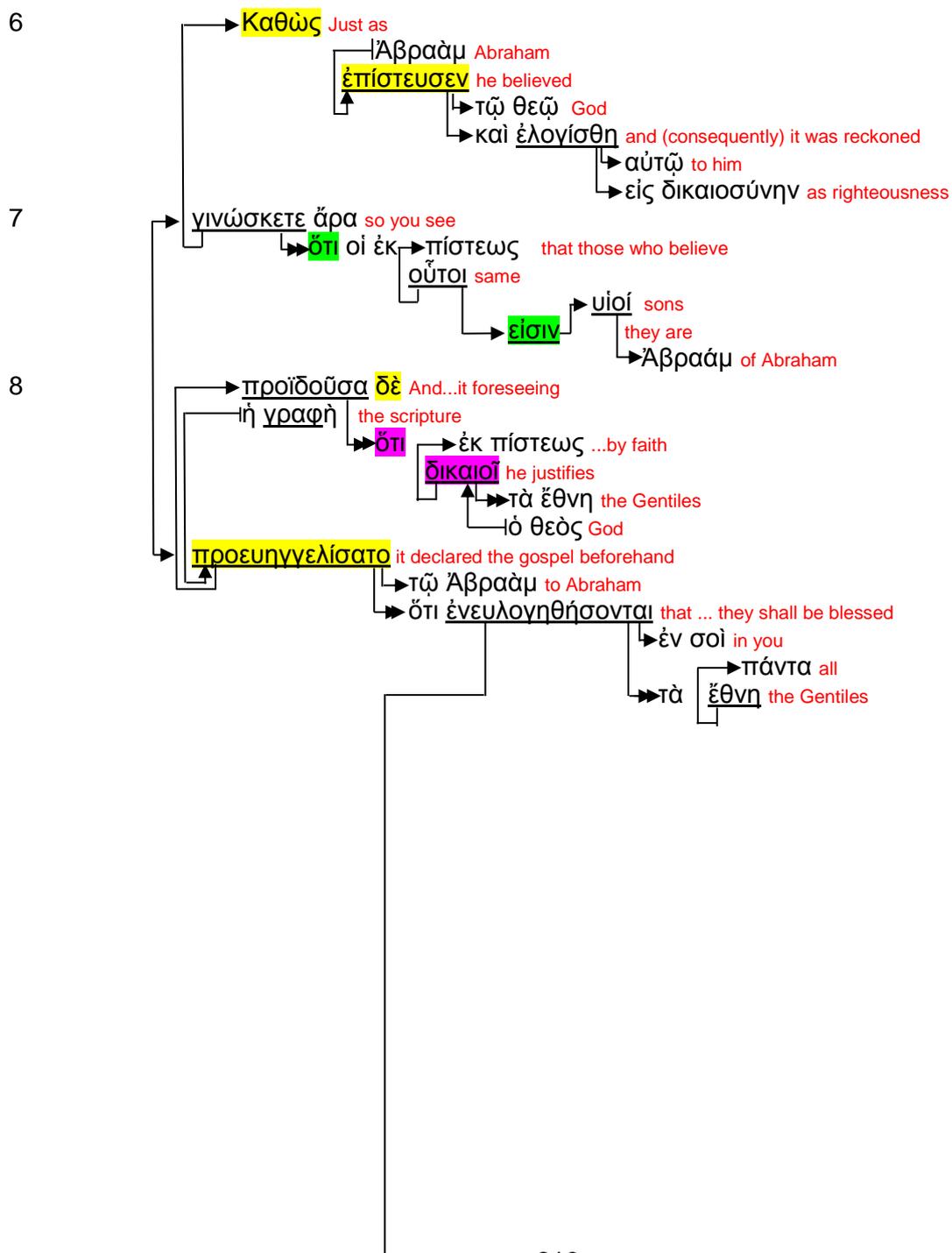
Previously, Paul tried to ratify his gospel as the truth from God through a revelation of Jesus Christ (Ga 1:11-2:21). With this true gospel as his authority, Paul rebuked Peter for turning back from it (Ga 2:11-14) and explained the substance of the gospel (Ga 2:15-21), which is that righteousness is based on the cross of Christ in whom those who believe are justified. In chapter 3, in order to validate his Gospel, Paul turns directly to the beginning of the faith history of the Galatians and to their own experience of how they received the Spirit through faith (Ga 3:1-5).

In Galatians 3:6-14 Paul emphasises that faith allows the children of Abraham to share in the promise, and that the keeping of the law results in being under a curse. This pericope is divided into three units. In the first (Ga 3:6-9) Paul writes that “those who are from faith” are Abraham’s sons in his family and have received the blessing like him. In the second (Ga 3:10-12) Paul continues to show that “those who are from works of the law are under a curse”, because one does not live on account of upholding the law, but through faith. In the third (Ga 3:13-14) Paul proclaims that Christ became a curse on behalf of believers so that they could receive the promised Spirit through faith.

### 6.2.3.2 The genre of Galatians 3:6-14

The pericope forms part of the letter body. After explaining the origin and truth of the gospel by giving his *narratio* (Ga 1:11-2:21), Paul now comes to the *probatio* (argument) (Ga 3:1-6:10) (cf Aune 1987:198-199; Betz 1979) to prove that the gospel he has proclaimed is true. Paul's argument in this pericope is based on the scripture through which he emphasises that the blessing of Abraham is only by faith – whereby believers belong to his family (Abraham's sons), and that the curse of the law is removed only in Christ.

### 6.2.3.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 3:6-14 on microlevel



9

ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως so that those who believe  
 εὐλογοῦνται they are blessed  
 σύν τῷ πιστῷ with ... in believing  
 Ἀβραάμ Abraham

10

Ὅσοι γὰρ For all who...  
 ἐξ ἔργων from the works  
 νόμου of the law  
 εἰσὶν are  
 ὑπὸ κατάραν under a curse  
 εἰσὶν are  
 γέγραπται γὰρ for it is written

11

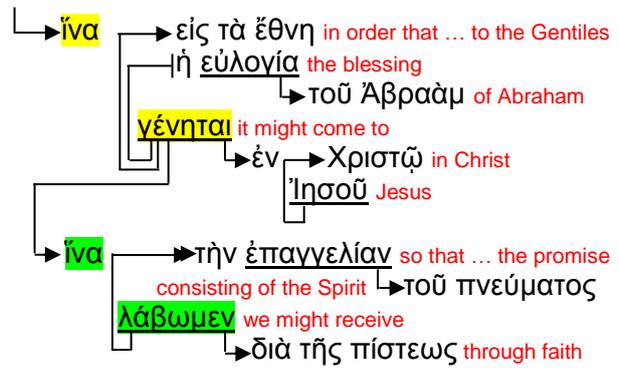
ὅτι ἐπικατάρατος Cursed  
 [ἐστὶ] he is  
 πᾶς everyone  
 ὅς who  
 οὐκ ἐμμένει he does not observe  
 πᾶσιν all  
 τοῖς γεγραμμένοις in the ... written things  
 ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ in the book  
 τοῦ νόμου of the law  
 τοῦ ποιῆσαι to do  
 αὐτά them  
 ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ that ... therefore ... by the law that...  
 οὐδεὶς no one  
 δικαιούται he is justified  
 παρὰ τῷ θεῷ before God  
 [ἐστὶν] ὁ δὲ δῆλον is evident  
 ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος because the righteous one  
 ἐκ πίστεως by faith  
 ζήσεται he will live

12

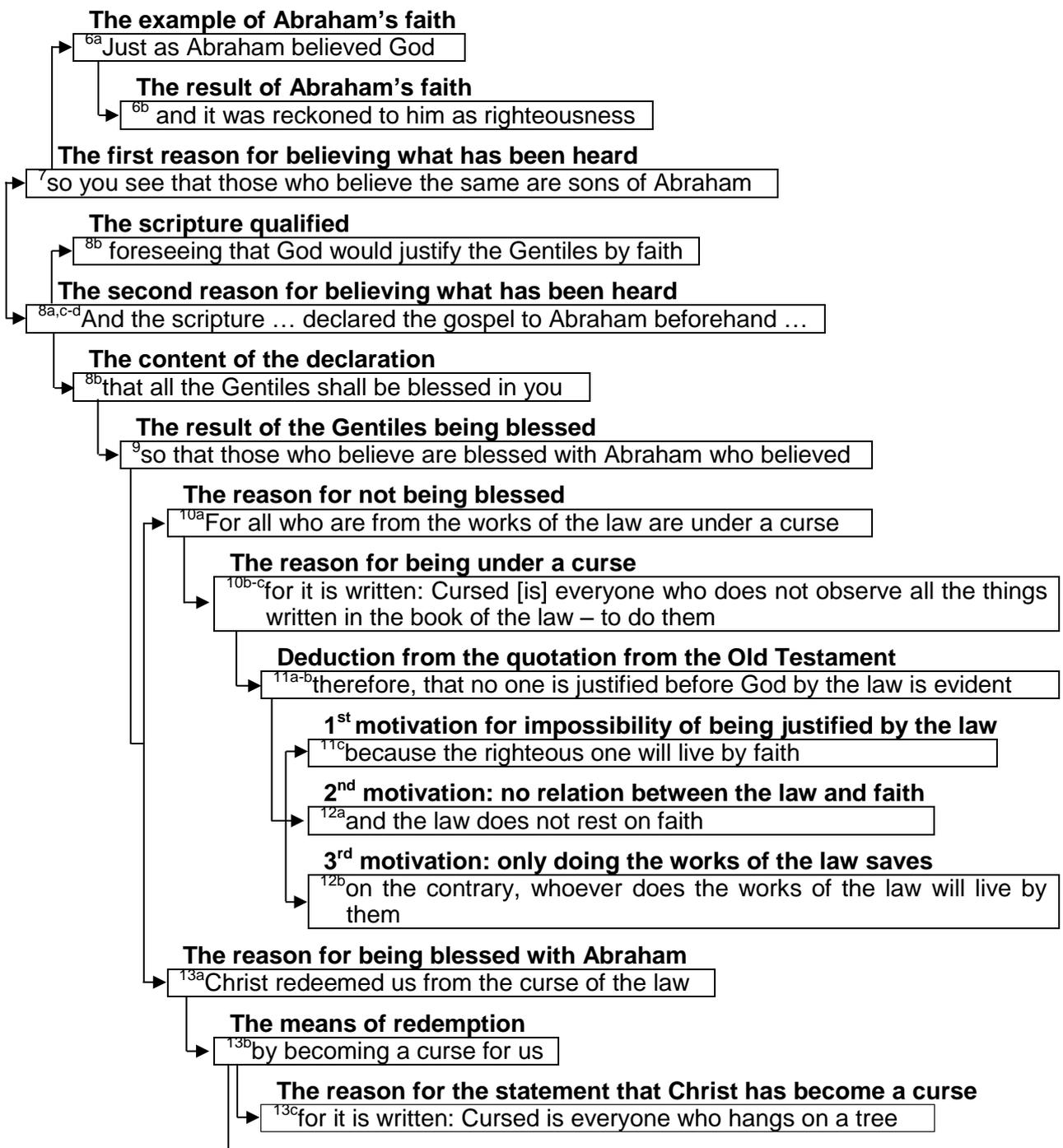
ὁ δὲ νόμος and the law  
 οὐκ ἐστὶν it is not  
 ἐκ πίστεως from faith  
 ἀλλ' ὁ ποιήσας  
 αὐτά them  
 ζήσεται he will live  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς by them

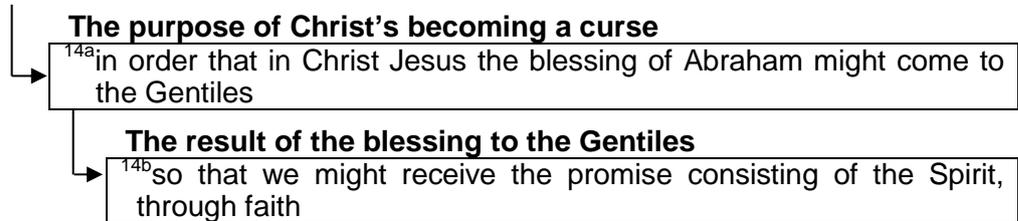
13

Χριστὸς Christ (however)  
 ἡμᾶς us  
 ἐξηγόρασεν he redeemed  
 ἐκ τῆς κατάρας from a curse  
 τοῦ νόμου of the law  
 γενόμενος (Christ) by becoming  
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν for us  
 κατάρα a curse  
 ὅτι γέγραπται for it is written  
 ἐπικατάρατος Cursed  
 [ἐστὶν] is  
 πᾶς each  
 ὁ κρεμᾶμενος the hanged  
 ἐπὶ ξύλου on a tree



6.2.3.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 3:6-14 on macrolevel





Paul's argument in this pericope is that those who believe Paul's gospel, that God justifies by faith, are the sons of Abraham who believed – and will receive the promise to Abraham. The works of the law can only save if a person truly lives by them. All human beings are unable to do this, therefore they are under a curse. There is only one way to become free from the curse of the law, and that is to be redeemed by Christ.

The place of “freedom” in the argument of Galatians 3:6-14 is that, being redeemed by Christ from the curse of the law (Ga 3:13), is freedom. This entails receiving the Spirit that was promised through faith – as happened with Abraham.

#### **6.2.3.5 Social-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 3:6-14**

The fact that Paul recognises that people are enslaved by sin that brings a curse can also be seen in *T. Joseph* (cf 4.3.5), Josephus (cf 4.3.6-7), and Philo (cf 4.3.8) in the social context of first century Jewish culture. For Paul, all human beings are enslaved by the power of sin, whether Jews or non-Jews. To be set free from this savage master (sin) is only possible through the Lord Jesus Christ, a new master by faith, and not by any human standards, including the Mosaic Law, which is a different concept from *T. Joseph*, Josephus, and Philo. The idea of nationalism as a characteristic of a slave of God is replaced to include every person who enters into an allegiance with this new master, the Lord Jesus Christ.

In the first century social context people were not chosen to be in a family by their own merits. Instead, their merits started from the depths of their lineage, the reputation of their ancestral house. Both the Graeco-Roman and Jewish culture were based on their lineage (DeSilva 2012:158). Lineage gave a person a specific location within an extended kinship group of the descendants of Abraham who was the forefather of Israel (Esler 1997:130). The linear genealogy can be seen as a claim to power, status, rank, office, or inheritance (Esler 1997:130-132). The behaviour of the forefather that the descendants followed existed independently from its recognition of or acknowledgment by others. Therefore, in this pericope, Paul uses Abraham as an example, to make a counter-argument and give a different explanation of the Old Testament based on Genesis 15:6<sup>136</sup> and 12:3<sup>137</sup> to his opponents who emphasise Genesis 17:9-

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<sup>136</sup> Genesis 15:6: “And he believed the LORD; and the LORD reckoned it to him as righteousness” (NRSV).

14<sup>138</sup>, in order to include the Gentiles within the household of God, not by the works of the law, but through faith as the father Abraham did.

### 6.2.3.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 3:6-14

Ἐξαγοράζω (Ga 3:13) is an important concept related to freedom in the pericope.

According to Louw and Nida (1996), ἔξαγοράζω can be used for the following meanings:

- Control, restrain (domain 37.1-32A)
- Compel, force (domain 37.33-34B)
- Exercise authority (domain 37.35-47C)
- Rule, govern (domain 37.48-95D)
- Assign a role or function (domain 37.96-107E)
- Seize, take into custody (domain 37.108-110F)
- Hand over (domain 37.111-113G)
- Imprison (domain 37.114-118H)
- Guard, watch over (domain 37.119-126I)
- Release, set free (domain 37.127-138J)

Contextually, domain 37J (release and set free) fits Galatians 3:13 best with the meaning of “to redeem or to set free” (Louw & Nida 1996). Ἐξαγοράζω can also be a figurative extension of the meaning of ἀγοράζω, which is “to buy” and ἔξαγοράζω “to pay a price” in the semantic domain of 57.188 or “to secure the rights to someone by paying a price, buy, acquire as property” (BDAG 2000).

Ἐξαγοράζω (ἀγοράζω) was a commercial term of the slave market in the first century with the concept of transportation from one master to another. Therefore the meaning of the word as “to redeem or to set free” has to take the figurative expression “to buy” into consideration. This definition fits in well with what has been defined in 2.2.4: “The state of a person who has been set free by someone who has paid the ransom money. In this way the person is not only taken from a state of confined life, but also moved to a more elevated position.”

This is confirmed by the etimologically related words ἐλευθερία (Ga 2:4), ἐλεύθερος (Ga 3:28; 4:22-23, 26. 30-31; 5:13), ἐλευθερώ (Ga 5:1) and ἔξαγοράζω (Ga 3:13; 4:5) in Galatians, which are in the same semantic domain (37 domain) and have the same meaning as ἔξαγοράζω. Thus ἔξαγοράζω can be synonymous of ἐλευθερώ in Galatians. The context of each passage has a different emphasis. In this passage (Ga 3:13-14) Paul first explains how

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<sup>137</sup> Genesis 12:3: “I will bless those who bless you, and the one who curses you I will curse; and in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed” (NRSV).

<sup>138</sup> Genesis 17:9-14: “God said to Abraham, ‘you shall keep my covenant, you and your offspring after you throughout their generations ... Every male among you shall be circumcised ... it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and you. Throughout your generations every male among you shall be circumcised when he is eight days old ...’” (NRSV).

Christ redeemed believers from the Law (Ga 3: 13a). Then he adds that he became a curse for them (Ga 3:13b) with one purpose, which is that the blessing of Abraham might come to the nations in Christ Jesus (Ga 3:14a), with the main result that the believers might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith (Ga 3:14b).

According to the thought structure of the pericope, it can clearly be seen that Galatians 3:13a and 3:14b demonstrate the main thought of unit 2.2 (Ga 3:1-4:7), namely, Christ redeemed “us” from the curse of the Law, so that “we” might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith (Ga 3:1-5) (De Boer, 2011:209). This main thought recalls Galatians 1:4 where Paul says, “Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself on behalf of our sins, so that he could take us out of the present evil age (Ga 1:4).” Both of these concepts introduce the notion of liberation from the Law (Ga 3:13b) and from the present evil age (Ga 1:4b-c) on the wood (cross). Because of sin, no one is justified before God. However, enslaved by the power of sin, all human beings are set free by the act of redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ and transferred into the new household of God.

#### **6.2.3.7 Revelation-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 3:6-14**

Israel, like the Gentiles, was disobedient, enslaved by sin that brings the curse. This can be seen in the Old Testament in the following passages: Isaiah 40:2; 42:18-25; 43: 22-27; 47:1; 48:18; 50:1; 54:7; 59:2; Ezekiel 9:10-11 ; Zechariah 1:4, 6. However, the faithfulness of God in freeing his slave from sin is explained in Isaiah 43:10; 44:1-2, 21-26, 48:20, and 49:5-6; 52:13-53:12. References to Jesus Christ as the one setting human beings free from sin can be found in Acts 5:30, Romans 3:24, Hebrews 9:28, and 1 Peter 3:18.

#### **A summary of the revelation in the whole Bible on freedom**

In the Old Testament God is regarded as the master who set Israel free as his precious possession. Although Israel was disloyal and disobedient (cf 3.2.3.5-6) and chose to serve other gods, God will keep his promise to re-instate his slave by appointing one loyal slave to fulfill Israel’s mission and bring back the nations to him (cf 3.2.3.7). This appointed loyal slave is Jesus Christ, proclaimed in the New Testament.

#### **The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 3:6-14**

In contrast to the above-mentioned pericopes, Galatians 3:6-14 focuses on the identity of Abraham’s children. To enter into the family of Abraham and receive the blessing of the Spirit is only possible through the Lord Jesus Christ by faith. Therefore, faith is the pathway to the blessing.

### 6.2.3.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 3:6-14

The communicational goal of this pericope is to counter the wrong interpretations of scriptures of the false brothers who taught that the blessing of Abraham is received by the works of the law. By giving a different explanation of scriptures Paul proves that everyone who wants to obtain the blessing by “works of the law” will fail and come under a curse, because all human beings, Jews and the Gentiles alike, are unable to fulfil God’s law. Only in Christ Jesus human beings are free from the curse of the law, since Christ has redeemed them from this curse. Consequently, they can enjoy the blessing of Abraham, which is the Spirit that has been promised.

### 6.2.4 Galatians 3:23-29: ἐλεύθερος

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>3:23</sup> Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα συγκλειόμενοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, <sup>24</sup>ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῶμεν <sup>25</sup>ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν. <sup>26</sup>Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. <sup>27</sup>ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστόν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστόν ἐνεδύσασθε. <sup>28</sup>οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληγ, οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. <sup>29</sup>εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ<sup>ii</sup>, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ’ ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.</p>	<p><sup>3:23</sup> Now before faith came, we were imprisoned and guarded under the law until the faith would be revealed. <sup>24</sup> Therefore the law was our disciplinarian until Christ came, so that we might be justified by faith. <sup>25</sup> But now that faith has come, we are no longer subject to a disciplinarian, <sup>26</sup> for in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith. <sup>27</sup> As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. <sup>28</sup> There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus. <sup>29</sup> And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham’s offspring, heirs according to the promise.</p>

#### 6.2.4.1 Place of Galatians 3:23-29 in Galatians

##### 2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)

##### 2.2 The Spirit and the true heirs of the promise made to Abraham (3:1-4:7)

##### 2.2.3 The promise to Abraham and the law of Moses (3:15-22)

##### **2.2.4 The true offspring of Abraham (3:23-29)**

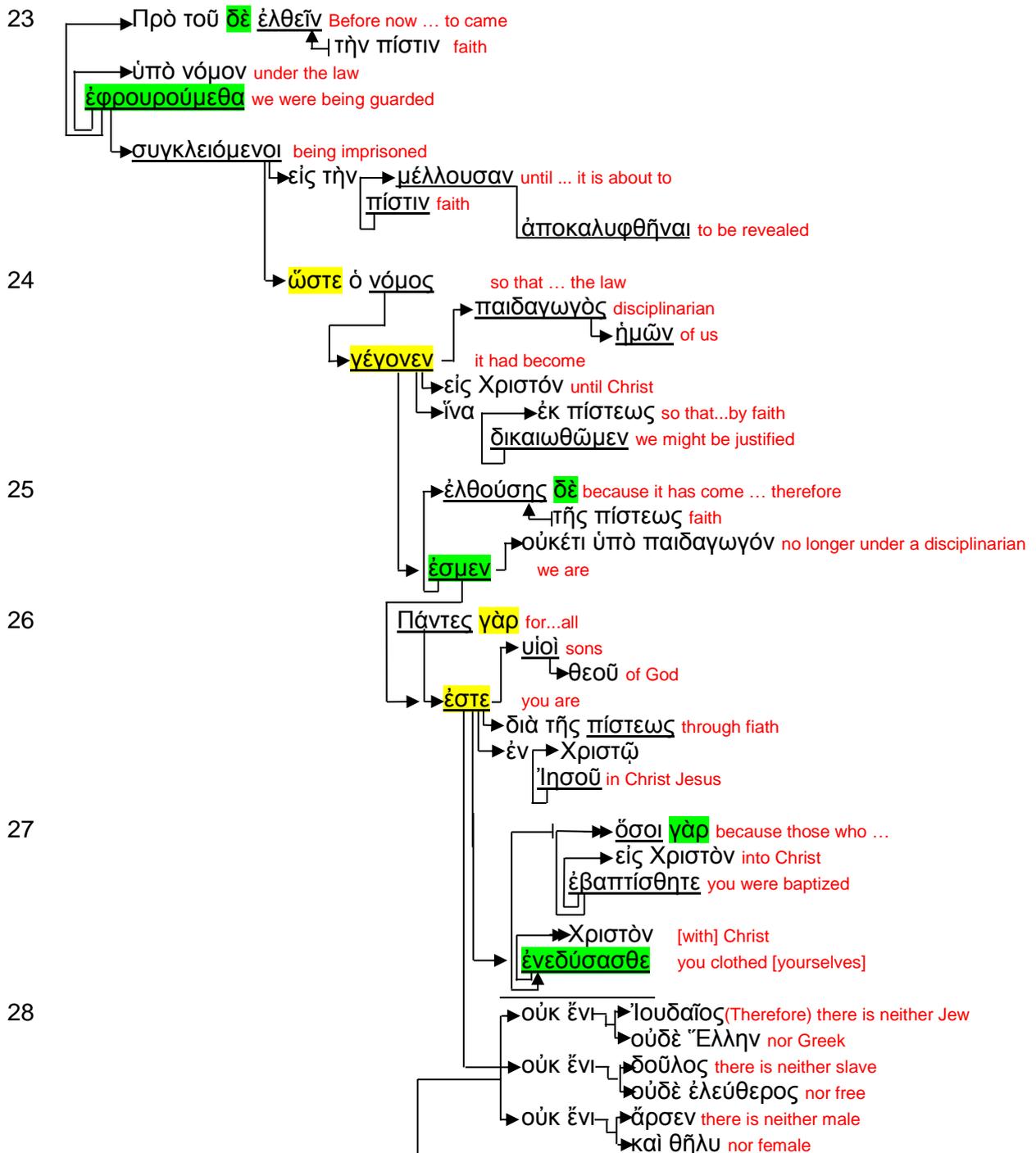
##### 2.2.5 The true heirs of the promise (4:1-7)

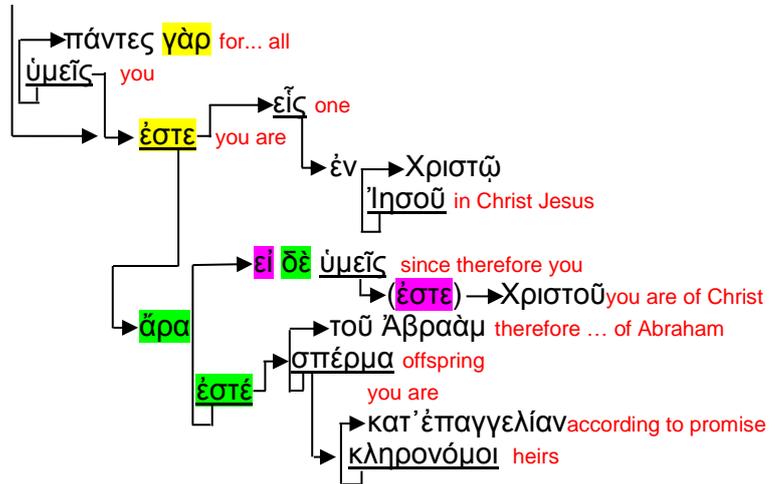
Before the pericope 3:23-29 Paul contrasts faith and the law, with reference to the promise to Abraham and to the Law of Moses (Ga 3:6-14). Faith in Christ is the only way that allows believers to have access to the promise to Abraham (Ga 3:14), referring to “the promise of the Spirit” (Ga 3:1-5) by which the law is fulfilled (Ga 3:12-13).

### 6.2.4.2 The genre of the pericope

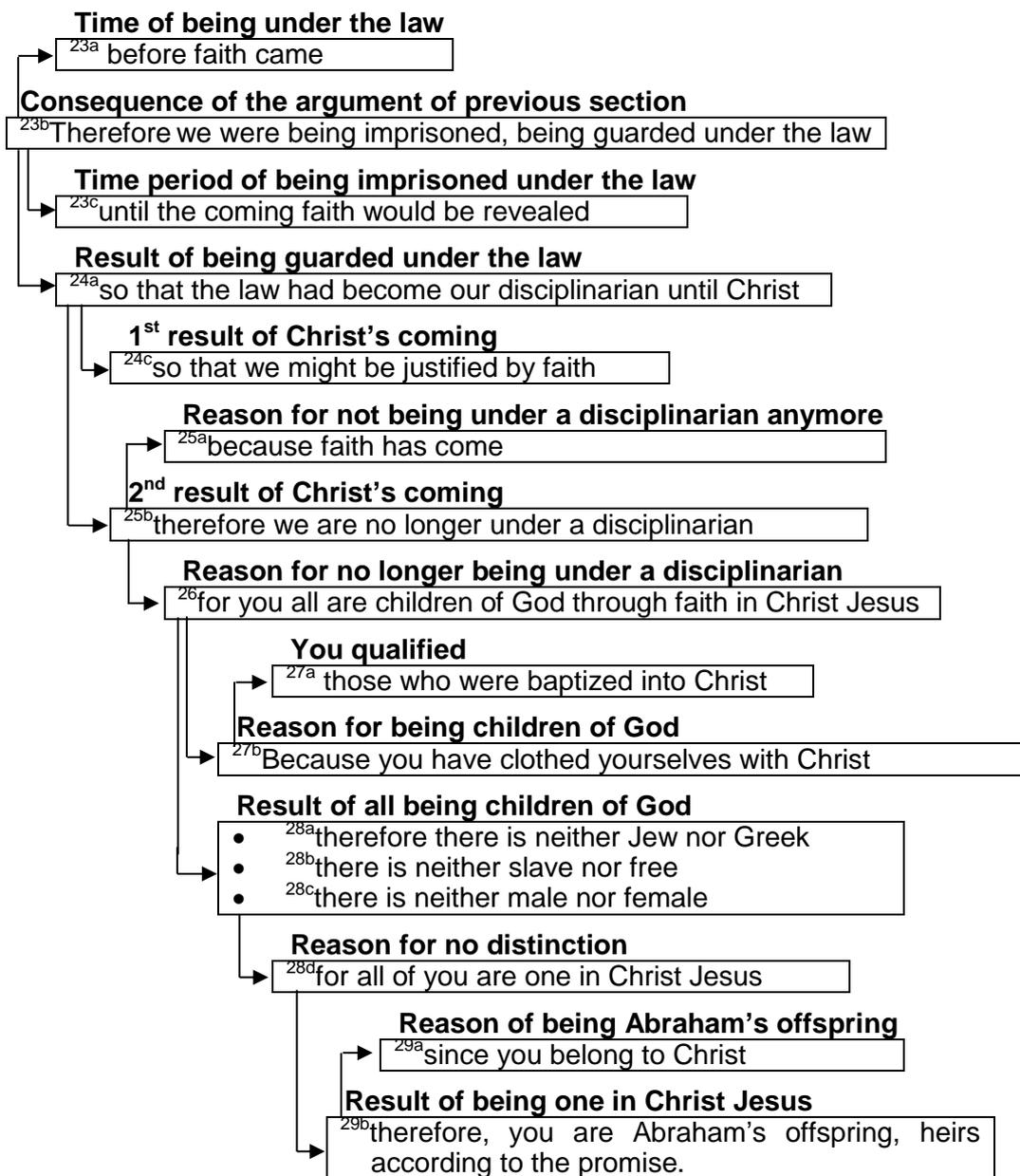
After writing an apologetic and deliberative section to convince the Galatians to stop practicing Judaism (Aune 1987:207), Paul now uses a range of stock arguments in diatribe style, which he developed in his teaching ministry, to argue that the Galatians have to understand that faith is both prior and superior to the law (Aune 1987:208).

### 6.2.4.3 Analysis of the thought structure in Galatians 3:23-29 on microlevel





6.2.4.4 Analysis of the thought structure in Galatians 3:23-29 on macrolevel



Paul's argument in this pericope likens the Jewish believers imprisoned and guarded under the law to children brought to the Teacher by a disciplinarian. Consequently two things happen: it becomes clear that justification is by faith, and that the task of the disciplinarian (the law) has been fulfilled. By faith in Christ they are all children of God, without distinction, because all of them are one in Christ, all equally Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise.

The place of freedom in Galatians 3:28 centres around παιδαγωγός and ἐλεύθερος:

- Once the παιδαγωγός, the law, has fulfilled its task, the “children” are free from the παιδαγωγός, since they are now with the Teacher, Jesus Christ.
- Outside of Christ there is a distinction between a free person (ἐλεύθερος) and a slave (δοῦλος); in Christ, however, being a socially free person or a slave does not matter; once set free by Christ, all persons, despite any social or other distinctions, become children of God – and thus one in Christ Jesus (Ga 3:28a-d).

#### **6.2.4.5 Social-historical context of Galatians 3:23-29**

By using the image of a disciplinarian (παιδαγωγός; cf Ga 3:24-25) and the sons (children) of God, Paul places this pericope within the context of a household of the first century. The former refers to the law and the latter to the promise to Abraham through Christ Jesus. It is necessary to discuss these two social positions in the household of the first century social context because it will shed light on Paul's argument in this pericope.

The παιδαγωγός was a domestic slave within the household, whose task was to oversee the activities of the children in the family from infancy (six years old) to puberty (sixteen years old) (De Boer 2011:240; Esler 1997:179). Not only did he accompany the children to and from school and oversee their daily activities, their hygiene and their studies, but he was also responsible for their behaviour and for teaching them good manners. This role also involved rebuke and punishment for wrong conduct (Belleville, 1986:59). These were regarded as positive figures, like a “schoolmaster” or a “pedagogue”, as is evident in Galatians 3:24, where it is argued that a disciplinarian was to “lead us to Christ” (NIV), “to bring us to Christ” (NKJ), or “in preparation for Christ” (MIT).

However, some scholars argue that the disciplinarian's responsibility was not so much to nurture and educate, but rather to function only as caretakers (Tsang 2005:111). For others, like De Boer (2011:241), the disciplinarian has a negative connotation: he is regarded not as protector or schoolmaster, but as someone who restricts and oppresses, according to the context of this pericope (Ga 3:19, 23-25; 4:3-4), as a form of slavery (Esler 1997:180). It is likely that the

law is regarded as restrictive and bonding since Paul, in this pericope, utilises neither the Greek word διδάσκαλος (teacher), nor δεσμοφύλαξ (prison guard) to delineate the function of the law.

According to the social context of the first century, although a disciplinarian was a slave who took children to school, not a schoolmaster, there is at least some evidence of a παιδαγωγός supervising some basic educational tasks (cf Lull 1986:489-498; Oakes 2015:127). Whether a disciplinarian was a positive figure, like a teacher, or a negative figure, like a caretaker or a prison guard, Paul uses the image of the παιδαγωγός to emphasise the temporary nature of his control over children and to illustrate that believers have been set free because faith has come and they are no longer under the influence of a disciplinarian (Ga 3:25). The time of faith has come, ending the time of the Law (Ga 3:22). Paul proclaims in Galatians 3:25-29 that the age of maturity has arrived and the age of the Law as παιδαγωγός is past (Belleville 1986:60). They have come of age through faith, to be children of God, coming from the Seed through whom the Gentiles and Jews are equal heirs apart from the Law (Belleville 1986:61).

Consequently, Paul explains the analogy between sonship and the Law, clarifying the relationship of promise and the Law in Galatians 3:21-25.

The second image Paul uses is that of children of God (υιοὶ θεοῦ). Firstly, the designation of children of God is occasionally used in reference to the people of Israel (cf 3.3.3). Here, Paul uses this designation to define the new community of Christ including not only Jews, but also Gentiles who became sons and therefore heirs of God through faith. Secondly, Paul could also be referring to sons in the household within the first century social context. The dominant figure in the household was the *paterfamilias* who controlled his wife, children, permanent aliens, hired labourers, liberated slaves, and slaves. This stratified system in the household was connected to the social pyramid with the Emperor as the *paterfamilias* of the Empire (cf 2.3.5).

For Paul there is unity in Christ across the most fundamental social divide in Graeco-Roman life. By using baptism, of which here is the earliest Christian reference, Paul applies an entry ritual which states that believers are baptised not into the assembly like the first century social clubs, but into Christ, so that they may share in Christ's crucifixion and new life (Ga 2:19-20; 5:24; 6:14-15, 17; cf Oakes 2015:130-131) and also receive divine sonship through Christ (De Boer 2011:243). Here Paul does not emphasise the baptismal ritual itself, but rather faith in Christ. In Christ, believers are one and qualified as Abraham's singular seed (Ga 3:16) and therefore "heirs according to the promise" (Ga 3:18). Gentiles are not threatened by the mark of circumcision because they are heirs of Abraham by faith through Christ, and thus they are children of God.

#### **6.2.4.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 3:23-29**

1. Ἐλεύθερος (Ga 3:28) is an important concept related to freedom in this pericope.

The word ἔλευθερος is located in the same domain (37.1-37.138) as the words ἐλευθερία, ἐλευθερώω and ἐξαγοράζω used in Galatians (see the exegesis of the previous pericope, 6.2.2.6). Contextually, the word “free” (ἔλευθερος) emphasises the social status within the household of the first century. Freedom through the Lord Jesus Christ abolishes all the distinctions because all people who believe in Jesus Christ have equal status as children of God.

2. Παιδαγωγός (Ga 3:24, 25)

According to Louw and Nida (1996), can be used for the following meanings:

- A guide, lead (domain 36.1-9A)
- Discipline, train (domain 36.10-11B)
- Obey, disobey (36.12-30C)
- Follow, be a disciple (36.31-30D)
- Control, restrain (37.1-32A)
- Compel, force (37.33-34B)
- Exercise authority (37.35-47C)
- Rule, govern (37.38-95D)
- Seize, take into custody (37.108-110F)
- Imprison (37.114-118H)
- Guard, watch over (37.119-126I)

Of these possibilities, control, restrain (37A); compel, force (37B); seize, take into custody (37F); imprison (37H) seem contextually likely. The term can be described more accurately as emphasising the constrictive function of the law in contrast to freedom in the gospel (ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν - Ga 3:25) until God declares, by sending his Son, that it has come of age (υἰοθεσία - Ga 4:1-7) (BDAG 2000). The functions of a παιδαγωγός in classical times have been discussed above (6.2.4.5).

#### **6.2.4.7 Revelation-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 3:23-29**

In the Old Testament the nation of Israel was freed from bondage and received the privilege of being the chosen son of God, as can be seen in the following passages: Exodus 4:22-23; Deuteronomy 8:5; 32:5-6; Isaiah 30:1, 9; 43:6-7; 63:7-8; Jeremiah 31:9; Hosea 11:1. Other passages in the New Testament that witness this perspective are: John 1:12-13; 20:17; Romans 8:14; 2 Corinthians 6:18 Ephesians 1:5; 5:1; Philippians 2:15; Hebrews 2:10; 1 John 3:1-2; Revelation 21:7.

#### **A summary of the revelation in the whole Bible on freedom**

Cf under 6.2.1.7 above.

## The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 3:23-29

In contrast to the previously exegeted pericopes, Galatians 3:23-29 focuses on the fact that Jewish believers and Gentile believers are equally children of God once they realise that the Law has only a limited task – to bring them to Christ, like a disciplinarian bringing children to the teacher.

### 6.2.4.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 3:23-29

The Law was intended by God only as a temporary measure to point out the necessity of faith in Christ. When Jesus Christ came, the Law, which distinguished between Jews and Gentiles, no longer had any function. The communicational goal of this pericope is to reinforce that freedom in Jesus Christ through faith gives believers equal status as heirs of the promise, the Holy Spirit.

### 6.2.5 Galatians 4:1-7: ἐξαγοράζω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007) - adapted
<p><sup>4:1</sup> Λέγω δέ, ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον ὁ κληρονόμος νηπιός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει δούλου κύριος πάντων ὢν, <sup>2</sup>ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονόμους ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρὸς. <sup>3</sup>οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἤμεθα δεδουλωμένοι. <sup>4</sup>ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, <sup>5</sup>ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν. <sup>6</sup>Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον· αββα ὁ πατήρ. <sup>7</sup>ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ.</p>	<p><sup>4:1</sup> My point is this: the heir, as long as he is a minor, is no better than slave, though he is owner of all the property<sup>139</sup>; <sup>2</sup>but he remains under guardians and trustees until the date set by the father. <sup>3</sup>So with us; while we were minors, we were enslaved to the elemental spirits of the world. <sup>4</sup>But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, <sup>5</sup><b>in order to redeem those who were under the law</b>, so that we might receive adoption as son<sup>140</sup>. <sup>6</sup>And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!” <sup>7</sup>So you are no longer a slave but a son, and if a son then also an heir, through God.</p>

#### 6.2.5.1 Place of Galatians 4:1-7 in Galatians

##### 2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)

2.2 The Spirit and the true heirs of the promise made to Abraham (3:1-4:7)

2.2.3 The promise to Abraham and the law of Moses (3:15-22)

2.2.4 The true offspring of Abraham (3:23-29)

**2.2.5 The true heirs of the promise (4:1-7)**

<sup>139</sup> Galatians 4:1-2 is translated as “heirs, as long as they are minors, are no better than slaves, though they are the owners of all the property; but they remain ...” (NRSV). However, in my translation I retain the Greek singular subject to emphasise the oneness in Jesus Christ.

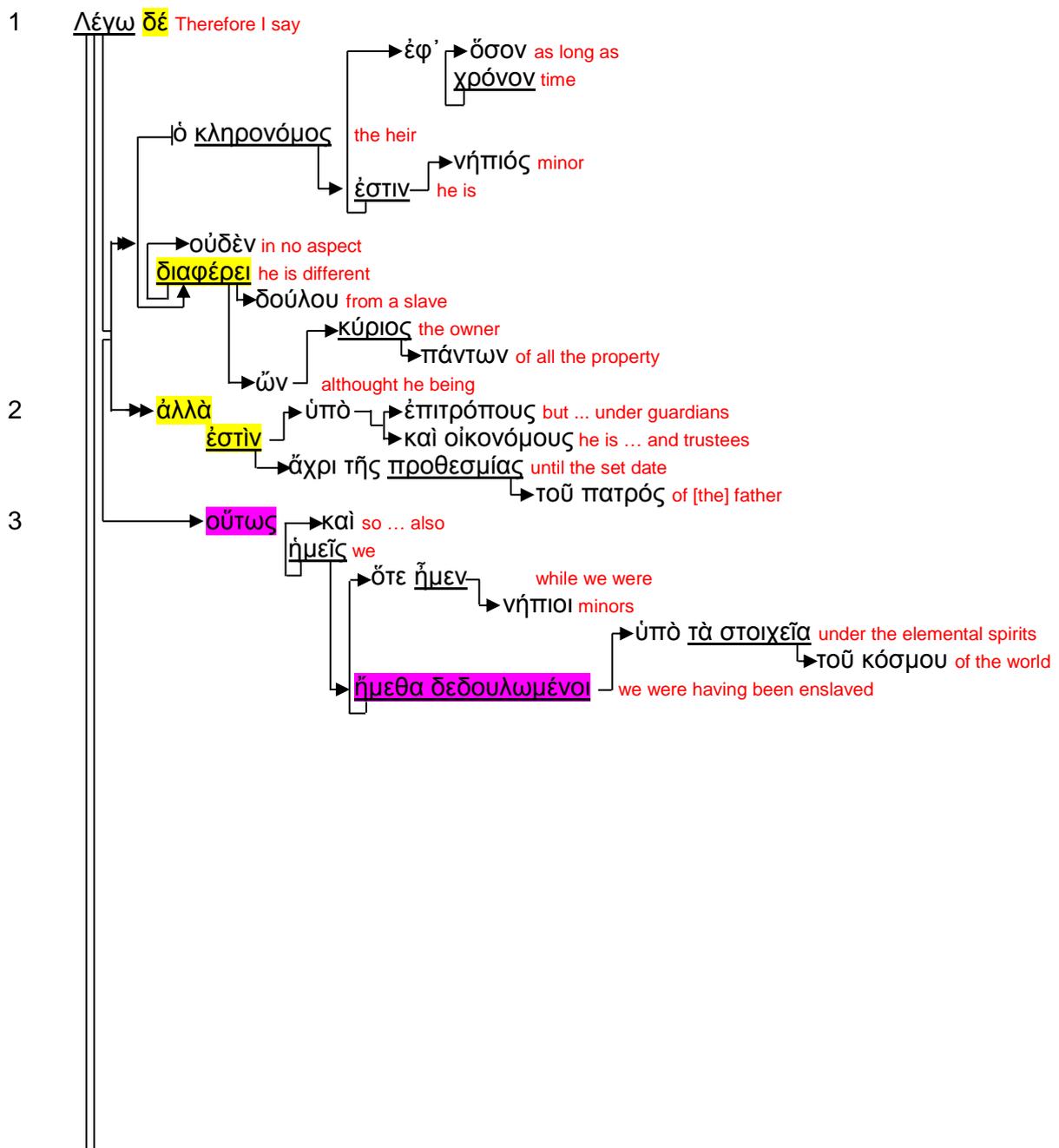
<sup>140</sup> Υἰοθεσία is translated as “adopted as children” in NRSV. I have translated it as “adopted as son”.

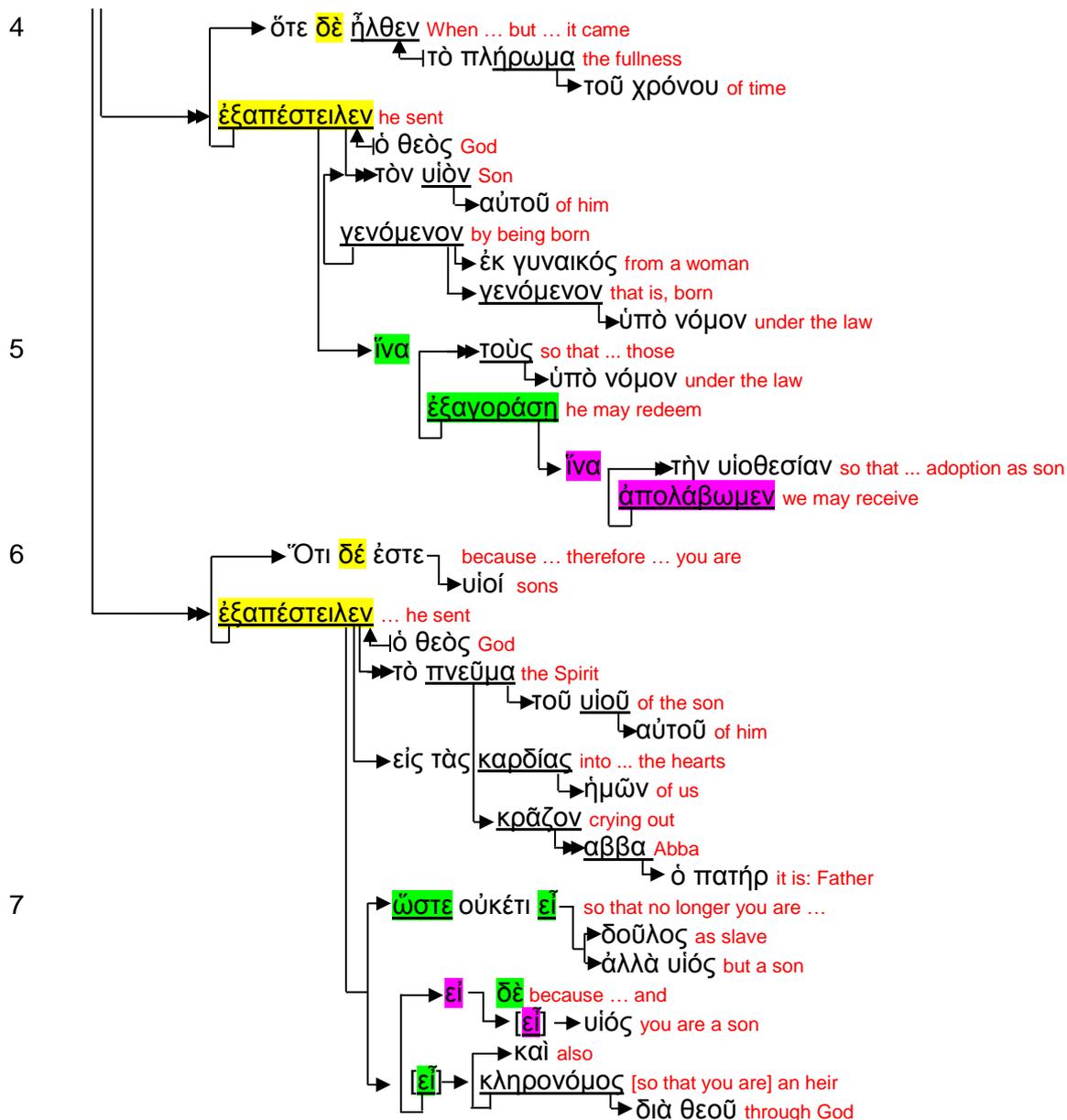
After arguing the limited and temporary duration of the function of the Law (Ga 3:15-22) and asserting the priority of the Abrahamic covenant and the subsidiary nature of the Law (Ga 3:23-29), in Galatians 4:1-7 Paul restates the content of Galatians 3:15-29 from another angle: the Spirit attests that believers are no longer slaves, but sons and therefore heirs.

### 6.2.5.2 The genre of Galatians 4:1-7

The pericope forms part of the letter body in the *probatio* (argument) (Ga 3:1 – 6:10) (cf Aune 1987:198-199; Betz 1979) to prove that the gospel Paul has proclaimed is true: The Galatians must know that they are no longer slaves, but sons and therefore heirs.

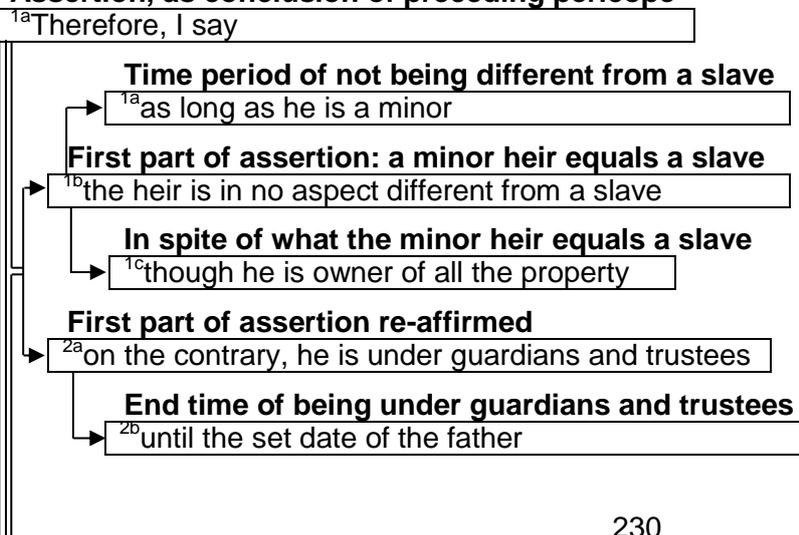
### 6.2.5.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:1-7 on microlevel

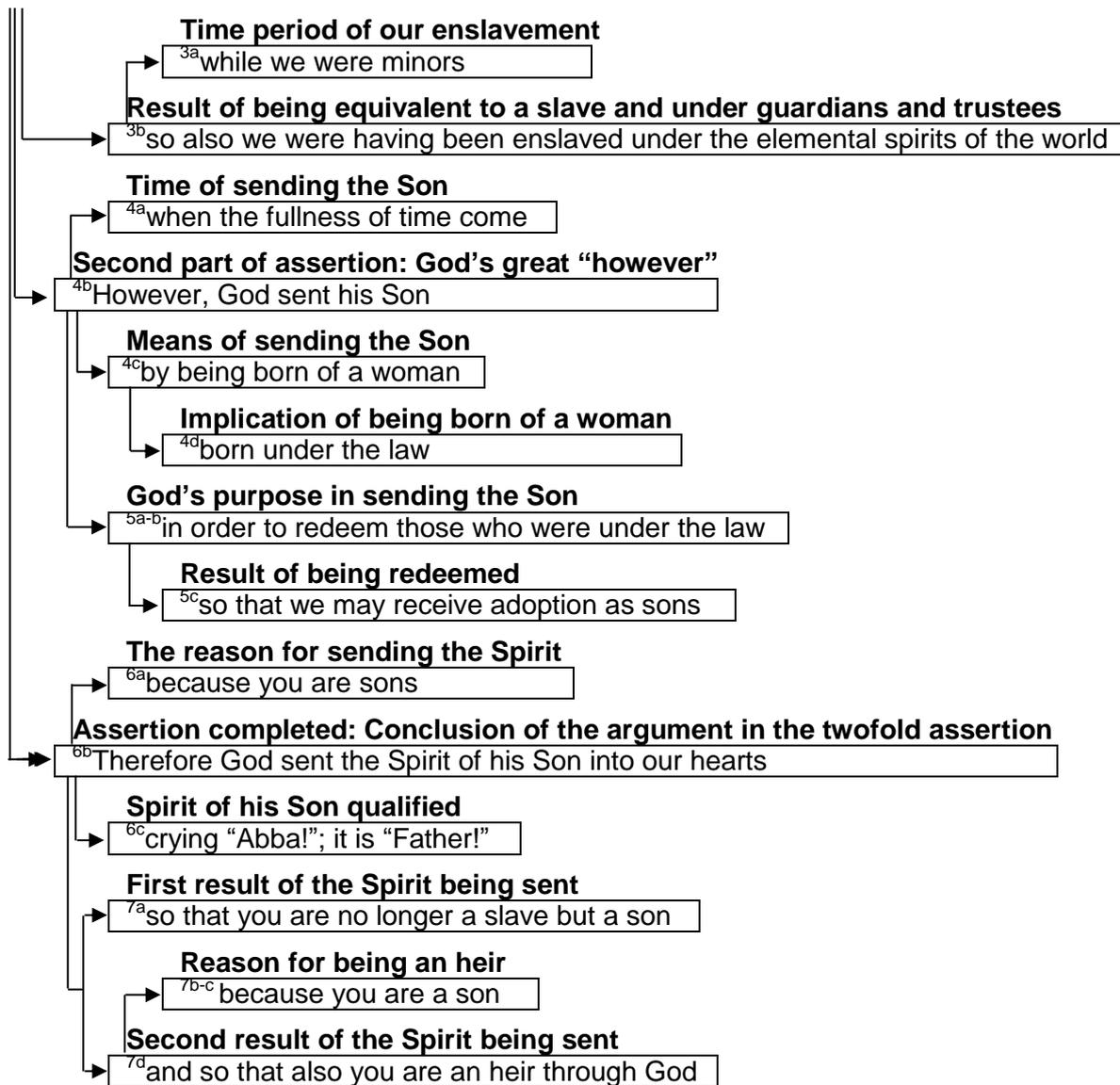




#### 6.2.5.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:1-7 on macrolevel

**Assertion, as conclusion of preceding pericope**





Paul's argument in this pericope is that the heir, as long as he is a minor, is under guardians and trustees much like a slave. Similarly, believers are slaves to the elemental spirits of the world (the Law). However, God sent his Son to redeem them from the Law. They, therefore, receive the Spirit by whom they are made sons and also heirs.

Determining the place of freedom in Galatians 4:1-7 centres around ἐπιτρόπους, οικονόμους, δεδουλωμένοι, ἐξαγοράση and υιοθεσίαν:

God sent His Son, born of woman, that is, born under the Law, in order to redeem (ἐξαγοράση) believers from slavery (δεδουλωμένοι) to the Law (ἐπιτρόπους and οικονόμους) as the elemental spirits of the world (τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου) so that they could be set free and adopted as sons (τὴν υιοθεσίαν) of God, the heirs of God's promise to Abraham, which is the Spirit of Christ.

### 6.2.5.5 Social-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 4:1-7

As with the metaphor of παιδαγωγός (cf 6.2.4.5) in the social context, Paul continues with the analogy of the imagery of the ἐπίτροπος (guardian) in this pericope (Ga 4:2). In the first century Graeco-Roman social context, the exact function of the ἐπίτροπος was to manage the treasury, fields and cattle, but, in general, the ἐπίτροπος managed the household of a minor until they attained maturity, including providing the minor with food and clothing and all that was necessary for their schooling and general well-being (Belleville 1986:61). The minor (νήπιός, Ga 4:1) was theoretically the legal owner of his inheritance. However, the control of his property and well-being were in the hands of the legal guardians, so that the minor could not act independently while he had not yet reached the age of maturity.

Being ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν (under a disciplinarian, Ga 3:25) is equivalent to being ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους (under guardians, Ga 4:2), which signifies a lack of freedom during childhood within the *familia*. The child’s life and possessions are controlled and managed by others until the father determines that the child has reached maturity and at the appropriate time releases the child from the guardianship (Ga 4:2-4). Here οἰκονόμοι (trustees) has to be understood as Graeco-Roman guardianship<sup>141</sup>. There is some overlap in the duties of the ἐπίτροπος and the οἰκονόμος. The former is the one who is in charge of the monetary revenues, whereas the latter is the one who is designated as the agent of the estate (Belleville 1986:62). Although the tasks of the ἐπίτροπος and of the οἰκονόμος overlap, their spheres of applicability differ. The οἰκονόμος is not used in reference to Roman inheritance laws, but is used instead as an administrative term with no apparent legal connotations. In this regard, Paul chose the οἰκονόμος for describing a supervisor of slaves.

Paul’s term for the personification of the Law (Ga 3:23-25) as well as guardians and trustees (Ga 4:2) all indicate a temporary control over human beings (De Boer 2011:241). Paul points out that, while the son is under the charge of disciplinarian, guardians, and trustees, he, like a slave, lacks the capacity of self-determination. Similarly, the Jew under the Law lacks also this capacity. The main theme of the analogy in Galatians 4:1-2 is that the time of the Law was not permanent: “Now faith has come, ending the time of law”; having been baptized into Christ (Ga 3:27), believers are now “all children of God” (Ga 3:26). Therefore, after using παιδαγωγός (cf Ga 3:24-25), an image of the son being constrained temporarily by education and being taken care of in the social context (Oakes 2015:134), Paul shows another aspect of constraint with the

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<sup>141</sup> The word οἰκονόμους (trustees) can refer to the Graeco-Roman guardianship (cf Goodrich 2010:265-273) or to the official titles for financial administrators in Ptolemaic Egypt (cf Bartchy 1992:138). The former emphasises management of assets; the latter, in Old Testament tradition, refers to the official title of the Egyptian taskmaster who stood over the Israel slaves in Egypt. In Galatians the context is the first century *familia*.

function of responsible control of people and management of assets by using ἐπίτροπος and οἰκονόμος (Goodrich 2010: 265-73).

Another social historical dimension of this pericope is the υἱοθεσία (adoption as a son — Ga 4:5), which was a prevalent social institution in the first-century social context (cf 5.3.2, 5.3.3.4; Oakes 2015:138). However, the heavenly Father of the gospel has, through the Lord Jesus Christ, a more intimate relationship than the Roman emperors (national fathers) or the fathers in the households of Rome. Within the Graeco-Roman household, the will of the *paterfamilias* was absolute (cf 5.3.2). In using such imagery, Paul's message to the Galatians is clearly indicated as non-negotiable.

#### **6.2.5.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 4:1-7**

Freedom in Galatians 4:1-7, centres on ἐπιτρόπους, οἰκονόμους, δεδουλωμένοι, ἐξαγοράση and υἱοθεσίαν.

##### **1. Ἐπιτρόπους (Ga 4:2)**

According to Louw and Nida (1996), the word ἐπιτρόπος is located in the same domain (37.1-37.138) as the words ἐλευθερία, ἐλευθερώω and ἐξαγοράζω used in Galatians (see the exegesis of a previous pericope, 6.2.2.6). However, ἐπιτρόπος belongs to two specific domains: (a) foreman (37.86) and (b) guide 36.5. The former can be defined as “a person in charge of supervising workers or one who assigns work to the workers.” The latter has the meaning of “a person who guides, directs, and shows concern for – guardian, leader, guide”.

Contextually, domain 36.5 (b) fits Galatians 4:2 best as it has the meanings of “to guide and to help” or “to help by leading” or “to care for by leading”, similar to the word παιδαγωγός in Galatians 3:24-25 (cf 6.2.5.5).

##### **2. Οἰκονόμους (Ga 4:2)**

The word οἰκονόμος is located in the domain Household Activities (46.1-19). It functions in three sub-domains: (a) Manager (domain 46.4): “One who is in charge of running a household”; (b) administrator (domain 37.39): “One who has the authority and responsibility for something – one who is in charge of, one who is responsible for, administrator, manager”; or (c) city treasurer (domain 57.231): “One who is in charge of the finances of a city”.

Contextually, domain 46.4 (a) and domain 37.39 fit Galatians 4:2: “One who is in charge of running a household with responsibility for protecting assets of the heir” (cf 6.2.5.5).

3. Δεδουλωμένοι (Ga 4:3), έξαγοράση (Ga 4:5): These words have already been studied (cf 6.2.2.6, 6.2.3.6, 6.2.4.6).

4. Υίοθεσίαν: This word has already been studied (cf 2.4.2, 2.4.4, 5.3.3, 5.3.4).

### 6.2.5.7 Revelation-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 4:1-7

The revelation-historical context of “freedom” has been sufficiently covered above. Cf especially 6.2.4.7 and 6.2.1.7.

### The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 4:1-7

From my study of other parts of Scripture on this theme (cf 6.2.4.7 and 6.2.1.7), it has become clear that God has ransomed Israel from the bondage of Egypt to be his people; he has even restored them when they were disobedient. The unique contribution of Galatians 4:1-7 to this revelation is that ransom is used as an image, with God sending his son, Jesus Christ, as a ransom to set all the believers free from being enslaved by the Law and the elemental spirits of the world. The result of this freedom is that they may receive the Spirit and be attested as sons and therefore heirs of God.

### 6.2.5.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 4:1-7

The communicational goal of this pericope is to remind the Galatian believers that their time as slaves in the household of God has passed. Now they are no longer slaves but children of God and therefore heirs, because God sent his son, Jesus Christ born of a woman and thus born under the Law, to set them free. God has also sent the Spirit of his Son, who attests that they are children of God and therefore his heirs.

### 6.2.6 Galatians 4:21 – 5:1: ἐλεύθερος, ἐλευθερία, ἐλευθερώω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>4:21</sup> Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε; <sup>22</sup>γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. <sup>23</sup>ἄλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι’ ἐπαγγελίας. <sup>24</sup>ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται γὰρ εἰσιν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ. <sup>25</sup>τὸ δὲ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ· συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. <sup>26</sup>ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν. <sup>27</sup>γέγραπται γὰρ· Εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον</p>	<p><sup>4:21</sup> Tell me, those who want to be subject to the law, will you not listen to the law? <sup>22</sup>For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave woman and the other by a <b>free woman</b>. <sup>23</sup>One, <b>the child of the slave</b>, was born according to the flesh; the other, the child of <b>the free woman</b>, was born through the promise. <sup>24</sup>Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One woman, in fact, is Hagar, from Mount Sinai, <b>bearing children for slavery</b>. <sup>25</sup>Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia and corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for <b>she is in slavery with her children</b>. <sup>26</sup>But the other woman corresponds</p>

καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα· ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα. <sup>28</sup>Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ. <sup>29</sup>ἄλλ' ὡσπερ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, οὕτως καὶ νῦν. <sup>30</sup>ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; **Ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.** <sup>31</sup>διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. <sup>5:1</sup>**τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν· στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῶ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.**

to the Jerusalem above; **she is free**, and she is our mother. <sup>27</sup>For it is written, “Rejoice, you childless one, you who bear no children, burst into song and shout, you who endure no birth pangs; for the children of the desolate woman are more numerous than the children of the one who is married.” <sup>28</sup>Now you, my brothers [friends], are children of the promise, like Isaac. <sup>29</sup>But just as at that time the child who was born according to the flesh persecuted the child who was born according to the spirit, so it is now also. <sup>30</sup>But what does the scripture say? “Drive out **the slave and her child**, for **the child of the slave** will not share the inheritance with **the child of the free woman**.” So then, brothers [friends], we are children, not of the slave but **of the free woman**. <sup>5:1</sup>**For freedom Christ has set us free**. Stand firm, therefore, and do not **be submit** again to a yoke of **slavery**.

#### 6.2.6.1 Place of Galatians 4:21 — 5:1 in Galatians

##### 2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)

##### 2.3 The grave dangers confronting the Galatians (4:8 – 5:12)

##### 2.3.1 The danger of returning to their previous religious servitude (4:8-11)

##### 2.3.2 The danger of abandoning Paul and his gospel (4:12-20)

##### **2.3.3 The danger of losing their new identity through faulty exegesis (4:21 – 5:1)**

In the two previous pericopes (4:8-11 and 4:12-20) Paul deals with the Galatians' past experiences to warn them of the danger of returning to their pagan past by wanting to observe the Law (Ga 4:8-11). Paul brings to the attention of the Galatians his previous visit, when he first preached the Gospel to them. Then they would have done everything for him, welcoming him as if he was Jesus Christ himself (Ga 4:14). Now they are in danger of abandoning this true gospel if they take the way of observance of the Law (Ga 4:12-20). Thus Paul encourages them to become like him so that Christ may be formed again in them (Ga 4:19). In the present pericope (4:21 – 5:1), Paul makes the Galatians understand the danger of losing their new identity by a wrong exegesis of the scripture found in Genesis 16-21.

#### 6.2.6.2 The genre of Galatians 4:21 — 5:1

This periscope, imbedded in the letter body (Ga 1:11-6:10), forms part of the *probatio* (cf. 6.2.5.2). Paul now uses a rhetorical approach (Ga 4:21) to dissuade the readers from accepting

the new teachers' interpretation of Genesis 16-21 as he fears that the Galatians may be on the point of losing their new identity as children of God in Christ (De Boer 2011:285-288).

### 6.2.6.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:21 — 5:1 on microlevel



24

ἅτινά which  
 ἐστὶν → ἀλληγορούμενα is speaking allegorically  
 αὐταὶ these women  
 γὰρ εἰσιν → δύο for they are ... two  
 διαθήκαι covenants

25

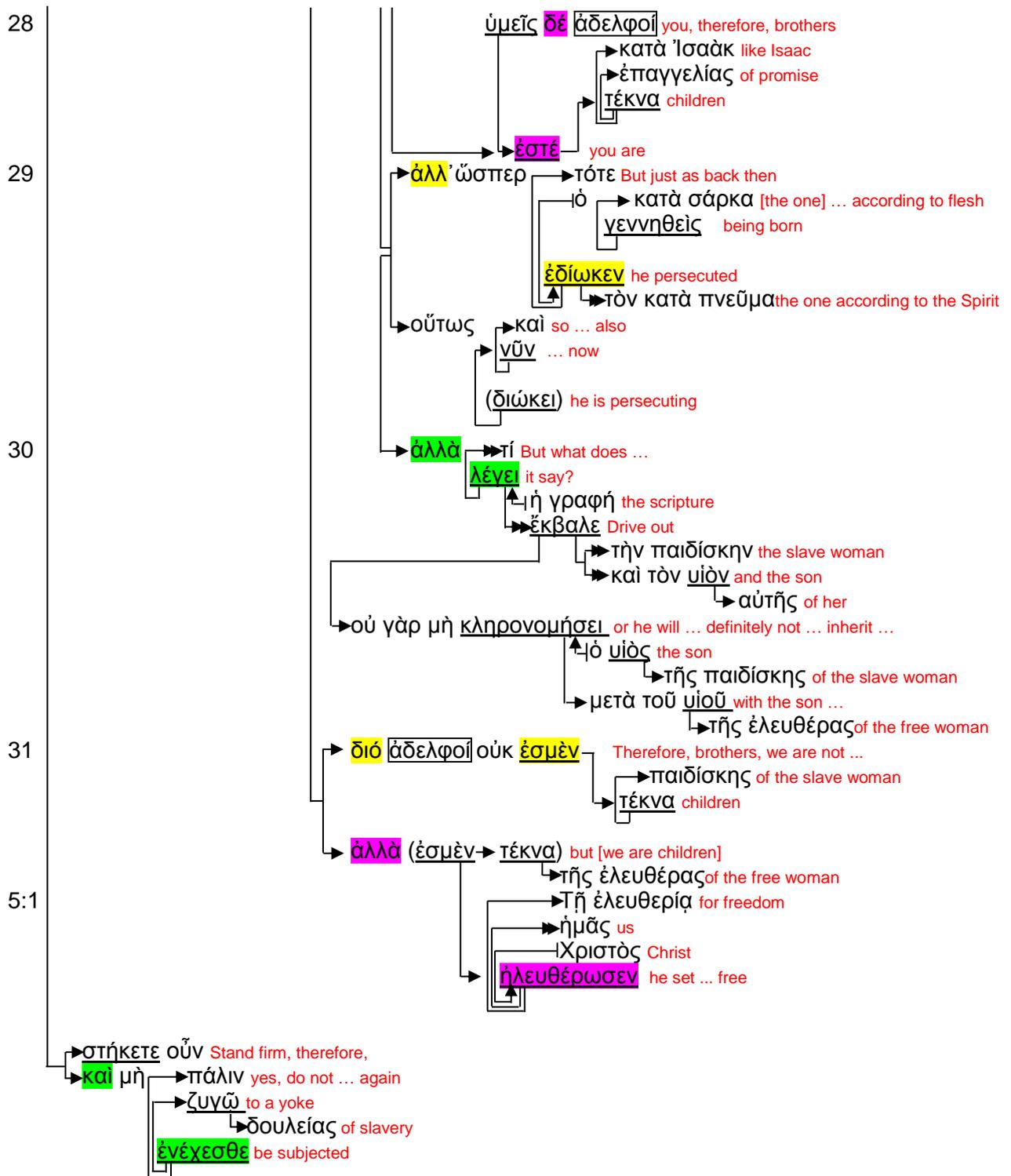
μία μὲν one woman, in fact,  
 ἀπὸ ὄρους → Σινᾶ from Mount Sinai  
 εἰς δουλείαν into slavery  
 γεννώσα bearing children  
 ἣτις who  
 ἐστὶν → Ἀγάρ is Hagar  
 τὸ δὲ Ἀγάρ And Hagar  
 ἐστὶν is → ὄρος Sinai  
 ἔστιν is → ὄρος Mount  
 ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ in Arabia  
 συστοιχεῖ δὲ and corresponds  
 τῇ → νῦν to the present  
 Ἱερουσαλήμ Jerusalem  
 δουλεύει γὰρ for she is in slavery  
 μετὰ τῶν τέκνων with the children  
 αὐτῆς of her

26

ἡ δὲ ἄνω but the ... from above  
 Ἱερουσαλήμ Jerusalem  
 ἐστὶν is → ἐλευθέρα free woman  
 ἣτις who  
 ἐστὶν → μήτηρ mother  
 ἡμῶν of us

27

γέγραπται γὰρ For it is written  
 εὐφράνθητι Rejoice  
 στεῖρα barren woman  
 ἡ οὐ τίκτουςα who bear no children  
 ῥῆξον burst into song  
 καὶ βόησον shout  
 ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα you who have no birth pangs  
 ὅτι because  
 τὰ τέκνα the children  
 τῆς ἐρήμου of the desolate woman  
 (ἐστὶ) → μᾶλλον more  
 ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης than the one who has ...  
 τὸν ἄνδρα husband



6.2.6.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:21 — 5:1 on macrolevel

The opening assertion

<sup>21a</sup>Tell me

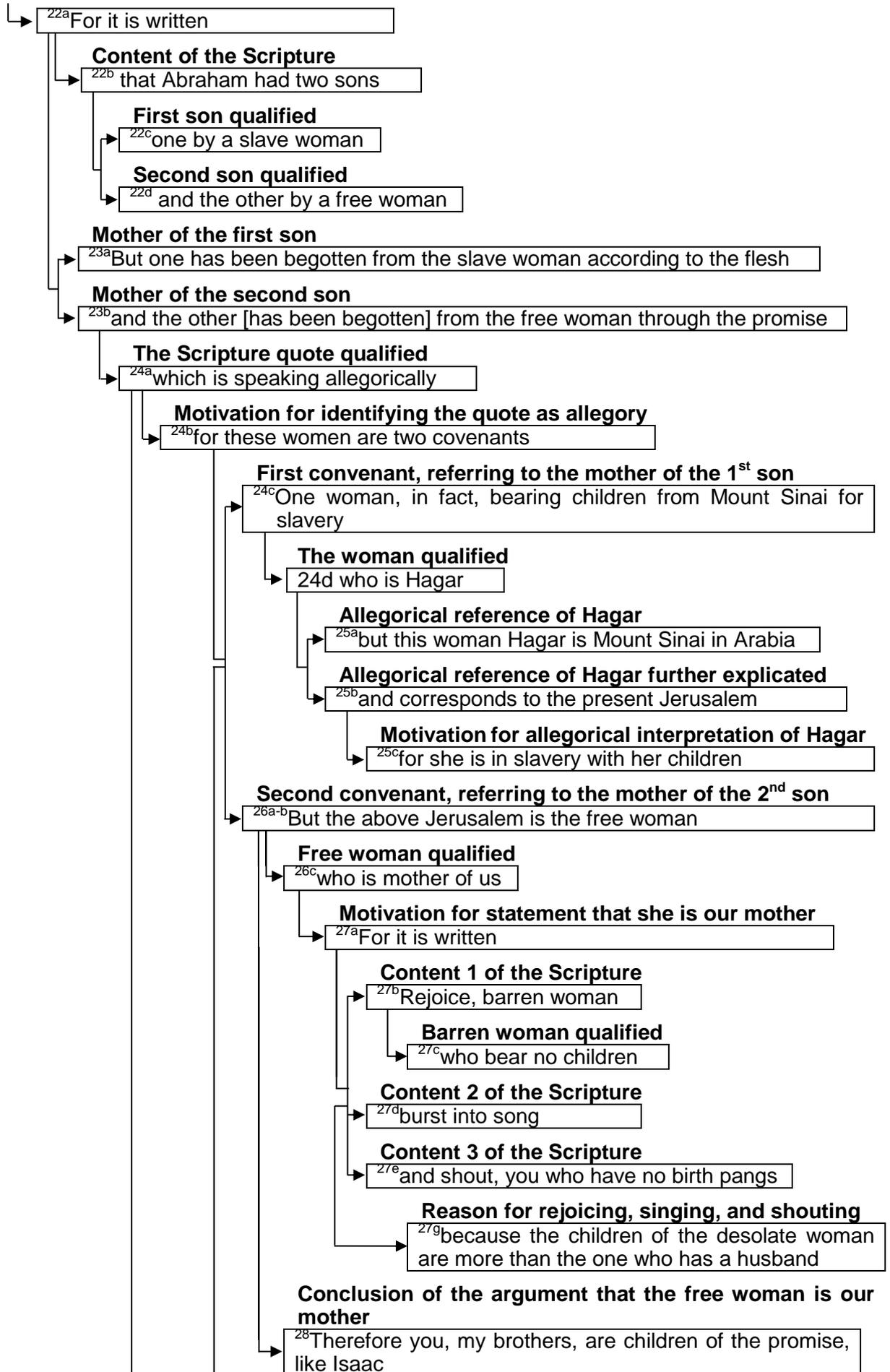
You qualified

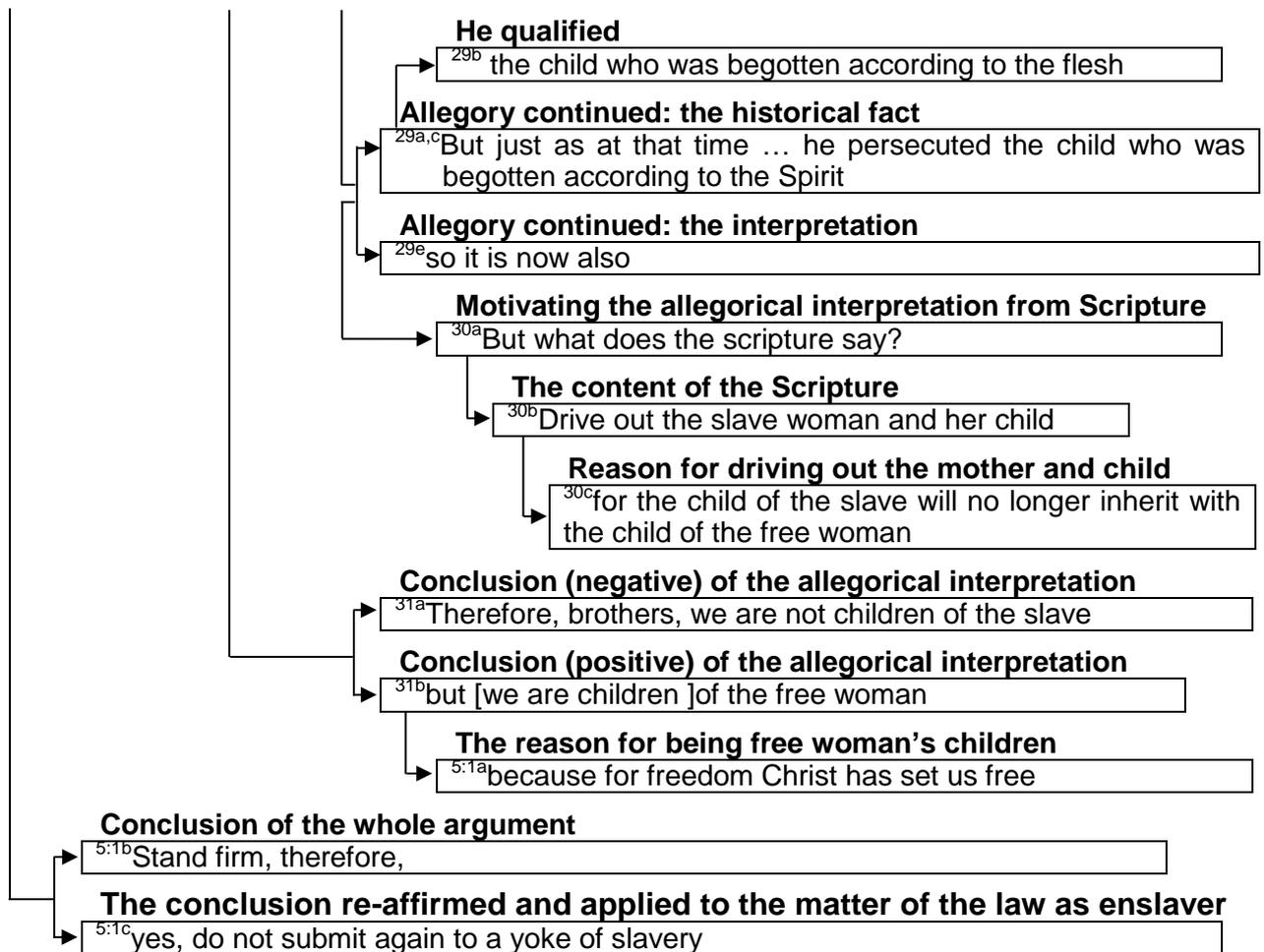
<sup>21b</sup>those who desire to be under the law

A question as content of the assertion

<sup>21c</sup>do you not listen to the law?

Motivation for the question





Paul's argument in this pericope is that there are two sons of Abraham who represent two covenants. The first son was born by the slave woman, Hagar, through the flesh (cf Gn 16:2<sup>142</sup>); the second son was born by the free woman through the promise (Gn 21:1-3<sup>143</sup>) and the spirit. The status of the two sons was related to that of their mothers. The slave children, however, are persecuting the free children, like the slave mother did with the free mother, as narrated in the Old Testament. The outcome of this persecution in the past was that the slave mother and her son were driven out from the family without any inheritance. Paul interprets this narrative from the Old Testament allegorically to argue that the Galatians are the free children with the inheritance because Christ set them free. They must be steadfast in their identities as free children and not allow themselves to be enslaved by the slave children.

The place of "freedom" in the argument of Galatians 4:21 — 5:1 is, therefore, that Jesus Christ is the one who sets believers free, as with Isaac who was promised to Abraham by God and not

<sup>142</sup> Genesis 16:2: "... Sarai said to Abram, 'You see that the LORD has prevented me from bearing children; go in to my slave-girl; it may be that I shall obtain children by her.' And Abram listened to the voice of Sarai" (NRSV).

<sup>143</sup> Genesis 21:1-3: "The LORD dealt with Sarah as he had said, and the LORD did for Sarah as he had promised. Sarah conceived and bore Abraham a son in his old age, at the time of which God had spoken to him. Abraham gave the name Isaac to his son whom Sarah bore him" (NRSV).

through human intention of giving birth according to the flesh (Gn 16:2). Therefore, the Galatians should stand firm in Christ and not allow to be enslaved again.

#### 6.2.6.5 Social-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 4:21 — 5:1

Jerusalem is identified with the Jewish festivals and temple rituals, a center of Jewish life as opposed to the Gentiles. In Jewish writings the city is connected to the authority of God (Oakes 2015:156-157). The new teachers (Ga 1:7) could focus on the geographical element in order to confirm their privileged position and authority as part of the elected people of God. Josephus, however, recognising that it was God's intention to destroy the temple and the holy city through the Romans, thought that Jerusalem and the temple should not be the main motivation for being obedient people of God, but rather that the people should follow the commandments of God as obedient slaves. For him, the most important thing is being obedient as slaves of God (cf 4.3.6; 4.3.7).

Philo interprets the two women, Sarah and Hagar, as an allegory referring to different human qualities: one has been enslaved by pleasure or passion (*De posteritate Cain* 122<sup>144</sup>) and the other submitted herself to the Creator, God, with virtue to nourish her son (*De posteritate Cain* 130<sup>145</sup>). He also describes slavery as a matter of morality and obedience, as human beings have two inclinations: to be enslaved by pleasure or passion, like Adam, Eve and Esau who were thereby separated from God; or to be like Abraham, loyal to his master as a free person in the sight of God (cf 4.3.9). Therefore, a person does not depend on his/her status or where he/she is born, but rather on obedience to God as a slave, in order to be a good person who has real freedom (cf 4.3.8). The main reason for Israel's slavery was her multitude of sins, neglect to obey the commandments of God, which caused the prophets' lament (3.2.3, 4.3.3 and 4.3.4; cf Dt 28:58-68).

Paul's understanding is similar to Josephus' and Philo's, but differs in one important element. His understanding of slavery and freedom is based on his belief that a person is set free through the salvific acts of Christ who came to fulfill the will of God. The physical place (Jerusalem) is not important for Paul, because the salvation of Jesus Christ is not a matter of physical geography or any outer mark. In any case, Jerusalem at that time was under Roman control. God is able to work everywhere on earth, such as giving a revelation in or near Damascus (Ga 1:16-17) or in Arabia (Ga 1:17) (Oakes 2015:156-157); God is the one who created the whole world (cf 3.2.4 and 4.4). What makes people children of God is belonging to

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<sup>144</sup> *De posteritate Cain* 122: "... those who pursue a life of pleasure have only a brief and fictitious want of opportunities ... therefore, having swollen extravagantly, and become enormously distended by their profuse fatness and luxury..." (Yonge 1854-55).

<sup>145</sup> *De posteritate Cain* 130: "Now Hagar is the handmaid of Sarah, the new dispensation of perfect virtue..." (Yonge 1854-55).

the free woman, Sarah, whose children are born free. This relates to the Jerusalem above. The teachers (Ga 1:7) who persecute the Galatians belong to the slave woman, Hagar, who is linked to the present Jerusalem. The slave woman's children will not inherit with the children of the promise and must be driven out.

Paul bursts out in a scriptural song of triumph about the barren woman in Galatians 4:27. Quoted from Isaiah 54:1, the song must be understood in the context of the Suffering Servant (slave) (Is 52:13-53:12; cf 3.2.3.3 and 3.2.3.6; Oakes 2015:157). At that time Israel was in exile and Jerusalem was empty, like a barren woman who had been abandoned, but God would establish his people through this obedient slave. Now, Israel is again a slave to the power of the Roman Empire, as in Babylon before. The context of Isaiah is one of return from exile. The LORD promises to return Israel to the land where she will multiply and prosper. For Paul this is happening now metaphorically.

Now the Lord God will redeem them as he promised to Abraham and Sarah, despite Sarah's barrenness and unbelief (Gn 18:9-15), and he will establish a new line of the family through this prophetic and royal slave. Paul's quotation of Isaiah 54:1, originally a consolatory and prophetic word spoken to barren and desolate Jerusalem, follows the interpretation of Sarah as the Jerusalem above, as the free mother (Ga 4:26). Now the obedient slave will show the result of God's faithfulness to his promise with a nation of many children. This promise is fulfilled in the free children of the heavenly Jerusalem.

However, the new teachers who appeared in Galatia represent the present Jerusalem; they are descendants of Hagar and, being born according to the flesh (Ga 4:23), are slave children who now want to force the free children to observe a circumcision of the flesh (Ga 3:3; 6:12). For Paul the solution to the problem of disobedient Israel lies in the seed of Abraham, the Lord Jesus Christ, who, as an obedient slave of God, will restore the nations to God, their master and father (cf 3.2.3).

#### **6.2.6.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 4:21 — 5:1**

In this periscope, σάρξ is an important concept related to freedom.

According to Louw and Nida (1996), σάρξ can be used for the following meanings:

- A body (domain 8A)
- Parts of the body (domain 8B)
- People: human, beings (domain 9A-E)
- Nation (domain 10A: Groups and members of groups of persons regarded as related by blood but without special reference to successive generations)
- Human nature (domain 26A: Psychological faculties)
- Physical nature (domain 58A: Nature, character)

- Life (domain 23G: Live and die)

Contextually, domain 58A (nature, character) and domain 26A (psychological faculties) fit Galatians 4:23 and 29 best. Σάρξ in Galatians 4:23 means “human nature, particularly in reference to the physical aspect of human life” (Louw & Nida 1996). It can be interpreted as “someone was born like any person is, or was born like people are normally born” (Louw & Nida 1996). In Galatians 4:29 σάρξ refers to psychological faculties and it means “the psychological aspect of human nature which contrasts with the spiritual nature; in other words, that aspect of human nature which is characterised by or reflects typical human reasoning and desires in contrast with those aspects of human thought and behaviour which relate to God and spiritual life” (Louw & Nida 1996). A more accurate domain description is provided by BDAG (2000): “all parts of the body constitute a totality known as flesh in which it is dominated by sin to such a degree that no good thing can be.” Therefore σάρξ here (Ga 4:29) refers to that psychological factor in human beings which serves as a willing instrument of sin and is subject to sin (cf Ga 5:19-21; 6:8).

Several times in Galatians σάρξ is used to allude to the foreskin which had become a significant issue in the churches (Ga 6:13). The problem was that some of the believers in the church desired to obey the demands of the Law by cutting away the foreskin in the rite of circumcision. In this sense, the term takes on a negative connotation which is contrasted to the promise (Ga 4:23) and the Spirit (Ga 4:29) and can even take on an active role as a personified actor in antagonism against the Spirit (Gal. 5:16-17) (De Boer 2011:336). Therefore the flesh is used as physical nature (domain 58A) and psychological faculties (domain 26A) in reference to “the personal tendency to sinfulness”, which demonstrates the “meta-personal, meta-cultural power of Sin” (Longenecker 2001:38-41). This meaning of σάρξ (flesh) can also be associated with “the world” and the “present evil age” (Ga 1:4), which stand in contrast to the Spirit and the new creation (Ga 6:15) (Barclay 1988:205).

#### **6.2.6.7 Revelation-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 4:21 — 5:1**

That the free woman (Sarah) was given a promise together with her husband can be seen in Genesis 17:16; 18:14; 21:1-2. Sarah did not believe the promise and decided to have a son through human intention (cf Gn 16:1-3; 18:12). In the New Testament, Romans 9:8 and Hebrews 11:11 reconfirm that God is faithful to the promise through Christ Jesus.

#### **A summary of the revelation in the whole Bible on freedom**

According to the Old Testament God had given Abraham the promise of a son through the free woman (Sarah). However, they decided to have a son through their own human planning, which

resulted in the persecution of the slave woman because of their unbelief. Similarly, human beings have a tendency to sinfulness and unbelief because of sin (flesh) (cf 3.3.3.2 and 6.2.3.7 above). Although people were unfaithful, God still kept his promise to Abraham by multiplying his descendants (Gn 12:2; 15:5).

### The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 4:21 — 5:1

The unique contribution of Galatians 4:21 — 5:1 is that God still keeps his promise to Abraham and Sarah through Jesus Christ. He is the child of a free woman and comes to set believers free from the slave woman’s descendants, by fulfilling the promise to Abraham to have multiple descendants. Therefore the Galatians have to hold fast to their status as children of the free woman because they are free in Jesus Christ.

#### 6.2.6.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 4:21 — 5:1

The communicational goal of this pericope is to persuade the Galatians that by the salvific act of Christ Jesus they are free as descendants of Abraham just like his son Isaac, as God had promised. Therefore, they must be steadfast in their status of free heirs. Although some of the new teachers are now trying to enslave them as the slave woman (Hagar) did, these slave descendants (the disturbing teachers) have to be driven out of the household of God.

#### 6.2.7 Galatians 5:13-15: ἐλευθερία

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>5:13</sup> Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῆ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις. <sup>14</sup>Ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται, ἐν τῷ Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. <sup>15</sup>εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε.</p>	<p><sup>5:13</sup> For you were <b>called to freedom</b>, brothers [and sisters]; only do not use <b>your freedom</b> as an opportunity for self-indulgence, but through love become slaves to one another. <sup>14</sup>For the whole law is summed up in a single commandment, “You shall love your neighbor as yourself.” <sup>15</sup>If, however, you bite and devour one another, take care that you are not consumed by one another.</p>

#### 6.2.7.1 Place of Galatians 5:13-15 in Galatians

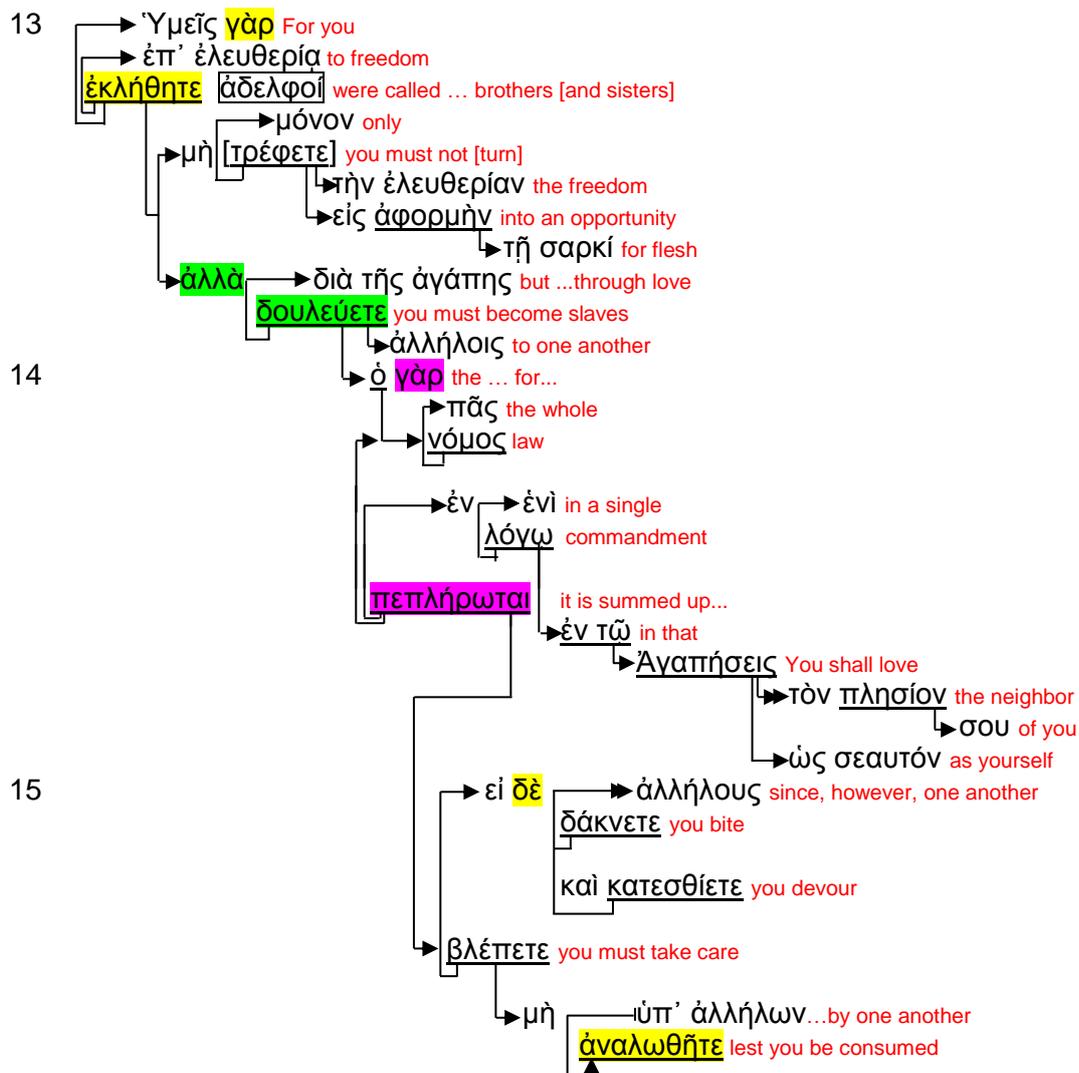
<p>2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)</p> <p>2.4 Life at the juncture of the ages (5:13-6:10)</p> <p><b>2.3.1 Real freedom for serving in love (5:13-15)</b></p> <p>2.3.2 The Spirit’s strife against the flesh (5:16-24)</p> <p>2.3.3 Living by the Spirit and fulfilling the law of Christ (5:25-6:10)</p>
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Having argued against the false brothers by defending his apostolic authority (Ga 1:1 – 2:21), by posing a counter argument based on details from the Old Testament and by proving that the call of the false brothers for them to observe the law is a false way (Ga 3:1 – 5:7-12), Paul now continues to exhort the Galatians in what they should do after being freed from the Law, which is to focus on love (Ga 5:13-15) and on the Spirit (Ga 5:16-24).

### 6.2.7.2 The genre of Galatians 5:13-15

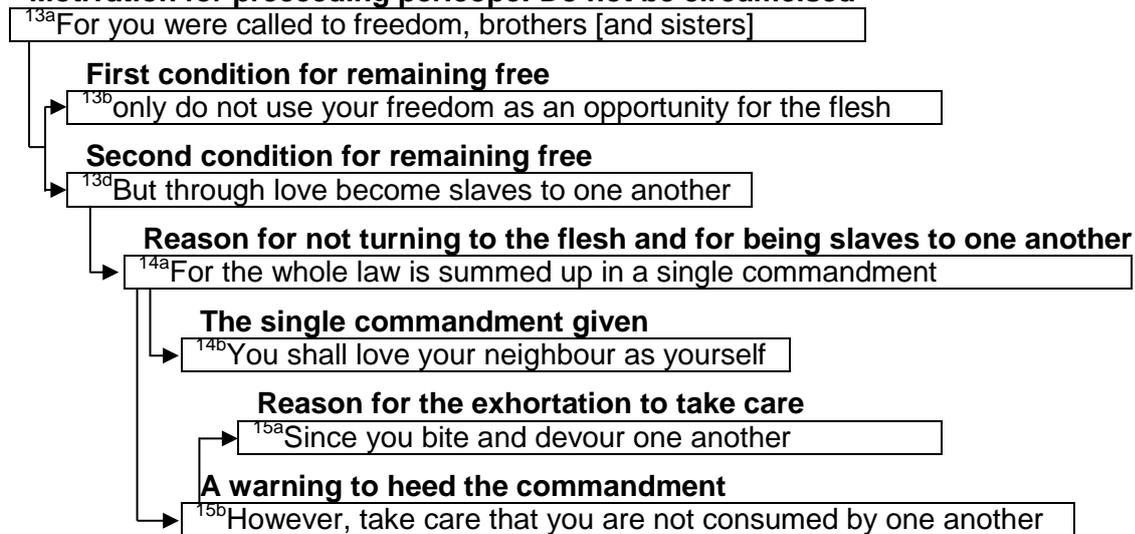
This pericope forms part of a concluding section of paraenesis referring to general moral and religious instructions serving as the ethical section of Galatians (Ga 5:13 – 6:10; cf Oakes 2015:167). Proceeding with the theme of freedom, Paul exhorts the Galatians to utilise their freedom responsibly by serving one another in love, and points out how to behave appropriately after being set free from the Law.

### 6.2.7.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 5:13-15 on microlevel



#### 6.2.7.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 5:13-15 on macrolevel

##### Motivation for preceding pericope: Do not be circumcised



Paul's argument in this pericope is that, although the Galatians are free, they should remain in this freedom and be aware of how malevolent the power of the flesh is (Ga 5:13c). They must utilise their freedom correctly and not abuse it, but instead serve (act as slaves to — δουλεύετε [Ga 5:13d]) one another in love. By doing so they are fulfilling the commandment of God as their master, Jesus Christ, does. If not, they will be destroyed by the flesh (Ga 5:15a-b).

The place of "freedom" in the argument of Galatians 5:13-15 is that freedom may not be abused to do as one likes, but used to serve each other as slaves.

#### 6.2.7.5 Social-historical context of "freedom" in Galatians 5:13-15

As noted already, the notion of a present evil age assumes that the human condition is a form of slavery to the flesh (cf 6.2.6.6). In Paul's mind, sin is a malevolent, enslaving power by which all human beings are held captive (Ga 3:22). Human beings, as slaves, do the will of their master, sin, a power that Paul also refers to as "the flesh" in this pericope (Ga 5:13, 16, 19-21). This idea regarding slavery of the inner-self is related to views in the social context of the first century philosophers who thought that human beings were inclined to be enslaved by evil pleasures or passions (cf 5.2.4). Josephus and Philo reflect the influence of these philosophers by displaying a similar understanding, expressing the view that the Jews had to be disciplined and restrained from being enslaved to any kind of wicked pleasures, passions and envy. This slavery is not only limited to the Jews, but includes all humanity (cf 4.3.7 and 4.3.8). The way of the flesh can be seen in one of the first century Jewish sects called "the Fourth Philosophy" (cf 4.3.6) by Josephus, because they intended to establish the kingdom of God through violence against Rome, acting in conformity with the present evil age.

For Paul, Christian freedom, however, is not attained through human efforts, nor is he as indifferent as the philosophers to interpersonal relationships. Instead, for him real freedom is only expressed in being horizontally enslaved in an authentic relationship with brothers and sisters within the household of God. Human beings do not have an inclination toward virtue with reason which can be activated through education, as Musonius thought (cf 5.2.4.5), because they are all enslaved by passion, pleasure and greed through the power of the flesh. Paul's way to overcome the desires of the flesh is not directly through human aversion to it or through moral effort or education, but through Christ Jesus, who crucified all passions and desires on the cross (Ga 5:24), and through the Spirit who activates the love to serve others (Ga 5:13-14).

Another social dimension of how the desires of the flesh (Ga 5:13c; 5:19-21) have affected the hearts of humanity was the reality of the Roman Empire, of the present evil age (Ga 1:4), which controlled the entire world. Roman victories in battle often led to the enslavement of the local inhabitants (cf 2.3.6). Because the number of slaves increased rapidly, slavery became an economic necessity, elaborately governed by a system of laws (cf 5.2.3) which served to justify slavery as normal. The desire of the flesh occupy human hearts, and even the emperors in the first century were caught up in its dictates. Slaves were vulnerable to violence and physical abuse, including rape and forced prostitution. Control of an involuntary labour force initially forced into slavery by military violence depended on the systematic management and manipulation of slavery through sustained violence, dehumanisation, degradation and a climate of fear. All of these evil phenomena might have been envisioned in the minds of Paul and of the Galatians (Ga 5:13c; 5:19-21).

In this pericope Paul's paradoxical writing on slavery in the household of God expresses an extreme social radicalism which proved to be subversive of the social hierarchy. Normally, a slave was totally subject to the power of the master and forced to act according to all his wishes and whims. However, in the household of God, the Lord Christ Jesus (serving as the new master) gave himself up for the sake of believers, who are under the dictatorship of the flesh, so that they would be able to overcome the evil system of humanity caused by the flesh (the present evil age) and to serve and love one another through the power of the Spirit (the firstfruits of the new age).

#### **6.2.7.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 5:13-15**

Ἐλευθερία (Ga 5:13) is an important concept denoting freedom in the pericope (see the previous pericope in 6.2.2.6).

Contextually, the noun ἔλευθερία is used figuratively to express a concept similar to the verb ἐξαγοράζω (“I buy” or “I redeem”). However, here the word is, paradoxically, given the positive

meaning of, those who are called to freedom are enslaved to one another because they have a new master who is different from the flesh that controls humanity. It seems that no sooner have believers been set free by Christ than they have to become slaves to one another in devotion to Christ, as is affirmed in Galatians 5:13-15. The reason for this paradox is that Paul does not want his argument against the Law in Galatians 5:2-12 to be misunderstood or to be used as a licence for sin or indulging the flesh (Byron 2003:197). Thus for Paul the whole of the Law (Ga 5:14) can be fulfilled through love and being a slave to one another in the community of Christ. Once believers have been set free from enslavement to the flesh, they have to be enslaved to another master, which is characterised as life in the Spirit through love.

#### **6.2.7.7 Revelation-historical context of “freedom” in Galatians 5:13-15**

The desires of the flesh (sin) can be seen in the history of Israel who, like the Gentiles, was disobedient because of being enslaved by the flesh (cf 6.2.3.7 and 6.2.4.7). Likewise, freedom from the flesh (sin) is mirrored in the history of Israel (cf 3.2.3.6).

#### **The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 5:13-15**

The unique contribution of Galatians 5:13-15 is the revelation that God provides a different perspective of slavery, evoking a positive meaning, by sending his son Jesus Christ to reveal to the believers what real freedom is. It focuses on the relationship between brothers and sisters and demonstrates that freedom is not just a matter of release from enslavement for the purpose of self-satisfaction, but that it leads to voluntary enslavement to others through love in the community, in accordance with what Jesus Christ has done for the people of God.

#### **6.2.7.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 5:13-15**

The communicational goal of this pericope is to emphasise that love, which is the fulfilment of the law, is the primary weapon against the flesh, which has caused the Galatian house-church members to divide into factions. Therefore, Paul warns the Galatians that freedom from the Law does not mean freedom from all moral obligations or freedom to serve the flesh. Rather, freedom from the Law is expressed in the freedom to enslave oneself to others in love, through Christ.

#### **6.2.8 Conclusion**

The concept of freedom in Galatians can be summarised as follows:

God as the Father set believers free from the present evil age (sin) through Jesus Christ to join a new family as brothers and sisters, being adopted as children of God the Father (6.2.1; 6.2.5). The way of becoming children of God is only through Jesus Christ, who ransomed all the people from slavery and the curse resting on them, as all are under the curse of the present evil age

(sin). Through believing in Jesus Christ believers are able to enjoy the blessing of Abraham, which is the Spirit (6.2.3; 6.2.4), without any social distinctions.

Freedom as children of God does not only focus on the vertical dimension, the relationship between Christ and the people, but it also focuses on the horizontal relationship between brothers and sisters in the household of God. It demonstrates that freedom is not a matter of release from enslavement for the purpose of self-satisfaction, as it also means entering into a new responsibility, which is a new type of freedom in Christ, freedom to serve others (6.2.7). This process is not dependent on human potential, because all people, including both Jews and Gentiles, are unable to attain it by themselves or provide it for others. Only the salvific act of God in Jesus Christ can provide this liberation.

Therefore, in Galatians the freedom of the Christian is a process both of liberation *from* and liberation *for*, a freedom rendered by the vivid imagery not only of adoption as sons with an inheritance, but also of slavery seen from both negative and positive perspectives — enslaved by the flesh and enslaved to each other in the Lord Jesus Christ (cf 6.3).

### 6.3 SLAVERY IN GALATIANS

To establish the meaning of slavery in Galatians the following pericopes are exegeted (cf 2.3.5): Galatians 1:6-10 (δοῦλος); 2:1-10 (ἀναγκάζω, καταδουλόω); 2:11-14 (ἀναγκάζω); 2:15-21 (παραδίδωμι); 3:6-14 (ὑπὸ κατάραν); 3:15-22 (συγκλείω, ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν); 3:23-29 (ὑπὸ νόμον, συγκλείω, ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν, δοῦλος); 4:1-7 (ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, δουλόω); 4:8-11 (δουλεύω); 4:21-5:1 (ὑπὸ νόμον, παιδίσκη, δουλεία, δουλεύω); 5:13-24 (δουλεύω); 6:11-17 (ἀναγκάζω). Where there is an overlap with pericopes studied under 6.2 above (freedom in Galatians), this will be indicated.

#### 6.3.1 Galatians 1:6-10: δοῦλος

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>1:6</sup>Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι [Χριστοῦ] εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, <sup>7</sup>ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. <sup>8</sup>ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίζηται [ὑμῖν] παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. <sup>9</sup>ὡς προειρήκαμεν καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. <sup>10</sup>Ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, <b>Χριστοῦ δοῦλος</b> οὐκ</p>	<p><sup>1:6</sup>I am astonished that you are so quickly deserting the one who called you in the grace of Christ and are turning to a different gospel — <sup>7</sup>not that there is another gospel, but there are some who are confusing you and want to pervert the gospel of Christ. <sup>8</sup>But even if we or an angel from heaven should proclaim to you a gospel contrary to what we proclaimed to you, let that one be accursed! <sup>9</sup>As we have said before, so now I repeat, if anyone proclaims to you a gospel contrary to what you received, let that one be accursed! <sup>10</sup>Am I now seeking human approval, or</p>

ὄν ἡμῶν.

God's approval? Or am I trying to please people? If I were still pleasing people, I would not be a **slave<sup>146</sup> of Christ**.

### 6.3.1.1 Place of Galatians 1:6-10 in Galatians

#### 1. Letter Opening (1:1-10)

##### 1.1 Prescript (sender, recipients, grace greeting) (1:1-5)

##### **1.2 Rebuke and Imprecation (1:6-10)**

Having emphasised the nature of the real apostle and of the true gospel (Ga 1:1-5; cf 6.2.1), Paul does not use his signature style of writing, with a thanksgiving following the prescript of the letter opening (Ro 1:8-15; 1Cor 1:4-9; Php 1:3-11; 1Th 1:2-10; Phm 4-7); he proceeds in Galatians 1:6 with an expression of astonishment, because the Galatians are deserting the true gospel for another. Whereas in other letters he mentions his status as “slave of Christ” in the very first verse (cf e.g. Rom 1:1), here in Galatians he only mentions it in 1:10.

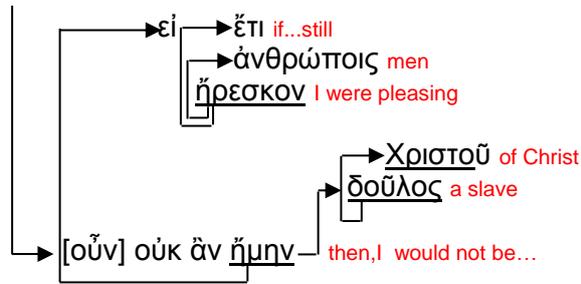
### 6.3.1.2 The genre of Galatians 1:6-10

The opening of the letter is Pauline in style, following the Greek rhetorical technique (cf 6.2.1.1). By already using the epithet “a slave of Christ” in the letter opening, Paul emphasises the importance of his status as slave. However, it is conspicuous that he refers to himself as slave only at the *end* of the letter opening (Ga 1:10). In the letter prescript he first introduces himself as an apostle (Ga 1:1), not as a slave of Christ (as in the letter to the Romans). In this way he can show that the epithet “slave of Christ” is actually an explanation of the true nature of an apostle: to be an apostle one must be as loyal to the true gospel as a slave. Thus, Paul is presenting himself emphatically as an obedient and loyal slave called by the grace of God through the Lord Jesus Christ. Paul clearly regards himself as “a slave of Christ” (Χριστοῦ δοῦλος — Ga 1:10), a self-designation which is an important aspect of his claim to proclaim a legitimate gospel (Byron 2003:199) and the defence of his apostleship against the false teachers (Tsang 2005:67); it is also a warning to the Galatians not to deviate from their calling to be slaves of Jesus Christ.

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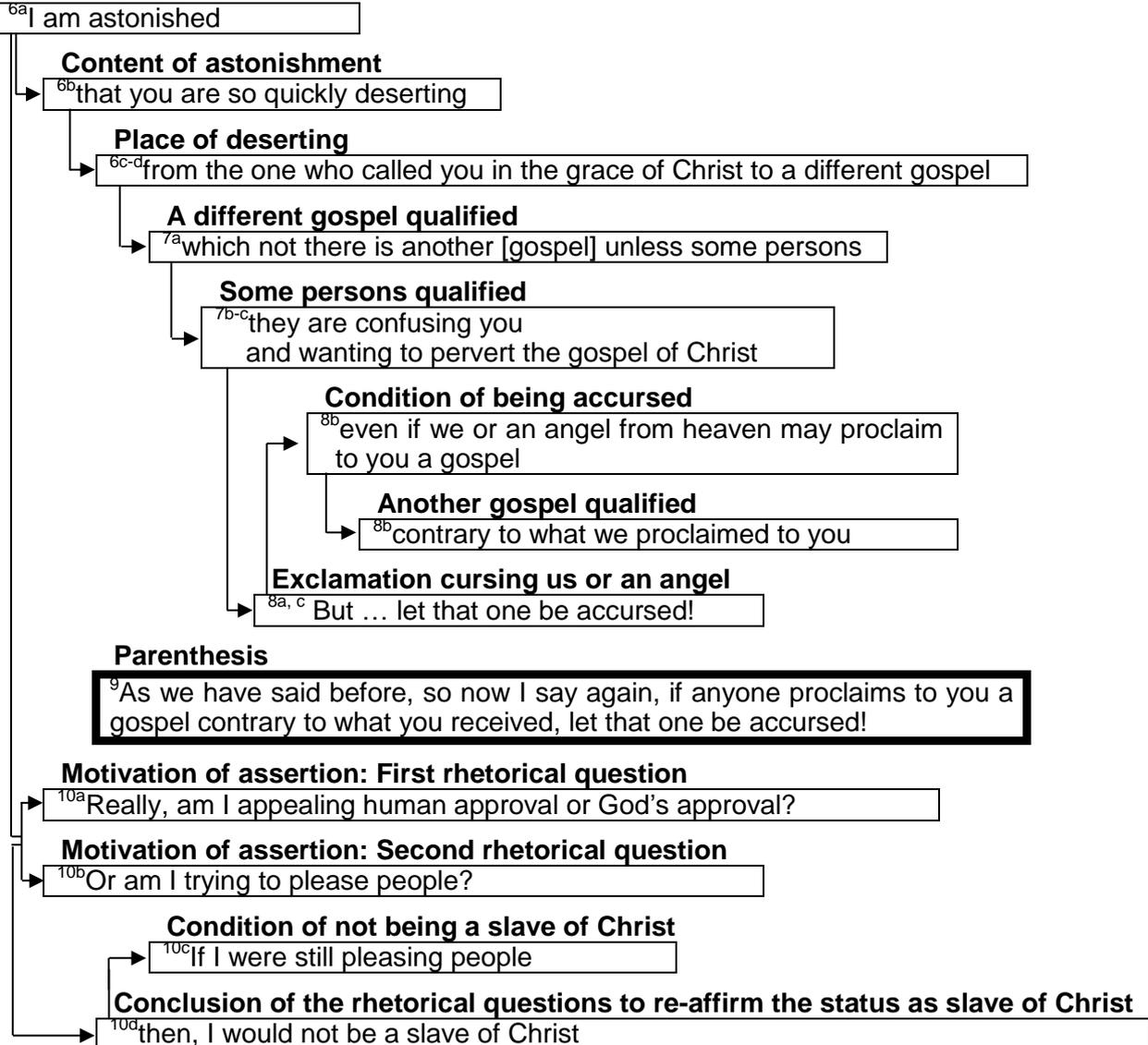
<sup>146</sup> The word “δοῦλος” is usually translated as “a servant” (NRSV, NIV, KJV). In my opinion, it is better to translate it as “a slave” in order to preserve the full force of the original meaning in Greek and to give due consideration to the social context of the first century. There is an important difference between the concepts of “servant” and “slave”: A servant renders service for a salary to someone with part of his/her life, but a slave belongs to someone, surrendering himself to someone else with his whole life – and there is no obligation to remunerate for services. In other words, a servant commits himself/herself to do something for someone in exchange of payment, but a slave surrenders and gives up himself/herself to someone (cf Harris 1999:18).





### 6.3.1.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 1:6-10 on macrolevel

#### Assertion of astonishment



Paul's argument in this pericope is that the Galatians have turned to what is no gospel at all, which astonishes Paul. Having cursed someone who proclaims a false gospel, Paul motivates with rhetorical questions his aim of seeking God's approval and thus prove that he is an obedient slave of Christ, with the intention of persuading the Galatians to be as he is.

The place of “slavery” in the argument of Galatians 1:6-10 is, therefore, to show that Paul is not someone who pleases humans but “a slave of Christ”<sup>147</sup> and that he obeys only his master, the Lord Jesus Christ, whereby seeking God’s approval.

### **6.3.1.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 1:6-10**

Like Jeremiah, Baruch, Abimelech and Josephus in the first century literature (cf 4.3), Paul identifies himself as a slave of God, but amends the statement to depict himself as a slave of the Son of God, Christ (cf 4.4). To be a slave of Christ is to be loyal to the message of the Lord even under persecution, oppression, or suffering the threat of death. Like in the Testament of Joseph and the writings of Josephus and Philo, Paul does not allude to physical slavery but to the enslavement of the human heart (cf 4.4). What is of decisive importance is the identity of the master to whom one pays allegiance. If a person is obedient to his sinful nature, he shows that he belongs to this master.

Another element of the social context is that, according to the evidence in Graeco-Roman writings, being a slave of a god was not only a Jewish concept but also a Roman concept. Whatever people were, they could be slaves to a god or goddess, acting as agents of divine work (Martin1990:86-87). In addition, in the Graeco-Roman social context, a person who was set free in the period of the Roman Empire would not live a drastically different life from when he was a slave. He remained loyal to his previous master as his patron. In consequence, whatever he did was for the sake of loyalty to his previous master (Tsang 2005:70).

Thus Paul’s self-designation as a slave of Christ in Galatians 1:10 is not only part of an extended greeting which connects with 1:1a, but is also intended to signify the character of his leadership in the church as that of an obedient slave of the Lord. On the one hand, the self-designation as a slave is of a polemical character, forming part of the argument against his opponents, in which he contrasts the type of slavery that Christ is offering, including freedom from the Law (Ga 5:13; 6:2), to the slavery of a life under the Law which they propose. On the other hand, the self-designation is of an apologetic character, employed to defend his Apostleship through autobiography, and a call to his readers to identify with and imitate him, because he has identified himself with the obedient, self-giving Christ to whom he longs for the Galatians to submit themselves in equal measure. Paul uses the rhetorical questions in

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<sup>147</sup> This contrast is expressed by the Greek present particles ἄρα and ἔτι which structure Paul’s rhetorical questions to receive a negative answer: “Am I now seeking human approval, or God’s approval? Or am I trying to please people? If I were still pleasing people, I would not be a servant of Christ” (Byron 2003:200). Paul expects the negative answer that he is “not” trying to be a people pleaser, but someone who pleases God.

Galatians 1:10 to put his opponents on the defensive by implying that they were *not* “slaves of Christ”, and that their response to him negated his own status as “slave of Christ”.

#### **6.3.1.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 1:6-10**

Δοῦλος (Ga 1:10) is an important concept denoting slavery in this pericope. According to Louw and Nida (1996), δοῦλος is used in domain 87 expressing the following concepts:

- A position, rank (domain 87.1-3A)
- Honor or respect in relation to status (domain 87.4-18B)
- High status or rank (including persons of high status) (domain 87.19-57C)
- Low status or rank (including persons of low status) (domain 87.58-75D)
- Slave, free (domain 87.76-86E)

Contextually, the domain 87.76-86E fits Galatians 1:10 best as it can be interpreted as “One who is a slave in the sense of becoming the property of an owner” (Louw & Nida 1996). A definition is also provided by BDAG (2000): “One who is solely committed to another”. Therefore, combining these two definitions, it is better to interpret it as “One who is a slave in the household and committed himself/herself to the master as a property to do everything according to the master’s will”.

This definition matches the one I have identified by filtering out the meanings of the following 12 Greek words in chapter two of Galatians (Table 2-7; see 2.3.3-2.3.4).

In this pericope Paul, therefore, emphasises that he belongs to the Lord Jesus Christ in the same way as a slave belongs to his master. He is completely controlled by him to fulfil his orders and expectations, through which he seeks God’s approval.

#### **6.3.1.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 1:6-10**

Slave status in the New Testament, including a degree of persecution, suffering or threat of death, can be seen in the light of the collective designation of the prophets as “slaves of God” in the Old Testament (cf 1 Kings 18:4; 2 Kings 9:7; Jr 25:4; 26:4-6, 8-11). In the New Testament, Paul also calls himself a slave of Christ in some other letters: Roman 1:1; 1 Corinthians 10:33; 1 Thessalonians 2:4; Philippians 1:1.

#### **A summary of the revelation in the whole Bible on slavery:**

In his love and mercy God chooses some people to be his slaves. The individual person as a slave of God is called to be devoted to his master, to be a model in terms of loyalty and obedience. Whatever slaves of God do is done not for their own sake but as tasks that God has assigned to them, and thus for the sake of God's people.

## The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 1:6-10

The unique contribution of Galatians 1:6-10 is the revelation that God connects with people and reveals himself through the Lord Jesus Christ. Paul emphasises that some believers in Galatia are on the way of deviating from the true gospel by following the new teachers, who are not loyal to the message of the Lord Jesus Christ. Paul proclaims that he is a slave of Christ through the grace that is given to him. As a slave of the Lord Jesus Christ he completely obeys his master and seeks God's approval instead of human approval as those new teachers do.

### 6.3.1.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 1:6-10

The communicational goal of Paul in this pericope is to persuade the Galatians to be loyal to the true gospel of grace as slaves in a household who only obey and listen to their Master Jesus Christ. Using rhetorical questions Paul, as a slave of Christ, indirectly accuses those who pervert the gospel, and some of the believers in Galatia who follow them, of not only implying that he, Paul, is not really "slave of Christ", but also of deserting the only true gospel based on the grace of Christ, thereby acting as people pleasers. Those who proclaim a false gospel are under a curse, because they do not act according to God's standard but according to human standards.

### 6.3.2 Galatians 2:1-10: ἀναγκάζω, καταδουλώω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>2:1</sup>Ἐπειτα διὰ<sup>1</sup> δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον· <sup>2</sup>ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μὴ πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. <sup>3</sup>ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἕλλην ὢν, <b>ἠναγκάσθη περιτομηθῆναι</b> <sup>4</sup>διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδελφούς, οἵτινες παρεισήλθον κατασκοπεῖσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, <b>ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν</b>, <sup>5</sup>οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνη πρὸς ὑμᾶς. <sup>6</sup>ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι, - ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει· πρόσωπον [ὁ] θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει- ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, <sup>7</sup>ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, <sup>8</sup>ὃ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, <sup>9</sup>καὶ</p>	<p><sup>2:1</sup>Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus along with me. <sup>2</sup>I went up in response to a revelation. Then laid before them (though only in private meeting with the acknowledged leaders) the gospel that I proclaim among the Gentiles, in order to make sure that I was not running or had not run, in vain. <sup>3</sup>But even Titus, who was with me, <b>was not compelled to be circumcised</b> though he was a Greek. <sup>4</sup>But because of false brothers secretly brought in, who slipped in to spy on the freedom we have in Christ Jesus, <b>so that they might enslave us</b> — <sup>5</sup>we did not submit to them even for a moment, so that the truth of the gospel might always remain with you. <sup>6</sup>And from those who were supposed to be acknowledged leaders (whatever they actually were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality) — those leaders contributed nothing to me. <sup>7</sup>On the contrary, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel for the</p>

γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἔμοι καὶ Βαρναβᾶ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν·<sup>10</sup> μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

uncircumcised, just Peter had been entrusted with the gospel for the circumcised <sup>8</sup>(for he who worked through Peter making him an apostleship to the circumcised also worked through me in sending to the Gentiles), <sup>9</sup>and when James and Cephas and John, who were acknowledged pillars, recognized the grace that had been given to me, they gave to Barnabas and me the right hand of fellowship, agreeing that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised. <sup>10</sup> They asked only one thing, that we remember the poor, which was actually what I was eager to do.

### **6.3.2.1 Place of Galatians 2:1-10 in Galatians**

See section 6.2.2.1.

### **6.3.2.2 The genre of Galatians 2:1-10**

See section 6.2.2.2

### **6.3.2.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 2:1-10 on microlevel**

See section of 6.2.2.3.

### **6.3.2.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 2:1-10 on macrolevel.**

See section 6.2.2.4 for the analysis of the thought structure on macro level.

In the argument of Galatians 2:1-10 “slavery” is connected to the actions of some false brothers who tried to enslave Titus, who was a Greek, by forcing him to be circumcised (2:3a) as if he were a Jew. In this pericope slavery entails being compelled to be circumcised and act in conformity to Judaism.

### **6.3.2.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 2:1-10**

See section 6.2.2.5.

In the Graeco-Roman social context, being enslaved meant to be separated from one’s family, tribe, identity, sense of honour and dignity, the capacity to knit new kinship bonds and the legal protection enjoyed by free people (cf 2.3.5). Paul indicates that these false brothers act like thieves or pirates trying to enslave Titus by taking away his freedom as a child of God in Christ Jesus. With this example Paul challenges the new teachers (his opponents), who pretend to be

brothers in the household of God (Ga 1:7), not to enslave the Galatians with circumcision as Jews because they are free children through the Lord Jesus Christ. In the Lord Jesus Christ people have freedom with equal status in the household of God, without any social hierarchical stratification as in the first century Graeco-Roman culture.

### 6.3.2.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 2:1-10

See section 6.2.2.6, where the words ἀναγκάζω (Ga 2:3) and καταδουλόω (Ga 2:4) (alongside ἐλευθερία (Ga 2:4) have been studied.

### 6.3.2.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 2:1-10

See section 6.2.2.7.

The unique contribution of Galatians 2:1-10 is the revelation that some false brothers, who do not belong to the family of God, came as slave hunters to enslave the Galatians by imposing circumcision. Circumcision emphasised the Jewish nationality, preserving the distinctive identity of Jews in the first century, and separated believing Jews from believing Gentiles. Now the new teachers come to the church of Galatia to do the same thing as the false brothers attempted to do to Titus.

### 6.3.2.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 2:1-10

The communicational goal of this pericope is to persuade the readers to resist being enslaved by the new teachers, as Titus was not allowed to be enslaved by the false brothers Paul encountered in Jerusalem. Paul counters this teaching leading to slavery by indicating that the Galatians have already been set free from any bondage that separates people, to enter into the household of God the Father with equal status (cf 6.2.2.4). Therefore, as brothers and sisters, the Galatians must not be enslaved by the false brothers (the new teachers) through being circumcised as Jews (cf 6.2.2.8). Like Paul, they must be slaves of only one Master, Jesus Christ.

### 6.3.3 Galatians 2:11-14: ἀναγκάζω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>2:11</sup> Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. <sup>12</sup>πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέστειλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς. <sup>13</sup>καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ [καὶ] οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει. <sup>14</sup>ἀλλ' ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς</p>	<p><sup>2:11</sup> But when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face, because he stood self-condemned; <sup>12</sup>for until certain people came from James, he used to eat with the Gentiles. But after they came, he drew back and kept himself separate for fear of the circumcision faction. <sup>13</sup>And the other Jews joined him in this hypocrisy, so that even Barnabas was led astray by their hypocrisy.</p>

τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾶ ἔμπροσθεν πάντων, Εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαίειν;

<sup>14</sup>But when I saw that they were not acting consistently with the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, “If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you **compel** the Gentiles to live like Jews?”

### 6.3.3.1 Place of Galatians 2:11-14 in Galatians

#### 2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)

##### 2.1 The origin and the truth of the gospel (1:11-2:21)

##### 2.2.3 The truth of the gospel 1: The Apostolic Conference in Jerusalem (2:1-10)

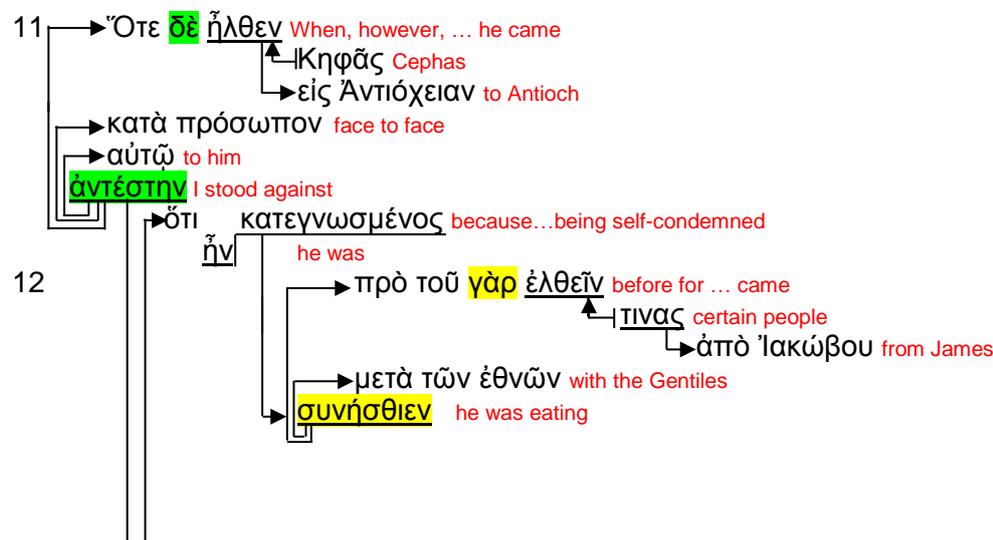
##### 2.2.4 The truth of the gospel 2: Conflict with Cephas in Antioch (2:11-14)

Having presented narratives of the origin of his gospel (Ga 1:11-24) that was approved by the leaders of Jerusalem who did not demand the circumcision of Titus (Ga 2:1-10), in this periscope Paul now continues his argument with another narrative (Ga 2:11-14) to further vindicate the truth of his gospel. Paul accomplishes this by showing how he reprimanded Cephas/Peter when he failed to live in accordance with the truth of the gospel.

### 6.3.3.2 The genre of Galatians 2:11-14

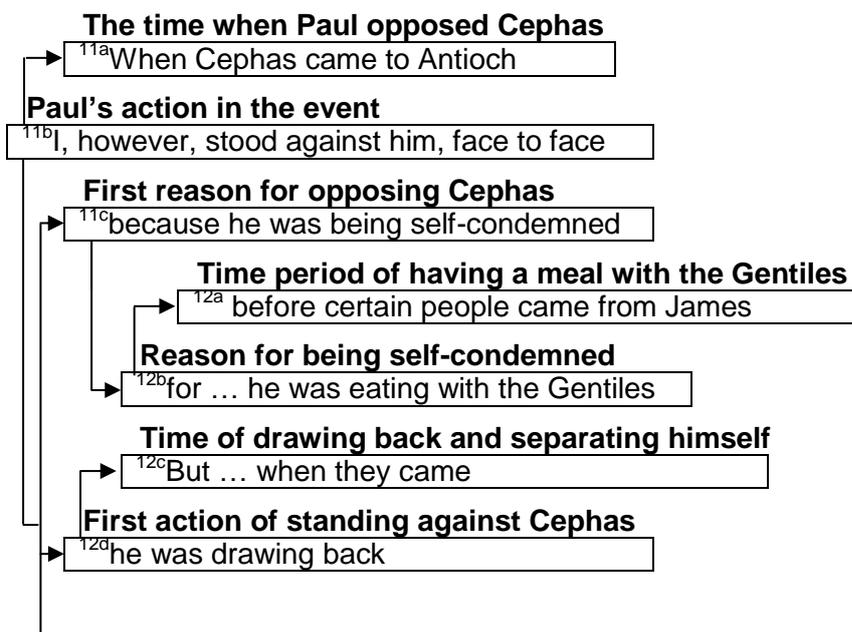
This periscope belongs to Paul’s autobiographical statements (Ga 1:11 – 2:21; cf 6.2.2.2), the purpose of which is to defend his apostleship and the truth of the gospel from the accusations of the new teachers. In this part of the autobiographical narrative Paul contrasts his conduct, in accordance with the gospel he proclaimed, with the conduct of Cephas, an acknowledged leader, in order to show his own loyalty to God’s gospel in Jesus Christ.

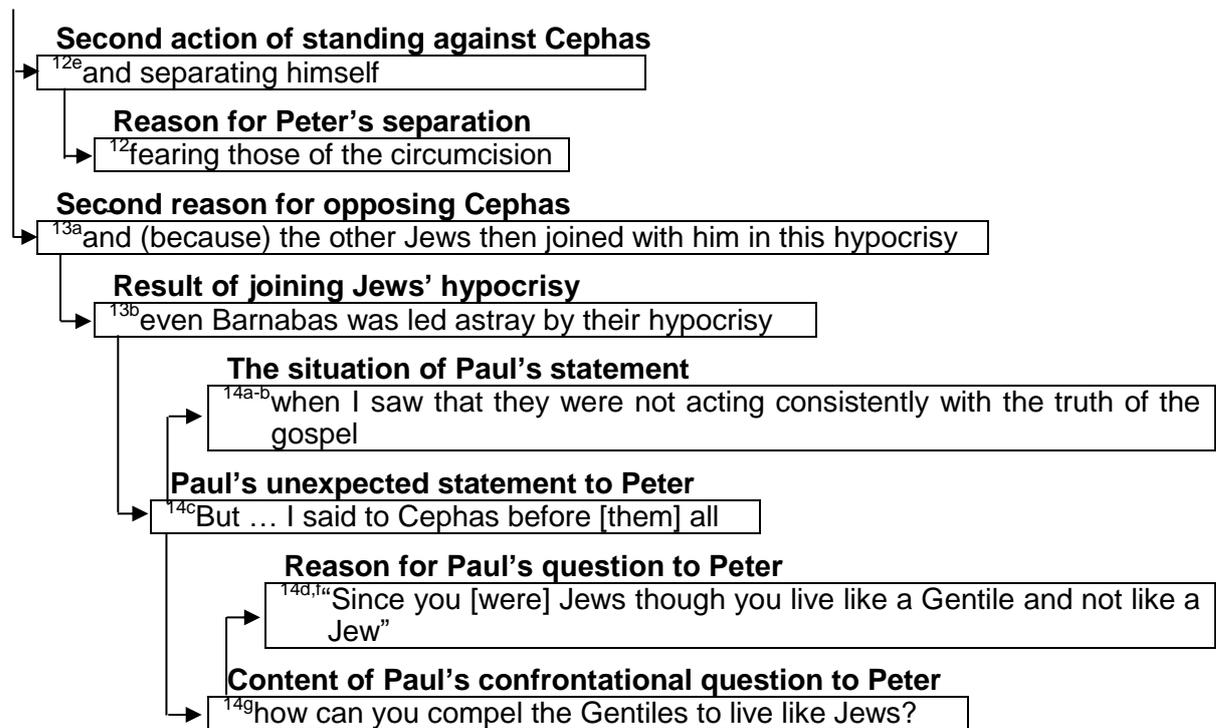
### 6.3.3.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 2:11-14 on microlevel





### 6.3.3.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 2:11-14 on macrolevel





Paul's argument in this pericope is that he opposed Cephas face to face in a public setting because Cephas was self-condemned, separating himself by withdrawing from a meal with the Gentiles. The reason for this action was his fear of the circumcision faction and resulted in the other Jews, including Barnabas, joining with Cephas in his hypocrisy, being led astray from the Gospel. This action must be rejected because it is not consistent with the true Gospel. The act of separation, withdrawing from eating together with the Gentiles as one family, leads to enslaving the Gentiles, negating their equality as members of the household of God.

The place of "slavery" in the argument of Galatians 2:11-14 is that Cephas' (Peter's) hypocritical action can be regarded as similar to the slave hunting enacted by the false brothers (Ga 2:3-4), with the same purpose of enslaving the Gentiles into adopting Jewish practices. This threatens the freedom that Gentile believers have in Christ Jesus.

### 6.3.3.5 Social-historical context of "slavery" in Galatians 2:11-14

From the Maccabean period onward, during which Hellenisation took place, the boundary markers of Judaism, such as circumcision, Sabbath and food laws, were prevalent in Jewish consciousness. As previously stated (see 4.3.1), Judith also refrained from eating the meat and drinking the wine of the Gentiles (cf Jdt 12:1-2; 4.3.1) in order to preserve her pure identity as a Jew. Because of holding fast to these markers, many Jews had been persecuted (cf 4.3.2; 1 Ma 1:47, 62; 4 Ma 7:6). Jews thought that eating with Gentiles involved the eating of unclean foods cooked in defiled vessels, which may have stemmed from their understanding of Old Testament laws regarding idolatry (Ex 23:13, 24, 32-33; 34:12-16; Dt 7:1-6, 23-26; 23:2-3; cf Schreiner 2010: par. 3391).

For Christian Jews and Gentiles to stop eating together is a practical denial of unity. In ancient Mediterranean society, eating together conferred honour on one another; consequently, eating together was an absolute core activity in the life of house churches (Oakes 2015:78). For this reason Paul stood up in public against Cephas, disloyal slave of Christ, in order to prevent a severe split in the household of God.

As a slave of God one has to surrender himself/herself to the master completely, in all circumstances. Josephus also thought that a true slave of God remains obedient to God even when threatened by physical slavery (to Rome) (4.3.6). It means that, whatever the circumstances are, however great the external threat from other people, a slave of God is loyal to his master and will hold fast to his convictions. Similarly, Philo also thought that a really free man is one who worships God and is loyal to him, but if he rejects God as his master, he is enslaved by unwise passions and pleasures (cf 4.3.8-4.3.9). As he mentions, a hypocrite is like a slave (Prb 24, 28). This is true even if he is of a noble family like Cephas, who was born to be a Jew with privilege as an acknowledged leader and an apostle of Christ (cf 4.3.8.2). In this pericope, Paul accentuates that Cephas is a slave disloyal to his master, Jesus Christ, because his hypocrisy does not display his convictions, but is based on the fear of man, which leads him to coerce the Gentiles to live like Jews.

#### **6.3.3.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 2:11-14**

##### **1. Ἀναγκάζω (Ga 2:14)**

See section 6.2.2.6, where the word ἀναγκάζω (Ga 2:3) has been studied; cf also 6.3.2.6.

Contextually, the word ἀναγκάζω in Galatians 2:14 means to be forced to adopt the way of life characteristic of Jews (ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν), that is, to become a Jew or to live among the Jews (cf 6.2.2.6). Thus, what Paul wants to say is that Cephas' hypocritical actions are similar to those of the false brothers who act as gatekeepers in the household of God and want to force Titus to be circumcised. Now Cephas does the same and thus compels the Gentile believers to become Jews.

#### **6.3.3.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 2:11-14**

See section of 6.2.1.7 and 6.2.2.7.

#### **The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 2:11-14**

The unique contribution of Galatians 2:11-14 is the revelation that God still calls and selects his messengers to loyally proclaim his message to his people as He did through his prophets or slaves in the past. Now God reveals his gospel through the Lord Jesus Christ, calling the

apostles to proclaim this gospel. Cephas acts like a disloyal slave and sets a negative example to the other apostles and the believers in the church of Christ. His action of hypocrisy can be regarded as a model of disloyalty to God and could potentially cause a division in the church and among the people of God. Therefore Paul, as a loyal slave of Christ, must stand against him in public, so that the oneness of Jews and Gentiles in Christ can remain. The truth does not reside in a person or in status, and no person is above criticism if they transgress.

### 6.3.3.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 2:11-14

The communicational goal of this pericope is to persuade the readers that the message of the true gospel cannot be allowed to be compromised by human intentions like those of Peter, one of the acknowledged leaders of Jerusalem, who is disloyal to the gospel of Christ. The most important thing for believers is the truth of the gospel instead of the approval of “big names”. By using the event at Antioch as an example, Paul emphasises that, as a slave of Jesus Christ, he only stands on the authority of the gospel and not on any human name, in order to hold fast the unity of the church of Galatia. As brothers and sisters in the household of God, the Galatians must not now be enslaved by the false teachers, and be circumcised as Jews or become Jews.

### 6.3.4 Galatians 2:15-21: παραδίδωμι

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>2:15</sup>Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί· <sup>16</sup>εἰδότες [δὲ] ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπίστευσάμεν, ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ὅτι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ<sup>148</sup>. <sup>17</sup>εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ εὐρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἄρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος; μὴ γένοιτο. <sup>18</sup>εἰ γὰρ ἂ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἐμαυτὸν συνιστάνω. <sup>19</sup>ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα θεῶ ζήσω. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι. <sup>20</sup>ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ <b>παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ</b>. <sup>21</sup>οὐκ ἄθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου</p>	<p><sup>2:15</sup>We ourselves are Jews by birth and not Gentile sinners; <sup>16</sup>yet we know that a person is justified not by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ. And we have come to believe in Christ Jesus, so that we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by doing the works of the law, because no flesh will be justified by the works of the law. <sup>17</sup>But if, in our effort to be justified in Christ, we ourselves have been found to be sinners, is Christ then a servant of sin? Certainly not! <sup>18</sup>But if I build up again the very things that I once tore down, then I demonstrate that I am a transgressor. <sup>19</sup>For through the law I died to the law, so that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ; <sup>20</sup>and it is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in</p>

<sup>148</sup> This phrase is quoted from Psalm 142:2: “...for no one living is righteous before you [ὅτι οὐ δικαιωθήσεται ἐνώπιόν σου πᾶς ζῶν]” (LXX). However, Paul modifies the phrase “each living thing (πᾶς ζῶν)” into “all flesh (πᾶσα σὰρξ)” to underscore how sin, the flesh and the present evil age are still impacting human lives in Galatia (Ga 1:4; 2:16, 17, 20; 3:22; 5:19-21; 6:12). Therefore, this phrase should not be translated as “no one” (cf NRSV; NIV). It would be more accurate to translate it as “no flesh” (cf KJV).

δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.

the Son of God, who loved me and **gave himself** for me. <sup>21</sup>I do not nullify the grace of God; for if justification comes through the law, then Christ died for nothing.

#### 6.3.4.1 Place of Galatians 2:15-21 in Galatians

### 2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)

#### 2.1 The origin and the truth of the gospel (1:11-2:21)

#### 2.2.4 The truth of the gospel 2: Conflict with Cephas in Antioch (2:11-14)

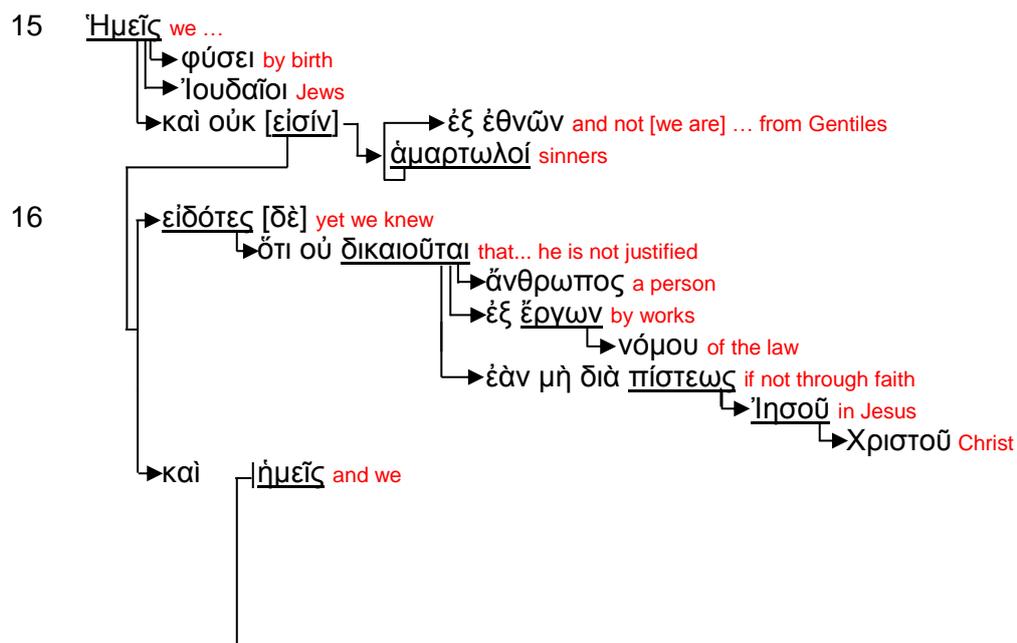
#### 2.2.5 The truth of the gospel for the Galatian situation (2:15-21)

Having confronted Cephas (Peter) in Antioch for not behaving correctly with respect to the truth of the gospel, Paul subsequently instructs him and the Jewish Christians in the correct conduct (Oakes 2015:20; Schreiner 2010:par.3752). Paul also gives a rebuttal to the new teachers (Ga 1:7) in the Galatian situation (De Boer 2011:163).

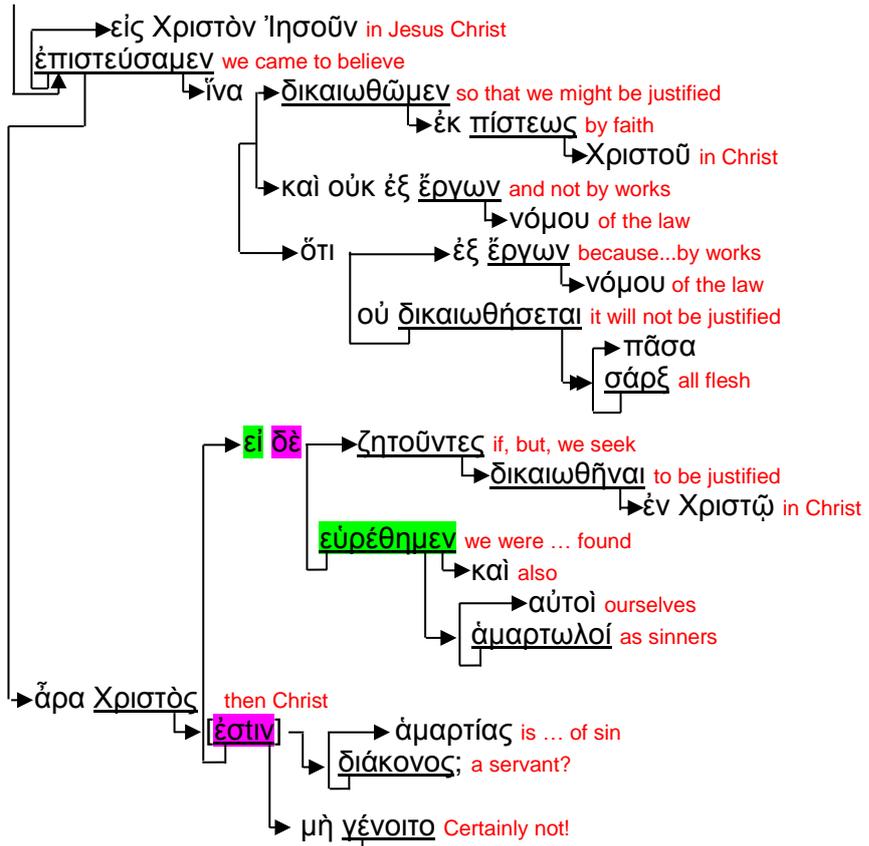
#### 6.3.4.2 The genre of Galatians 2:15-21

This pericope forms part of the letter body (Ga 1:11 – 6:10) and can be defined in rhetorical terms as the *proposition*, the central thesis of the letter (Betz 1979:16-24). Here Paul no longer defends his apostolic authority but begins to focus on the true gospel he proclaims (Schreiner 2010:par.3742).

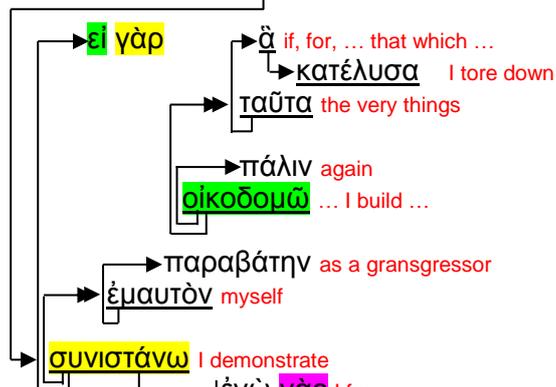
#### 6.3.4.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 2:15-21 on microlevel



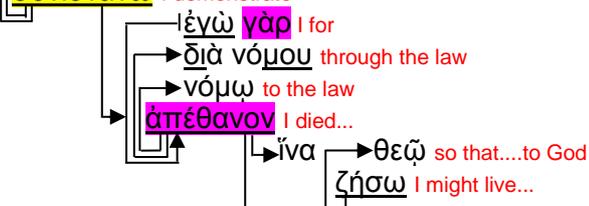
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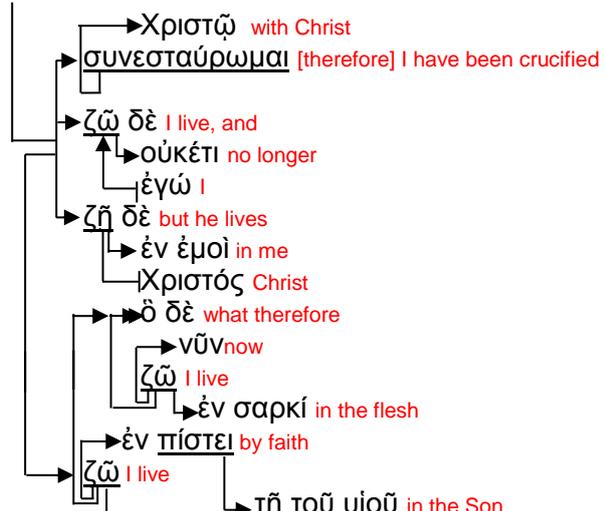
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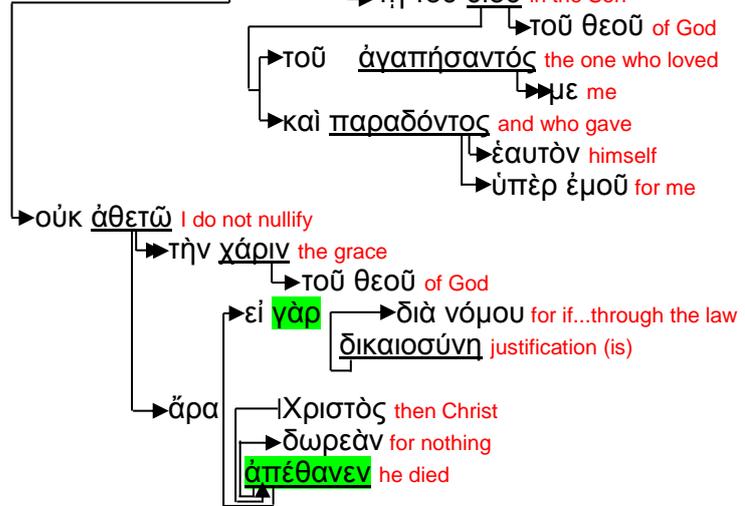
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21



### 6.3.4.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 2:15-21 on macrolevel

#### Main statement of the distinction between Jews and Gentiles

<sup>15</sup>We are Jews by birth and not Gentile sinners

#### First realisation of the statement: Jews are sinners, the same as the Gentiles

<sup>16a-b</sup>yet we know that a person is justified not by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ

#### Second realisation of the statement

<sup>16c</sup>And we have come to believe in Christ Jesus

#### Result of believing in Christ

<sup>16d-e</sup>so that we might be justified by faith in Christ and not by doing the works of the law

#### Reason for justification by faith

<sup>16f</sup>because all flesh will not be justified by the works of the law

#### Third realisation of the statement: Jews are sinners

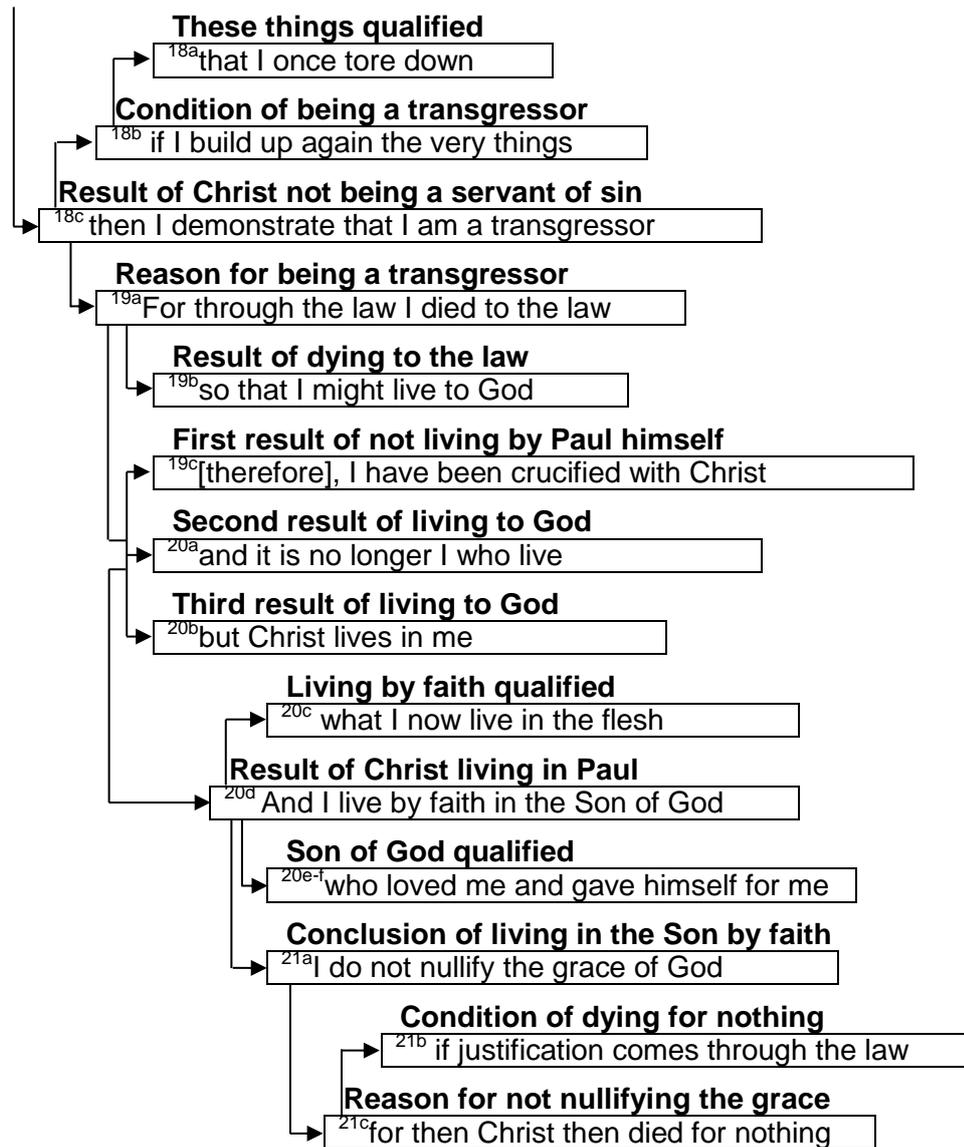
<sup>17a</sup>If, in our effort to be justified in Christ, we ourselves have been found to be sinners

#### The questionable for Christ if we are found to be sinners

<sup>17b</sup>is Christ then a servant of sin?

#### Emphatic rhetorical negative answer

<sup>17d</sup>Certainly not!!



Paul's argument in this pericope is that flesh is not justified before God. Even Jews cannot be justified by observing what is commanded in the law, because they are as sinful as the Gentiles. Thus, Jews also have to believe in Jesus Christ (Ga 2:16) like Gentiles do. Paul gives a personal response by presenting himself as a paradigm for how Christ's death by crucifixion has put an end to the world determined by the works of the law (Ga 2:17-18). Paul then emphasises that, because the Son of God loved him and gave himself for him, he has been crucified with Christ and is now living in faith. Therefore Paul does not nullify the grace of God through Christ, but if anyone forces the Gentiles to keep the law in order to be justified, grace would be nullified and that person would fall from the grace of God.

The place of "slavery" in the argument of Galatians 2:15-21 is, therefore, to show that Jews and Gentiles alike are enslaved by sin and the flesh. Therefore, no one can be justified before God. The only way for humanity to be set free from sin and be justified is through faith in the Son of God, who gave himself up for humanity in order that they might be free from sin.

#### 6.3.4.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 2:15-21

There is no relevant socio-historical context that has not been covered by the exegesis of the previous periscopes.

#### 6.3.4.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 2:15-21

Παραδίδωμι (Ga 2:20) is an important concept denoting liberation from slavery in this pericope. According to Louw & Nida (1996), παραδίδωμι can be used for the following meanings:

- Give over (domain 57.77a)
- Betray, hand over (domain 37.111b)
- Instruct (domain 33.237c)
- Grant (domain 13.142d)

Contextually, domains 57.77a and 37.111b fit Galatians 2:20 best as they mean “to hand over to or to convey something to someone, particularly a right or an authority — to give over, to hand over” and “to deliver a person into the control of someone else, involving either the handing over of a presumably guilty person for punishment by authorities, or the handing over of an individual to an enemy who will presumably take undue advantage of the victim — to hand over, to turn over to, to betray,” respectively (Louw & Nida 1996). With these definitions, Galatians 2:20 can be understood as: “The Son of God<sup>149</sup>, as the one who loved me (Paul) and handed himself over to the requirement of the law, which Paul, as a Jew (human beings), failed to observe, so the Son of God took undue punishment on himself for the sake of Paul (humanity) so that he could be released from the punishment of Sin (the malevolent master).”

The Son of God’s love is a concrete act of self-sacrifice on the cross to set free those who are slaves under sin as their master. Here Paul applies this to all believers, to point out that the present situation of every believer is both living “in the flesh” and “in the faith of God’s Son” (De Boer 2011:163). Living in the flesh is the universal human condition; faith in God’s Son is the privilege of believers to be free and justified. Although believers’ lives are in the sphere of the flesh, they are now dominated by life in the sphere of their new master, Christ Jesus, who was faithful unto death on the cross for them. Therefore Paul no longer belongs to himself, but to Christ who lives in him (Ga 2:20). He wants his life to emulate the life of Christ. This means to be enslaved to serving others in the household of God, which is explained in Galatians 5:13-15 as discussed in section 6.2.7.

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<sup>149</sup> In the Old Testament Israel was God’s special son (Ex 4:22; cf 3.3.3.2 and 3.3.3.3), and Abraham and King David were also called God’s son (2 Sm 7:14; cf 3.3.3.4). However, Paul uses the phrase “Son of God” to underscore Jesus as the true and obedient Son of God who can fulfil the promises to Abraham and King David of restoring all the nations back to the Father.

#### 6.3.4.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 2:15-21

The fact that human beings have been enslaved by sin and the flesh so they are unable to obey the commandments of God has been covered in the preceding sections 3.3.3.2, 6.2.4.7 and 6.2.6.7.

#### The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 2:15-21

The unique contribution of Galatians 2:15-21 is the revelation that God is the only one who can solve the problem of humanity by his grace in sending his Son, Jesus Christ, because all people, including the Jews with their law, are enslaved by sin and the flesh. Paul underscores that his life is the paradigm of a person who has been set free from the present evil age by the Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself up for him. Everyone who believes in Christ is connected to God, not to this age and this world.

#### 6.3.4.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 2:15-21

The communicational goal of this pericope is to remind the readers that all those who revert to the law are still enslaved by sin and the present evil age (Ga 1:4), because no flesh is justified by the works of the law. Paul claims, metaphorically, to have been “crucified with Christ” (Ga 2:19c). This represents the destruction of one’s participation in the old age where the law functions as an oppressive, enslaving power (cf 6.2.3.8). Anyone who comes to believe in Christ Jesus has been set free from the present evil age because of the love of the Son of God who gave himself (παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν), not only for Paul (Ga 2:20e-f), but for all believers (Ga 1:4 — τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν). Because of Jesus Christ’s self-sacrifice, the lives of believers are transformed from being slaves of sin to slaves of the Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore the Galatians should imitate Paul and adhere to his true gospel, not to that of Cephas, of other Jewish believers, or, especially, of the new teachers (cf 6.3.3).

#### 6.3.5 Galatians 3:6-14: ὑπὸ κατάραν

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>3,6</sup>καθὼς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην· <sup>7</sup>Γινώσκετε ἄρα ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσὶν Ἀβραάμ· <sup>8</sup>προϊδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοῖ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεὸς, προεηγγελίσαστο τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὅτι Ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· <sup>9</sup>ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογοῦνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ· <sup>10</sup> ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν, <b>ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν</b>· γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ</p>	<p><sup>3,6</sup>Just as Abraham “believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness,” <sup>7</sup>so, you see, those who believe are the descendants of Abraham. <sup>8</sup>And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, declared the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, “All the Gentiles shall be blessed in you. <sup>9</sup>For this reason, those who believe are blessed with Abraham who believed. <sup>10</sup>For all who rely on the works of the law <b>are under a curse</b>; for it is written, “Cursed is everyone</p>

ποιήσαι αὐτά. <sup>11</sup>ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιούται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δῆλον, ὅτι Ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται. <sup>12</sup>ὁ δὲ νόμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πίστεως, ἀλλ' Ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. <sup>13</sup>Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὅτι γέγραπται· Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, <sup>14</sup> ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

who does not observe and obey all the things written in the book of the law.” <sup>11</sup>Now it is evident that no one is justified before God by the law; for “The one who is righteous will live by faith.” <sup>12</sup>But the law does not rest on faith; on the contrary, “Whoever does the works of the law will live by them. <sup>13</sup>Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us — for it is written, “Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree” — <sup>14</sup>in order that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come to the Gentiles, so that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.

#### **6.3.5.1 Place of Galatians 3:6-14 in Galatians**

See section 6.2.3.1.

#### **6.3.5.2 The genre of Galatians 3:6-14**

See section 6.2.3.2.

#### **6.3.5.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 3:6-14 on microlevel**

See section 6.2.3.3.

#### **6.3.5.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 3:6-14 on macrolevel**

See section 6.2.3.4 for the analysis of the thought structure on macro level.

In the argument of Galatians 3:6-14, “slavery” means that all human beings are under a curse because no-one can fully observe all the things written in the law. The only way out of the curse for humanity is by faith in Christ as Abraham believed in God.

#### **6.3.5.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 3:6-14**

See section 6.2.3.5.

That all human beings are enslaved by sin that brings a curse is also argued in the writings of the first century Jewish culture (Josephus and Philo). With this same understanding, Paul uses the forefather of Israel, Abraham, as an example to show that one can relate to God's blessings only through God's initiative, election and mercy. Therefore all human beings are set free from the bondage of sin by God through faith in Christ Jesus.

### 6.3.5.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 3:6-14

See section 6.2.3.6, where the word ἐξαγοράζω (Ga 3:13) has been studied.

### 6.3.5.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 3:6-14

The unique contribution of Galatians 3:6-14 is the revelation that God is the only one who is able to fulfil the requirements of the law through Jesus Christ, who takes upon himself the curse from the law and does all things written in the law. In doing so, believers cannot be enslaved by sin again.

### 6.3.5.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 3:6-14

The communicational goal of this pericope is to remind the readers that all people, even the Jews who want to do the works of the law, are under a curse because nobody is able to fulfil God’s law. Therefore Christ draws all the curse onto himself to set believers free. Believers are redeemed, that is, they have a freedom purchased at a price — the price of Christ’s crucifixion — so that they are brought into the family of Abraham and receive the blessing of the Spirit through faith.

### 6.3.6 Galatians 3:21-22: συγκλείω, ὑπὸ ἀμαρτίαν

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>3:21</sup>Ὁ οὖν νόμος κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν [τοῦ θεοῦ]; μὴ γένοιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως ἐκ νόμου ἂν ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη· <sup>22</sup>ἀλλὰ <b>συνέκλεισεν</b> ἡ γραφή τὰ πάντα <b>ὑπὸ ἀμαρτίαν</b>, ἵνα ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθῇ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.</p>	<p><sup>3:21</sup>Is the law then opposed to the promise of God? Certainly not! If a law had been given that could make alive, then righteousness would indeed come through the law. <sup>22</sup>But the scripture <b>has imprisoned all things under the power of sin</b>, so that what was promised through faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe.</p>

#### 6.3.6.1 Place of Galatians 3:21-22 in Galatians

2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10) <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>2.2 The Spirit and the true heirs of the promise made to Abraham (3:1-4:7)<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>2.2.1 The reception of the Spirit in Galatia (3:1-5)</li><li>2.2.2 The blessing of Abraham and the curse of the law (3:6-14)</li><li>2.2.3 The promise to Abraham (3:15-18)</li><li>2.2.4 The relationship between the promise and the law (3:19-20)</li><li><b>2.2.5 The powerlessness of the law (3:21-22; cf footnote 9)</b></li></ul></li></ul>
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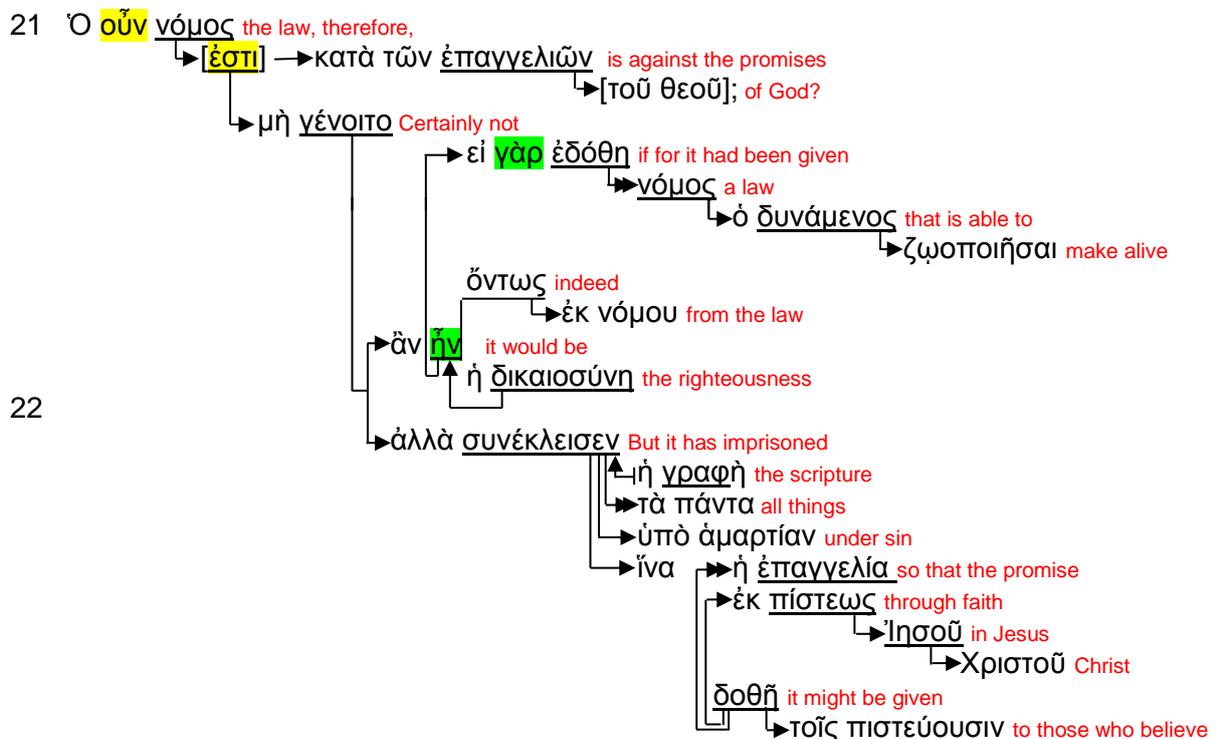
As has already been explained, the promise that God made to Abraham has nothing to do with the law which causes oppression under a curse and exclusion from the household of God (cf

6.2.3.8 and 6.3.5.1). Paul now gives answers to potential questions from the addressees and the new preachers (De Boer 2011:217): Why then the law (Ga 3:19-20)? Is the law then against the promises of God (Ga 3:21-22)? This pericope focuses on the second question by emphasising that the law cannot achieve God's promises but functions only with regard to sin.

### 6.3.6.2 The genre of Galatians 3:21-22

This pericope carries forward the argument of the previous pericope (cf 6.2.3.2), where Paul tries to associate the figure of Abraham exclusively with the justification of believers on the basis of Christ's death and to dissociate his blessing from the observance of the law (cf 6.3.5). In this pericope, Paul seeks to associate the promise of Abraham exclusively with Christ. Only through faith in Christ can the gift of the Spirit be received.

### 6.3.6.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 3:21-22 on microlevel



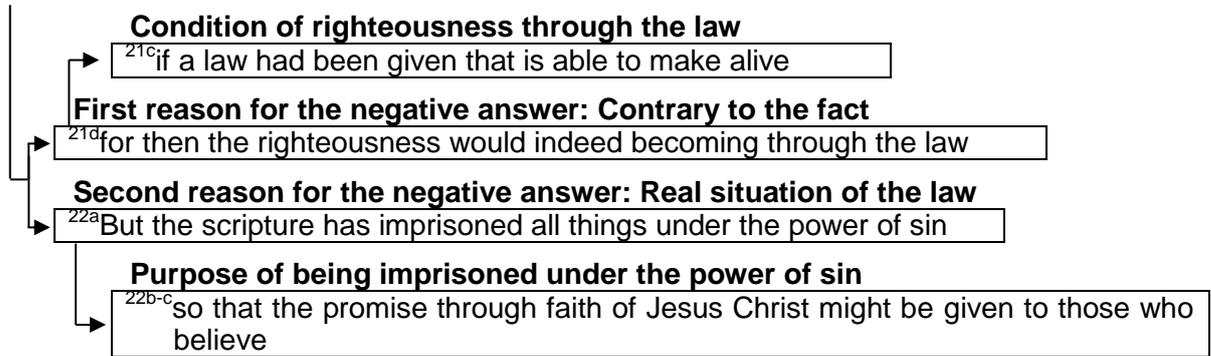
### 6.3.6.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 3:21-22 on macrolevel

**Conclusion on preceding pericope: The inheritance from the promise not from the law**

<sup>21a</sup>Is, therefore, the law opposed to the promise of God?

**Emphatic negative answer to rhetorical question**

<sup>21b</sup>Certainly not!



Paul's argument in this pericope is that the law does not conflict with God's promises. However, because of not being able to make people alive, the law cannot make people righteous either, but functions only with regard to the imprisonment of everything under the power of sin. Therefore the achievement of the promise is possible only through faith in Jesus Christ and not through the law.

The place of "slavery" in the argument of Galatians 3:21-22 is, therefore, that all things, including the Jews under their law, are enslaved under the power of sin. The law is not able to set Jews free from sin, but only makes them aware of sin. Furthermore, the law is powerless to give human beings life and to make them righteous, so it does not operate in the sphere of promise, which is effective only through faith in Jesus Christ.

#### 6.3.6.5 Social-historical context of "slavery" in Galatians 3:21-22

Sin (ἁμαρτία — Ga 2:17) and the flesh (σάρξ — Ga 2:16) enslave humanity (ἁμαρτωλός, — Ga 2:15, 17) so that human beings, both Jews and Gentiles, are unable to follow the law of God, as is evident from the explanation in sections 6.2.6.6 and 6.2.7.5.

#### 6.3.6.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 3:21-22

1. Συγκλείω (Ga 3:22) is the first important concept of slavery in the pericope. According to Louw and Nida (1996), συγκλείω can be used for the following meanings:

- Catch fish (domain 44.9)
- Cause not to happen (domain 13.125)

Contextually, domain 13.125 (cause not to happen) fits best in Galatians 3:22, as it can be used figuratively: "to enclose, to cause not to happen, with the implication of significant restrictions – 'to cause not to occur, to restrict'". In this verse Paul points out that "the scripture has enclosed all things under the power of sin". "The Scripture" can be taken as synonym for God (Ro 11:32), because the Scripture is represented as God's will, which is responsible for the plight of humanity (Louw & Nida 1996). Paul's use of "the Scripture", instead of God, can be rhetorically

motivated to counter the new teachers who were using the Scripture as authority for their gospel of circumcision (De Boer 2011:234).

In Galatians the word συγκλείω shares the core concept common to eleven other words: δοῦλος, ἐνέχω, ὑπὸ + accusative, παραδίδωμι, δουλόομαι / δουλεύω, δουλεία, καταδουλόω, παιδίσκη, δούλη, and ἀναγκάζω (cf 2.3.4). All these words stress the social position of a slave's dependence on the master of the household and are linked to human sinful inclination. God has bound humanity under the power of sin so that, before the coming of Christ, sin was the master of all human beings.

2. Ἀμαρτία is the second important concept of slavery in the pericope.

According to Louw and Nida (1996), ἁμαρτία can be used for the following meanings:

- Sin (domain 88.289A)
- Being evil (domain 88.118B)
- Guilt (domain 88.310)

Contextually, domain 88.289A fits Galatians 3:22 best as it can be interpreted as: “to act contrary to the will and law of God — ‘to sin, to engage in wrongdoing, sin’” (domain 88.289) or “a state of sinfulness as an integral element of someone’s nature — ‘sinfulness, being evil’” (domain 88.118B). It can be related to the flesh as is demonstrated by the “meta-personal, meta-cultural power of sin”. This meaning of σάρξ (flesh) is associated with “the world” and the “present evil age” (Gal. 1:4), which stand in contrast to the Spirit and the new creation (Ga 6:15; cf 6.2.6.6). Paul emphasises that the Scripture (or God), Jewish Scripture in its entirety, shut all things “including the law” up under sin because the law is not able to make alive and deliver justification (De Boer 2011:234-235). Thus the law is also a captive of sin.

#### **6.3.6.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 3:21-22**

See sections 6.2.3.5 and 6.2.3.7.

#### **The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 3:21-22**

The unique contribution of Galatians 3:21-22 is the revelation that, although God gave the law to Israel, it is not the law but he alone who is able to accomplish the promise that he gave to humanity, because the power of sin as a slave-hunter enslaves all people, even the law, under its power. Therefore, the only way for humanity to achieve the promise is through faith in Jesus Christ.

### 6.3.6.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 3:21-22

The communicational goal of this pericope is to make known to the Galatians that the law was not given to replace the promise. Instead, it was given to create awareness of transgressions and knowledge of how powerless it is to release human beings from the captivity of sin. Therefore the promise that God made to Abraham has nothing to do with the law or its observance, but is connected to faith in Christ, so that believers may be associated with the inheritance of the blessing of the Spirit as members of the household of God (cf 6.3.5.1). As a result, to observe the law or to be circumcised cannot be the pathway to that blessing.

### 6.3.7 Galatians 3:23-29: ὑπὸ νόμον, συγκλείω, ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν, δοῦλος

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>3:23</sup> Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα <b>συγκλειόμενοι</b> εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, <sup>24</sup>ὥστε ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν εἰς Χριστόν, ἵνα ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῶμεν. <sup>25</sup>ἐλθούσης δὲ <b>τῆς πίστεως οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν.</b> <sup>26</sup>Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. <sup>27</sup>ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστόν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστόν ἐνεδύσασθε. <sup>28</sup>οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἑλληγν, οὐκ ἔνι <b>δοῦλος</b> οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ· πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἶς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. <sup>29</sup>εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ<sup>ii</sup>, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.</p>	<p><sup>3:23</sup>Now before faith came, <b>we were imprisoned</b> and guarded <b>under the law</b> until the faith would be revealed. <sup>24</sup>Therefore the law was our disciplinarian until Christ came, so that we might be justified by faith. <sup>25</sup>But <b>now that faith has come, we are no longer subject to a disciplinarian,</b> <sup>26</sup>for in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith. <sup>27</sup>As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. <sup>28</sup>There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer <b>slave</b> or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus. <sup>29</sup>And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise.</p>

#### 6.3.7.1 Place of Galatians 3:23-29 in Galatians

See section 6.2.4.1.

#### 6.3.7.2 The genre of Galatians 3:23-29

See section 6.2.4.2.

#### 6.3.7.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 3:23-29 on microlevel

See section 6.2.4.3.

#### 6.3.7.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 3:23-29 on macrolevel

See section 6.2.4.4 for the analysis of the thought structure on macrolevel.

The place of “slavery” in the argument of Galatians 3:23-29 is that the law is like a disciplinarian in the household who has a temporary function to imprison and guard the children of God until Christ comes. Now that the law has been fulfilled by the coming of Christ, believers are no longer under the law but have become children of God by faith in Christ Jesus, with equal status in the family of God.

#### **6.3.7.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 3:23-29**

See section 6.2.4.5.

The law is depicted as playing a role similar to that of a disciplinarian (παιδαγωγός) in the household of the first century, emphasizing the temporary nature of the disciplinarian’s control over children to illustrate that believers have been set free from this disciplinarian (the law) because faith (Christ) has come and they are no longer under its influence (Ga 3:25). The time of faith has come, ending the time of the bondage to the law (Ga 3:22). Therefore, the age of maturity has arrived and the age of the law as παιδαγωγός is past; the believers have already experienced the coming of age through faith, being children of God, with a new identity that comes from the Seed through whom Gentiles and Jews are equal heirs apart from the law.

#### **6.3.7.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 3:23-29**

See sections 6.2.4.5-6 (cf also 6.3.7.5) and 6.3.6.6, where the words παιδαγωγός (Ga 3:24, 25) and συγκλείω (Ga 3:22) have been studied. The law is like a disciplinarian (παιδαγωγός) in the household to enclose (συγκλείω) believers under its control until faith in Christ comes.

#### **6.3.7.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 3:23-29**

The unique contribution of Galatians 3:23-29 is the revelation that the law acts like a disciplinarian under whom human beings are imprisoned and guarded until Christ came. Now believers are no longer under the law, but children of God by faith in Christ Jesus with equal status in the family of God.

#### **6.3.7.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 3:23-29**

Here Paul provides an additional explanation of the concept of slavery, extending the explanation of the previous pericope (6.3.6-Ga 3:21-22). The communicational goal of this pericope is to make known to the Galatians that the role of the law as a jailor, depriving human beings of their freedom, and as a παιδαγωγός (disciplinarian), is not eternal (Ga 3:19), that the law is powerless to make human beings alive and righteous, and is itself confined under sin (Ga 3:22). Therefore, the time of faith has arrived, ending the time of the oppression of the law for

those who come to believe in Christ, who have now received the promised Spirit (Ga 3:14, 29) and are baptised into the household of God with equal status.

### 6.3.8 Galatians 4:1-7: ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, δουλῶ

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>4:1</sup> Λέγω δέ, ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον ὁ κληρονόμος νήπιός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει δούλου κύριος πάντων ὢν, <sup>2</sup>ἀλλὰ <b>ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονόμους</b> ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρός. <sup>3</sup>οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, <b>ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἦμεθα δεδουλωμένοι</b>. <sup>4</sup>ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, <sup>5</sup>ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν. <sup>6</sup>Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον· αββα ὁ πατήρ. <sup>7</sup>ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ.</p>	<p><sup>4:1</sup> My point is this: the heir, as long as the heir is a minor, is no better than slaves, though they the owners of all the property; <sup>2</sup>but they remain <b>under guardians and trustees</b> until the date set by the father. <sup>3</sup>So with us; while we were minors, <b>we were enslaved to the elemental spirits of the world</b>. <sup>4</sup>But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, <sup>5</sup>in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children. <sup>6</sup>And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!” <sup>7</sup>So you are no longer a slave but a child, and if a child then also an heir, through God.</p>

#### 6.3.8.1 Place of Galatians 4:1-7 in Galatians

See section 6.2.5.1.

#### 6.3.8.2 The genre of Galatians 4:1-7

See section 6.2.5.2.

#### 6.3.8.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:1-7 on microlevel

See section 6.2.5.3.

#### 6.3.8.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:1-7 on macrolevel

See section 6.2.5.4 for the analysis of the thought structure on macrolevel.

The place of “slavery” in the argument of Galatians 4:1-7 is that believers are temporarily enslaved by guardians (ἐπιτρόπους) and trustees (οἰκονόμους), like by slaves in the household, until the coming of age set by the father (God). This restriction is similar to that imposed by the law, functioning like the elemental spirits of the world to enslave (δεδουλωμένοι) believers until God sent His Son to set them free (ἐξαγοράσῃ) and adopt them as children (τὴν υἰοθεσίαν) into the household of God.

### **6.3.8.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 4:1-7**

See section 6.2.5.5.

Being ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους (under guardians) and οἰκονόμους (trustees) symbolises a lack of freedom in childhood within the *familia*. A minor's monetary revenues and inheritance in the household were controlled and managed by guardians and trustees until the minor reached maturity and would inherit all his rights and the property stipulated by the father. Paul uses the image of guardians and trustees as well as that of the παιδαγωγός (disciplinarian) to show the temporary constraints put on the minor in the social context of the first century household.

### **6.3.8.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 4:1-7**

See section 6.2.5.6, where the words ἐπιτρόπους (Ga 4:2), οἰκονόμους (Ga 4:2), and δεδουλωμένοι (Ga 4:3) have been studied.

### **6.3.8.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 4:1-7**

See section 6.2.5.7.

The unique contribution of Galatians 4:1-7 to the revelation on “slavery” is that God sends his son, Jesus Christ, as a ransom to set free all believers from their temporary enslavement under guardians and trustees. The law performs a similar function, acting as a temporary guardian of all believers until the coming of Christ, until the fullness of time. The result of this freedom is that they receive the Spirit and are attested as children and therefore heirs of God.

### **6.3.8.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 4:1-7**

The communicational goal of this pericope is to explain to the Galatians that the control of the law was temporary, similar to the role of slaves with regard to the care and education of children in the household in preparation for their future inheritance. To demonstrate this Paul employs the images of the guardian (ἐπίτροπος) and trustee (οἰκονόμος), whose temporary stewardship functioned exactly like the Gentiles' and Jews' enslavement under the law. Therefore, if in the new changed circumstances the Galatians committed themselves to observe the Jewish law, it would be similar to enter into slavery. Now the time of slavery belongs to the past, because of the Son born of a woman and born under the law, born so that believers can be free from those forms of slavery and, instead, be adopted as children into the household of God and inherit the blessing of the Spirit.

### 6.3.9 Galatians 4:8-11: δουλεύω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>4:8</sup> Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς· <sup>9</sup> νῦν δὲ γνόντες θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε; <sup>10</sup> ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς, <sup>11</sup> φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μή πως εἰκῆ κεκοπίακα εἰς ὑμᾶς.</p>	<p><sup>4:8</sup> Formerly, when you did not know God, <b>you were enslaved to beings that by nature are not gods.</b> <sup>9</sup> Now, however, that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God, how can you turn back again to the <b>weak and beggarly elemental spirits? How can you want to be enslaved to them again?</b> <sup>10</sup> You are observing special days, and months, and seasons, and years. <sup>11</sup> I am afraid that my work for you may have been wasted.</p>

#### 6.3.9.1 Place of Galatians 4:8-11 in Galatians

##### 2. Letter Body (1:11-6:10)

2.2 The Spirit and the true heirs of the promise made to Abraham (3:1-4:7)

2.3 The grave dangers confronting the Galatians (4:8-5:12)

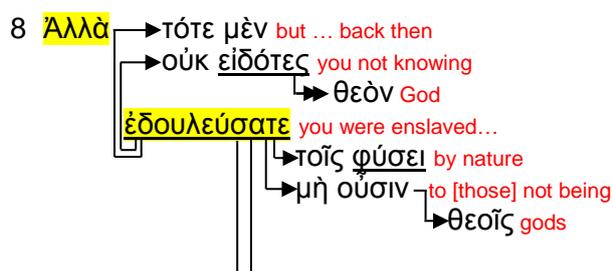
**2.3.1 The danger of returning to their previous situation (4:8-11)**

In the previous section (Ga 3:1 – 4:7), Paul argues against the “different gospel” of the new preachers in Galatia and explains his own. He emphasises that the time of salvation (through faith in Christ Jesus) from any kind of slavery, such as that of the present evil age (flesh and sin) and of the law, has arrived (cf 6.3.6.8 and 6.3.8.1). In this pericope (Ga 4:8-11) Paul now warns the Galatian believers of how dangerous it is to observe the law as taught by the new teachers. This action is like going back to their previous religious servitude.

#### 6.3.9.2 The genre of Galatians 4:8-11

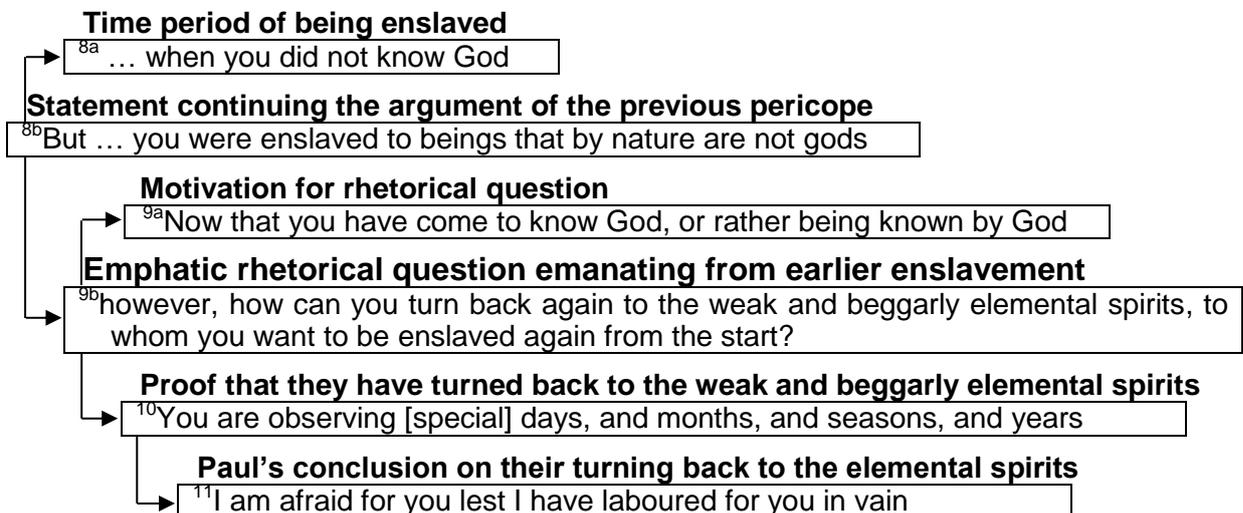
The pericope forms part of the letter body, as part of the *probatio* (argument) (Ga 3:1 – 6:10) (cf Aune 1987:198-199; Betz 1979). Paul here releases all his emotions in order to stop the Galatians from heeding the teachings of the new teachers by using their slavery experience under their former religion and asking a rhetorical question (Ga 4:9b; cf De Boer 2011:271).

#### 6.3.9.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:8-11 on microlevel





#### 6.3.9.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:8-11 on macrolevel



The argument in this pericope is that Paul tries to catch the attention of the Galatians by reminding them of their life of slavery in the past (Ga 4:8a-b), which follows the same pattern as observing the Jewish law (Ga 4:9-10) and is contrary to their life of freedom in the present. The Galatians are now on the way of observing once again the regulations of the law (observing special days, months, seasons and years) that is similar to going back to their pagan past. Therefore Paul comes to the conclusion that his labour among them has been in vain (Ga 4:11).

The place of “slavery” in the argument of Galatians 4:8-11 is that, by observing Jewish law, the Galatian believers are returning to the same situation of enslavement as under their previous pagan religion when they did not know God.

#### **6.3.9.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 4:8-11**

The elemental spirits can imply the Galatians' former worship related to the calendar (Ga 4:10), referring to the deities of heavenly bodies that the Galatians believed in (Oakes 2015:140-141). These elemental spirits can also relate to the imperial cult in the first century social context (Oakes 2015:140-141), since many people thought that Augustus had been chosen by the divine Jupiter, spreading his cult from the west to the east (Horsley 1997:15). The calendrical terminology would also fit the imperial cult, as can be seen in the ancient near eastern myths surrounding the New Year festivals (Horsley 1997:14). Whatever the identity of the elemental spirits the Galatian believers worshiped, as far as Paul is concerned they are all part of the present evil age (sin) and result in a form of slavery (cf 6.2.1.5).

#### **6.3.9.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 4:8-11**

The study of δουλεύω in 6.3.11.6, καταδουλώω in 6.2.2.6, and of δοῦλος in 6.3.1.6 suffices.

#### **6.3.9.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 4:8-11**

Human beings who do not know God are enslaved by what they create with their own hands. This can be seen in the Old Testament in Isaiah 37:19, Jeremiah 2:11 and 16:20, and in the New Testament in 1 Thessalonians 4:5, 2 Thessalonians 1:8, and 1 Corinthians 8:4.

#### **A summary of the revelation in the whole Bible on slavery**

The nations who do not know God are depicted throughout the Bible as being enslaved by their own idols. The idols are in fact nothing and could easily be destroyed by human hands, as was the case when Assyria devastated Israel and its neighbours (Is 37:19; 1 Cor 8:4). Israel's God is not like the idols of the nations and therefore his deliverance cannot be obstructed by threats, as he is the real and living God, who has the power to restore his slave, Israel (Is 37:19). However, Israel acted like a nation who does not know God, allowing themselves to be enslaved by sin and relying on pagan powers (Assyria and Egypt) (Jr 2:11). Although Israel was a disloyal slave, God promised to let Israel return from exile and to bring all the nations to the knowledge that Israel's God is the true and living God (Jr 16:19-21).

#### **The revelation-historical significance of Galatians 4:8-11**

The unique contribution of Galatians 4:8-11 to the revelation on slavery is that the Galatians' present status is that of freedom, being known by God as family members in the household of God. However, by observing the law and by going back to their previous pagan religion, they are practically being enslaved again.

### 6.3.9.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 4:8-11

The communicational goal of this periscope, asking questions which accentuate the contrast between the past and the present lives of the Galatians, is to persuade them to remain in their present freedom in Christ. By trying to observe the law, the Galatian believers must realise that they are in danger of returning to a situation similar to what they had under their previous religion. These are all forms of slavery. Christ has brought the Galatians freedom from their former Gentile cultic slavery so they can now live in freedom. Therefore, Paul warns them not to replace their present faith relationship with Christ with Jewish cultic slavery lest they be enslaved once more.

### 6.3.10 Galatians 4:21 — 5:1: ὑπὸ νόμον, παιδίσκη, δουλεία, δουλεύω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>4:21</sup> Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε; <sup>22</sup>γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. <sup>23</sup>ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γενένηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι' ἐπαγγελίας. <sup>24</sup>ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται γὰρ εἰσιν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ. <sup>25</sup>τὸ δὲ Ἀγάρ Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ· συστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλήμ, δουλεύει γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς. <sup>26</sup>ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐλευθέρη ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν. <sup>27</sup>γέγραπται γὰρ· Εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον, ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα· ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα. <sup>28</sup>ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ. <sup>29</sup>ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τότε ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς ἐδίωκεν τὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα, οὕτως καὶ νῦν. <sup>30</sup>ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; "Ἐκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. <sup>31</sup>διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. <sup>5:1</sup>τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν· στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῶ δουλείας</p>	<p><sup>4:21</sup>Tell me, those who want to <b>be subject to the law</b>, will you not listen to the law? <sup>22</sup>For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by <b>a slave woman</b> and the other by a free woman. <sup>23</sup>One, <b>the child of the slave, was born according to the flesh</b>; the other, the child of the free woman, was born through the promise. <sup>24</sup>Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. <b>One woman, in fact, is Hagar, from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery.</b> <sup>25</sup>Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia and corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for <b>she is in slavery with her children.</b> <sup>26</sup>But the other woman corresponds to the Jerusalem above; she is free, and she is our mother. <sup>27</sup>For it is written, "Rejoice, you childless one, you who bear no children, burst into song and shout, you who endure no birth pangs; for the children of the desolate woman are more numerous than the children of the one who is married." <sup>28</sup>Now you, my brothers [friends], are children of the promise, like Isaac. <sup>29</sup>But just as at that time the child who was born according to the flesh persecuted the child who was born according to the spirit, so it is now also. <sup>30</sup>But what does the scripture say? "<b>Drive out the slave and her child, for</b></p>

ἐνέχεσθε.

**the child of the slave** will not share the inheritance with the child of the free woman.” So then, brothers [friends], we are children, not of the slave but of the free woman. <sup>5:1</sup>For freedom Christ has set us free. Stand firm, therefore, and do not **submit** again to a yoke of **slavery**.

### **6.3.10.1 Place of Galatians 4:21 — 5:11 in Galatians**

See section 6.2.6.1.

### **6.3.10.2 The genre of Galatians 4:21 — 5:11**

See section 6.2.6.2.

### **6.3.10.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:21 — 5:11 on microlevel**

See section 6.2.6.3.

### **6.3.10.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:21 — 5:11 on macrolevel**

See section 6.2.6.4 for the analysis of the thought structure on macro level.

The place of “slavery” in the argument of Galatians 4:21-5:11 is that in the Old Testament the slave woman with her children persecuted the free mother and her children. By using this event from the past allegorically, Paul now refers to the descendants of the slave woman in the present Jerusalem as equivalent to the new teachers. They act like slave hunters who want to enslave the descendants of the free woman who belong to the Jerusalem above (the Galatians), by compelling them to observe the law.

### **6.3.10.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 4:21—5:11**

See section 6.2.6.5.

### **6.3.10.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 4:21—5:11**

See section 6.2.6.6, where the word σάρξ (Ga 4:23, 29) has been studied.

### **6.3.10.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 4:21—5:11**

See section 6.2.6.7.

The new teachers act according to the flesh by compelling the Galatians to observe the Jewish law. This action resembles that of Hagar, who gave birth to a son according to the flesh, who afflicted the son born of the promise. Hagar is the new teachers' mother since the birth of her son was by human intention and not from the promise of God. In the same way, the new teachers are under the flesh and intend to lead the Galatian believers into slavery like they themselves are.

### 6.3.10.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 4:21—5:11

The communicational goal of this pericope is to warn the readers, both Galatians and the new teachers, that observing Jewish law is connected to the flesh (4:23b, 29b), similar to Hagar who gave birth to sons according to the flesh, by human intention, and not from the promise of God. To focus on the flesh is to focus only on ethnicity, because flesh is dominated by sin. This results in the exclusion of non-Jews from the household of God. This action is sinful because it is against the promise that God gave to Abraham, which includes all nations. Therefore, those who want to force the Galatians to observe the law and be circumcised are under the sin that is associated with the present evil age. Paul reminds the Galatians of their free status in Christ Jesus, encouraging them to be steadfast.

### 6.3.11 Galatians 5:13-15: δουλεύω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>5:13</sup>Υμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῆ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης <b>δουλεύετε</b> ἀλλήλοις.<sup>14</sup> ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ πεπλήρωται, ἐν τῷ Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. <sup>15</sup>εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε.</p>	<p><sup>5:13</sup>For you were called to freedom, brothers [and sisters]; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for self-indulgence, but through love <b>become slaves</b> to one another. <sup>14</sup>For the whole law is summed up in a single commandment, “You shall love your neighbor as yourself.” <sup>15</sup>If, however, you bite and devour one another, take care that you are not consumed by one another.</p>

#### 6.3.11.1 Place of Galatians 5:13-15 in Galatians

See section 6.2.7.1.

#### 6.3.11.2 The genre of Galatians 5:13-15

See section 6.2.7.2.

#### 6.3.11.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 5:13-15 on microlevel

See section 6.2.7.3.

#### **6.3.11.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 5:13-15 on macrolevel**

See section 6.2.7.4 for the analysis of the thought structure on macrolevel.

The place of “slavery” in the argument of Galatians 5:13-15 is that, after being set free from the power of the flesh, believers must be enslaved once more, but now by their new master, the Lord Jesus Christ. They must serve one another in love, fulfilling the commandment of God.

#### **6.3.11.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 5:13-15**

See section 6.2.7.5.

#### **6.3.11.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 5:13-15**

In this pericope, δουλεύω (Ga 5:13) is an important concept related to slavery. According to Louw and Nida (1996), δουλεύω can be used for the following meanings:

- Be a slave (domain 87.9)
- Be controlled by (domain 37.25)
- Serve (domain 35.27)

Contextually, domain 37.25 (be controlled by) and domain 35.27 (serve) fit Galatians 5:13. δουλεύω in Galatians 5:13 means “to be under the control of some influence and to serve the interests of such (37.25)” or “to serve, normally in a humble manner and in response to the demands or commands of others” (Louw and Nida 1996). In this pericope the word is given a positive meaning, referring to those who are called to freedom being enslaved to another force which commands them to serve one another in a humble manner (love) because they have a new master who is different from the flesh that controls humanity.

#### **6.3.11.7 Revelation-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 5:13-15**

See section 6.2.7.7.

The unique contribution of Galatians 5:13-15 is the revelation that God provides a different perspective of slavery. It focuses on the relationship between brothers and sisters and demonstrates that being enslaved to one another in love is in accordance to what the new master, the Lord Jesus Christ, has done for those who are called to be free from the flesh.

### 6.3.11.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 5:13-15

This pericope is the third to use slavery imagery in a positive sense<sup>150</sup>. The communicational goal of this pericope is to encourage the Galatian believers that they have been set free from the present evil age (flesh and sin) to become family members in the household of God where they are to be enslaved to one another. This is because their new master, Jesus Christ, is the paradigm of one who fulfilled the law through his self-sacrifice in love. His sacrifice on the cross shows that being a real slave of God leads to humility, obedience and death, which is manifested through love and enslavement to one another and not through enslavement to the flesh. Because of the price Christ paid on the cross (cf 6.3.4), Paul can call himself a slave of Christ, which leads to loyalty in proclaiming the gospel of his master (Ga 1:10; cf 6.3.1). This, in turn, allows the Galatian believers to enter the household of God. Therefore, the Galatians should cherish their loyalty to their master, Jesus Christ, through whom they are led by the Spirit who enables them to serve one another in love.

### 6.3.12 Galatians 6:11-17: ἀναγκάζω

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p>6:11 Ἴδετε πηλίκους ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ. <sup>12</sup>Ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, οὗτοι <b>ἀναγκάζουσιν</b> ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, μόνον ἵνα τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ διώκωνται. <sup>13</sup>οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι αὐτοὶ νόμον φυλάσσουν ἀλλὰ θέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι, ἵνα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκὶ καυχῶνται. <sup>14</sup>ἔμοι δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἔμοι κόσμος ἐσταύρωται κάγῳ κόσμῳ. <sup>15</sup>οὔτε γὰρ περιτομὴ τί ἐστὶν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις. <sup>16</sup>καὶ ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ στοιχήσουσιν, εἰρήνη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ. <sup>17</sup>Τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω.</p>	<p>6:11 See what large letters I make when I am writing in my own hand! <sup>12</sup>It is those who want to make a good showing in the flesh that <b>try to compel</b> you to be circumcised – only that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ. <sup>13</sup>Even the circumcised do not themselves obey the law, but they want you to be circumcised so that they may boast about your flesh. <sup>14</sup>May I never boast of anything except the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. <sup>15</sup>For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything; but a new creation is everything! <sup>16</sup>As for those who will follow this rule -- peace be upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God. <sup>17</sup>From now on, let no one make trouble for me; for I carry the marks of Jesus branded on my body.</p>

<sup>150</sup>

The positive slavery imagery can be seen in sections 6.3.1(Ga 1:6-10) and 6.3.4 (Ga 2:15-21).

### 6.3.12.1 Place of Galatians 6:11-17 in Galatians

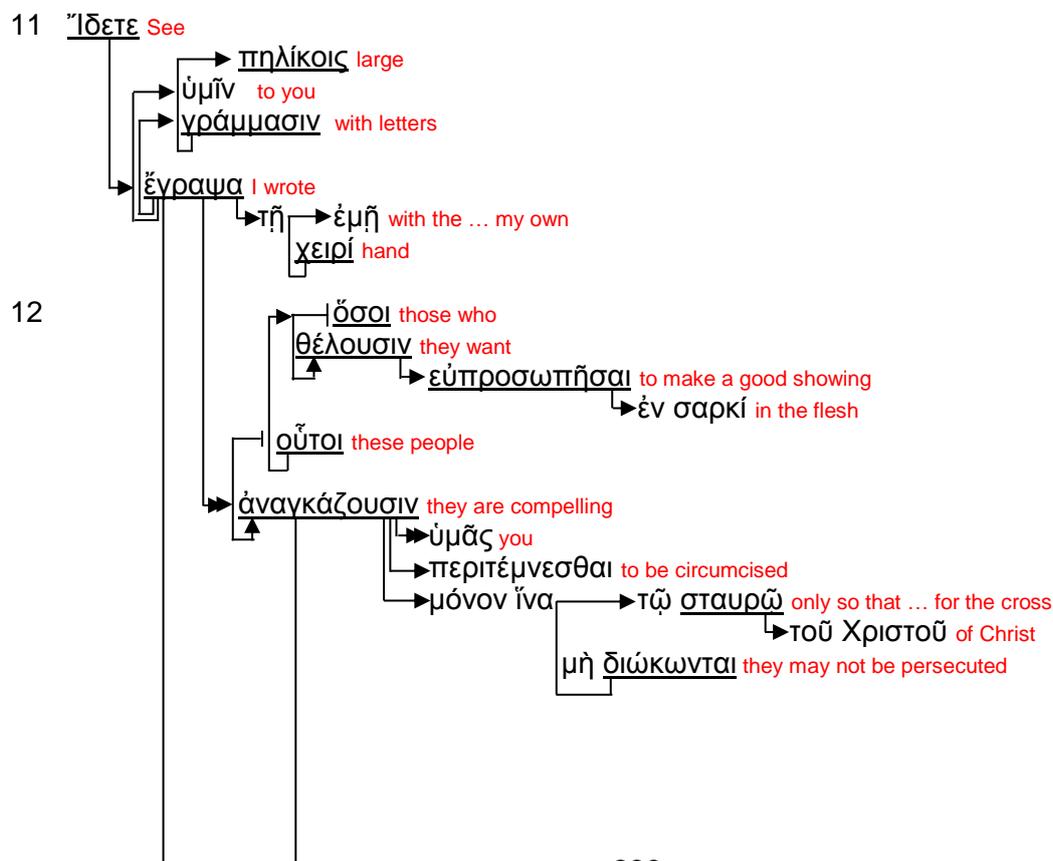
3. Letter Closing (6:11-18)  
 3.1 Recapitulation (6:11-17)  
 3.2 Final benediction (6:18)

The conventional features of Paul's epistolary closing are found in this order: (1) peace wish, (2) request for prayer, (3) secondary greeting, (4) holy kiss, (5) autographed greeting (Aune 1987:186). However, Galatians contains only an autographed reminder (Ga 6:11) with a short final benediction (Ga 6:18; cf De Boer 2011:393). Instead of giving joyful greetings, Paul gives a final rebuke to the new teachers who have been pestering the Galatians with the rite of circumcision (Ga 5:12).

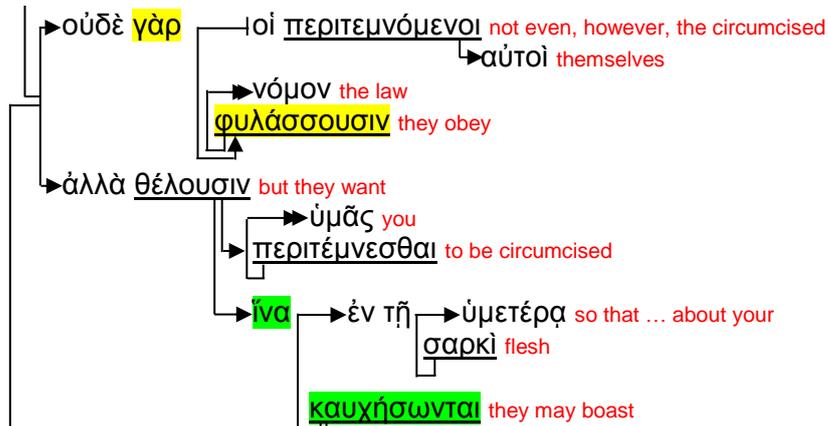
### 6.3.12.2 The genre of Galatians 6:11-17

Paul closes the letter with a rhetorical attack against the new teachers, repeating the technique he used in the letter opening (Ga 1:1-10). The unique features of the letter closing, as of the letter opening, illustrate (1) the writing of the letter as a stantial occasion, (2) Paul's rhetorical agenda in this epistolary communication, and (3) the real gospel he is eager to convey through it.

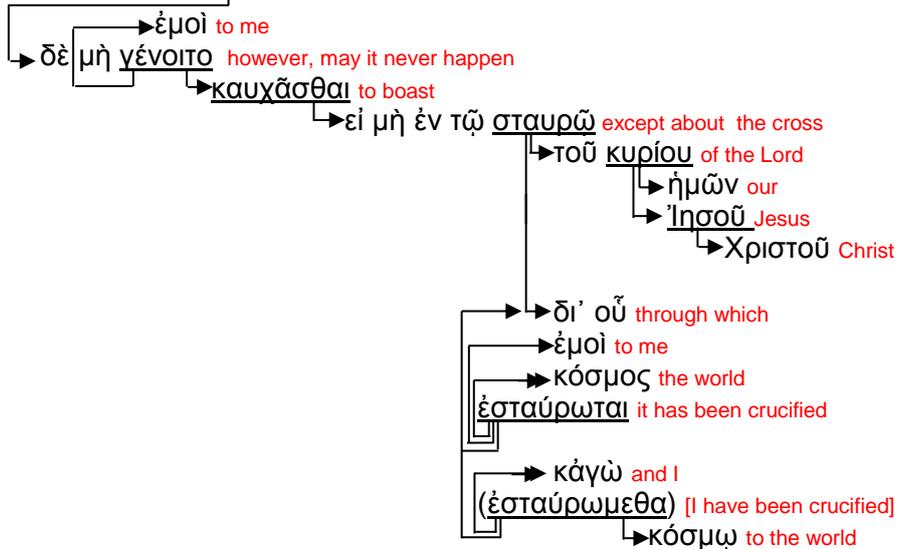
### 6.3.12.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 6:11-17 on microlevel



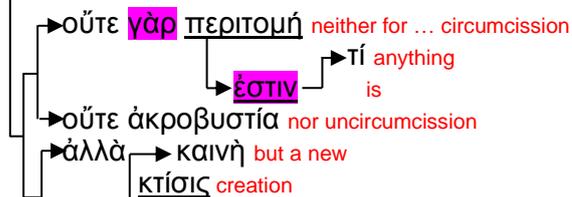
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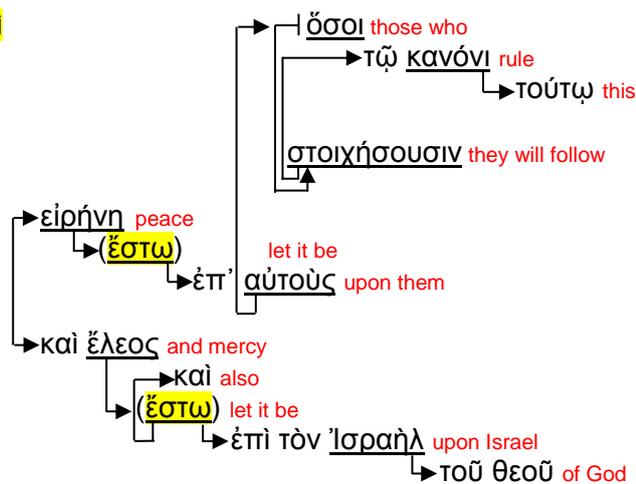
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but the cross of Christ. Those who allow themselves to be circumcised or who compel others to be circumcised boast about their physical state, whereas Paul boasts about the cross and does not need the physical sign of circumcision as he carries the marks of his master, Jesus Christ, on his body.

The place of “slavery” in the argument of Galatians 6:11-17 is, therefore, that the new teachers act like slave hunters and try to compel the Galatians by circumcision to become Jews. By requiring the physical mark of circumcision, the new teachers are like gatekeepers of the household of God, trying to set a rule according to the flesh.

#### **6.3.12.5 Social-historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 6:11-17**

In the Graeco-Roman culture slaves and soldiers were marked as chattels through fetters or branding on their bodies (Glancy 2006:13), which represented either a shameful stigma or a mark of loyalty in that social context<sup>151</sup>. Paul uses the word στίγματα (marks) to emphasise his identity as a loyal slave of Christ, who gave himself on the cross for Paul’s freedom. He lives according to the life pattern of his master (Ga 2:19-20), a pattern of accepting death and sufferings for the benefit of brothers and sisters in the household of God (cf Ga 4:19; 2Cor 4:7-12). As a slave in Graeco-Roman times, Paul is loyal to his master, Jesus Christ, carrying his marks and willing to die to the world.

#### **6.3.12.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 6:11-17**

See sections 6.2.2.6 and 6.3.3.6, where the word ἀναγκάζω (Ga 2:3) has been studied.

#### **6.3.12.7 Revelation historical context of “slavery” in Galatians 6:11-17**

See sections 6.2.1.7, 6.2.2.7, and 6.3.3.7.

The unique contribution of Galatians 6:11-17 is the revelation that the new teachers, who are trying to force the Galatian believers to be circumcised, are actually showing off and boasting in the flesh. For Paul this is not the lifestyle of a slave of Christ but of a slave of the flesh, because to be a slave of Christ is not a matter of circumcision or uncircumcision, but of a new creation. The person who follows this lifestyle does not only boast about the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ but also lives according to what the Lord (the master) has done for his slaves on the cross, the marks of which Paul is carrying on his body.

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<sup>151</sup> This could be seen for example in the case of a run-away slave who was marked on the face to prevent him from fleeing again (Glancy 2006:13).

### **6.3.12.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 6:11-17**

The communicational goal of this pericope is to warn both the new teachers, who demand circumcision, and the Galatian believers who (want to) follow their teaching, that he who allows himself to be circumcised boasts about his physical state, whereas he who believes boasts about the cross and does not need the physical sign of circumcision. A real slave of Christ is as loyal as Paul who lives the life of his Lord Jesus Christ on the cross, unlike the new teachers who live according to the flesh. Therefore, the Galatians should boast about the cross, as real slaves of Christ, like Paul.

### **6.3.13 Conclusion**

The metaphor of slavery is presented from both negative and positive perspectives in the Letter to the Galatians.

Firstly, Paul demonstrates that all human beings, even Jews, are enslaved by the present evil age (flesh/sin). Although the Jews have the law, even the law is subject to the power of sin, as it is powerless to give life and righteousness (cf 6.3.5.1 and 6.3.7.1). Moreover, anyone who wants to keep the law or force others to observe it is under a curse (Ga 3:10-11), because forcing someone to observe the law is the opposite of obtaining the blessing of the promised Spirit and puts one outside of the realm of God's household. The purpose of the law was only to make people aware of sin. Its limitation is like that of a minor in the household who is under the management of a disciplinarian (παιδαγωγός), guardians and household managers (Ga 3:23-25; 4:2). They are all mentioned as having temporary control over human beings and, while the child lives under them, he, like a slave, lacks the capacity of self-determination until faith in Jesus Christ relinquishes their hold.

Secondly, the law is associated with the “elemental spirits” and, therefore, cannot set people free. This refers specifically to the Galatians, whose lives were either regulated by the heavenly luminaries or by the imperial cult and the sacred calendars of pagan religions, or to the Jews, whose lives were dominated by the law. What Paul means is that being under the law and being “under the elemental spirits of the world” are similar experiences with similar results: a life of being enslaved. For this reason the law resulted in a form of discrimination between the Jews and Gentiles. Only in Christ Jesus is this discrimination abolished (Ga 3:28), which makes it possible for the nations to enter the household of the Father by faith and not through ethnicity or social class.

Thirdly, from a positive perspective, freedom *from* slavery is paradoxically immediately succeeded by freedom *for* slavery – becoming “slave of Christ”. The Galatian believers are set free from slavery to the law and the present evil age (flesh/sin) in order to be enslaved to Christ

to serve Him and one another as family members by faith in the household of God (Ga 1:10; 5:13). To be a slave of Christ is to follow the life pattern of Christ through the Spirit, which is manifested through love and enslavement to one another. Therefore Paul uses the rhetorical question: “Am I now seeking human approval or God's approval? Or am I trying to please people? If I were still pleasing people, I would not be a slave of Christ” (Ga 1:10). By claiming to be a slave of Christ, Paul submits himself to live in accordance with the demands of his new master, Jesus Christ – the paradigm of self-sacrifice in love. Likewise, the Galatians are slaves of Christ and must, therefore, live their lives according to the pattern of their master through the Spirit, which is to serve one another in the household of God, with equal status. This, in turn, leads them to a new identity as children of God by adoption.

## 6.4 ADOPTION IN GALATIANS

### 6.4.1 Galatians 4:1-7: υιοθεσία

UBS <sup>5</sup> 2014	NRSV (2007)
<p><sup>4:1</sup>Λέγω δέ, ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον ὁ κληρονόμος νήπιός ἐστιν, οὐδὲν διαφέρει δούλου κύριος πάντων ὢν, <sup>2</sup>ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονόμους ἄχρι τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ πατρὸς. <sup>3</sup>οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅτε ἦμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἡμεθα δεδουλωμένοι. <sup>4</sup>ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, <sup>5</sup>ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, <b>ἵνα τὴν υιοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν.</b> <sup>6</sup>Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ. <sup>7</sup>ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δούλος ἀλλὰ υἱός· εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ.</p>	<p><sup>4:1</sup>My point is this: the heir, as long as the heir is a minor, is no better than slaves, though they the owners of all the property; <sup>2</sup>but they remain under guardians and trustees until the date set by the father. <sup>3</sup>So with us; while we were minors, we were enslaved to the elemental spirits of the world. <sup>4</sup>But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, <sup>5</sup>in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive <b>adoption as children.</b> <sup>6</sup>And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, “Abba! Father!” <sup>7</sup>So you are no longer a slave but a child, and if a child then also an heir, through God.</p>

#### 6.4.1.1 Place of Galatians 4:1-7 in Galatians

See sections 6.2.5.1 and 6.3.8.1.

#### 6.4.1.2 The genre of Galatians 4:1-7

See sections 6.2.5.2 and 6.3.8.2.

#### 6.4.1.3 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:1-7 on microlevel

See sections 6.2.5.3 and 6.3.8.3.

#### **6.4.1.4 Analysis of the thought structure of Galatians 4:1-7 on macrolevel**

See sections 6.2.5.4 and 6.3.8.4 for the analysis of the thought structure on macro level.

The place of “adoption” in the argument of Galatians 4:1-7 is that, not only does God send His Son to redeem believers from enslavement to the law and from the elemental spirits of the world, but he also lifts them up as children by adoption (τὴν υἰοθεσίαν), so that believers are the heirs of God by the Spirit of Christ promised to Abraham.

#### **6.4.1.5 Social-historical context of “adoption” in Galatians 4:1-7**

See sections 2.4.2, 2.4.4, 5.3.3, 5.3.4, where the social-historical context of adoption has been studied.

#### **6.4.1.6 Word study of important related concepts in Galatians 4:1-7**

See sections 2.4.2, 2.4.4, 5.3.3, 5.3.4, where the word υἰοθεσίαν (Ga 4:5) has been studied.

#### **6.4.1.7 Revelation-historical context of “adoption” in Galatians 4:1-7**

The revelation-historical context of “adoption” has been exhaustively studied, especially in sections 6.2.1.7 and 6.2.4.7.

God set believers (both Jews and Gentiles) free by sending his son, Jesus Christ, as a ransom, so that believers can be adopted as children and heirs of God through the Spirit.

#### **6.4.1.8 The communicational goal of Galatians 4:1-7**

The communicational goal of this pericope is to remind the Galatian believers that they are no longer slaves but children of God and therefore heirs of God through his only son Jesus Christ.

### **6.4.2 Conclusion**

Focusing on the rights of inheritance, the metaphor of believers as children of God can be seen clearly from previous sections leading up to the pericope of Galatians 4:1-7 (Ga 3:23-4:7). In this pericope, Paul envisions that whoever is granted sonship by adoption also gains inheritance. In the social context of the Roman Empire, the inheritance of an adopted son included not only land and other wealth, but also the family name, the family glory, and a share of the family’s sacred affairs, as the adopted son enjoyed the same regard as biological sons (cf 5.3.3).

From the perspective of the power of the adoptive father, he had full authority to ensure the rights of the adopted son. Paul uses the metaphors of adoption and inheritance within this pericope to demonstrate that God, as the father who is the head of the household, exercising

sovereign control, authority and power over his family members, is able to legally adopt sons into his household without adhering to the Jewish law.

According to the transaction of social advance through adoption, the legal status passed from the father to the adopted son, requiring him to give up all rights to his original family. An adoptee had to commit to the responsibilities required of him as a son in his adopted family. All his previous debts were wiped out and the adoptee started a new life as part of his new family, honouring the name of his father (DeSilva 2012:24-25). Therefore, the Galatians are transferred from being slaves, who do not belong to the family, to being adopted (lifted up) as children in the household of God through Jesus Christ. They are now free and privileged to be adopted as children and to become one in Jesus Christ within the household of their Father. The lives they live in the family are those of willing slaves of Christ, eager to serve one another in the love emanating from Christ. Thus, the believers' identity is that of slaves of Christ and children of God, which are two sides of the same coin.

## **6.5 CONCLUSION**

The metaphorical use of freedom, slavery and adoption in Galatians can be summarised as follows:

(1) The concept of freedom in Galatians must be put into the context of first century Roman households because Paul uses this image to convey how the salvation of God sets persons free from the status of slaves and elevates them to the status of children by adoption.

(2) The concept of slavery in Galatians is that all people, including Jews, are under the power of the present evil age (flesh and sin). God as the Father has the absolute authority to set any slave in his household free by purchasing them with the blood of his only son, Jesus Christ. Whereas Roman heads of households had absolute power, even to take the life of household members, this father is merciful to all the members in his house, and he proves it by sending his son to set them free. Thus, freedom in Galatians is freedom from this present evil age, from the law, and from discrimination. However, freedom in Galatians is not only freedom from slavery, but also freedom *for* slavery – to Christ Jesus and to the household members in love, strengthened by the Spirit.

(3) The concept of adoption in Galatians gives another dimension of the relationship with God, which is that believers are not only set free from slavery, but also elevated as children by adoption, with the concurrent rights of inheritance.



## 7. CONCLUSION

By taking into consideration the socio-historical context of adoption and slavery imagery, the following significant elements have been brought to prominence:

Firstly, the slavery imagery used by Paul is based on the Old Testament view of God, where he is not only regarded as a strict master in the household, disciplining his disobedient slave Israel, training him to be loyal to his master; but also as a merciful father who loves his son Israel and who acts to restore him from destruction, back into the warm fold of his household (Chapter 3).

Secondly, when the time was ripe, the image of slavery developed from being a purely nationalist concept to gaining a new emphasis on moral life, because it is now those who obey the commandments of God, regardless of their race, who are considered to be slaves of God (Chapter 4). Thus ethnicity is no longer important, because every good person is free before God if he/she is not under the subjection of an evil intention or sin. The chief culprit causing disobedience is sin, by which Israel was not able to be a loyal slave and a son obeying the commandments of God, the Gentiles were rendered unable to believe in the God of Israel.

Thirdly, because the image of slavery of the human heart affects not only Israel but also the Gentiles, it triggers another image: that of the father-son relationship between God and the entire human race. However, Paul did not use the image of sonship in the Old Testament and in first century Jewish culture as a vehicle to convey the message of God's salvation (Chapter 3). Rather, he turned to the concept of adoption as a son, which can be understood only within the first century Graeco-Roman social framework. By using adoption imagery, Paul demonstrates the possibility of redemption for both Jews and Gentiles (Chapter 5). Therefore, slavery imagery is combined with adoption imagery in the context of the first century household, through which the picture of the various elements of God's salvation is fully integrated.

Fourth, based on these two sets of images, the imagery of slavery and of adoption, the concept of freedom in Galatians is conveyed within the context of the first century Roman household to show how the salvation of God sets persons free from the status of slaves to sin (the present evil age, and the law) to be enslaved to one another in love through the Lord Jesus Christ and to be elevated to the status of children of God by adoption (Chapters 2 and 6).

Fifth, Paul envisions a father in the context of the first century Roman household to demonstrate that God is a father who has the absolute authority in the household to protect any members of the family, to set his slaves free and to adopt them as his children. In this case, God as a father brings security to his family. As a kind and caring father, God also imposes special demands on his family members, namely that they must be obedient and loyal. However, because all people have sinned and fall short of his commandments, as is amply demonstrated in the history of

Israel (Chapters 3 and 4), God sent his only Son, Jesus Christ, to be the Lord of his household (Chapter 6). The Lord Jesus Christ becomes the model of a loyal and obedient son and slave by giving himself up for the sake of the people who believe in him. Through faith in Jesus Christ, believers are set free from the present evil age (sin or flesh). On the other hand, they must be loyal slaves to Jesus as their Master and be obedient to what he requires from them.

Sixth, the idea of Jesus Christ as the Lord (Master) provides a concept of authority involving the hopes and freedom of people who were enslaved by the present evil age, causing discrimination among various ethnicities (Chapter 6). Those who believe in him will enter the Father's household with equal status and yet may still be aware of an evil order in this present age. The household of God always means the mighty manifestation of God's love and power through the Lord Jesus Christ. This allows the people who believe in Christ to serve one another as slaves through which the law is fulfilled and the promise of God's salvation for the nations is restored (Chapter 3).

Seventh, the slavery and adoption imagery in Galatians demonstrates that the believer's identity is not only that of a slave of Christ but also of an adopted son of God with full inheritance rights. Through the Spirit, a new way of life in the family of God enables believers to actually live and act according to the will of the Father, to glorify Him without having to observe the law.

All in all, through slavery and adoption imagery, freedom in Galatians is shown to be not a movement from slavery to freedom, but from slavery to slavery, resulting in the dual identities of sons of God (vertical) and of slaves of Christ to serve the familial members in love (horizontal) (cf 2.6).

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