

**The exhortations to slave-owners
in the New Testament: A philological study**

HENDRIK GOEDE

The exhortations to slave-owners in the New Testament: A philological study

HENDRIK GOEDE
B Com LL B B Th (Hons) B A (Hons) M Div M A

12173916

Thesis
submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
of the degree *Philosophiae Doctor* in Greek
at the Potchefstroom Campus of the North-West University

Promoter: Prof. dr. J.J. Janse van Rensburg

Potchefstroom

December 2010

ABRIDGED TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABRIDGED TABLE OF CONTENTS	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: CONSTRUCTING ANCIENT SLAVERY AS SOCIO-HISTORIC CONTEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	11
CHAPTER 3: CONSTRUCTING THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVE- OWNERS AS SOCIO-HISTORIC CONTEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	35
CHAPTER 4: PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWPOINTS ON THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVE-OWNERS	114
CHAPTER 5: THE ATTITUDES OF SLAVE-OWNERS TOWARDS THEIR SLAVES, AND THEIR TREATMENT	136
CHAPTER 6: THE NEW TESTAMENT ON THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVE-OWNERS	154
CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	214
ABSTRACT	228
OPSOMMING	230
BIBLIOGRAPHY	232
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	252

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABRIDGED TABLE OF CONTENTS	i
---	----------

TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
--------------------------------	------------

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
--------------------------------------	----------

1.1	ORIENTATION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT	1
1.1.1	Orientation	1
1.1.2	Problem statement	2
1.2	AIM AND OBJECTIVES	6
1.3	CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT	6
1.4	RESEARCH METHOD	7
1.4.1	Methods of investigation	7
1.4.2	A philological study	7
1.4.3	Pitfalls in researching ancient texts	8
1.5	CHAPTER DIVISION	10

CHAPTER 2: CONSTRUCTING ANCIENT SLAVERY AS SOCIO-HISTORIC CONTEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	11
---	-----------

2.1	INTRODUCTION	11
2.2	DEFINING A SEARCH FILTER	12
2.2.1	Period under investigation	12
2.2.2	The geographical region under investigation	12
2.2.3	Definitions of slavery	13
2.2.4	Ancient terminology for slavery	15
2.2.5	Aspects arising from the New Testament passages	22
2.2.6	Conclusion	22
2.3	SLAVERY AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION	23
2.4	THE SLAVE POPULATION	26
2.5	SLAVES AND ECONOMIC LIFE	27
2.6	SLAVES AND SOCIAL LIFE	28
2.7	SLAVES AND RELIGIOUS LIFE	30
2.8	SLAVES, MANUMISSION, AND FREEDMEN	30

2.9	SLAVES AND REBELLION.....	32
2.10	CHAPTER SUMMARY	33
2.11	CONCLUSIONS	34
CHAPTER 3: CONSTRUCTING THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVE-OWNERS AS SOCIO-HISTORIC CONTEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT		35
3.1	INTRODUCTION	35
3.2	GENERAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK, ROMAN AND JEWISH LAW.....	36
3.2.1	Greek law.....	36
3.2.2	Roman law	37
3.2.3	Jewish law	38
3.3	THE PRIMARY SOURCES	39
3.3.1	Greek law.....	39
3.3.2	Roman law	40
3.3.3	Jewish law	41
3.4	LEGAL DEFINITIONS OF FREEDOM AND SLAVERY	43
3.4.1	Greek law.....	43
3.4.2	Roman law.....	45
3.4.3	Jewish law	48
3.4.4	Section summary	49
3.5	ENSLAVEMENT	49
3.5.1	Greek law.....	49
3.5.2	Roman law	51
3.5.3	Jewish law	54
3.5.4	Section summary	55
3.6	THE LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVES.....	55
3.6.1	Greek law.....	55
3.6.2	Roman law.....	58
3.6.3	Jewish law	61
3.6.4	Section summary	62
3.7	RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF SLAVES	63
3.7.1	Greek law.....	63
3.7.2	Roman law	64
3.7.3	Jewish law	65

3.7.4	Section summary.....	67
3.8	THE SOCIAL RIGHTS OF SLAVES	67
3.8.1	Greek law	67
3.8.2	Roman law.....	68
3.8.3	Jewish law	69
3.8.4	Section summary.....	69
3.9	SLAVES AND THE ECONOMY	70
3.9.1	Greek law	70
3.9.2	Roman law.....	73
3.9.3	Jewish law	77
3.9.4	Section summary.....	78
3.10	RUNAWAY SLAVES	78
3.10.1	Greek law	78
3.10.2	Roman law.....	79
3.10.3	Jewish law	81
3.10.4	Section summary.....	82
3.11	MANUMISSION OF SLAVES AND FREEDMEN.....	82
3.11.1	Greek law	82
3.11.2	Roman law.....	88
3.11.3	Jewish law	92
3.11.4	Section summary.....	95
3.12	THE RIGHTS OF SLAVE-OWNERS IN RESPECT OF THEIR SLAVES	95
3.12.1	Greek law	95
3.12.2	Roman law.....	98
3.12.3	Jewish law	99
3.12.4	Section summary.....	100
3.13	LIMITATIONS ON THE RIGHTS OF SLAVE-OWNERS.....	101
3.13.1	Greek law	101
3.13.2	Roman law.....	104
3.13.3	Jewish law	106
3.13.4	Section summary.....	108
3.14	THE DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS OF SLAVE-OWNERS	108
3.14.1	Greek law	108
3.14.2	Roman law.....	109

3.14.3	Jewish law	110
3.14.4	Section summary	110
3.15	CHAPTER SUMMARY	110
3.16	CONCLUSIONS	112

CHAPTER 4: PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWPOINTS ON THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVE-OWNERS 114

4.1	INTRODUCTION	114
4.2	GREEK PHILOSOPHY.....	115
4.2.1	The Sophists.....	115
4.2.2	Socrates.....	116
4.2.3	Plato.....	117
4.2.4	Aristotle.....	118
4.2.5	Section summary	122
4.3	GRECO-ROMAN PHILOSOPHY IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD.....	122
4.3.1	The Peripatetics.....	122
4.3.2	The Cynics.....	123
4.3.3	The Epicureans.....	124
4.3.4	The Stoics.....	125
4.3.5	The Sceptics	128
4.3.6	Syncretism and Eclecticism	128
4.3.7	Section summary	130
4.4	JEWISH PHILOSOPHY.....	130
4.4.1	Jewish philosophical groupings	130
4.4.2	Section summary	134
4.5	CHAPTER SUMMARY	134
4.6	CONCLUSIONS	134

CHAPTER 5: THE ATTITUDES OF SLAVE-OWNERS TOWARDS THEIR SLAVES, AND THEIR TREATMENT 136

5.1	INTRODUCTION	136
5.2	SLAVE-OWNERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS SLAVES IN ANTIQUITY.....	136
5.2.1	Greek attitudes towards slaves.....	137
5.2.2	Greco-Roman attitudes towards slaves.....	139
5.2.3	Jewish attitudes towards slaves.....	141

5.2.4	Section summary.....	142
5.3	GREEK TREATMENT OF SLAVES.....	142
5.4	GRECO-ROMAN TREATMENT OF SLAVES.....	146
5.5	JEWISH TREATMENT OF SLAVES.....	149
5.6	CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	151
5.7	CONCLUSIONS.....	151
 CHAPTER 6: THE NEW TESTAMENT ON THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVE-OWNERS.....154		
6.1	INTRODUCTION.....	154
6.2	DIRECT EXHORTATIONS TO SLAVE-OWNERS.....	155
6.2.1	Ephesians 6:9.....	155
6.2.2	Colossians 4:1.....	158
6.2.3	Philemon 8-22.....	160
6.2.4	Section summary.....	164
6.3	EXHORTATIONS TO SLAVE-OWNERS IMPLIED IN THE EXHORTATIONS TO SLAVES.....	165
6.3.1	1 Corinthians 7:21-23.....	165
6.3.2	Ephesians 6:5-8.....	168
6.3.3	Colossians 3:22-25.....	169
6.3.4	1 Timothy 6:1-2d.....	171
6.3.5	Titus 2:9-10.....	173
6.3.6	1 Peter 2:18-25.....	176
6.3.7	Section summary.....	179
6.4	DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CONDUCT OF SLAVE-OWNERS AND OTHERS TOWARDS SLAVES.....	180
6.4.1	Matthew 8:5-13.....	180
6.4.2	Matthew 10:24-25.....	182
6.4.3	Matthew 24:45-51.....	184
6.4.4	Matthew 25:14-30.....	186
6.4.5	Mark 12:1-12.....	189
6.4.6	Luke 16:1-8.....	191
6.4.7	Luke 17:7-10.....	194
6.4.8	John 8:34-36.....	197
6.4.9	Acts 12:13-16.....	198

6.4.10	Section summary	200
6.5	REVELATION HISTORICAL SUMMARY	200
6.6	SOCIAL SEPARATION AND ACCULTURATION WITHIN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES	203
6.6.1	Defining the problem.....	203
6.6.2	The Elliott-Balch debate.....	203
6.6.3	Alternative motivations for either social separation or acculturation	206
6.6.4	A continuum between Elliott and Balch.....	208
6.6.5	Own critical evaluation and model	208
6.7	CHAPTER SUMMARY	211
6.8	CONCLUSIONS	212
6.8.1	Divergent viewpoints on the conduct of slave-owners	212
6.8.2	Explanation of the divergence	212
6.8.3	Boundaries to the divergence	212
CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS		214
7.1	INTRODUCTION	214
7.2	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	214
7.2.1	Orientation and problem statement (chapter 1)	214
7.2.2	Socio-historic context (chapter 2)	215
7.2.3	The rights and duties of slave-owners as socio-historic context of the New Testament (chapter 3)	216
7.2.4	Philosophical viewpoints on the rights and duties of slave-owners (chapter 4).....	217
7.2.5	The attitudes of slave-owners towards their slaves, and their treatment (chapter 5)	218
7.2.6	The New Testament on rights and duties of slave-owners (chapter 6)	218
7.3	CONCLUSIONS	219
7.3.1	Socio-historic context (chapter 2)	219
7.3.2	The rights and duties of slave-owners as socio-historic context of the New Testament (chapter 3)	220
7.3.3	Philosophical viewpoints on the rights and duties of slave-owners (chapter 4)	221
7.3.4	The attitudes of slave-owners towards their slaves, and their treatment (chapter 5)	222

7.3.5	The New Testament on rights and duties of slave-owners (chapter 6)	222
7.3.6	Overall conclusions	223
7.4	ACHIEVEMENT OF RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	226
7.5	CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY	227
7.6	FURTHER RESEARCH	227
ABSTRACT		228
OPSOMMING		230
BIBLIOGRAPHY		232
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		252

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Abridged table of contents

1.1	ORIENTATION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT	1
1.2	AIM AND OBJECTIVES	6
1.3	CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT	6
1.4	RESEARCH METHOD	7
1.5	CHAPTER DIVISION	10

1.1 ORIENTATION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1.1 Orientation

The New Testament contains 18 references to slave-owners as the bearers of authority in society. These appearances can be categorised as follows:

Category	Scriptural passages
Direct exhortations directed at slave-owners	Eph 6:9; Col 4:1; Phlm 1-25.
Exhortations directed at slave-owners implied in the exhortations directed at slaves	1 Cor 7:21-23; Eph 6:5-8; Col 3:22-25; 1 Tim 6:1-2d; Titus 2:9-10; 1 Pet 2:18-25.
The conduct of slave-owners as phenomenon	Matt 8:5-13 ¹ ; 10:24-25 ² ; 24:45-51 ³ ; 25:14-30 ⁴ ; Luke 16:1-8; 17:7-10; John 8:35; Acts 12:13-16.

The first category (direct exhortations directed at slave-owners) appears in two contexts in the New Testament. Firstly, Paul describes in a personal letter Philemon's new relationship in Christ with his slave Onesimus in a very direct manner.⁵ Secondly, direct exhortations directed at slave-owners are contained in the household codes in Ephesians and Colossians. Slave-owners are explicitly exhorted to adopt an attitude

¹ Also see Luke 7:1-10, John 4:43-54.

² Compare John 13:16 and 15:20.

³ Also see Luke 12:35-48.

⁴ Also see Luke 19:11-27.

⁵ The Pauline authorship of Philemon is generally accepted (Roberts 1984:117). The Pauline authorship of Ephesians and Colossians are however disputed by many scholars, as is that of the Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus. For the purposes of this study I accept that Paul was the author of all these letters.

regarding their slaves testifying to the fact that they themselves stand in a living relationship with Christ.

The second category (exhortations directed at slave-owners implied in the exhortations directed at slaves) appears in the household codes contained in Ephesians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, Titus, and 1 Peter. This category also contains the exhortation directed by Paul at slaves in 1 Corinthians 7:21. The third category (the conduct of slave-owners as phenomenon) appears in the miracles and parables of Jesus Christ. In these cases the rights and duties of the slave-owner and slave, or certain aspects of it, are described.

In the household codes in the New Testament the implications of the believer's salvation and renewal in Jesus Christ are elucidated in relation to three relationships of authority: the relationship between husband and wife (Eph 5:21-33; Col 3:18-19; 1 Pet 3:1-7), the relationship between parent and child (Eph 6:1-4; Col 3:20-21), and the relationship between owner and slave (Eph 6:5-9; Col 3:22-4:1; 1 Tim 6:1-2b; Titus 2:9-10; 1 Pet 2:18-25). These three relationships of authority today still form, discounting certain differences, the backbone of society. And labour relations stand in the centre of every person's daily material existence. Thus a valid interpretation of the New Testament exhortations directed at slave-owners is of special importance to believers today.

1.1.2 Problem statement

Slavery was foundational to the social order in Rome and Greece (Wiedemann 1981:1). Some scholars are even of the opinion that it was the determining factor in the economic, social and intellectual life of the ancient world (Crook 1984:55). The socio-historic context of the relationship between owner and slave receives proper attention in New Testament commentaries, but then seldom from a judicial point of view.⁶ Obviously the focus of these commentaries is directed at the position of the slave rather than that of the slave-owner. Works on slavery⁷ can broadly be categorised as follows:

Categorisation	Examples
Slavery as ethical question These works discuss the ethical foundations and implications of slavery.	Davies (1995).

⁶ Examples of commentaries that discuss the socio-historical context of the relationship between owner and slave are Barth & Blanke (2000:3-101), Melick (1991:341-343), and O'Brien (1982:266-268). Barth & Blanke (2000:11-83) also provide an overview of the historical development of the rights of slaves. Commentaries on the letter to Philemon were consulted as I consider it to be representative of the texts in the New Testament dealing with the relationship between slave-owner and slave.

⁷ For purposes of this chapter, I limited computer-based database searches to sources falling within the period of origin of the New Testament, i.e. approximately 49 BC until approximately 95 AD (cf Van der Watt 2003:592-593).

Slavery as social phenomenon These works typically asks questions like how slavery as an institution truly functioned and how it was experienced by slaves and slave-owners, and what effect slavery as an institution had on all other aspects of society, and especially its effect on ideologies of members of society at the time (Fisher, 1993:v). ⁸	Barrow (1928), Westermann (1955), Sherwin-White (1967), Wiedemann (1981), Patterson (1982), Wiedemann (1987), Massey & Moreland (1992), Fisher (1993), Bradley (1987, 1989, 1994), Saller (1996), Turley (2000).
Slavery as cultural phenomenon These works study the cultural representations of slaves in antiquity.	Joshel & Murnaghan (2001).
Slavery in historical perspective These works investigate the historical development of slavery.	Westermann (1955), Finley (1980), Phillips (1996), Drescher & Engerman (1998), Turley (2000).
Slavery and philosophy/religion These works study the influence of philosophical and/or religious traditions on slavery.	Vogt (1974), Garnsey (1996), Turley (2000).
Slavery as part of New Testament studies These works study slavery as an aspect of the socio-historical context of the New Testament.	Bartchy (1973), Sherwin-White (1963), Garnsey (1996), Callahan <i>et al</i> (1998), Harrill (1998, 2006), Glancy (2006).

These works thus emphasise the position of the slave. The few works that do deal with Roman Law in the New Testament attempt to show that New Testament writers borrowed certain concepts from Roman Law and adapted them to their message, for example in metaphoric expressions. An example of this is references to believers as “slaves of Christ”.⁹ This research also therefore does not address the problem statement of my study. After comprehensive computerised database searches only two sources could be found that explicitly deals with the legal context of the New Testament, namely Dudrey (1998) and Bartchy (1973).¹⁰

⁸ Fisher (1993:58-65) provides an exposition of the law regarding slaves and slave-owners in Athens, but the period covered by his work (Homer up to approximately the end of the 4th century BC) falls outside the scope of this study.

⁹ Examples of this metaphorical use of “slave” in the New Testament are 1 Corinthians 7:22 (δοῦλός ἐστιν Χριστοῦ) and Ephesians 6:6 (δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ) (cf Combes 1998; Harris 2001). Callender (1998) investigates similar metaphorical uses in the Old Testament.

¹⁰ Both sources deal with 1 Corinthians 7. Bartchy (1973) deals with manumission of slaves in relation to 1 Corinthians 7:21, but the scope of his study is too limited for purposes of this study. Dudrey (1998) investigates slave marriages in the congregation in Corinth as socio-historical background to 1 Corinthians 7:17-35. His research is thus not relevant to the subject of this study.

When interpreting the New Testament, the Greek-Roman environment of the day must be investigated since it serves as expository framework of the New Testament (Joubert 2005:170). Such historical construction is necessary since communication always functions within the parameters of a social system and language is an important warehouse and communication medium of different socially shared meanings. The ancient Greek-Roman environment within which the New Testament texts came into existence influenced it with certain meanings and patterns that were knowledge shared by the intended readers and thus understandable.

The study of the socio-historical context of a Scriptural passage forms part of a grammatico-historical approach to exegesis (De Klerk & Janse van Rensburg 2005:51). The socio-historical context encompasses the social, political, and religious circumstances of the first readers. It thus also includes the legal context of the first readers (Bartchy 1983:24). This legal aspect has important implications for the relationship between owner and slave and thus also for the specific rights and duties of the slave-owner within that relationship.

The writers of the New Testament not only wrote in terms of their historical context, but also used elements from that context to bring about a change of conviction with their readers (Joubert 2005:186). This study attempts to identify and contextualise those elements by way of philological analysis¹¹ of relevant first century legal texts¹² in an effort to formulate valid interpretations of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament. Legal texts dealing with the rights and duties of the slave-owner and dating from the first century BC or generally used during that time, must thus be identified and analysed.¹³ It follows that the religious and philosophical codes of the time, that often formed the basis of legislation (Van Zyl 1977:21), have been consulted. Furthermore, legal texts only have value when it is read with the circumstances and conduct of slaves and slave-owners in order to determine the degree of divergence or convergence with the legal texts (Turley 2000:9). Texts dealing with the conduct of slave-owners will thus also be consulted.

The historical context within which the New Testament is read must be appropriate (Breytenbach 2005:114). Thus the Jewish context of the time, informed by the Old Testament, must also be taken into account (Callahan *et al* 1998:10). Jewish texts on the rights and duties of slave-owners during the time of the New Testament have been consulted. The same qualifications regarding Greco-Roman legislation cited above will also apply here. In addition, the Old Testament texts dealing with slavery have been studied. These texts can be categorised as follows:

¹¹ See 1.4 below for a definition of philology.

¹² Legal texts include imperial law, legislation, case law, codifications and legal commentaries by jurists (Van Zyl 1977:21ff; Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:27ff).

¹³ The period under discussion falls within the so-called Principate period (27 BC to 284 AD) in Roman history (Van Zyl 1977:4; Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:xiii). During this period Roman jurisprudence experienced its unprecedented heyday (Van Zyl 1977:21). This heyday was stimulated by the works of jurists who not only codified the law but also made law (Van Zyl 1977:31ff).

Category	Scriptural passages
General stipulations with regard to slavery and slaves	Gen 17:13; Exod 21:2-11; Lev 25:39-55; Deut 15:12-18.
Specific stipulations with regard to the rights of slaves	Gen 15:3; Exod 21:26-27; Deut 23:15-16; 24:7.
Specific stipulations with regard to the rights and duties of slave-owners	Exod 21:20-21, 32; Lev 19:20; Deut 20:10-11.

In summary, the following sources have thus been consulted:

- Roman law with regard to the rights and duties of slave-owners, and/or Greek versions thereof¹⁴;
- Greek laws with regard to the rights and duties of slave-owners;
- Greek laws with regard to the rights and duties of slave-owners that were still in operation during the time of the New Testament;
- Moral and philosophical codes of that time;
- Texts dealing with the conduct of slave-owners;
- Jewish law with regard to the rights and duties of slave-owners;
- Relevant Old Testament texts that served as basis for Jewish law with regard to the rights and duties of slave-owners; and
- Texts dealing with the conduct of Jewish slave-owners.

The problem investigated by this study is the following: What is the legal context of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament?

In order to solve the problem, the following questions have been answered:

- What were the prevailing rights and duties of slave-owners according to Greek law?
- What were the prevailing rights and duties of slave-owners according to Roman law?
- What were the prevailing viewpoint(s) regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners according to Jewish law?
- What were the prevailing religious and/or philosophical viewpoints regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners?
- How was the conduct of slave-owners towards their slaves described by first century AD writers?

¹⁴ The most important codification of Roman law during the time of the New Testament is the Institute of Gaius, published in approximately 161 AD (Watson 1995:5). Further important sources are the legislation promulgated by Emperors Augustus and Claudius (Watson 1995:4).

- What does the New Testament say regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners?
- What similarities and/or differences exist between the prevailing legal and other convictions regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners and the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament?
- What is, in the light of the legal context, a valid interpretation of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament?

1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The overarching aim of this study is to construct the legal rights and duties of slave-owners in the first century AD as context for the exhortations directed in the New Testament at slave-owners. The specific objectives related hereto are to:

- Determine the prevailing rights and duties of slave-owners according to Roman law;
- Determine the prevailing rights and duties of slave-owners according to Greek law;
- Determine the prevailing viewpoint(s) regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners according to Jewish law;
- Determine prevailing religious and/or philosophical viewpoints regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners;
- Determine how the conduct of slave-owners towards their slaves was described in relevant first century texts;
- Determine the rights and duties of slave-owners according to the New Testament;
- Determine the similarities and/or differences between the prevailing legal and other convictions regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners and the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament; and
- Formulate, in the light of the legal context, a valid interpretation of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament.

1.3 CENTRAL THEORETICAL ARGUMENT

The central theoretical argument of this study is that the legal context of the first readers is essential for a valid interpretation of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament, and that taking into account such legal context leads to a valid interpretation.

1.4 RESEARCH METHOD

1.4.1 Methods of investigation

The method with which each objective have been investigated is the following:

- A philological study of relevant first century Greek and Latin texts regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners according to Roman law;
- A philological study of relevant first century Greek and Latin texts regarding religious and/or philosophical viewpoints on the rights and duties of slave-owners;
- A philological study of relevant first century Jewish texts regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners according to Jewish law;
- A philological study of relevant first century texts regarding the conduct of slave-owners towards their slaves;
- A philological study of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament;
- A comparative study of the first century texts and the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament;
- The formulation of conclusions for a valid interpretation of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament by way of analysis, interpretation and synthesis of the collected material.

1.4.2 A philological study

Based on the historical development of language sciences and the differing purposes of philological and linguistic research, this research has been philological in nature.¹⁵ The philologist does not study language *per se*, but rather utilises the results of his language study to achieve another goal for example the interpretation of another text. The linguist, on the other hand, studies language for the sake of language itself without necessarily considering historical and cultural aspects (Goede 2006:19). A philological study is a study of ancient texts by way of language analysis within the relevant texts' socio-historical context (Goede 2006:6). However, such a study does not exclude the use of linguistic methodological principles and methods within a primarily philological enquiry, depending upon the nature of the ancient text in question.

Such a philological study aligns with a grammatico-historical approach to exegesis (see 1.1.2 above). In determining the socio-historic contexts of the texts to be researched, the socio-historical approach described by Harrill (1998:4-6) and Janse van Rensburg (2000) has been followed. According to this approach, the interpreter makes explicit his presuppositions and aims to control them as much as possible in order to construct as best as possible the actual situations in which early Christians lived (Harrill 1998:5). The aim is thus to provide more plausible social contexts within which to read ancient documents.

¹⁵ For a full argumentation of the differences between philology and linguistics see Goede (2006).

1.4.3 Pitfalls in researching ancient texts

The study of ancient texts with the purpose of drawing conclusions about society from them can be a minefield for a researcher. This applies equally to legal texts and texts dealing with slavery. Watson (1998:3) calls the law “a distorting mirror” of society. Numerous researchers¹⁶ have pointed out some of these pitfalls:

- Roman law was codified¹⁷ with values inherent to the Roman upper class (Crook 1984:10).
- Codifications from the sixth century BC include material from up to seven centuries earlier (Wiedemann 1987:19). How can this material be properly studied without reference to the original context?
- A proportion of Roman law consists of imaginary legal questions and not necessarily actual case law (Crook 1984:10; Johnston 1999:24).
- Concerns regarding the authenticity of Roman legal texts (Robinson 1997:102), i.e. was the law ascribed to any specific period in Roman history actually in operation at the time?
- Legal sources are not accurate with regard to the frequency of a problem, since the law shows a natural bias towards legal problems (Johnston 1999:27).
- Does the law influence social or economic behaviour or is it shaped by social or economic behaviour (Johnston 1999:27)?
- Is legal change the result of intellectual creativity on the part of jurists or rather of social pressure or demands (Johnston 1999:28)?
- What were the motivations of emperors to legislate in favour of the protection of slaves (Wiedemann 1987:19-20)?

With regard to texts and other evidence¹⁸ on slavery, the following problems exist:

- The lack of ancient statements written by slaves reflecting the attitudes and experiences of slaves (Wiedemann 1987:11). No “slave literature” in the form of autobiographies, personal letters, *et cetera* survived (Harrill 1998:19).

¹⁶ See for example Crook (1984:9-13), Wiedemann (1987:11-21), Robinson (1997:102-103), Watson (1998:1-4), Harrill (1998:30), Johnston (1999:24-29).

¹⁷ Codification occurred primarily in legislation and juristic commentaries on the law (Crook 1984:19).

¹⁸ Because of the philological nature of this study, it will be limited to literary evidence. Harrill (1998:18) provides a very useful classification of primary literary sources on slavery: Legal material, histories and biographies, personal and other letters, moral literature, advice literature on household management, and imaginative literature. Selection of material for purposes of this study will be restricted by the contexts of the New Testament texts to be studied (see the search filtered defined in 2.2 below).

- The fact that most of the texts on slavery from Greek and Roman antiquity was written by adult male citizens for audiences comprising adult male citizens, and thus founded on the prejudices of such audiences (Wiedemann 1987:11-12). Virtually all ancient authors were owners of slaves (Harrill 1998:19).
- The fact that from archaeological finds absolutely consistent conventions can rarely be isolated (Wiedemann 1987:14, 18).
- Papyri suffer from geographical restrictions, being specific to Hellenistic and Roman Egypt (Wiedemann 1987:18; Harrill 1998:23).
- No quantifiable data is available with regard to the total number of slaves, the size of individual slave holdings, and the number of slaves working in manufacture or agriculture (Harrill 1998:19).
- Advice literature on household management, including domestic codes, describe the ideal situation and not necessarily the actually one (Harrill 1998:28).
- Imaginative literature such as novels, poetry, and plays only become useful when references in them can be verified against other kinds of evidence (Harrill 1998:29).

As far as interpretation of the Pauline texts in the New Testament is concerned, Holmberg (1980:205-207) rightly states that earlier scholars were guilty of the so-called “idealistic fallacy”. The term “idealistic fallacy” refers to a view which assumed that the theological ideas (and also what he says about slave-owners) expressed by Paul were also an accurate reflection of the actual historical reality of the churches. In this study research I heed this warning of Holmberg.

In the end the question is how far these texts reflect what actually happened (Crook 1984:10; Robinson 1997:102). These methodological concerns are, however, not insurmountable (Johnston 1999:28-29). Taking due cognisance of them should allow for the construction of valid arguments from legal and other sources, augmented by other evidence¹⁹ (Johnston 1999:29). Careful consideration of these sources as a whole does allow for a valid construction of ancient slavery (Harrill 1998:29). These pitfalls have been considered in this study.

¹⁹ Such evidence may include everyday legal documents such as wills and contracts and the many references to legal matters in lay literature (Crook 1984:11).

1.5 CHAPTER DIVISION

This thesis has been divided into the following chapters:

- Chapter 2: Slavery in Greek and Roman antiquity²⁰
- Chapter 3: Rights and duties of slave-owners²¹
- Chapter 4: Moral viewpoints on slave-ownership²²
- Chapter 5: The conduct of slave-owners towards their slaves
- Chapter 6: The New Testament on the rights and duties of slave-owners
- Chapter 7: Summary and conclusions

²⁰ Chapter 2 provides an overview of slavery in Greek and Roman antiquity as general context of the texts to be analysed.

²¹ Chapter 3 constructs the rights and duties of slave-owners according to Greek, Roman, and Jewish law.

²² Chapter 4 describes Greek, Roman, and Jewish religious and/or philosophical viewpoints on the rights and duties of slave-owners.

CHAPTER 2

CONSTRUCTING ANCIENT SLAVERY AS SOCIO-HISTORIC CONTEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Abridged table of contents

2.1	INTRODUCTION.....	11
2.2	DEFINING A SEARCH FILTER	12
2.3	SLAVERY AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION.....	23
2.4	THE SLAVE POPULATION	26
2.5	SLAVES AND ECONOMIC LIFE	27
2.6	SLAVES AND SOCIAL LIFE	28
2.7	SLAVES AND RELIGIOUS LIFE.....	30
2.8	SLAVES, MANUMISSION, AND FREEDMEN.....	30
2.9	SLAVES AND REBELLION.....	32
2.10	CHAPTER SUMMARY	33
2.11	CONCLUSIONS	34

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide an overview of slavery in Greek and Roman antiquity as general context of the New Testament and other relevant documents to be studied in the following chapters. Although this study focuses primarily on the legal context of these passages, the legal context cannot be considered in isolation of other aspects of the socio-historical context. A study of a community's laws cannot provide a whole picture of such community (Crook 1984:7). Yet law does provide some reflection of society and in turn has some influence upon it. This interaction leads the researcher to consider other aspects of the socio-historical context. While the legal context has been considered in detail in chapter 3, other relevant contextual aspects have been highlighted in this chapter.

Considering the scope of slavery in antiquity, it is impossible to provide a comprehensive overview. This overview is thus limited to aspects of slavery that may be relevant as socio-historical context to the New Testament passages listed in 1.1.1 above. In order to delimit these aspects a search filter is defined in the first part of the chapter. The second part provides an overview of slavery in the Greek world, in the

Roman Empire and among Jews within the Roman Empire during the time of the New Testament. The chapter concludes with a summary.

2.2 DEFINING A SEARCH FILTER

The purpose of the search filter defined in this section is to delimit the scope of the chapter to aspects specifically relevant to the New Testament passages to be studied. In order to do so, the following have been considered: the period under investigation, the geographical region under investigation, various definitions of slavery, ancient terminology for slavery, and aspects arising from the New Testament passages.

2.2.1 Period under investigation

The focus of this study, namely the New Testament exhortations directed at slave-owners, might lead one to assume that the study has been limited to the dating of the events covered by the New Testament and its period of origin, i.e. approximately 6-4 BC (the birth of Jesus Christ) to approximately 96-98 AD (the time of writing of the Johannine writings) (cf Van der Watt 2003:584-585). Considering the pitfalls in the dating of the available evidence (see 1.4.3 above), the following grounds argue in favour of a broader investigation:

- The confluence of Greek and Roman traditions and customs in the time of the New Testament merits the inclusion of Greek slavery in the search filter. This would extend the beginning of the period of investigation to the classical Athenian period (ca. 480 – 330 BC) (Hornblower 2003a:651-652).
- The influence of Jewish tradition in New Testament times merits the extension of the period of investigation to the Rabbinic period (ca. 70-200 AD) (Goodman 2003c:1292)
- The codification of the most important sources of Roman law took place during the reign of Justinian in approximately 535 AD (Johnston 1999:14ff).

Thus this study covers the period from approximately 480 BC to approximately 535 AD.

2.2.2 The geographical region under investigation

The New Testament text points primarily to Palestine in the first century AD. Yet the text of the New Testament refers to other geographical areas of interest for example Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, North Africa, and Spain (Du Plessis 1998:34). The specific passages under investigation provide the following geographical references according to where the events described took place and the addresses of the addressees:

Passage	Geographical reference(s)	Scriptural reference(s)
Matt 8:5-13; 10:24-25; 24:45-51; 25:14-30	Palestine	Matt 8:28; 9:1; 24:3

Luke 16:1-8; 17:7-10	Palestine	Luke 13:22; 17:11
John 8:35	Palestine	John 8:2
Acts 12:13-16	Palestine	Acts 11:2
1 Cor 7:21-23	Corinth, province of Achaia	1 Cor 1:2
Eph 6:5-8, 9	Ephesus, Asia Minor	Eph 1:1
Col 3:22-25, 4:1	Colosse, Asia Minor	Col 1:2
1 Tim 6:1-2b	Ephesus, Asia Minor	1 Tim 1:3
Titus 2:9-10	Crete, Mediterranean Sea	Titus 1:5
Phlm 1-25	Colosse, Asia Minor	Phlm 2; cf Col 4:17
1 Pet 2:18-25	Provinces of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia	1 Pet 1:1

The geographical focus of the New Testament passages under investigation is thus Palestine and Asia Minor.

2.2.3 Definitions of slavery

The socio-historical approach described by Harrill (1998:4-6) and Janse van Rensburg (2000) has been followed in determining the socio-historic contexts of the passages to be researched. According to this approach, the events described in the text are considered to be interwoven with the social and political realities of the time (Janse van Rensburg 2000:567). It presupposes an emic (i.e. socio-historical) approach namely that data and phenomena are described in terms of its functions in ancient society, rather than in terms of modern theories and models (an etic or socio-scientific approach) (Janse van Rensburg 2000:569-570). The aim is thus to construct the actual situations in which early Christians lived by allowing the text to present the contemporary categories rather than to use modern abstractions on ancient texts (Harrill 1998:5). Such an approach does not however completely ignore the contributions of modern historians, sociologists, and ethicists building history “from the ground up” (Harrill 1998:6).

There is currently no general theory of slavery that allows a single definition of slavery for all cultures and times (Garlan 1988:24; Harrill 1998:14). Slavery is generally understood to refer to the buying, selling, and owning of human beings as mere objects. Yet the matter is far more complex. No legal and coherent definition of slavery can be found in Greek sources, probably because of the absence of jurisprudence (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:35). A survey of the evidence suggests that any attempt to detect such a definition is futile. Freedom and slavery (or “unfreedom”) should rather be seen as concepts relative to one another based on dependence or independence (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:38).

Definitions found in Aristotle and Roman private law declare a slave to be property that is essentially no different from a farm implement or domesticated animal (Harrill 1998:14). Such legal definitions must however be approached with circumspection since the law only provides inexact knowledge about social practice. Rabbinic sources share the fundamental ambiguity of Roman law with regard to the legal definition of slavery: Slaves are things yet responsible as human beings for their actions (Hezser 2005:63). The classification of slaves as property are implied in rabbinic sources but rarely stated explicitly. According to the Mishnah slaves are defined as persons subject to a householder's [owner's] full control (Flesher 1988:102-103). The slave's inherent features, namely being male and having the full power of reason, have no bearing on his classification as a slave.²³

In the narrow sense "slave" can refer to chattel slaves of the classical Athenian type (De Ste. Croix 1981:133; Garlan 1988:201). In the broad sense it includes "all types of legally defined personal dependency to which the Greeks sometimes referred as δουλεία" (Garlan 1988:201). De Ste. Croix (1981:134-136) refers to this broad sense as "unfree labour" being "the extraction of the largest possible surplus from the primary producers". One must however recognise that these categories were not used by the Greeks and Romans since they simply divided mankind into two groups: free and slave. There is no doubt that in the Greek and Roman world chattel slavery was the dominant form of unfree labour (De Ste. Croix 1981:173).

While the abovementioned definitions of chattel slavery focus on its legal foundation,²⁴ alternative definitions emphasise other aspects common to most forms of chattel slavery. Patterson (1982) defines slavery in terms of power relations. The following aspects are inherent in every power relation (Patterson 1982:1-2):

- The social aspect namely the use or threat of violence in the control of one person by another;
- The psychological aspect of influence namely the capacity to persuade another person to change the way he perceives his interests and circumstances; and
- The cultural aspect of authority namely the means of transforming force into right and obedience into duty.

Applying these principles to slavery, it may be defined as "the permanent, violent domination of natively alienated and generally dishonored persons" (Patterson 1982:13). Slavery is a life-long state of being violently dominated and dishonored with no birth-rights and no sense of belonging (Fischer 1993:5-6). Ultimately, slavery is social death (Patterson 1982:5).

²³ See chapter 3 below for a discussion of the relevant sources (cf Hezser 2005:64-68).

²⁴ Modern definitions of slavery also focus on its legal aspect. The United Nations, for example, defines chattel slavery as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised" (League of Nations 1926).

Read together, these two definitions of chattel slavery, the one legal and the other social, emphasize the completeness of the power exercised by slave-owners and the dishonor and disorientation inflicted on slaves (Fischer 1993:6). Wiedemann (1987:22) attempts to combine these elements into one definition: "The slave was someone who had lost, or never had, any rights to share in society, and therefore to have access to food, clothing, and the other necessities of physical survival". I conclude that chattel slavery was (and is) a multi-faceted social phenomenon that must be defined and studied in terms of its legal and social foundations and consequences.

2.2.4 Ancient terminology for slavery

A comparison of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Aramaic terminology with regard to slavery may provide guidelines as to shared socio-historic contexts since words are generally used and borrowed within their contemporary socio-cultural environment (Wright 1998:84, 107). This becomes especially apparent in the Jewish-Greek Biblical translations.

2.2.4.1 Greek terminology

The basic terminology describing slavery in ancient Greece was extremely complex and generally ambiguous (Garlan 1988:20; Fischer 1993:6-7). This complexity and ambiguity came about because of borrowing of terms from traditional systems of dependency such as the household and the family, and continued into the Hellenistic period despite the fixed juridical definitions that existed by that time. Terminology describing slavery in Greek literature must thus be considered strictly contextually. The following terms are used in Greek literature (Brown 1976:589-599; Garlan 1988:20-22; Fischer 1993:6-7):

Term	Possible English equivalents	Remarks on usage
ἀνδράποδον	"One taken in war and sold as a slave, whether originally slave or free" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	The only term that never leads to confusion (Garlan 1988:20).
αἰχμάλωτος	"Taken by the spear, captive, prisoner ... = ἀνδράποδον" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Used by Josephus to denote slaves (Wright 1998:98).
δοῦλος, δουλεία	"Born bondman or slave", "slavery, bondage" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Most commonly used from the fifth century onwards (Fischer 1993:6).
οἰκέτης	"Household slave" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	The most frequently used term (Garlan 1988:21).
θεράπων, θεράπεινα	"Servant (whether slave or free)" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Used in contexts where no precise indication of origin or function is required (Garlan 1988:21).
ἀκολούθος	"Follower, attendant" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	
ὑπηρέτης	"Underling, servant, attendant" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	

παῖς	"Child"; "slave, servant, man or maid (of all ages)" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	
ἄνθρωπος, γυνή	"Man", "slave", "woman" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996). Used with a demeaning implication (Fischer 1993:7).	
σῶμα	"Body" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Used from the fourth century onwards as synonyms for δοῦλος, ἀνδράποδον and οἰκέτης (the latter three terms being used as synonyms themselves) (Garlan 1988:21).
παῖς (in diminutive forms)	"Child", "slave, servant, man or maid (of all ages)" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996). Used with a demeaning implication (Fischer 1993:7).	
λάτρις	"Hired servant", "slave" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	
ἄμφιπολος, πρόσπολος	"Servant, attendant" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	
δμῶς, δμωή	"[Female] slave taken in war" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Terms less widely used, the latter two more commonly (Garlan 1988:21-22).

The following terms are used for slave-owners (Bietenhard 1976:508):

Term	Possible English equivalents	Remarks on usage
δεσπότης	"Master, lord ... in respect of slaves ... owner" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Sometimes entails harshness and caprice (Bietenhard 1976:508).
κύριος	"Lord, master ... head of a family ... master of a house owner or secure possessor" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Carries overtones of legality and acknowledged authority (Bietenhard 1976:508).

The following Greek terms are used to indicate the family unit to which slaves belonged (Goetzmann 1976:247ff):

Term	Possible English equivalents	Remarks on usage
οἶκος	"Family" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	As Greek has no word for the small social unit called "family" in English, οἶκος acquired the meaning of household i.e. those bound together by sharing the same dwelling place and therefore were under the authority of the same κύριος (Goetzmann 1976:247, 250). The family included the slaves.

οἰκονόμος	“One who managed a household ... house-steward being a slave” (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Οἰκονόμος refers to all domestic officials who were mostly recruited from among the slaves (Goetzmann 1976:254).
-----------	--	--

The following terms are used for manumitted slaves²⁵ (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:51-52, 99-126):

Term	Possible English equivalents	Remarks on usage
ἀφεθείς, ἀφιέναι	“Let go, loose, set free ... of manumission” (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	This term explains nothing about the actual status of the slave with regard to the state or his/her former owner after manumission. It does, however, indicate that freed persons in ancient Greece had their particular status.
ἀπελευθ(ε)ροῦν, ἀπελεύθ(ε)πος	“Emancipate a slave”, “restored to freedom, emancipated slave, freedman” (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Most commonly used appellation for manumitted slaves. Most scholars consider it to be a synonym for ἐξελευθεροῦν (cf Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996) but these two terms represent different statuses or sub-statuses of manumitted slaves. A suitable translation of ἀπελευθ(ε)ροῦν would be “freed from (someone)” and “thoroughly free” respectively. The term seems to denote a continuing bond between owner and manumitted slave, signifying a specific status (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:120).
ἐξελευθεροῦν, ἐξελεύθερος	“Set at liberty”, “freedman” (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Rarely used. Most scholars consider it to be a synonym for ἀπελευθ(ε)ροῦν (cf Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996) but these two terms represent different statuses or sub-statuses of manumitted slaves. A suitable translation of ἐξελευθεροῦν would be “thoroughly free” since the ἐξελεύθεροι formed a distinct status-group of manumitted slaves, free from any obligation to their former owners (Zelnick-

²⁵ Manumission refers to the voluntary freeing of a slave by his/her owner. For a discussion on the legal aspects of manumission see chapter 3 below.

		Abramovitz 2005:125).
ἀνατιθέναι	"Set up as a votive gift, dedicate" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Used in sacral manumission with an indication of purpose of the action.
ἀποδιδόναι	"Deliver over, give up", "sell" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Used in sale-manumission with an indication of purpose of the action.
ἐλευθεροῦν	"Set free, release from, manumit" (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).	Very rarely used.

2.2.4.2 Latin terminology

The following terms are used for slavery in Latin literature (cf Wiedemann 1981:15; Bradley 1994):

Term	Possible English equivalents
<i>servus/serva</i>	"Slave"; "Female slave" (Morwood 2005:173).
<i>verna</i>	"Slave born in the master's household" (Morwood 2005:202).
<i>famulus/famula</i>	"[Female] slave, [maid-]servant, attendant" (Morwood 2005:73).
<i>mancipium</i>	"Formal mode of ownership; property; right of ownership; slave" (Morwood 2005:111).
<i>ancilla</i>	"Maid-servant, female slave" (Morwood 2005:13).
<i>puer</i>	"Young male slave" (Morwood 2005:152).

The following Latin terms are used for slave-owners:

Term	Possible English equivalents
<i>dominus</i>	"Master of the house; owner; lord, ruler" (Morwood 2005:61).
<i>possessor</i>	"Owner" (Morwood 2005:143).
<i>erus</i>	"Master; owner" (Morwood 2005:66).

The following Latin terms are used to indicate the family unit to which slaves belonged:

Term	Possible English equivalents
<i>familia</i>	"Household, all persons under the control of one man, whether relations, freedmen, or slaves; family; servants or slaves belonging to one master" (Morwood 2005:73).
<i>domus</i>	"Household; family" (Morwood 2005:61).
<i>genus</i>	"Family" (Morwood 2005:81).
<i>gens</i>	"Family" (Morwood 2005:81).

The following terms are used for manumission in Latin literature (cf Bradley 1987, 1994):

Term	Possible English equivalents
<i>manumitto</i>	"Set at liberty, emancipate, free" (Morwood 2005:112).
<i>libertus/liberta</i>	"Freedman, freedwoman" (Morwood 2005:106-107).

2.2.4.3 Hebrew terminology

Jewish involvement in the Hellenistic-Roman world meant an assimilation of Graeco-Roman practices and Greek and Latin terms for slaves and slavery (Wright 1998:84). This process involved a transformation of the Old Testament notion of servanthood.

Words signifying slaves occur in patriarchal myths, law codes, historical narratives, prophetic revelations and wisdom literature in the Old Testament (Flesher 1988:12). The following terms are used for slavery in the Hebrew Old Testament (VanGemeren 1997:36, 98, 123, 170, 177):

Term	Possible English equivalents
עַבְדֵּי הַבַּיִת (בְּיָת)	"Slave born in the house(hold)" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:382).
אִמָּה	"Handmaid, maidservant" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:59).
אִמָּה שְׂפָדָה	"Maidservant (not strictly distinguished from אִמָּה)" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:59).
עַבְדֵּי יְיָ	"Temple slave" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:641).
עַבְדֵּי	"Slave (held in bondage)" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:671).
עַבְדֵּי יָד	"Servitude" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:674).
עַבְדֵּי גֵבֶר	"Slaves, servants (as body)" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:673).

The following terms are used for slave-owners (VanGemeren 1997:125):

Term	Possible English equivalents
אֲדֹנָיִם	"Lord, master of slaves" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:11).

עַבְדֵּי refers to any subservient relationship and does not necessarily imply ownership (Wright 1998:85; Bartchy 1992:62). It is used of both Hebrew and foreign slaves although the latter was treated to some extent as property. In the vast majority of cases עַבְדֵּי is rendered δοῦλος or παῖς in the Septuagint with a distinct preference for the latter in The Pentateuch (Wright 1998:90-92). Οἰκέτης and θεράπων are also used and all these terms are used as synonyms or at least seem interchangeable.

Josephus prefers the term δοῦλος referring to chattel slaves (Wright 1998:98). He also uses other Greek words not used in the Septuagint namely ἀνδράποδον and αἰχμάλωτος. Again, all these words seem to be used as synonyms. A striking feature of Josephus' writing is however his decreasing use of παῖς as meaning "slave" even in contexts generally referring to slavery (Wright 1998:100). Philo follows roughly the same pattern with δοῦλος dominating and others used as synonyms to it (Wright 1998:102). Philo employs παῖς as a play on its meanings of "slave" and "child" (Wright 1998:104-105). Also in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha slave terms are used interchangeably without any clear distinctions even in religious contexts (Wright 1998:107). One may conclude that the Jews in the Second Temple Period used Greek slave terms as they were used in their socio-cultural environment (Wright 1998:108).

The following terms are used to indicate the family unit to which slaves belonged (VanGemeren 1997:105; see also Herzer 2005:126):

Term	Possible English equivalents
בֵּית	"House ... inmates of a house, family: the wife(s), children and servants" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:122-123). The term can be considered the Hebrew equivalent of the Latin <i>domus</i> (Herzer 2005:126). Children and slaves were viewed as members of the family.

The following terms are used for manumission in the Old Testament (cf VanGemeren 1997:87):

Term	Possible English equivalents
שָׁחַט	"See שָׁחַט" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:393); "Of emancipation" (Brown <i>et al</i> 2000).
פָּדוּ	"(To) free ... be freed (she-slave)" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:323).
שָׁחַט	"Freeman ... released, emancipated ... from slavery" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:323).
שָׁחַט	"Freedom (from slavery)" (Koehler & Baumgartner 1998:323).

2.2.4.4 Jewish-Palestine Aramaic terminology

Tannaitic and amoraic rabbinic documents are especially relevant to Jews and slavery in antiquity (Herzer 2005:14).²⁶ Thus an examination of Jewish-Palestine Aramaic terminology relating to slavery is necessary.

²⁶ Tannaitic writings contain traditions dating from the first and second centuries AD while amoraic writings contain traditions dating from the third to fifth centuries AD (Herzer 2005:14 fn 57).

The following terms are used for slavery in rabbinic sources (cf Flesher 1988:209-212):

Term	Possible English equivalents
בֵּיתָא (בֵּיתָא)	"A slave born in the owner's house" (Jastrow 1950:578).
אֶמְסָה	"Handmaid" (Jastrow 1950:75).
אֶמְסָה שֶׁל בֵּיתָא	"[Attached to the household,] handmaid, slave" (Jastrow 1950:1614).
נָתִין	"[Donated, dedicated to the Temple service,] Nathin" (Jastrow 1950:943).
עֶבֶד עֶבֶד עֶבֶד עֶבֶד י עֶבֶד אֶמְסָה	"Slave, servant" (Jastrow 1950:1035).
עֶבְדֻת עֶבְדֻת עֶבְדֻת אֶמְסָה	"Slavery, servitude; status of a slave" (Jastrow 1950:1035).

The following terms are used for slave-owners:

Term	Possible English equivalents
בֶּעֱלָא בֶּעֱלָה	"(mostly in compounds) owner of, master of, possessed of, given to..."; "mistress, owner" (Jastrow 1950:182).

The following terms are used to indicate the family unit to which slaves belonged (cf Herzer 2005:126):

Term	Possible English equivalents
בֵּיתָא	"House, household, home" (Jastrow 1950:167-168).

The following terms are used for manumission in the rabbinic literature:

Term	Possible English equivalents
אֶפְסָרָא	"Exempt ... to be freed" (Jastrow 1950:587).
אֶפְסָרָא	"To be set free ... this implies that he is a freedman" (Jastrow 1950:493).
אֶפְסָרָא	"Freedom ... free, exempt" (Jastrow 1950:493).

2.2.4.5 Summary

The Greek and Latin terminology clearly refer to chattel slavery as defined above (see 2.2.3). The Jewish terminology also conforms to this during the time of the New Testament despite legacies from the Old Testament laws on slavery. This is also reflected in the rabbinic literature.

2.2.5 Aspects arising from the New Testament passages

A perfunctory reading of the The New Testament passages listed in 1.1.1 above²⁷ indicate the following socio-historic delimitations:

- Slavery in the New Testament is delimited to urban or domestic slavery based on the inclusion of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the household codes (Eph 6:9; Col 4:1). One might also assume a primarily urban audience in the urban Christian congregations of the New Testament.
- The use of the following terms for slavery: παῖς, δοῦλος, οἰκέτης, and their Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents.
- The use of the following terms for slave-owners: κύριος, δεσπότης, and their Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents.
- The relationship between slave-owner and slave indicated by the owner's treatment of his slave(s) (Mt 8:5-13; 10:24-25; Acts 12:13-16; Eph 6:5-8, 9; Col 3:22-25, 4:1; 1 Tim 6:1-2b; Titus 2:9-10; Phlm 1-25; 1 Pet 2:18-25).
- The slave's economic usefulness and loyalty towards his owner (Mt 24:45-51; 25:14-30; Luke 16:1-8; 17:7-10).
- The slave as a member of the owner's household (Jn 8:35).
- The slave's participation in their owner's or their own religious activities (Phlm 1-25).
- Manumission (setting free) of slaves by their owners (1 Cor 7:21-23).

2.2.6 Conclusion

I conclude that the following search filter has been useful in delimiting the scope of this study to aspects material to the socio-historical context of the New Testament passages to be studied:

Domestic chattel slavery as defined in 2.2.3
--

²⁷ Mt 8:5-13; 10:24-25; 24:45-51; 25:14-30; Luke 16:1-8; 17:7-10; John 8:35; Acts 12:13-16; 1 Cor 7:21-23; Eph 6:5-8, 9; Col 3:22-25, 4:1; 1 Tim 6:1-2b; Titus 2:9-10; Phlm 1-25; 1 Pet 2:18-25.

- during the period 480 BC – 535 AD;
- in Palestine and Asia Minor;
- indicated by commonly used vocabulary: δοῦλος, οἰκέτης, παῖς, κύριος, δεσπότης, οἶκος, *servus*, *verna*, *dominus*, *familia*, דָּבָר, תַּבָּר and לִיָּדָה (including related forms in Hebrew and Aramaic); and
- delimited by the aspects highlighted by the New Testament passages to be studied i.e. the legal, economic, social-familial, and religious relationship between slave-owner and slave with the emphasis on the rights and duties of the slave-owner in such relationship.

This search filter has been used throughout this study to establish the scope of material to be studied.

2.3 SLAVERY AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

The Greek world: Slavery in the Greek world may seem irrelevant to the present study considering that the New Testament was written during the first century A.D. However, Bartchy (1973:40) concludes in his study of 1 Corinthians 7:21 that many slaves (at least in Corinth) lived under Greek law. Pringsheim (1950:481) draws the same conclusion on the basis that the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire rejected Roman law especially with regard to the sale of slaves. I thus consider slavery in the Greek world to be relevant to this study.

Although the Greeks considered all forms of non-free labour to be δουλεία, chattel slavery must be distinguished from other forms of non-free labour found in the Greek world (Garlan 1988:85).²⁸ However, by the sixth century chattel slavery appear to have constituted a “superior” mode of exploitation. During the classical period neither the legitimacy of slavery nor its practical necessity was questioned by Athenians (Garlan 1988:138).²⁹ In classical Athens chattel slavery made considerable progress during the time of Solon parallel to the advancement of the freedom of some (Garlan 1988:39). For purposes of this study chattel slavery in classical Athens is accepted as the dominant form of slavery in the Greek world up to the end of the Hellenistic period (see Garlan 1988:55).

The Roman world: Despite many philosophical debates on the subject (see chapter 4 below) slavery was never seriously questioned as an integral part of Roman society (Bradley 1994:137). Society was strictly viewed in terms of the polarity between slaves

²⁸ For purposes of this study, I consider Garlan’s (1988) discussion of Greek slavery to be satisfactory, augmented by other sources where available.

²⁹ This statement discounts the various philosophical doctrines advanced from the fourth century BC onward (Garlan 1988:138). These doctrines will be discussed in chapter 4.

and free citizens (Wiedemann 1987:5). This sharp distinction between slave and free was codified and reinforced by the development of Roman law (see chapter 3 below). Roman slavery exhibited certain general features (Bradley 1987:14-17):

- Slavery was not a static institution but developed with the expansion of the Roman Empire;
- Slaves did not form a rigid social class with a recognisable consciousness of itself; and
- The circumstances of slave-owners varied almost as much as those of slaves.

Roman slavery also exhibited great complexity: From sale and manumission to material success and physical abuse (Bradley 1994:4). The fact of the matter is that there were many variations and contradictions in the treatment of slaves and their daily living. As such, slavery in Rome must be approached as a social relationship binding slave and slave-owner together (Wiedemann 1987:22). Although the economic aspect of slavery is important, it remains secondary to slavery as a social institution founded on the exercise of authority over an inferior party by a superior party (Bradley 1994:16). The latter point highlights the difference the owner-slave relationship and other unequal social relationships such as that of emperor and subject, and father and son: The owner-slave relationship was not subjected to any restricting factors (Wiedemann 1987:23; Bradley 1994:5).

Owning slaves was typical of many levels of Roman society, although the number of slaves owned varied greatly (Bradley 1994:12). Many households probably had no slaves at all (Balsdon 1969:107). Slave-owning was a never failing source of personal economic benefit to owners derived from their almost limitless abilities to control and coerce human property (Bradley 1994:24). Slave-holding was an expression of power as attested by the synonymity between the Latin concepts of power (*potestas*) and slave-ownership (*dominium*). *Potestas* refers generally to the “power to do something, power over something, control” (Simpson 1959:460). It may also refer to dominion and official authority. *Dominium* refers to “rule, power, ownership” (Simpson 1959:201). The semantic overlap between these two terms is clear: Ownership indicates a legal relationship between owner and object, but also a power relationship. The owner’s power over his slaves was the power of life and death, and thus slavery was considered in many ways as a state of living death (Bradley 1994:25).³⁰ The owner’s power vested in the fact that he allowed the slave to continue to live, if only in a condition of suspended death at the owner’s discretion. Consequently, the slave was utterly disempowered, isolated, without rights, degraded (Bradley 1994:27-29). Yet the reality of the everyday management of human property necessitated recognition of slaves’ human character. *Auctoritas* refers to “power conferred [i.e. official power], rights, command ... legal title” (Simpson 1959:66), thus bringing together both *potestas* and *dominium*. But it goes beyond mere power and ownership to include “influence, authority, prestige”. It denotes the quality of actual power in the individual based on the willing compliance of subordinates and the esteem of the individual’s colleagues, rather than official authority of social status or government office (Harrill 2006:2).

³⁰ See 2.2.3 above with regard to Patterson’s definition (1982) of slavery as social death.

The Jewish world: The existence of slavery as an every day experience was taken for granted in Graeco-Roman times by Jews, Greeks, and Romans in equal measure (Hezser 2005:1).³¹ Jews owned slaves and Jews were enslaved to Jewish and non-Jewish owners (Wright 1998:84; Hezser 2005:381). Some scholars argue that there is no reason to distinguish between slavery in Jewish and Graeco-Roman society (cf Martin 1993:113). In many sources Jewish slaves and slave-owners remain unidentified either as Jews or as slaves or slave-owners. Yet, even though the constituent elements of slavery are the same for all social orders, the specific configuration of elements will be understood differently in different socio-economic systems (Patterson 1982:27-27).

Such contextual variations must be taken into account when attempting to understand slavery in the Jewish, Greek, and Roman contexts of the New Testament (Bartchy 1992:66). The differences in configuration emerge from a number of elements common to all slave-owning societies (Hezser 2005:8-12). These include the institutionalisation of slavery, the fact that the majority of slaves are recruited from outside the society itself, the total alienation of slaves from society, culture, and gender rendering them neutral in all respects, and their total lack of honour. In both Jewish and Graeco-Roman society slaves were considered nameless outsiders (Hezser 2005:381). It follows that many of the features of Roman slavery described in this chapter were also applicable to Jewish slavery in antiquity. Consequently the following discussion will focus on the differences rather than the similarities.

The Jews of the Second Temple period lived in a world where slavery played a role vastly different from that of their Biblical predecessors (Wright 1998:83). Slavery did not play such an important economic role in Old Testament times, and the legal position of slaves differed from that in Hellenistic and Roman times (see chapter 3 below). The Old Testament reflects a society in which the citizen does not appear to be at the centre of human activity (Hezser 2005:90). The distinction between Israel and other nations were much more important than the Graeco-Roman distinction between slave and free, and thus the latter distinction within ancient Israel became blurred. This is confirmed by the attempts in the Torah to reduce the distinction between Israelite debt slaves and free Israelites (Hezser 2005:90).³² The Jewish slave was more of an apprenticed servant than a slave (Garnsey 1996:27). He retained his family ties and standing and was therefore essentially independent from the householder (cf Flesher 1988:19). This did not apply to foreign slaves: They were the property of their owners (cf Lev 25:44-46).

Greek Jewish literature from Hellenistic and Roman times however affirmed the slave-free distinction and made no mention of any distinction between Jewish and gentiles slaves (Hezser 2005:93). The ancient Jewish writers took slavery for granted, writing about it as freemen from the economically secure position of male members of the

³¹ For purposes of this study, I consider Herzer's (2005) discussion of Jewish slavery in antiquity to be satisfactory, augmented by other sources where available.

³² See Lev 25:39-41, Exod 21:2 and Deut 15:12.

middle to upper classes of society (Hezser 2005:380). Rabbinic literature was also more concerned with the more general opposition between enslaved and free persons, depicting slaves as a homogenous status group (Hezser 2005:93). Yet traces of distinction between slaves are to be found in the literature. The personal slaves of the patriarch probably occupied the highest status category amongst slaves followed by the slaves of ordinary rabbis (Hezser 2005:100ff). These slaves acted as intermediaries between their owners, much like the Roman slaves mediating relations between the free (Hezser 2005:102).

Although the slave-free distinction was emphasised by Graeco-Roman and Jewish writers alike, the boundaries between the two categories were in reality rather blurred (Hezser 2005:105). This is best illustrated by those who were part of both worlds yet did not properly belong to either namely half-slaves and freed slaves. The rabbinic sources attest to the existence of half-slaves (Hezser 2005:105-108). Half-slaves worked for themselves as well as their owners. This situation came about because of partial manumission or a slave belonging to two owners with one setting the slave free. Manumitted slaves also inhabited an in-between world (see 2.8 below).

Graeco-Roman and Jewish society differed greatly in viewpoints on service, subservience, and humility (Hezser 2005:177). Rabbis positively encouraged serving persons of higher status, gradually moving from the role of servant or apprentice to that of owner. This viewpoint was based on the Biblical model of individuals serving God which was used as a typology for the relationship between slave and owner (Hezser 2005:178). Such a typology did not exist in Graeco-Roman culture.

2.4 THE SLAVE POPULATION

The Greek world: The guiding principle of slavery in Athens was that no citizen of the State could be enslaved, although a limited number of exceptions are known (Garlan 1988:45). The Greeks felt a certain measure of repugnance in enslaving their own compatriots, rather showing solidarity as a means of distinguishing themselves from the barbarian world (Garlan 1988:50). Consequently the vast majority of slaves were non-Greek speakers imported from all peoples outside the Greek world. These slaves were procured either by way of force or voluntary delivery by their fellow-countrymen. Others sources of slaves were brigandage on land and piracy on sea (Garlan 1988:48). Lastly the natural increase in the slave population provided a constant source of slaves (Garlan 1988:52). Slaves born in the house were considered to be more loyal and could be apprenticed at an early age to acquire particular skills. Considering the available sources of slaves, it follows that most slaves were bought and sold in the slave trade (Garlan 1988:53).

The Roman world: The main sources of slaves in the Roman Empire were prisoners of war, natural reproduction among the existing slave population, infant exposure, long-distance trade beyond the boundaries of the Empire, and piracy and brigandage (Bradley 1994:32-38). The sudden shift from freedom to slavery must have been

devastating for the victims of enslavement. Some of the consequence included the breakdown of family relations, cultural confusion, and terrible conditions of transport (Bradley 1994:44-48). Children born in slavery might have enjoyed more fortuitous living conditions although many were born as a result of the sexual abuse of their mothers (Bradley 1994:48-50). And slaves were always at risk of being sold, also resulting in the breakdown of family ties.

The Jewish world: In the Hebrew Bible already there are indications of rural slaves and domestic slaves (Hezser 2005:299). Royal (or public) slaves and temple slaves are also mentioned. These distinctions continued to exist in Hellenistic and Roman times. Slaves in Roman Palestine came from the same sources as Roman slaves (Hezser 2005:223). Debt slavery or self-sale was prohibited by Roman law yet practiced in ancient Palestine on the authority of Biblical texts (Hezser 2005:235). Trade in slaves was common in Palestine, as in the whole ancient world (Hezser 2005:247). Both Jewish and gentile slaves were sold by professional slave traders at slave markets or transferred from one owner to another by mutual agreement. Rabbinic law regulated the sale of slaves in addition to Roman law (Hezser 2005:258ff; see chapter 3 below).

2.5 SLAVES AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The Greek world: The importance of slaves to the classical Greek economy lies in their productive work which accumulated the surplus that made their owners' quality of life and lifestyle possible (Garlan 1988:60). During Athenian times slaves had no truly professional qualifications but rather performed household tasks while living alongside their owners. Although slave-ownership was common, the poorest of free persons could not afford to own slaves. A citizen of average means owned at least three slaves (Garlan 1988:61). Domestic slaves also contributed to production within the family unit, especially with regard to agricultural production (Garlan 1988:63). In larger households, a housekeeper or steward would be set in charge of the slaves (Garlan 1988:69).

With agriculture being the most important sector of the ancient economy, many slaves were employed on the land (De Ste. Croix 1981:144, 505ff). Slaves also assisted in artisan workshops acquiring skills to become masons and carpenters, and assisted their merchant owners in their business dealings, including banking activities (Garlan 1988:66-67). Others engaged in prostitution, banqueting services, and so-called "liberal" professions for example doctor's assistants (Garlan 1988:68). There were also many public slaves who did manual labour and even constituted local police forces.

Slaves could be hired out by their owners to third parties and receive a wage according to the services rendered (Garlan 1988:70). Some Athenian slaves were allowed to work independently for their own account and live outside the owner's house with their families (Garlan 1988:71). However, all these forms of slave work still constituted exploitation of slaves as property.

The Roman world: In purely economical terms slaves were both producers and servants (Wiedemann 1987:30). Slaves engaged in a great variety of work roles in the Roman world (Bradley 1994:57-58). For legal purposes slaves were divided into two

categories namely domestic (or urban) slaves and rural slaves. The available lists³³ of slave jobs in both categories indicate that these jobs ranged from menial manual labour to skilled labour as artisans, secretaries, and surgeons. No occupation in Roman society was closed to slaves with the exception of military service (Bradley 1994:65). And yet no occupations were formally reserved for slaves alone either. The diversity of slave jobs emphasises the high visibility of slaves in every aspect of Roman economic life, whether in primary production or the provision of services (Bradley 1994:75).

Since slaves work their whole lives, the possibilities of promotion to jobs with greater responsibility existed (cf Balsdon, 1969:113; Bradley 1994:68). This was possible because of the slave hierarchy that existed within society and even households (Bradley 1994:70). Rural slaves were for example considered inferior to urban slaves and a slave's status within the hierarchy depended upon the size of the household to which he or she belonged and the standing of the owner. Within the household the hierarchy was occupationally determined e.g. the bailiff was the herdsman's superior. Slaves could be promoted to oversee the whole household, and conversely slaves could be punished by way of demotion. The slave population was thus not undifferentiated (Bradley 1994:73).

Slave-owners were under a strong obligation to provide their slaves with the basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, and shelter (Bradley 1994:81). The material well-being of a slave was determined on the one hand by the slave's function and status and on the other hand by his or her owner's degree of responsibility in meeting his material obligations to the slave (Bradley 1994:89). Yet ancient literature indicates that it would be wrong to assume that servile living conditions were uniformly and generically worse than those of all other groups in Roman society. Slaves' reaction to their material circumstances varied from passive acceptance to attempts to turn dependence upon an owner to his or her personal advantage (Bradley 1994:101-106).

The Jewish world: Similarly to Roman custom, the ancient Jewish family included free and unfree members (Hezser 2005:125-126). The functions of slaves within the household varied according to the owner's wealth and social status (Hezser 2005:139). Different functions requiring different levels of expertise led to a hierarchy of status within the household. Tasks varied from the most menial to the very influential such as administrators and teachers; yet most sources refer to domestic tasks (Hezser 2005:301). Some slaves worked as artisans or were hired out to workshops. Slaves also acted as intermediaries in business transactions (Hezser 2005:275ff).

2.6 SLAVES AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Greek world: The social conditions of slaves varied greatly depending on origin, juridical status, and employment (Garlan 1988:145). Slaves employed as forced labour

³³ Cf Bradley (1994:59-63) for these lists.

for example in mines and mills were the worst off, closely followed by the artisans and agricultural slaves. At the top of the hierarchy of slaves were the public slaves and slaves who lived and worked independently in return for a fee. These differences in social status were particularly detectable from the clothing worn (Garlan 1988:147).

Domestic slaves found themselves somewhere in between the most deprived and the most privileged (Garlan 1988:146). On the one hand they were most likely to enjoy some comfort and security, but on the other hand they were as likely to suffer at the hand of their owner, whether justified or not. Hierarchies of importance even existed within slave households (De Ste. Croix 1981:143).

The Roman world: The existence of slave marriages and slave families was a legal impossibility (Buckland 1908:76). A male slave could not legally be a father (Glancy 2006:9). Yet one can safely assume that slaves wished to establish and live in their own family units (Bradley 1987:47). There is indeed sufficient evidence to indicate that slave families in fact existed in the Roman world. These families constantly lived under the threat of instability brought about by the fact of their slave status (Bradley 1987:51-52). Such negative factors included sale and bequest, the fact that the owner's interests always took precedence, and the use of slave women as wet-nurses. These same factors perpetuated divisions among the large slave population and consequently served to maintain the social order (Bradley 1987:80). On the positive side manumission provided some familial stability (Bradley 1987:77).

The treatment of slaves in general depended heavily upon the customs of the owner's household, the business and social status of the owner, and the character of the owner himself (Bartchy 1973:68). The evidence attests to every sort of treatment by owners and every sort of relationship between owner and slave (Crook 1984:57). Yet it is clear from the evidence that from the first century AD there was increasingly strong public disapproval both of the ruthlessness of the law and of the arbitrary powers of owners (Balsdon 1969:109). Whether this disapproval was the result of greater humanitarianism or purely economical because of a greater scarcity of slaves, is debatable.

The Jewish world: Slave-breeding was encouraged in order to increase the number of slaves born within the household (called *vernae*) (Hezser 2005:183). Yet the focus on the nuclear family intensified, preserving its purity and boundaries (Hezser 2005:389). Thus the offspring of slave women were not integrated into the family but rather ostracised by being attributed slave status. This contrasts sharply with the Biblical integration of slave children into the family (Hezser 2005:391).

Generally speaking Jewish owners treated their slaves more considerately, based on the demands of Hebrew law (Bartchy 1992:70). Thus Jews forced into slavery sought Jewish purchasers.

2.7 SLAVES AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Greek world: Slaves' role in religious life was simply assigned to them by their owners (Garlan 1988:198). They were mere spectators in public cults and held subordinate positions in family ceremonies and rites. On rare occasions when slaves were protagonists in ceremonies of social inversion, these ceremonies merely served to reinforce the everyday social order (Garlan 1988:199). Owners determined the ceremonies and always retained control.

The Roman world: Household cults and the rites associated with it were considered to be very important to the prosperity of the family (Saller 1996:124). As members of the household, slaves participated fully in these rites and gained protection from the rites. Evidence from the New Testament suggests that slaves were called to conversion to Christianity as individuals and as members of households following the conversion of the owner (Bartchy 1992:68). These slave members were considered full members of the congregation despite their legal status (Bartchy 1992:71).

Slaves in the Roman Empire did not favour any specific cult outside the household to which a freedman or free man would not have wanted to belong (Bartchy 1973:76). Within religious groupings slaves often found social recognition and protection that they may have otherwise lacked. Slaves did share in some of the religious festivities of the free without fear of punishment (Balsdon 1969:124ff; Saller 1996:123ff). They also celebrated their own festivals and holidays (Balsdon 1969:75).

The Jewish world: Slavery blotted out differences in origin, ethnicity, culture, and religion (Hezser 2005:34). Jews enslaved by the Romans and taken to Italy were forced to participate in pagan cults and observe pagan ceremonies, and it seems unlikely that they would have been able to continue adherence to Jewish religious obligations. Similarly, non-Jewish slaves owned by Jewish owners would have been circumcised and forced to participate in the Jewish way of life (Flesher 1988:135; Hezser 2005:35).

2.8 SLAVES, MANUMISSION, AND FREEDMEN

The Greek world: Although evidence points to manumission as early as the end of the sixth century BC, it probably occurred even earlier in oral form (Garlan 1988:73). There is some evidence that manumission became more common from the fourth century onwards. This trend continued into Hellenistic times. The decision to manumit a slave was generally left to the discretion of the owner (Garlan 1988:74; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:130). Motivations for manumitting a slave varied greatly but were usually informed by economic considerations (Fischer 1993:68). Manumission enabled the slave-owner to recapitalise the value of old and weak slaves; the promise of freedom encouraged loyalty and diligence; conditional freedom indebted the slave to his or her owner; and as manumitted slaves were considered foreigners (ξένοι) in the city-state, they constructed the identity of the citizens as full members of the political community (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:59). Other considerations such as exchange of freedom for

services, a favour for a favour, fulfilment of promises, familial relations and ties of affection could also lead to manumission (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:153).

A manumitted slave became a freedman (Garlan 1988:77). Often the rights and obligations of the freedman were described in the act of manumission. While most such acts appear to grant the freedman unrestricted freedom, acts explicitly limiting the freedman's freedom became increasingly common. These limitations included payment of money for the repurchase of freedom, having a patron through whom he could approach the courts (προστάτης), performing various duties toward his former owner and staying with his former owner for a specified period of time (Fischer 1993:68; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:222ff).

The question arises as to whether a freedman subjected to such limitations was indeed free. The factual position seems to be that such a freedman belonged somewhere in between slavery and freedom (Garlan 1988:79). Socially, though not legally, these persons remained slaves (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:245). Freedmen were never wholly free, for the stain of servile origin could never be completely removed (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:333).

The Roman world: Manumission in Rome was either formal or informal (Bradley 1994:155). Formal manumission by a Roman owner resulted in full citizenship while informal manumission resulted in legal freedom but no citizenship (Bartchy 1973:42 fn 110). Some owners freed their slaves because of genuine affection, gratitude for specific acts of devotion, loyalty, and obedience (Bradley 1987:83; 1994:158-159). Manumission could also be the result of an agreement between slave and owner in terms of which the slave bought his freedom and thus compensated the owner for the loss of property caused by the manumission (Bradley 1994:159).

Manumission did not mean complete freedom for slaves and absolution from all responsibility towards their former owners (Bradley 1987:81). Conditions other than the payment of money were frequently attached to manumission for example continued servitude for a specific period (Bradley 1994:160). These conditions primarily served the interests of the slave-owner although the former slave did experience a dramatic improvement in social status (Bradley 1987:81). In cases of doubt as to whether the conditions were properly fulfilled, the principle of *favor libertatis* was applied, namely that the slave was to be given the benefit of the doubt to favour freedom. Freed slaves continued to be bound to their former owners by way of a patron-client relationship (Hezser 2005:109). This relationship assured them access to the law courts.

The Jewish world: The Roman law stipulations regarding manumission applied also to Jewish slaves and slave-owners (Hezser 2005:305-306). Many of these stipulations conflicted with the Biblical manumission laws.³⁴ Whether these Biblical laws were

³⁴ Exod 21; Lev 25; Deut 15. See also chapter 3 below.

implemented is open to debate. The Mishnah also contained manumission rules (Hezser 2005:308-314; see chapter 3 below). It seems that Jewish manumission practices were influenced by Hellenistic customs.

Although manumitted slaves were in principle free, they were considered to be a specific group within free society upon whom certain limitations were placed (Hezser 2005:109). Sources suggest that certain obligations continued to exist between a freedman and his former Jewish owner (Hezser 2005:111). This relationship may have been influenced by the Roman patron-client relationship.

2.9 SLAVES AND REBELLION

The Greek world: Chattel slaves seem to have started or organised very few revolts (Garlan 1988:180). This may be explained by reason of their depersonalisation and consequent lack of aspiration for liberty (Garlan 1988:191). The heterogeneous composition of the slave population in terms of origins, languages and common goals contributed to the lack of rebellion amongst slaves (De Ste. Croix 1981:146). Athenian owners probably feared individual actions by their slaves more than rebellion by the whole slave population against the free population. These actions of rebellion would have included theft, plundering and pilfering, negligence bordering on sabotage, and flight (Garlan 1988:193; see also Fischer 1993:79ff). In extreme cases it might have manifested in the murder of an owner. A number of measures available to owners deterred such conduct, combined with a measure of acceptance of domination that is perceived to be legitimate (Garlan 1988:197). In fact, there is hardly any evidence of activist and spontaneous struggles on the part of slaves based on a strong counter ideology.

The Roman world: Evidence of revolt among slaves in the Roman Empire indicates that organised revolts were few and far between and limited to 140-70 BC.³⁵ This does not mean, however, that revolt was the only form of resistance available to slaves (Bradley 1994:109). The other forms of resistance ranged from violent acts such as suicide, assault and murder to lying, cheating, and theft, wastefulness with regard to time and resources, and petty sabotage. Such behaviour was always considered bad by slave-owners (Bradley 1994:123). And while slave-owners may from time to time have acknowledged that slaves behaved “badly” because of ill treatment, such misdeeds were never condoned. Owners could never comprehend slaves’ misdeeds as appropriate and defensible reactions of victimised human beings (Bradley 1994:124). The fact that slaves were prepared to face the fearful consequences of flight, comments on the harsh ill treatment that many slaves endured. Yet there is no evidence of resistance fuelled by an ideological ambition to change the structure of Roman society (Bradley 1994:130).

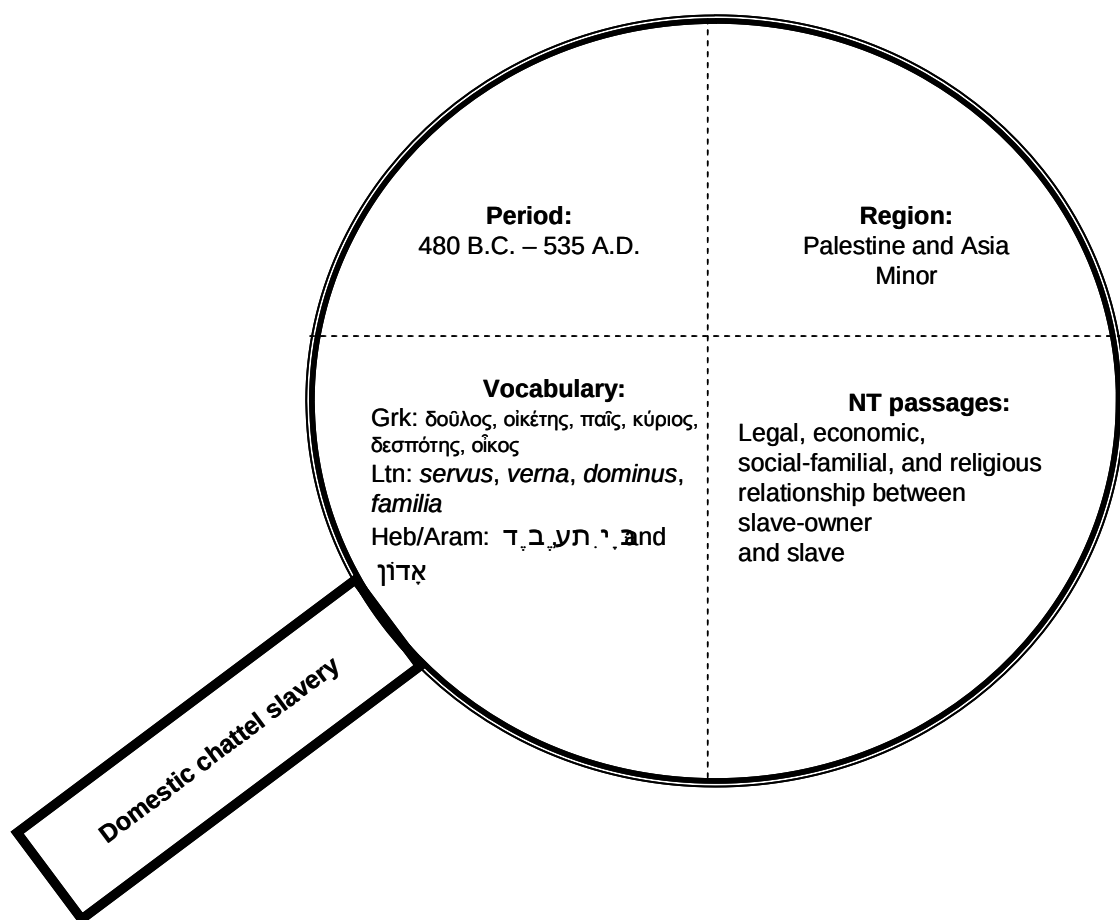
The Jewish world: Rebellion among Jews led to enslavement of Jews by the Romans, particularly during the first and second Jewish revolts (Hezser 2005:229). These revolts cannot be classified as class wars although there were manifestations of class conflict within them (Hezser 2005:239). These manifestations included the burning of records

³⁵ For a full discussion on slaves and rebellion see Bradley (1989).

of debt to garner support among the poor and the proclamation of liberty for slaves by leaders of the revolts. There is no evidence of any specific revolts among Jewish slaves or slaves owned by Jewish owners.

2.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter aimed to provide an overview of slavery in Greek and Roman antiquity as general context of the New Testament and other passages to be studied in the following chapters. In order to delimit the scope of the overview and the subsequent material to be studied, the following search filter was defined:



This filter has been successfully applied to slavery in the Greek world, the Roman Empire, and among Jews during antiquity (see 2.3 to 2.9 above). The overview emphasises the scope and diversity of slavery during the period under investigation. Greek, Roman, and Jewish law has been discussed in the following chapter, using this overview as general context. The search filter has been applied in all succeeding chapters to delimit the scope of the study.

2.11 CONCLUSIONS

From the evidence presented in this chapter, the following may be concluded:

- Slavery was an accepted legal and social phenomenon in Greek, Roman, and Jewish life. In Jewish thought, however, slavery was cast in the context of humility before and service and subservience to God. This became the accepted typology for the relationship between slave and slave-owner, a typology that survived in the relevant texts in the New Testament (see 7.3.6 below).
- In the Greek world only foreigners were enslaved, but in Greco-Roman and Jewish contexts Romans and Jews could also be enslaved. In all three contexts the slave trade flourished.
- In all three worlds slaves played a pivotal role in economic prosperity, both as producers and cheap labour. They fulfilled a wide variety of tasks in the economy from manual labour to skilled work.
- In all three contexts slaves were considered part of the household. In the Roman world slaves could not legally marry or have children. In the Jewish tradition the preservation of the purity of the household often led to the exclusion of slaves, despite the Biblical integration of slave children into the family. The treatment of slaves by their owners varied widely depending upon the character, attitudes, social status, *et cetera* of the owner.
- As far as religion was concerned, a slave by default shared the religious convictions of his owner.
- Manumission was common in all three worlds, with the notable difference being the mandatory release of Hebrew slaves in terms of Biblical law. After manumission slaves in all three worlds became freedmen who were in principle free but were legally and socially heavily restricted in their freedom.
- Organised revolts among slaves were few and far between and usually led to greater enslavement. Rebellion was rather expressed by way of other forms of resistance.

CHAPTER 3

CONSTRUCTING THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVE-OWNERS AS SOCIO-HISTORIC CONTEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Abridged table of contents

3.1	INTRODUCTION.....	35
3.2	GENERAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK, ROMAN AND JEWISH LAW	36
3.3	THE PRIMARY SOURCES	39
3.4	LEGAL DEFINITIONS OF FREEDOM AND SLAVERY	43
3.5	ENSLAVEMENT	49
3.6	THE LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVES	55
3.7	RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF SLAVES	63
3.8	THE SOCIAL RIGHTS OF SLAVES	67
3.9	SLAVES AND THE ECONOMY	70
3.10	RUNAWAY SLAVES	78
3.11	MANUMISSION OF SLAVES AND FREEDMEN.....	82
3.12	THE RIGHTS OF SLAVE-OWNERS IN RESPECT OF THEIR SLAVES	95
3.13	LIMITATIONS ON THE RIGHTS OF SLAVE-OWNERS.....	101
3.14	THE DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS OF SLAVE-OWNERS	108
3.15	CHAPTER SUMMARY	110
3.16	CONCLUSIONS	112

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to construct the rights and duties of slave-owners in antiquity as part of the socio-historic context of the New Testament. In order to achieve this aim, the primary sources referring to Greek, Roman and Jewish law of slavery will first be described. Relevant texts from these sources will then be identified by way of the search filter defined in chapter 2, and the identified texts have been analysed and interpreted. In the analysis and interpretation of these sources, the pitfalls of using these sources described in 1.4.3 have been borne in mind. The results of this process of analysis and interpretation will be used as socio-historic context when studying the relevant New Testament passages in chapter 6. The present chapter concludes with a summary.

Although this study focuses on the legal rights and duties of slave-owners, it is necessary to also take into consideration the rights and especially duties of slaves. Rights and duties represent two sides of the same coin. When two parties for example conclude a contract, one party must deliver the performance as stipulated in the agreement (the duty) and the other party is entitled to claim such performance by legal process (the right) (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:251). For every legal duty there is a corresponding legally enforceable right. And thus a survey of the duties of slaves will also constitute a list of rights of owners, and *vice versa*.

3.2 GENERAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK, ROMAN AND JEWISH LAW

3.2.1 Greek law

What is the relevance of Greek law to this study? In respect of the sale of slaves in the Roman world, Pringsheim (1950:481, 483) states that “[t]he Greek notaries did not merely ignore Roman law, but openly rejected it”, showing “tough resistance of popular Greek conceptions to Roman influence”. He bases his argument on the fact that the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire rejected Roman law especially with regard to the sale of slaves. Whereas Roman law offered protection for the purchasers of slaves against latent defects, Greek law limited such protection. Bartchy (1973:40) concludes in his study of 1 Corinthians 7:21 that many slaves (at least in Corinth) lived under Greek law. This should not be surprising since the eastern part of the Roman Empire preserved the Greek language and the products of classical Greek literature and science (Kelly 1992:82). There is little reason to believe that this legacy did not include Greek law.

The ancient Greek did not develop a legal science in the sense that the Romans did i.e. “a body of systematised legal knowledge and doctrine, generally accepted as authoritative over the area of the culture from which it springs, having a unity of its own distinct and separate from political science” (Calhoun 1977:1). Yet the Greeks did have a legal science in a broader sense namely as historical and comparative jurisprudence, the analysis of legal concepts, and the philosophy of law. Since the Greek world was divided into many independent political units each with its own body of law, local laws diverged from what may be termed the common law of the Hellenes (Calhoun 1977:2). Local laws were also only effective within each unit’s own territory.

On the basis of convenience, Greek legal development can be divided into five periods: The Primitive Monarchy (up to ±800 BC), the Aristocracy (±800-650 BC), the Age of the Lawgivers (±650-500 BC), Athenian Democracy (503-338 BC), and the Hellenistic Period (338-30 BC) (Calhoun 1977:1-2). The latter two periods are relevant to this study (see 2.2.1 above): ³⁶

³⁶ For a more detailed discussion beyond the scope of this study see Calhoun (1977:30-57).

- The fifth century in Athens was characterised by political experimentation with democracy (Calhoun 1977:30). In the democracy the source of law was the will of the people expressed in νόμοι (laws) and ψηφίσματα (resolutions). The considerable legacy of legal science during this period is to be found in the works of the philosophers and their influence on Roman law (Calhoun 1977:56). However, the influence of Greek law did not extend to concrete rules of practical law (Kelly 1992:48). The influence of religion on law was clearly evidenced by legislation regarding religious observance and offences (cf Parker 2005:61-81).
- The Hellenistic period was characterised by expansion, adjustment, and amalgamation of the legal ideas and practices of the different Hellenic states, influencing the forms in which Greek law and legal thought came into contact with Roman law and became an important factor in the latter's development (Calhoun 1977:50; Zane 1998:118). This amalgamation was the result of a shift in constitutional dispensation from majority rule to minority rule under the auspices of a foreign power which in turn resulted in the concentration of legal activities such as interpretation, application, and enactment of law in the hands of a few (Calhoun 1977:51). Now the ultimate source of law was a foreign sovereign.

Throughout the development of Greek law one element remained constant, namely the doctrine of natural law (Calhoun 1977:74; cf Zane 1998:132-134). Despite resistant, the idea of an absolute, universal standard of right transcending the laws of a particular society persisted. It was an important factor in the development of Roman law, perpetuated and proclaimed by the Stoics.

As far as Greek law of slavery is concerned, the laws served three purposes which were at least partly contradictory (Fisher 1993:58):

- The maintenance and reinforcement of the fundamental distinction between slave and free;
- The preservation of the institution, allowing owners a great deal of control over their slaves; and
- Some legal protection for slaves by delimiting the powers of owners over their slaves to some extent.

3.2.2 Roman law

The inherent spirit of Roman law is best considered through the eyes of the elite on legal matters, and specifically the jurists³⁷ (Watson 1995:34). The enduring characteristics of Roman law were shaped by the struggle between the patricians and the plebeians for control of the Roman Republic, established in 509 BC. This struggle culminated in the codification of civil law in the Twelve Tables in 451-450 BC (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:29). The Twelve Tables laid the foundation of the following characteristics of Roman law (Watson 1995:37-41):³⁸

³⁷ See 3.3.2 below with regard to the role of the Roman jurists as sources of Roman law.
³⁸ For a more detailed discussion beyond the scope of this study see Watson (1995:37-41).

- Religious law was excluded, since the rituals of the state religion and the priestly offices were the monopoly of the elite. This fact lends Roman law its decidedly secular appearance.
- Roman private law exhibits a distinctly egalitarian character since the patricians attempted to appease the plebeians' demands for equal rights of liberty. This egalitarianism was however an illusion for the fundamental distinction between freeborn and slave governed private law.
- Roman jurists exhibited a form of legal logic and interpretation removed from particular political, social, and economic reality. Ultimately, Roman law was driven by the pursuit of clarity of legal concepts even when it resulted in a distortion of reality.
- Roman law was recognisably the same at around 200 BC, during the Republic and Principate, and even in the time of Justinian's codification in the sixth century AD. This characteristic is true for the whole of Roman private law, including the law of slavery. The evidence also points to the widespread application of Roman law throughout the empire (Johnston 1999:11).

This is the general legal context of the Roman law of slavery which infiltrated every aspect of Roman private law. In the words of Crook (1967:55): "[t]here can be scarcely a title of the *Digest* in which he [a slave] does not figure".

3.2.3 Jewish law

The Hebrew laws are the product of a long development (Zane 1998:80). Broadly speaking, the development of Jewish law can be divided into two periods namely the pre- and post-Talmudic periods (Elon 1994:39). The second runs from the sixth or seventh century AD to the present day, and falls outside the scope of this study (see 2.10 above). The first starts with the written Torah and ends with the completion of the Talmud, with the following sub-divisions (Elon 1994:41-42):

- The Biblical period to Ezra and Nehemiah (until approximately the middle of the fifth century BC);
- The period from Ezra and Nehemiah until the Zugot ("Pairs") (until approximately 160 BC);
- The period of the Zugot (approximately 160 BC until the beginning of the AD era);
- The period of the Tannaim (from the destruction of the temple until 220 AD);
- The period of the Amoraim (from 220 AD until the end of the fifth century AD);
- The period of the Savoraim (until the end of the sixth or the middle of the seventh century AD).

The fundamental norm of Jewish law is that everything set forth in the Torah or Written Law is binding on the Jewish legal system (Elon 1994:232). The source for the authority of the Torah is the Ruler of the universe, the Giver of the Law to Moses at Sinai. Jewish law is thus religious in that its root source is divine revelation (Elon 1994:4). Religious and non-religious laws are found in the same divinely revealed sources (see 3.3.3 below). The Ten Commandments illustrate the point: Alongside a commandment on the observance of the Sabbath, one finds the commandment not to steal. This distinguishes Jewish law from Greek and Roman law, both of which developed into secular legal systems. Because of the religious nature of Jewish law, its sources are interpreted exegetically (Elon 1994:283ff). For this purpose the thirteen canons of interpretation and other exegetical rules were formulated (Elon 1994:318-319).

The laws considered peculiarly divine by the Jewish people are the Ten Commandments (Zane 1998:87). These laws are legal, religious or moral in nature. No penalties are prescribed, apart from the threat of evil consequences for non-compliance. These consequences often involve the whole community rather than only guilty individuals. The Ten Commandments do not, except by inference, cover many fields of law, and in these matters Jewish law exhibited great liberality (Zane 1998:93). The Jewish law of slavery provides an excellent example.³⁹ Further developments took place in the fields of commercial law (e.g. just weights, balances, and measures⁴⁰), the law of evidence (proof provided by two or more witnesses⁴¹), the law of succession (the firstborn being entitled to a double portion⁴²), and the law of persons (acknowledgement of individual liability⁴³) (Zane 1998:93-95). The latter was the greatest single principle developed by Jewish priests: Each individual should be liable in law only for his own acts or omissions, replacing the concept of familial liability (Zane 1998:96-97).

3.3 THE PRIMARY SOURCES

3.3.1 Greek law

It is true that no Greek legal literature in the sense of legal writings by jurists has survived (Calhoun 1977:58).⁴⁴ Greek law never produced a great collection of laws comparable to the sources of Roman law since the Greek world was divided into many independent political units (Arnaoutoglou 1998:xiii). The sources for the study of Greek law are sporadic and incomplete, many collections of laws compiled by the likes of Aristotle for comparative study and analysis having been lost. With regard to the classical period of Greek law namely the age of Athenian democracy, primary sources only start to appear towards the fifth and fourth centuries BC (Calhoun 1977:5). In the Hellenistic period epigraphical material becomes more abundant. These sources testify in comparative fashion to legal theory, practice, and institutions. Other sources of Greek law include literary works and manuals on household management i.e. the selection, training, and management of slaves

³⁹ The specifics will be dealt with at the relevant sub-sections below.

⁴⁰ Lev 19:35-36; Deut 25:13-15.

⁴¹ Deut 17:6; 19:15.

⁴² Deut 21:17.

⁴³ Deut 24:16.

⁴⁴ For a more detailed discussion beyond the scope of this study see Calhoun (1977:58-86).

(Fisher 1993:7-8).

On a theoretical level, legal studies were considered to be part of philosophy, but on a practical level, it was included in the discipline of rhetoric (Calhoun 1977:58). The great orators of antiquity used the art of rhetoric to put across their legal arguments and consequently their writings constituted the first legal text books (Calhoun 1977:60-62). Their writings cannot be compared to the writings of jurists aimed at the exposition of legal dogma, yet are valuable in view of the fact that decisions in Greek courts were not recorded in opinions. The writings of the orators provide the next best evidence.

During the fifth century BC philosophers turned their attention to questions relating to law and its place in the natural world (Calhoun 1977:63-64). Their teachings are not always easily understood because of the fragmentary nature of the surviving sources and difficulties in determining comparable concepts in different languages. Although some general conclusions are possible, it seems that there was no attempt to define legal concepts and thus create a science of law. Plato was the eminent philosopher during the first half of the fourth century and few of his works do refer to the nature and function of law⁴⁵, although it is not easy to determine when he is reporting actual practice or proposing innovation (Calhoun 1977:68-70).

Aristotle's contribution was more geared towards actual practices and institutions (Calhoun 1977:70-73). With his studies of Greek constitutions, he laid the foundations for comparative and historical jurisprudence, culminating in his *Politica*. Although it is not intended as a legal textbook, it points to Aristotle's understanding of the fundamental importance of the legal system in any state. In *Rhetorica* he also provides definitions and analysis of fundamental juristic concepts. Aristotle's pupil and successor, Theophrastus, compiled the first specialised work on the law and legal institutions of the Hellenic states (Calhoun 1977:73). This work has to a great extent been lost.

3.3.2 Roman law

The ancient sources of Roman law⁴⁶ are defined by Gaius as legislation, resolutions of the Senate, edicts of elected public officials, imperial enactments, and decisions of the jurists (G.1.1-7). The emperor Justinian added custom to this list (Inst.1.2). Earlier, Cicero also included equity and decided cases as a source of Roman law (*Topica* 5.28). Cicero's inclusion is probably explained by the fact that he wrote *Topica* between 46 and 44 BC as a philosophical rather than juristic treatise (Howatson 1989:131). The decisions (or opinions) of the jurists constituted the most influential source of Roman law, yet lacked any formal authority (Robinson 1997:42). The jurists were consulted on legal matters by the emperors, judges, and private citizens. They also produced textbooks for beginners (for example Gaius' *Institutes*) and more advanced learners (for example the *Opinions of Paul*) containing dogmatic statements of law and maxims. The interpretation of the law was in the hands of

⁴⁵ *Respublica* and *Leges* deal specifically with these aspects.

⁴⁶ For a more detailed discussion beyond the scope of this study see Robinson (1997:25-54).

these jurists (Watson 1987:5).

These primary sources were transmitted primarily by way of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* commissioned by the emperor Justinian in the early sixth century AD (Robinson 1997:56). This collection consists of four parts namely the Institutes, the Digest, the Code, and the Novels. The Institutes was designed as an elementary work for first-year law students, the Digest was an edited collection of the writings of the great jurists such as Gaius and Paul, the Code was a collection of imperial legislation including much of the material contained in the Theodosian Code, and the Novels contained Justinian's own subsequent legislation (Robinson 1997:20). The Institutes and Digest were published together in 529 AD and the Code a year later.

Subsidiary sources include the Theodosian Code (dating to the mid-fifth century) and a number of legal works written by the jurists (dating to the late third and early fourth centuries). Of these legal works, the Institutes of Gaius are for two reasons of great importance (Robinson 1997:62). Firstly, it was written in the later second century during the classical period of Roman law, and secondly, it has been transmitted free of the influence of Justinian's compilers. The Opinions of Paul was a handbook on Roman law aimed at practitioners (Robinson 1997:63). All these works, and especially the Institutes, the Digest, the Code, have survived through the centuries and are available in satisfactory modern versions.

3.3.3 Jewish law

The vast majority of sources on ancient Jewish slavery are literary⁴⁷ in nature (Hezser 2005:12). For the period from the Sinaitic Revelation to the Tannaim, the sources include the Torah, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa – the three parts of the Hebrew Old Testament (Elon 1994:1020-1027). Other sources for this period include papyri, the Septuagint, the works of Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus, and the Apocrypha (Elon 1994:1028-1036).

For the Tannaitic period to the redaction of the Talmud, the following sources exist (Elon 1994:1039-1040):

- the Aramaic *Targumim* (translations of Scripture)⁴⁸;
- collections of halakhic *midrashim*⁴⁹;
- the Mishnah⁵⁰;

⁴⁷ "Literary sources of law" refer to the authoritative and recognised repositories of the rules of a legal system (Elon 1994:1017).

⁴⁸ These contain, according to tradition, many substantive laws not written in the Torah but transmitted to Moses orally (Elon 1994:1045).

⁴⁹ *Halakhah* refers to the normative portion of the Oral Law i.e. all the precepts of Judaism (Elon 1994:93; Safrai 1987:121-122). When studying the *Halakhah*, sages would connect the laws to the appropriate sections of the Torah or Written Law (Elon 1994:1047). This is the method of midrash. Collections of halakhic *midrashim* are compilations of laws and rules taught by the midrashic method (Elon 1994:1048).

- the Tosefta⁵¹;
- and the Jerusalem (or Palestinian) and Babylonian Talmuds⁵².

These sources developed by way of tradition (*kabbalah*), interpretation (*midrash*), legislation (*takkanah* and *gezerah*), custom (*minhag*), case or incident (*ma'aseh*), and legal reasoning (*sevarah*) (Elon 1994:238-239). The literature was formulated, transmitted, and edited by the Jewish intellectual elite i.e. priests, scribes, and rabbis. These authors did not, however, belong to the social elite, as many of them did not own land and accumulated wealth. They rather worked in other professions such as merchants and artisans, placing them in the middle classes of society (Hezser 2005:12-13). Their perspective on slavery thus differed from that of Greek and Roman upper-classwriters.

These sources were written in Mishnaic Hebrew, covering a period between 70 and 250 AD (Bar-Asher 1987:568). Mishnaic Hebrew originated in the language spoken in various regions of Palestine during the Second Temple period, although some characteristics of Mishnaic Hebrew already appear in the Old Testament (Bar-Asher 1987:570). Mishnaic Hebrew borrowed certain grammatical, lexical, and semantic elements from Aramaic (Bar-Asher 1987:586). Knowledge of Aramaic spread in Palestine after the return from Babylonian exile (Breuer 2006:598). Yet Hebrew survived in all walks of life at least until the end of the Tannaic period (the beginning of the third century AD). This co-existence of Hebrew and Aramaic and their similarity resulted in confusion between the two, although Hebrew was still considered to be a holy language and Aramaic a secular language (Breuer 2006:600). The influence of Greek on Rabbinic literature can be deduced from the more than one thousand Greek words used in it (Sperber 2006:627). In centres of Roman administration such as Tiberias and Caesarea, inhabitants would of necessity have had a working knowledge of Greek. Rabbinic sources also indicate direct knowledge of Roman legal sources in Greek (Sperber 2006:632).

Much of the available material focuses on Roman Palestine (Hezser 2005:13). Non-Jewish sources include Christian texts such as the New Testament and late Roman imperial legislation from the time of Constantine onwards. By far the largest percentage of material is to be found in rabbinic documents (Hezser 2005:14). These writings contain many legal and narrative texts on slaves and slave-ownership, yet were not intended as historiographic accounts, and can therefore not be used as

⁵⁰ The Mishnah is the most important literary source of the *Halakhah* (Elon 1994:1049). It differs from the halakhic *midrashim* in the following respects: Firstly, it records the rules of the Oral Law as abstract, self-contained legal propositions without any reference to Scripture (halakhic or mishnaic style). Secondly, it is arranged according to subjects and issues rather than according to the books of the Old Testament (Goldberg 1987a:214).

⁵¹ The *Tosefta* is the only surviving example of a supplement to the Mishnah explaining *mishnayot* by way of reasons, additional arguments or clarifications (Elon 1994:1079). It also includes the teachings of the last Tannaic generations which, in the main, were not included in the Mishnah (Goldberg 1987b:283).

⁵² These two Talmuds are the most important literary sources of Jewish law (Elon 1994:1083, 1099). They contain the discussions of the *amoraim* or the sages who lived after the redaction of the Mishnah and devoted themselves to the interpretation and explication thereof (Elon 1994:1084). The Palestinian Talmud is primary in importance since it is closest in literary tradition and material conditions to Tannaic literature (Goldberg 1987c:307).

direct historical evidence of ancient Jewish slavery (cf Flesher 1988:xi). The texts do, however, lend themselves to socio-historical investigations and studies of rabbinic legal theory (Hezser 2005:15), and are therefore relevant to this study. The Mishnah specifically defined Israel's social order in terms of a comprehensive worldview aimed at a specific way of life (Neusner 1999:vii). This worldview incorporates transcendent things and a way of life responding to a supernatural interpretation of reality (Neusner 1999:x). This way of life revolved around sanctification, distinguishing Israel from the world and establishing a stable, regular, predictable order.

3.4 LEGAL DEFINITIONS OF FREEDOM AND SLAVERY

3.4.1 Greek law

<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> (Westermann 1959:10)	
Context: This passage dates from 170-157/6 BC (Westermann 1959:10). It is an excellent example of statement of the four elements of freedom in Greek thought.	
Passage: ἐφ' οἷτε ⁱ ἀνέφαπτο[υς] εἶμεν καὶ αὐτὰν καὶ τὰ παιδάρια ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον, ποιούντας ὃ κα θέλωντι καὶ οἰκεούσας εἴ κα θέλωντι καὶ ἐρπούσας οἷς κα θέλωντι. εἰ δέ τις ἐφάπτοιο ⁱⁱ τοῖς τρείοις, ἔστω ὁ παρατυχὼν συλέων ὡς ἐλευθέρους.	Own translation with grammatical notes: ..., on condition that ⁱ we cannot be reclaimed [having been manumitted] and to doing as he wishes and living where he wishes and going where he wishes. But if someone claims as his property ⁱⁱ in terms of these three, let a chance passerby rescue like a free man. ⁱ⁾ Combination of ἐφ' plus the relative pronoun οἷτε plus the enclitic τε (cf Smyth 1956:97, 512). ⁱⁱ⁾ Used as a legal term for claiming something as your property (Liddell <i>et al</i> 1996).
Interpretation: Freedom consists of these elements: A free man is not subject to seizure as property; he may do as he wishes; he may go where he wishes. Westermann (1959:10) adds a fourth element: A free man is his own master in all legal matters. By extension, the opposite would be true of a slave.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: A slave would be subject to seizure, limited in his actions and movements, and require a representative in legal proceedings.	

<i>Aristoteles Politica</i> 1253b32
Context: Aristotle's (ca. 435 – 335 BC) <i>Politica</i> represents typical writings on political theory in ancient Greece and Rome (Nussbaum 2003c:1206). He provides an account of εὐδαιμονία ⁱ since those things that are politically distributed such as property and offices are means to achieve human flourishing. He also considers various regimes in an attempt to identify the best form of government. Aristotle's statements on slaves must therefore first and foremost be considered in a political rather than legal context. This does, however, not necessarily imply that his statements on slavery, such as the one quoted below, are not juridically relevant and/or accurate. This definition forms part of a section dealing with household management, and specifically the relationship between slave-owner and slave. ⁱ⁾ According to Nussbaum (2003a:168), εὐδαιμονία is generally translated as "happiness" but may be more accurately rendered "human flourishing".

Passage: οὕτω καὶ τὸ κτῆμα ὄργανον πρὸς ζωὴν ἐστί, καὶ ἡ κτήσις πλήθος ὀργάνων ἐστί, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος κτῆμά τι ἔμψυχον, καὶ ὥσπερ ὄργανον πρὸ ὀργάνωνⁱⁱ πᾶς ὑπηρέτης.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Thus a thing possessed also constitutesⁱ a tool for the purpose of [a good] life, and property constitute a number of tools, and a slave is a living thing possessed of the same sort, and every assistant is as it were more of a tool than (other) toolsⁱⁱ. i) In this context, the present indicative form indicates a general truth (cf Smyth 1956:421). ii) In this context <i>προ</i> + genitive indicates preference (cf Smyth 1956:384).
Interpretation: Aristotle identifies the two natures of a slave namely as property (in this context a tool) and as a human being (“a living thing”). As a tool, its purpose is to provide its owner a good life.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The twofold nature of a slave must be discounted in any interpretation of New Testament passages on slave-owners.	

Plato <i>Politicus</i> 289d	
Context: In <i>Politicus</i> Plato deals critically with his own political philosophies and ideas (Annas 2003a:1191). He divides all property into classes in order to determine whether they belong to the art of being a statesman. According to Plato, slaves form a separate class as being those bought.	
Passage: Τοὺς ὠνητοὺς τε καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ κτητούς· οὓς ἀναμφισβητήτως δούλους ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν...	Own translation with grammatical notes: Those that have been bought and acquired in this manner, which we may indisputably call slaves...
Interpretation: A slave is a person who was bought for money or some other consideration. This definition focuses on the slave as property.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves in the New Testament must be considered to be the property of their owners and thus of monetary value.	

Dio Chrysostomos 14.1, 18	
Context: Dio Chrysostomos (earlier known as Dio Cocceianus) was a first century philosopher in the Stoic and Cynic traditions (Browning & Wilson 2003:470). His philosophy is based on typical Stoic concepts such as nature, virtue, and philanthropy. In this speech he deals with the distinction between slavery and freedom.	
Passage: 1. Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι μάλιστα πάντων, καὶ φασὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν αἰσχιστον καὶ δυστυχέστατον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο· ὅτι ἐστὶ τὸ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἢ ὃ, τι τὸ δουλεύειν, οὐκ	Own translation with grammatical notes: 1. Men desire above all things to be free persons, and they consider freedom [to be] the greatest of blessings, but slavery to be shameful and unfortunate. But this very thing namelyⁱ what it means to be free or to be a slave, they do not know. Accordingly, they also do practicallyⁱⁱ nothing at all on the one hand to avoid the shameful and hard to bear thing, namely slavery, and on the other hand to acquire what seems to them to be worth

ἴσασιν. καὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ποιοῦσιν οὐδέν, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν,ⁱ ὅπως τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκφεύξονται, τὴν δουλείαν, ὃ δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι, κτήσονται, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ταῦτα πράττουσιν ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντας διατελεῖν δουλεύοντας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ μηδεπώποτε ἐλευθερίας ἐπιτυγχάνειν. 18. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χρὴ λέγειν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐφειμένων καὶ τῶν κεκωλυμένων, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν ἄγνοιαν ὧν τε ἔξεστι καὶ ὧν μή.	much, namely freedom. But conversely they do such things as are necessary to continue to pursue slavery forever and yet never [such things as are necessary] to attain freedom. 18. Accordingly, it is necessary to say that freedom is the knowledge of what is allowed and what is prohibited, and that slavery is ignorance of what is allowed and what is not. ⁱ) Emphatically introduces a following substantive or an equivalent (Smyth 1956:268). ⁱⁱ) Qualifies a too absolute expression (Liddle <i>et al</i> 1996).
Interpretation: According to Chrysostomos, the common man does not know what the essential difference between slavery and freedom is. After arguing the point, the author comes to the conclusion in paragraph 18. Chrysostomos deals with freedom and slavery on a philosophical level rather than a legal or practical level.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slavery may be defined differently in philosophical, legal or even religious contexts. The context of each passage in the New Testament must thus be carefully determined.	

3.4.2 Roman law

Justinianus <i>Institutiones</i> 1.3.pr	
Context: This sentence appears in the first book dealing with the law of persons. The sentence is preceded by definitions of natural law, civil law, and the law of nations (cf Justinianus <i>Institutiones</i> 1.2.1.pr, 1). This sentence then states the general principle governing the Roman law of persons.	
Passage: Summa itaque divisio de iure personarumⁱ haec est, quod omnes homines aut liberiⁱⁱ sunt aut serviⁱⁱⁱ.	Own translation with grammatical notes: And thus the most important division in the law of personsⁱ is that all people are either free personsⁱⁱ or slavesⁱⁱⁱ. ⁱ) The law of persons refers to all institutions influencing the legal status (<i>status</i>) of a person and his capacity to have rights and assume obligations (Berger 1953:628). These institutions include liberty and slavery, citizenship, family, and marriage. ⁱⁱ) For a definition of “free” see Inst.1.3.1 below. ⁱⁱⁱ) For a definition of “slave” see Inst.1.3.2 below.
Interpretation: Roman private law recognised two principle categories of persons namely those who are free and those who are slaves.	

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

When New Testament passages refer to slaves and slave-owners, it is not simply a matter of convenience or social categorisation, but rather a strict legal distinction. The study of the legal context of these passages is thus relevant and necessary.

Justinianus *Digesta* 1.1.4

Context:

This sentence belongs to the title dealing with justice and law. The title provides a number of legal definitions. It specifically defines the law of nations and lists some elements of law derived from it, including manumission (the setting free of a slave by his owner).

Passage:

ULPIANUS libro primo institutionum. ... Et cum uno naturali nomine homines appellaremur, iureⁱ gentium tria genera esse coeperunt: liberi et his contrarium servi et tertium genus libertiⁱⁱ, id est hi qui desierant esse servi.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Ulpian. Institutes. Book I. ... And although we were called “humans” by one natural name, three kinds originated according to the lawⁱ of nations: Freemen and their opposite namely slaves, and a third kind namely freedmenⁱⁱ, being those who have stopped being slaves.

i) Ablative of respect.

ii) For a definition of “freedman” see Ulpianus 1.5 (3.11.2 below).

Interpretation:

This sentence reveals a category of person recognised by Roman private law that exhibit characteristics of both free and slave, namely former slaves who have been set free by their owners (see further 3.11.2 below).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Passages in the New Testament referring to the freeing of slaves by their owners must be interpreted in a legal context.

Justinianus *Institutiones* 1.3.1 (cf *Digesta* 1.5.4.pr)

Context:

This definition of freedom directly follows the general principle stated in 1.3.pr.

Passage:

Et libertas quidem est, ex qua etiam liberi vocantur, naturalis facultasⁱ eius quod cuique facere libet, nisi si quid aut vi aut iure prohibetur.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

And freedom, from which the term “freeman” is also derived, is indeed every person’s natural capacityⁱ to do as he pleases, except if it is prohibited either by force or by law.

i) *Facultas* refers to “the legal ability to conclude an agreement or to accomplish a valid act” (Berger 1953:467).

Interpretation:

The Roman law definition of freedom is certainly not unambiguous for a literal interpretation of the definition would make all persons free since the limitations imposed (at least by law) are applicable to all persons (Buckland 1908:1). It is clear, however, that the Roman jurists considered freedom, and not slavery, to be man’s natural state. This contradicts for example Aristotle who considered some people to be free by nature and others to be unfree by nature (*Politica* 1255a1-2).⁵³

⁵³ For a comprehensive discussion on philosophical and moral viewpoints on slavery, see chapter 4.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

This definition raises the question as to whether the New Testament authors considered unfree to be a natural state or a state imposed by force or by law. The question has been considered in more detail in chapter 6.

Justinianus *Institutiones* 1.3.2-3 (cf *Digesta* 1.5.4.1-2)**Context:**

This definition of slavery directly follows the general principle stated in 1.3.pr and the definition of freedom in 1.3.1.

Passage:

2. Servitus autem est constitutio iuris gentiumⁱ, qua quis dominio alieno contra naturamⁱⁱ subicitur.
3. Servi autem ex eo appellati sunt, quod imperatores captivosⁱⁱⁱ vendere iubent ac per hoc servare nec occidere solent: qui etiam mancipia dicti sunt, quod ab hostibus manu capiuntur^{iv}.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

2. However, slavery is an institution of the law of nationsⁱ, in terms of which one is contrary to the natural orderⁱⁱ, subjected to the ownership of another.

3. Slaves are so called because commanders order captivesⁱⁱⁱ to be sold and saved in this manner rather than killing them. They are also called *mancipia* because they are physically taken^{iv} from the enemy.

i) The law of nations refers to the law applied to all peoples, including the Roman people (Berger 1953:528). It is therefore not in conflict with the law applicable only to Roman citizens or civil law.

ii) *Natura* refers to "nature of things, natural order, natural reality" (Berger 1953:591).

iii) *Captivus* refers to a person (being a Roman citizen or otherwise) who has been captured by the enemy (Berger 1953:380-381). Such a captive automatically became a slave of the enemy, but Roman citizens regained their legal status upon their return to Rome.

iv) From the Latin *manu capi* (Watson 1987:8).

Interpretation:

The sentence confirms the viewpoint that slavery is not considered to be the natural state of man, but rather a state imposed by the law common to all people. This conflict between law and nature must not be overestimated since the Romans exhibited a decided lack of interest in an ideal law for Rome (Watson 1987:7). Sentence 3 does seem to contain a moral justification of slavery arguing that to be sold into slavery is a preferable fate to being killed.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

This definition also raises the question as to whether the New Testament authors considered unfree to be a natural state or a state imposed by force or by law. Sentence 3 begs the question whether the New Testament authors offered any arguments either in favour of or against slavery. The question has been considered in more detail in chapter 6.

Justinianus *Digesta* 1.1.4**Context:**

This fragment belongs to the title dealing with justice and law. The title provides a number of legal definitions. It specifically defines the law of nations and lists some elements of law derived from it, including slavery.

Passage:

ULPIANUS libro primo institutionum. ...nam quamdiu quis in servitute est, manuiⁱ et

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Ulpianus. Institutes. Book I. ...for as long as someone lives in slavery he is subjected to

potestati ⁱⁱ suppositus est...	the power ⁱ and authority ⁱⁱ of another... i) <i>Manus</i> refers to the power of the family head over all the members and slaves of the family (Berger 1953:577). ii) <i>Potestas</i> refers to the authority that an owner has with regard to his possessions, including his slaves (Berger 1953:640). It may also refer to an owner's physical power over his slaves.
Interpretation: This fragment states the essence of slavery as a legal institution namely that a slave is subjected to the power and authority, even in a physical sense, of his owner. This subjection places a slave on par with any material possession, although the person of a slave is recognised in the fact that slaves are considered to be part of the family unit.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: References to slaves in the New Testament carry the implication of that person's subjection to another and all the legal consequences flowing from the fact.	

Justinianus Digesta 40.12.37	
Context: Title 12 deals with actions in relation to freedom.	
Passage: CALLISTRATUS libro secundo quaestionum. Conventio privata neque servum quemquam neque libertum alicuius facere potest.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Callistratus. Questions. Book II. A private agreement cannot make anyone either a slave or a freedman of another.
Interpretation: The fragment clearly states that no person can by way of private agreement be made a slave or a freedman. The rationale behind this rule seems to be that such agreements would make it impossible for third parties to determine the status of a person. And the determination of status was essential to the highly stratified Roman society and its law of persons (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:87). Thus the proper legal rules and procedures for enslavement and manumission had to be adhered to.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Even if a member of the early Christian church privately agreed to set his slaves free, such an agreement would have been of no legal consequence to third parties.	

3.4.3 Jewish law

According to the Mishnah, Israelite society was divided into four categories: Householders (or slave-owners), minor sons, both minor and adult women, and slaves (Flesher 1988:2). The first three categories are defined in terms of their natural characteristics such as age, gender, and capacity to reason, but the last category is defined in terms of external factors. The slave's inherent characteristics, being the same of those of free persons, have no bearing on his status. His status is rather determined by his relationship to his owner (Flesher 1988:2).

The compilers of the Mishnah built their concept of slavery on the foundations of the Old Testament (Flesher 1988:11). They considered Scripture and its picture of slavery as a unified whole, though not all sections as necessarily of equal value (Flesher 1988:12). As a result, all but one of the Scriptural passages to which the Mishnah refers, occur in one of three law codes: The Covenant Code (Exod 20:22–23:33), the Holiness Code (Lev 17-26), and the Deuteronomic Source (Deut 12-26).

M. Hor. 3:8	
Context: This section of the Mishnah deals with orreaneous decisions and their effects in respect of the provisions of Leviticus 4 and 5.	
Passage: כֹּהֵן קוֹדֵם לְלֵוִי לְלֵוִי לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִקְדָּשׁ וּמִקְדָּשׁ לְנֶתִיּוֹן וְנֶתִיּוֹן לְגֵר וְגֵר לְעֶבֶד מִשְׁוֹפָר.	Own translation with grammatical notes: A priest takes precedence over a Levite, a Levite over an Israelite, an Israelite over an illegitimate child, an illegitimate child over a temple slave, a temple slave over a non-Israelite [alien], a non-Israelite over a freedman [freed slave].
Interpretation: The passage clearly establishes a hierarchy of social classes in which slaves do not feature, excepting temple slaves (cf Hezser 2005:45).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves were not considered part of society at large, but belonged to the category of property.	

3.4.4 Section summary

Legal definitions of freedom and slavery		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
A free person is not subject to seizure as property, he may do as he wishes, he may go where he wishes, and he is his own person in all legal matters. A slave is subject to seizure, limited in his actions and movements, and he requires a representative in legal proceedings.	A free 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.	No definition of freedom is provided. Slaves were not in the first place considered as human beings, but rather as the property of their owners.

3.5 ENSLAVEMENT

3.5.1 Greek law

Xenophon <i>Cyropaedia</i> 7.5.73	
Context: Xenophon lived in Athens during the fifth century BC (Tuplin 2003:1628). <i>Cyropaedia</i> constitutes a pseudo-historical account of the life of Cyrus the Great (king of Persia from ca 557-530 BC). In Book 7 Xenophon describes Cyrus' campaign against Babylon. In an attempt to solidify the loyalty of his garrison, he reiterates their claims to the slaves and other property that they sieged during the campaign.	
Passage: καὶ μηδεὶς γε ὑμῶν ἔχων ταῦτα νομισάτω ἀλλότρια ἔχειν· νόμος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἰδιὸς ἐστίν, ὅταν πολεμοῦντων πόλις ἀλῶ, τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα. οὐκ οὖν ἀδικίᾳ γε ἔξετε ὅ τι ἂν ἔχητε, ἀλλὰ	Own translation with grammatical notes: And, at any rate, let not one of you believe that what he has belongs to another. For the law exists forever in respect of all men that when a city is sieged during war, the persons and property of those [living] in the city become that of the conquerors. Accordingly, whatever you possess, you will not possess because of injustice ¹ , but whatever you allowed them to possess, you did not take

φιλανθρωπίᾳ οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεσθε, ἣν τι ἔατε ἔχειν αὐτοῦς.	away out of kind-heartedness ⁱ . ⁱ⁾ Dative of cause (Smyth 1956:348).
Interpretation: Slavery was an accepted practice in law, especially the enslavement of persons by way of captivity in time of war (cf Harrison 1968:165; MacDowell 1978:79).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: One has to consider whether slaves mentioned in the New Testament became slaves by way of captivity.	
Demosthenes In Neaeram 16	
Context: Demosthenes (384-322 BC) was the greatest of the Athenian orators (Cawkwell 2003b:456). He was renowned for his private speeches in the law courts of Athens. These speeches contain excerpts from the laws of Athens, such as the one quoted below.	
Passage: ΝΟΜΟΣ. Ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ἀσπῆ συνοικῇ τέχνῃ ἢ μηχανῇ ἡτινιοῦν, γραφέσθω ⁱ 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 ἀσπῷ συνοικῇ κατὰ ταῦτά, καὶ ὁ συνοικῶν τῇ ξένῃ τῇ ἀλούσῃ ὀφειλέτω χιλίας δραχμάς.	Own translation with grammatical notes: LAW. 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 ⁱ 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 foreign woman lives with 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. ⁱ⁾ Used in this context as a technical legal term (cf Liddell et al 1996).
Interpretation: Slavery may have been imposed as punishment (cf Harrison 1968:165; MacDowell 1978:79, 256).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: One has to consider whether slaves mentioned in the New Testament became slaves by way of punishment.	

Plato Leges XI 930d	
Context: In his <i>Laws</i> Plato (ca. 429-347 BC) deals with social morality as opposed to individual morality (Annas 2003a:1191). He has given up hope that an expert ruler could rule uncorrupted by power, yet maintains that political division and strife can only be overcome by complete obedience to the laws, since the laws are the product of rational reflection. Among these laws we find the one quoted below.	
Passages: ὅταν δὲ ὁμολογῇται μὲν τὸ γεγόμενον εἶναι τῶν ποιουμένων ἔκγονον, δέηται δὲ κρίσεως τίνι τὸ γεννηθὲν ἔπεσθαι χρεῶν, δούλῃ μὲν ἐὰν συμμείξῃ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ ἢ ἀπελευθέρῳ, πάντως τοῦ δεσπότης ἔστω τῆς δούλης τὸ γεννώμενον, ἐὰν δὲ τις ἐλευθέρῃ	Own translation with grammatical notes: But when it is agreed that the child is the descendant of workers, and a decision is necessary as to whether the child follows [the status of] which parent, [the law is as follows:] If a female slave has sexual intercourse with a slave, a free man or a freed man, the child shall without doubt belong to the owner of the female slave. But if any free woman has sexual intercourse

δούλῳ συγγίγνηται, τοῦ δεσπότου ἔστω τὸ γινόμενον τοῦ δούλου· ἐὰν δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ δούλης ἢ ἐκ δούλου ἑαυτῆς, καὶ περιφανὲς τοῦτ' ᾖ, τὸ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς ἄλλην χώραν ἐκπεμπόντων σὺν τῷ πατρί, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἱ νομοφύλακες σὺν τῇ γεννησάσῃ.	with a slave, the child shall belong to the owner of the slave. And if [the child] is born from the owner's female slave or the mistress' slave, and this is well-known, the supervisors of the woman shall on the one hand send away [the child] to another country, and the law-enforcers shall on the other hand send away [the child] of the man with his mother.
Interpretation: Any child born of a slave, 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. The principle is clear: A child is regarded as free only if both parents are free (cf Morrow 1939:90).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Children born of slaves are themselves slaves.	

Dio Chrysostomos 15.3	
Context: Dio Chrysostomos (earlier known as Dio Cocceianus) was a first century philosopher in the Stoic and Cynic traditions (Browning & Wilson 2003:470). His philosophy is based on typical Stoic concepts such as nature, virtue, and philanthropy. In this speech he deals with the distinction between slavery and freedom. Passage: ἢ οὐ πολλαὶ ἀσται γυναῖκες δι' ἐρημίαν 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.	Own translation with grammatical notes: 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.
Interpretation: The child of a free woman who was a citizen was free (though not a citizen), regardless of the slave-status of the father or the woman's knowledge thereof (cf Harrison 1968:164). This seems to contradict Plato above, although the lapse of time from the 5-4th centuries BC must be taken into account. One must concur with Harrison (1968:164) that the position was not all that clear.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Children born of a free woman were probably free persons in the time of the New Testament, even if the father was a slave.	

3.5.2 Roman law

Justinianus <i>Institutiones</i> 1.3.4 (cf Justinianus <i>Digesta</i> 1.5.5.1, 49.15.5.1)	
Context: Title 3 deals with the rights of persons under Roman private law who are categorised as either free or slave. The first two instances are straightforward, but the third namely the sale of a freeman into slavery is more problematic. The sentence seems to refer to a fraudulent scheme based on the fact that a freeman and slave could not be distinguished on the basis of appearance (cf Watson 1987:9; Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:92): A freeman would pretend to be a slave and be sold by an accomplice to an unsuspecting purchaser. Having	

received the purchase price, the freeman would prove his freedom and share the price with the accomplice. Roman law prohibited the sale of freemen for a freeman could not be the object of a contract of sale (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:92). And to prevent fraud, such fraudulent contracts were punished by actual enslavement. However, dire financial troubles might have forced an honest young man into actual slavery.

Passage:

Servi autem aut nascunturⁱ aut fiunt. Nascuntur ex ancillisⁱⁱ nostris: fiunt aut iure gentium, id est ex captivitateⁱⁱⁱ, aut iure civile, cum homo liber maior viginti annis ad pretium participandum sese venumdari passus est. In servorum condicione^{iv} nulla differentia est.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Moreover, slaves are either bornⁱ slaves or they become slaves. They are born from our female slavesⁱⁱ, or they become slaves either in accordance with the law of nations namely by way of captivityⁱⁱⁱ or in accordance with civil law, for example where a freeman 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^{iv} of slaves.

ⁱ) The basic rule was that a child took the status of his/her mother at the time of birth (Justinianus *Digesta* 1.5.5.1-2). Especially problematic were those instances where the father and mother of the child were not of the same legal status (cf Gaius *Institutiones* 1.81-86; Watson 1987:10ff).

ⁱⁱ) *Ancilla* refers to a female slave (Berger 1953:362). It is differentiated from *servus* only on the basis of the gender of the person being referred to.

ⁱⁱⁱ) *Captivitas* refers to the captivity of an enemy soldier during war (Berger 1953:380). Such a prisoner of war becomes the slave of his captor.

^{iv}) *Conditio* refers to the legal or social status of a person (Berger 1953:403). It is clear from the context that it refers here to legal status.

Interpretation:

The ways in which persons became slaves are clear: Birth, captivity, and self-sale. Persons could also become slaves through punishment for crimes committed (Buckland 1908:403).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

All the slaves mentioned in the New Testament became slaves in one of these ways. It may be beneficial to determine which way was more likely in each individual instance.

Justinianus *Digesta* 4.5.11

Context:

This title deals with changes in *caput* or status. The loss of freedom entailed the loss of both citizenship and family and thus complete loss of status (Berger 1953:381). Loss of citizenship meant loss of family but retention of freedom and thus intermediate loss of status. And loss of family by way of marriage or otherwise had some social effect but little legal impact and thus minimal loss of status.

Passage:

PAULUS libro secundo ad Sabinum. Capitis deminutionisⁱ tria genera sunt, maxima media minima: tria enim sunt quae habemus, libertatemⁱⁱ civitatemⁱⁱⁱ familiam^{iv}. Igitur cum omnia haec amittimus, hoc est libertatem et civitatem et familiam, maximam esse capitis deminutionem: cum vero amittimus civitatem, libertatem retinemus, mediam esse

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Paulus. On Sabinus. Book II. There exist three forms of loss of civil statusⁱ, namely greatest loss, intermediate loss and least loss. Indeed, there are three civil states that we may hold, namely those of freedomⁱⁱ, citizenshipⁱⁱⁱ, and family^{iv}. Therefore, if we lose all of these, being freedom and citizenship and family, it constitutes the

capitis deminutionem: cum et libertatis et civitas retinetur, familia tantum mutatur, minimam esse capitis deminutionem constat.	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. i) <i>Capitis deminutio</i> refers to the loss of <i>caput</i> (Berger 1953:380). <i>Caput</i> refers to “the civil status of a person which implies the legal ability to conclude legally valid transactions and to be the subject of rights recognised by law” (Berger 1953:380). It comprises freedom, citizenship and family. ii) <i>Libertas</i> refers to the status of a free person as opposed to slavery (Berger 1953:563; see 3.4.2 above). iii) <i>Civitas</i> refers to Roman citizenship obtained primarily through birth of Roman parents (Berger 1953:389). iv) <i>Familia</i> refers to the fact that a person belongs to a Roman family either as family head or as a family member (Berger 1953:467).
Interpretation: The consequences of slavery were severe since it automatically entailed a loss of freedom and thus civil status.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: All the slaves mentioned in the New Testament had no civil status.	

Justinianus <i>Digesta</i> 50.17.32 (cf Justinianus <i>Digesta</i> 28.8.1.pr)	
Context: This fragment is contained in a collection of diverse legal rules added to the end of the Digest.	
Passage: ULPIANUS libro quadragesimo tertio ad Sabinum. Quod attinet ad ius civile, servi pro nullis habenturⁱ: non tamen e iure naturali, quia, quod ad ius naturale attinet, omnes homines aequalesⁱⁱ sunt.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Ulpianus. On Sabinus. Book XLIII. In terms of civil law, slaves are not considered to be personsⁱ. However, this is not the case in terms of natural law, for natural law regards all men as equalⁱⁱ. i) Lit: Slaves are considered to be nothing. ii) <i>Aequales</i> refers to “equal treatment of all according to the conceptions nurtured by the social conscience of the people which change, of course, when social and economic conditions undergo a change” (Berger 1953:354). It finds its foundation in natural law and was used frequently by the jurists as the basis for criticism of or doubts about the fairness of existing legal rules. It also opened a door for the influence of Christian ethical doctrine into law (Berger 1953:354).
Interpretation: The Roman legal position of slaves is clearly defined, namely that slaves are not persons but rather property. Yet Roman law is clearly and admittedly at odds with natural law which declares that all persons are equal (Buckland 1908:1).	

Leviticus 25:39-41 (BHS 1996)	
Context: Leviticus 25 provides for every seventh year to be dedicated to the Lord as a sabbath of rest (the so-called Sabbath Year). Every fiftieth year must be dedicated as the Year of Jubilee during which all Israelites are to return to their clans and property. The theological basis of this provision is that all the land belongs to the Lord and that the Israelites are aliens and the Lord's tenants (v.23).	
Pericope: וְכִי-יֵינִי, וְיָדְאָתָּה, יָד עַמִּי, וְנִמְכַּרְלָּהּ יָד לְאֹתָנָעִי, ד בֶּן עַבְדְּךָ, נָתַתָּה, עָבָד: כְּשֶׁכָּ, יִרְכָּתוּשָׁ, בְּיָהִי, הָעַמִּי, יָד עַד-שָׁנָה, תְּהִי לְךָ, ל יַעֲבֹדְךָ, דַּעֲמָךָ: וְיִצְאָ, מִעֲמָךָ, וְאִי וְבָנָי, יוֹעֲמָ, ו וְשָׁב, יָד אֶל-מִשְׁפַּחַתּוֹ, וְאֶל-אֲבֹתָיו, תֵּאָבֵד, יו וְשָׁב, יָד	Own translation with grammatical notes: ³⁹ "If one of your countrymen becomes poor among you and sells himself to you, do not make him work as a slave. ⁴⁰ He is to be treated as a hired worker or a temporary resident among you; he is to work for you until the Year of Jubilee. ⁴¹ Then he and his children are to be released, and he will go back to his own clan and to the property of his forefathers."
Interpretation: To achieve the object of the Year of Jubilee, an Israelite sold to a fellow-Israelite because of poverty must be allowed to return to his clan and property during the Year of Jubilee. Enslavement of fellow-Israelites was strongly discouraged by way of the inevitably financial loss incurred during the Year of Jubilee (cf Exod 21:2). Israelites who suffered under poverty were rather to be treated as a hired worker or temporary resident. The same restrictions did not apply to foreign slaves (cf Lev 25:44-46). The passage does allow, however, for enslavement by way of self-sale.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Assuming adherence to this passage, a slave-owner of Jewish origins probably did not own Jewish but rather foreign slaves. It was allowable, however, for a Jew suffering financial difficulties to sell himself as a slave to a fellow-Jew.	

Context: This section of the Midrash deals with the social order for women, and specifically betrothals. Passage: וְכָל-מִי שֶׁאִין לָהּ עֲלִיו קְדוּשָׁיו אֲבָל יֵשׁ לָהּ עַל אֲחֵרִים קְדוּשָׁיו הַנֵּלֵד מִמֶּזֶר וְאִיזָה זֶהבָא עַל אַחַת מִכָּל הַעֲכִיּוֹת שֶׁבִּתְוָכָה. וְכָל מִי שֶׁאִין לָהּ ל'א עֲלִיו וְל'א עַל אֲחֵרִים קְדוּשָׁיו הַנֵּלֵד כְּמוֹתָהּ. וְאִיזָה זֶה וְלֵד שְׂפָחָה וְנִכְרִית.	Own translation with grammatical notes: And in the case of any woman who has been unlawfully promised to such [men], but who may be promised lawfully to others, the children are illegitimate. And which is such? In the case of a man who has sexual intercourse with one of the prohibited degrees of marriage set out in the Law. And in the case of any woman whose promise to such is unlawful, and whose promise to
---	---

	others would also be unlawful, the children are of her status. And which is such? In the case of the children of female slaves or non-Jewish women.
Interpretation: It is clear from this passage that slave status is passed on by blood. In the case of slaves, the children follow the status of their mothers, irrespective whether the mother is Jewish or not.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Children born from female slave were slaves themselves.	

3.5.4 Section summary

Enslavement		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Enslavement by way of captivity, punishment, or birth (cf Garland 1988:45-53). In Athens, and probably other city states as well, a member of the civic body could not be enslaved. In contrast to Roman law, a citizen could not be sold into slavery because of debt.	Enslavement by way of captivity, birth, punishment, or self-sale. Enslavement led to the loss of freedom and thus civil status.	Enslavement by way of captivity, birth, punishment, or self-sale. The enslavement of Jews by Romans in 70 AD is interpreted by Josephus to be God's punishment for the impiety of the rebels (Josephus Ant. 20.166; cf Hezser 2005:32-33). It thus seems as though enslavement may also have resulted from punishment.

3.6 THE LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVES

3.6.1 Greek law

Plato <i>Leges</i> XI 914e	
Context: In his <i>Laws</i> Plato (ca. 429-347 BC) deals with social morality as opposed to individual morality (Annas 2003a:1191). He has given up hope that an expert ruler could rule uncorrupted by power, yet maintains that political division and strife can only be overcome by complete obedience to the laws, since the laws are the product of rational reflection. Among these laws we find the one quoted below.	
Passage: Ἀγέτω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὁ βουλόμενος, ἐὰν ἔμφρων ᾖ, χρησόμενος ⁱ ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ τῶν ὁπόσα ⁱⁱ ὅσια·	Own translation with grammatical notes: Let him who so wishes, provided he is of sound mind, manage his own slave by using ⁱ [him] provided he wishes whatever ⁱⁱ is legally permitted. ⁱ⁾ Interpreted as an adverbial participle indicating manner (Smyth 1956:457). ⁱⁱ⁾ Use of ὁπόσος with the definite article as demonstrative (Smyth 1956:286). This seems to be a feature of Plato's writings.
Interpretation: An owner has absolute authority over his slave within the confines of the law.	

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Owners are addressed in the context of their wide-ranging legal powers with regard to their slaves.

Plato *Gorgias* 483b

Context:

Gorgias is one of two dialogues of Plato between the so-called “Socratic” and “middle” dialogues (Annas 2003a:1190-1191). Plato sets up Socrates the philosopher against Gorgias the rhetorician in a battle of wits. Socrates states that it is far worse to inflict evil than to be the innocent victim of it (475e), especially when you cannot defend yourself. A slave is a good example of the latter.

Passage:

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶν τὸ πάθημα,
τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνδραπόδου τινὸς ὧ
κρεῖττον ἐστὶν τεθνάναι ἢ ζῆν, ὅστις
ἀδικούμενος καὶ προπηλακιζόμενος μὴ οἶός
τέ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν μηδὲ ἄλλω οὐ ἂν
κῆδηται.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Indeed, such suffering, to be wronged, does not happen to the free, but to a slave, someone for whom it is better to be dead than alive, as for anyone who, when wronged or insulted, is similarly not able to come to his own aid or that of another he is concerned about.

Interpretation:

In law slaves enjoyed very little protection for themselves or their dependents. In fact, slaves' access to legal processed was either non-existent or insisted on their inferior status (cf Harrison 1968:166; Fisher 1993:59). Furthermore, like women, slaves could not litigate autonomously, but only through their owners.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Slave-owners are addressed in the context of very little legal protection for their slaves, and thus very few legal restrictions on their ownership rights.

Demosthenes *In Timocratem* 167

Context:

Demosthenes (384-322 BC) was the greatest of the Athenian orators (Cawkwell 2003b:456). He was renowned for his private speeches in the law courts of Athens. These letters contain excerpts from the laws of Athens, such as the one quoted below.

Passages:

καὶ μὴν εἰ θέλετε σκέψασθαι παρ' ὑμῖν
αὐτοῖςⁱⁱ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τί δοῦλον ἢ
ἐλεύθερον εἶναι διαφέρει, τοῦτο μέγιστον ἂν
εὖροιτε, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν δούλοιςⁱⁱ τὸ σῶμα τῶν
ἀδικημάτων ἀπάντων ὑπεύθυνόν ἐστιν, τοῖς
δ' ἐλευθέροιςⁱ ὕστατονⁱⁱⁱ τοῦτο προσήκει
κολάζειν.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Indeed, honourable members of the jury, if you are willing to consider in your judgmentⁱ of themⁱⁱ what is the difference between being a slave and a freeman, you would find the most important difference: That on the one hand, in the case of slavesⁱⁱ, the body is answerable for all their wrongs, but on the other hand, in the case of freemenⁱⁱ, this [corporal punishment] is fitting only as punishment of last resortⁱⁱⁱ.

ⁱ) Παρά + dative indicating the person(s) judging (cf Smyth 1956:382).

ⁱⁱ) Dative of relation denoting the persons to whose case the statement is limited (cf Smyth 1956:344).

ⁱⁱⁱ) Adverbial accusative of measure and degree (cf Smyth 1956:361).

Interpretation:

Slaves were subjected to corporal punishment while freemen were seldom subjected thereto (cf Harrison 1968:167). One may also deduce that owners of slaves were entitled to physically punish their slaves. It seems probable that slaves had very little of any recourse in law against their owners for physical abuse (Harrison 1968:172).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Slaves in the New Testament were probably subjected to corporal punishment.

Homer *Iliad* VII 472-475**Context:**

Iliad was written in approximately the middle of the eight century BC by the poet Homer, according to ancient tradition (Willcock 2003:718). The poem records a few weeks of fighting during the Trojan War.

Passage:

ἐνθεν οἰνίζοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, ἄλλοι
μὲν χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δ' αἶθωνι σιδήρῳ, ἄλλοι δὲ
ρίνοις, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῇσι βόεσσιν, ἄλλοι δ'
ἀνδραπτόδεσσι· τίθεντο δέῃ δαῖτα θάλειαν.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Thus the long-haired Greeks bartered for wine, some in exchange for bronze, others for iron objects, others for animal skins, others for whole cattle, others for slaves. Thenⁱ⁾ they prepared a plentiful banquet.

ⁱ⁾ Interpreted as a copulative δέ (cf Smyth 1956:644).

Interpretation:

This passage clearly indicates that slaves were considered property for purposes of trade and commerce (cf Harrison 1968:228-230). Thus slaves could be bought, sold, hired, bequeathed or donated (MacDowell 1978:80). According to general principles of Athenian property law, two or more persons could be co-owners of a slave (Harrison 1968:238). Yet Athenian law also recognised to a limited extent the humanity of slaves, deeming his relationship with his owner to be personal (see Aristoteles *Politica* 1255b 9-15 at 3.12.1 below).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

In passages referring to slaves and owners, their relationship must be considered as one of an owner (or: owners) in relation to his (or: their) property.

Aristoteles *Rhetorica* 1361a20**Context:**

In his *Rhetorica*, Aristotle (ca. 435 – 335 BC) argues that rhetoric can be an autonomous, systematic science (Nussbaum 2003a:169). He proceeds to provide a comprehensive discussion of persuasion through speech. *Rhetorica* also provides definitions and analysis of fundamental juristic concepts.

Passage:

ὅρος δὲ ἀσφαλείας μὲν τὸ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὕτω
κεκτήσθαι ὥστ' ἐφ' αὐτῷ εἶναι τὴν χρῆσιν
αὐτῶν, τοῦ δὲ οἰκεία εἶναι ἢ μὴ ὅταν ἐφ' αὐτῷ
ᾧ ἀπαλλοτριῶσαιⁱ⁾ λέγω δὲ ἀπαλλοτριῶσιν
δόσιν καὶ πρᾶσιν.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

And a measure of security [of ownership] is on the one hand in a given place and obtained in a manner so that the use of [the property] is in [the owner's] hands, and on the other hand the property is his own or not when the alienationⁱ⁾ [thereof] is in his own hands. I define alienation as giving and selling.

ⁱ⁾ In this context ἀπαλλάξω seems to be used as a technical term for the alienation of property (cf Miller 2005:124).

Interpretation:

At the centre of ownership in Greek law is that the owner uses his property as he wishes and he alienates it, either by giving it away or selling it, as he wishes (cf Miller 2005:124). This principle is also expressed in Plato *Leges* XI 914e, quoted in this paragraph above.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Owners could deal with their slaves as they wish, and alienate them like any other property.

3.6.2 Roman law

Gaius *Institutiones* 2.14a

Context:

Book 2 deals with the law of property. Sentences 1-21 deal with the classification of things.

Passage:

Est etiam alia rerum divisio: Nam aut Mancipi sunt aut nec Mancipi. Mancipi 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...

Own translation with grammatical notes:

There is, however, also another division of things: For they are either *Mancipi* or not *Mancipi*. *Mancipi* 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...

i) *Mancipium* (or *mancipatio*) refers to "a formal, legal purchase of anything, conferring full power of possession" (Simpson 1959:360). It entails "a sort of imaginary sale" (Gaius *Institutiones* 1.119; cf Berger 1953:573). *Res Mancipi* are things of which ownership is only transferable by the solemn act of *mancipatio* (Berger 1953:678). *Res Mancipi* represented things and rights that were considered to be the most valuable in primitive rural economies (Gaius *Institutiones* 1.120; Watson 1987:47).

Interpretation:

This sentence is clear on the fact that slaves were first and foremost considered to be things or property rather than persons. Yet the classification of slaves as *Mancipi* indicated their value and worth to their owners and society in general.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

When slaves are mentioned in the New Testament, one must realise that legally speaking they were first considered as property and then as persons.

Justinianus *Digesta* 9.2.3

Context:

Book 9 title 2 of the Digest deals with the *Lex Aquilia*. According to Paul *Sententiae* 1.13a.6 the *Lex Aquilia* also applied in the case of non-fatal injury to a slave.

Passage:

ULPIANUS libro octavo decimo ad edictum. Si servus servave iniuriaⁱ occisus occisave fuerit, lex Aquiliaⁱⁱ locum habet.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

ULPIANUS. On the Edict. Book XVIII. Where a male or female slave has been unlawfully killed, the *Lex Aquilia*ⁱⁱ is applicable.

i) Generally *iniuria* refers to an unlawful act (Berger 1953:502). In this specific context it refers to an unlawful act that causes damage to the property of another person.

ii) The *Lex Aquilia* provided for an action instituted by the owner of property wrongfully damaged by the defendant (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:327).

Interpretation:

This fragment emphasises the fact that a slave was considered the property (*res*) of his/her owner. *Res* refers *inter alia* to physical things which by their nature can be touched (D.1.8.1.1). A slave is such a *res corporales*, on par with any other material object which could be the object of ownership.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

In the New Testament slaves were considered the property of his/her owner.

Justinianus *Institutiones* 2.1.37 (cf Justinianus *Digesta* 5.3.27.pr; Justinianus *Digesta* 6.1.16.pr; Justinianus *Digesta* 47.2.48.6)

Context:

This sentence belongs to a title dealing with the classification of things. According to the classification, slaves belong to the category of property that can be owned by individual persons. The specific sentence (along with 36 and 38) deals with the situation where one person holds as usufruct the property of another, and is thus entitled to the fruits of that property.

Passage:

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 hominemⁱ in fructu esse, cum omnes fructus rerum natura hominum gratia comparavit.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

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 personⁱ should be fruit, since all the fruit of things were provided for the benefit of mankind.

ⁱ⁾ *Homo* refers to a human being, whether free or slave (Berger 1953:488).

Interpretation:

In contrast to the aforementioned sources, this sentence bears out the contradiction in Roman law that slaves are simultaneously regarded as things and persons (cf Watson 1987:46; Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:90).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The recognition of slaves as not only the things of their owners but also as persons in their own right may be significant as a point of departure for the New Testament writers when writing on the relationship between owners and slaves.

Justinianus *Digesta* 4.5.3.1

Context:

Title 5 deals with changes in condition or status. Fragment 3 refers to changes in condition at the emancipation of a child and the manumission of a slave. A slave cannot change his own condition since he has no legal status. He only obtains legal status at the time of his manumission.

Passage:

PAULUS libro undecimo ad edictum. ... quia servileⁱ caput nullum iusⁱⁱ habet...

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Paul. On the Edict. Book XI. ...a person living in slaveryⁱ has no legalⁱⁱ status...

ⁱ⁾ Ablative of manner.

ⁱⁱ⁾ In this context *ius* must be read with *caput* to refer to specifically to the ability to conclude legally valid transactions and to be the subject of rights legal status or capacity (see 3.5.2 above).

	The Romans did not have a general conception of legal capacity or status (Berger 1953:379).
Interpretation: Following from the opinion that slaves are things, they have no legal status.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The legal status of slaves in the New Testament is clear: They had none.	

Justinianus Digesta 50.17.22	
Context: This fragment is contained in a collection of diverse legal rules added to the end of the Digest.	
Passage: ULPIANUS libro vicensimo octavo ad Sabinum. In personam servilem nulla cadit obligatio ⁱ .	Own translation with grammatical notes: Ulpianus. On Sabinus. Book XXVIII. No obligation binds a person in slavery ⁱ . ⁱ) <i>Obligatio</i> refers to a legal obligation to give, do or perform something (Justinianus Digesta 44.7.3). Obligations arise from either some wrongdoing or from contract (Berger 1953:603).
Interpretation: Slaves were not only without rights but could also not be legally obliged. Even a court judgment did not bind the slave or his owner (Buckland 1908:3).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves could not be obliged by law to give, do or perform unless ordered to do so by their owners. This principle indicates the complete and utter power that the owner exercised over his slaves to the exclusion of third parties and even to a large extent the law.	

Justinianus Digesta 50.16.215	
Context: This fragment forms part of a title containing definitions of terms. These definitions would be applicable to the whole of the Digest, and by implications all the Roman private law.	
Passage: PAULUS libro singulari ad legem Fufiam Caniniam. 'Potestatis' ⁱ verbo plura significantur: in persona magistratuum imperium: in persona liberorum patria potestas: in persona servi dominium ⁱⁱ .	Own translation with grammatical notes: Paul. Single volume. On the <i>Lex Fufia Caninia</i> . Various things are signified by the word "power" ⁱ : Official authority in the case of magistrates, parental control in the case of children, and ownership ⁱⁱ in the case of a slave. ⁱ) In this fragment <i>potestas</i> is described both in terms of public law and private law. In public law it refers to the official authority of magistrates (Berger 1953:641). In private law it refers to the power of a family head over its members or the power over possessions, including slaves. The latter is especially relevant to this study. ⁱⁱ) <i>Dominium</i> refers to "full legal power over a corporeal thing, the right of the owner to use it, to take proceeds therefrom, and to dispose of it freely" (Berger 1953:441). The owner of a thing (<i>res</i>) has the legal ability to do with it as he pleases and to exclude others from the use of it. It is best translated with "ownership".
Interpretation: An owner's ownership of his slave is equal to his ownership of any other corporeal thing such as a house or a cow and it constitutes a specific manifestation of power. The analysis of this	

fragment gives substance to the argument of Patterson (1982:1) that “slavery is one of the most extreme forms of the relation of domination, approaching the limits of total power from the viewpoint of the owner, and of total powerlessness from the viewpoint of the slave”.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

References to slave-owners and slaves in the New Testament must be read in the context of the relative power and powerlessness of the parties involved.

3.6.3 Jewish law

Under Jewish law, the legal status of slaves was defined as follows:

Exodus 21:2-6 (BHS 1996)	
Context: This passage forms part of the Covenant Code (Exod 20:22–23:33) (Flesher 1988:12).	
Pericope:	Own translation with grammatical notes:
כִּי יִתְקַנְהֶׁ עַבְדְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁנֵי יָמִים יַעֲבֹדְךָ וּבִשְׁבַע־שָׁנִים תַּעֲבֹדְךָ אֶל־לִבְּךָ יִתְקַנְהֶׁ אֶם־בְּגִפְּׁ וּבִיָּבֹׁ אֶבְגֹּפְּׁ וּ יָצָׁ אֶם־בְּׁ עַל אֲשֶׁה־ׁ ה־ׁ וְאִי־צָׁ ה־ׁ אֲשֶׁת־ׁ וּ עַמְּׁ׃ אֶם־אֲדֹׁ נִיּוֹׁ יִתְּלֹׁ וּ אֲשֶׁׁ ה־ׁ וְיִלְדֶה־ל־ׁ וּ בְנֵׁ יִם אֲׁ וּ בְנֵׁ וְתִׁ אֲשֶׁׁ ה־ׁ וְיִלְדֶׁ יִה־ׁ תִּהְיֶה־ׁ ל־ׁ אֲדֹׁ נִׁ יִה־ׁ יִה־ׁ וְאִי־ׁ אֶבְגֹּפְּׁ׃ וְאֶם־אֲמֹׁ ר־ׁ יִׁ אֲמֹר־ׁ הֶעֱׁ בְד־ׁ אֶה־ בְּתִי־ׁ אֶת־אֲדֹׁ נִׁ י־ׁ אֶת־אֲשֶׁת־ׁ י־ׁ וְאֶת־בְּנֵׁ י־ׁ ל־ׁ אֶׁ אֶׁ תִּפְּשֶׁׁ י־ׁ׃ וְהִגִּישׁׁ וּ אֲדֹׁ נִיּוֹׁ אֶל־ה־ׁ אֶל־ה־ׁ יִם וְהִגִּישׁׁ וּ אֶל־הֶדֶׁ לְׁ אֶׁ וּ אֶל־הֶמְזֻׁ וּׁ ה־ׁ וְרָצֹׁ ע־ׁ אֲדֹׁ נִׁ יוּ אֶת־אֲזָנֹׁ וְׁ בְּמַרְצ־ׁ ע־ׁ וְעַבְד־ׁ וּ לְׁ ל־ׁ׃	² If you buy a Hebrew servant, he is to serve you for six years. But in the seventh year, he shall go free, without paying anything. ³ If he comes alone, he is to go free alone; but if he has a wife when he comes, she is to go with him. ⁴ If his owner gives him a wife and she bears him sons or daughters, the woman and her children shall belong to her owner, and only the man shall go free. ⁵ “But if the servant declares, ‘I love my owner and my wife and children and do not want to go free,’ ⁶ then his owner must take him before the judges. He shall take him to the door or the doorpost and pierce his ear with an awl. Then he will be his servant for life.
Interpretation: This passage seems to contain an inherent contradiction. On the one hand it recognises the Hebrew slave as an autonomous individual (cf Flesher 1988:18ff). The essence of this form of slavery is that the slave contracts out his services for a fixed period (six years in this case), and that he retains his family and social ties existing prior to his entry into slavery. In fact, an Israelite may expressly not treat a fellow-Israelite like a slave (Lev 25:39). On the other hand, the passage recognises cases where the slave indicates that he (and his family) wishes to remain the property of his owner for the rest of his life. In these cases the slave is marked as such by way of the piercing of the ear, indicating that the slave failed to recognise his deliverance by God (analogous to the deliverance of Israel from slavery in Egypt) and his subsequent obedience to God only and no other human being (cf Heszer 2005:45). Thus, Jewish law recognised different classes of slaves, i.e. Hebrew slaves and foreign (Canaanite) slaves (see Lev 25:44-46 below). Hebrew slaves could be slaves for a fixed period (six years) or by choice be enslaved for their life-time	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Jews in the New Testament adhering to the laws of the Old Testament would most probably	

not have employed fellow Jews, but would rather have bought foreign slaves (see below)".

Leviticus 25:44-46 (BHS 1996)

Context:

Leviticus 25 provides for every seventh year to be dedicated to the Lord as a sabbath of rest (the so-called Sabbath Year). Every fiftieth year must be dedicated as the Year of Jubilee during which all Israelites are to return to their clans and property. The theological basis of this provision is that all the land belongs to the Lord and that the Israelites are aliens and the Lord's tenants (v.23). Hebrew slaves are specifically included in these provisions of release from slavery. Yet foreign slaves are specifically excluded.

Pericope:

וְעַבְדֶּיךָ וְאִמָּתֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר
יִהְיוּ-לְךָ מֵאֶת הַגּוֹיִם
אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבֶיךָ תִּיכָּם מִמֶּה
תִּקְנֶה וְעַבְדְּ וְאִמָּה:
וְגַם מִבְּנֵי יִתְּתִי וּשְׁבִיִּים
הַגֵּרִים יִם עִמָּכֶם מִמֶּה
תִּקְנֶה וְיִמְשָׁפוּצָתָם אֲשֶׁר
עִמָּכֶם
אֲשֶׁר
ה' וְלֹא יָדֹוּ בְּאַרְצְךָ מִן הָיִי
לְךָ מִל־אֲחֵי
וְהִתְנַחֲלָתָם אֵת מִלְּבָנֶיךָ
אֲחֵיכֶם לְךָ שֵׁת
אֲחֵיךָ הָלְעָל מִבְּהֵמָה תַעֲבֹד
וּבְאֵלֵיךָ
בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁבְּעוּ
לֹא-תִרְדֶּךָ הֵבִי
בְפָנֶיךָ:

Own translation with grammatical notes:

⁴⁴ "Your male and female slaves are to come from the nations around you; from them you may buy slaves. ⁴⁵ You may also buy some of the temporary residents living among you and members of their clans born in your country, and they will become your property. ⁴⁶ You can will them to your children as inherited property and can make them slaves for life, but you must not rule over your fellow Israelites ruthlessly.

Interpretation:

While Hebrew slaves enjoyed legal protection and legally entrenched freedom after six years, non-Hebrew slaves (also called Canaanite slaves) were slaves in the common sense of the term. They were considered to be property first and foremost, and were enslaved for life if not set free by their owners.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

It seems probable that the majority of slaves owned by Jews during the time of the New Testament were foreign slaves, and thus considered property.

3.6.4 Section summary

The legal status of slaves		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
A slave was considered property first and foremost, to be dealt with as property. Consequently, a slave-owner had complete power and authority over his slave. The slave's humanity was considered almost as an after-thought, with very few legal consequences.	Being considered as property first and foremost, a slave had no legal status. A slave was considered property and subject to the almost absolute power and authority of his owner. As in Greek law, the humanity of the slave was acknowledged almost as an after-thought, with very few	Foreign slaves were considered to be property but the humanity of Hebrew slaves was recognised in law. Jewish law provided for remarkable protection of Hebrew slaves. An Israelite could sell himself to a fellow-Israelite because of poverty, but he was legally entitled to freedom after six years.

	legal consequences.	These provisions are in stark contrast to the position of slaves under Greek and Roman law. Foreign slaves, however, were treated as property.
--	---------------------	--

3.7 RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF SLAVES

3.7.1 Greek law

Isaeus <i>De Philoctemone</i> 49-50	
Context: Isaeus (ca. 420-340 BC) was an Athenian speech-writer (Davies 2003:767). He specialised in inheritance cases, focussing on the convergence of Athenian legal practice, oratorical professionalism, property acquisition strategies, and private familial behaviour. This specific case turns on the legal question whether two children can inherit from their biological father. Isaeus argues that they cannot since their mother was a slave. In the above-quoted passage he apparently refers to an Athenian law banning slaves and women leading immoral lives from participating in the festival of Thesmophoria. This festival was celebrated by Greek women in honour of Demeter, the Greek goddess of corn (Nilsson & Jameson 2003:1509).	
Passage: ἡ δὲ τούτων μήτηρ, οὕτως ὁμολογουμένως οὔσα δούλη καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον αἰσχροῦς βιοῦσα, ἣν οὔτε παρελθεῖν εἴσω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔδει οὐτ' ἰδεῖν τῶν ἑνδον οὐδέν, οὔσης τῆς θυσίας ταύταις ταῖς θεαῖς, ἐτόλμησεν συμπέμψαι τὴν πομπήν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἰδεῖν ἃ οὐκ ἔξῃν αὐτῇ.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Yet their mother, admittedly having been a slave and always having lived scandalously – it should not have happened that she passed by the temple neither seeing anything at all inside nor the ritual performed for the goddesses, had the audacity to assist in leading the procession and to enter the temple and to see what she was not allowed to see.
Interpretation: Isaeus' implication is that slaves were excluded from religious ceremonies. It seems, though, that this specific rule only applied to the specific festival (cf Harrison 1968:166).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Under Greek law slaves might have been excluded from religious ceremonies.	

Demosthenes <i>In Neaeram</i> 21		
Context: Demosthenes (384-322 BC) was the greatest of the Athenian orators (Cawkwell 2003b:456). He was renowned for his private speeches in the law courts of Athens. It transpires from the preceding paragraphs (19-20) that Metaneira was a slave-woman belonging to a brothel-owner.		
Passage: Λυσίας γὰρ ὁ σοφιστὴς Μετανείρας ὦν ἐραστῆς, ἐβουλήθη ... καὶ μῆσαι ... ἐδεήθη	Own translation with grammatical notes: But Lucias, the sofist, also wishes ... to initiate Metaneira, [her] being [his] lover ... He thus asked Nicarete to come to the mysteries bringing Metaneira [with her] so	

οὖν τῆς Νικαρέτης ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ μυστήρια ἄγουσαν τὴν Μετάνειραν, ἵνα μυηθῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο μυῆσιν.	that she may be initiated, and he promised that he would initiate her.
Interpretation: The implication is that slaves were initiated into religious communities at the behest of freemen (cf Harrison 1968:166).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Under Greek law slaves might have been initiated into religious communities.	

3.7.2 Roman law

Cornelius Tacitus <i>Annales</i> 14.44	
Context: The Annals was written by Cornelius Tacitus Publius in ca 116 AD (Howatson 1989:548). It probably consisted of 16 books covering the period 14-68 AD and thus the reigns of emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero. He used the works of other historians, public records, and his own experiences as sources. Book 14 covers the period 59-62 AD and is thus very relevant to the Greek New Testament. The tone of the work is generally gloomy and depressing, focussing on the negative aspects of the imperial period (Howatson 1989:37).	
Passage: [s]uspecta maioribus nostris fuerunt ingenia servorum, etiam cum in agris aut domibus isdem nascerentur caritatemque dominorum statim acciperent. postquam vero nationes in familiis habemus, quibus diversi ritus ⁱ , externa sacra ⁱⁱ aut nulla sunt, conluviem istam non nisi metu coercueris.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Our ancestors have been suspicious of the character of slaves, even when they were born on the same estates or in the same households and steadfastly received the affection of their owners. But now that we have nations in our families with different rituals ⁱ and foreign worship ⁱⁱ or none at all, you cannot restrain such a mixture except through fear. i) <i>Ritus</i> refers to a religious custom, ceremony or rite (Simpson 1959:524). It has no technical legal meaning. ii) <i>Sacra</i> refers to all kinds of relations between humans and gods (Berger 1953:688). Worship took place privately or publicly. Within the family group sacrifices and religious rites (<i>sacra familia</i>) were performed on behalf of the family members. As family members slaves were included in these rites and thus subject to divine protection (Buckland 1908:74; Saller 1996:121-122).
Interpretation: It was a commonly held view in antiquity that slaves were inherently untrustworthy and that owner-slave relations were necessarily based on force and apprehension (Fitzgerald 2000:9). This viewpoint is clearly reflected in the passage – even in relation to slaves who were born in a specific household and were thus familiar with the <i>sacra familia</i> . It was thus even truer of slaves who brought their own gods and religious practices into the household. On the one hand it indicates participation by slaves in household religious rituals, especially those born in the household. But on the other hand it indicates resistance to foreign slaves and their religious practices.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Some slaves mentioned in the New Testament may have participated in the household's	

worship, others may have been allowed to continue their worship of their own deities, and others may have been prohibited from any religious activities.

3.7.3 Jewish law

Genesis 17:12-13 (BHS 1996)

Context:

Genesis 17 describes the institution of the circumcision as sign of God's covenant with Abraham (cf Genesis 12).

Pericope:

12 וּבְנֵי-שְׁמֹנֶה יָמִים יָמֻדְוּ אֶתְּכֶם וְאֶת־בְּנֵי יִצְחָק אֲשֶׁר יֵלֵד אֶתְּכֶם וְאֶת־בְּנֵי יִצְחָק אֲשֶׁר יֵלֵד אֶתְּכֶם וְאֶת־בְּנֵי יִצְחָק אֲשֶׁר יֵלֵד אֶתְּכֶם
13 הָמָּה וְלֹא יָמֻדְוּ אֶתְּכֶם וְאֶת־בְּנֵי יִצְחָק אֲשֶׁר יֵלֵד אֶתְּכֶם וְאֶת־בְּנֵי יִצְחָק אֲשֶׁר יֵלֵד אֶתְּכֶם
וְהָיָה הַבְּרִית בְּשָׂרְכֶם לְבְרִית עוֹלָם:

Own translation with grammatical notes:

¹² For the generations to come every male among you who is eight days old must be circumcised, including those born in your household or bought with money from a foreigner—those who are not your offspring.
¹³ Whether born in your household or bought with your money, they must be circumcised. My covenant in your flesh is to be an everlasting covenant.

Interpretation:

The verses quoted clearly apply the circumcision also to slaves, whether of Israelite or foreign origin. Slaves were thus included in at least some Israelite religious rituals (cf Hezser 2005:30-31).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The slaves of Jews were probably circumcised. Considering the close link between circumcision and baptism (cf Col 2:11-12), the slaves of Christians were probably baptised. When Paul says that he baptised the household of Stephanas (1 Cor 1:16), it implies that slaves were also baptised as part of the household.

M. Qid 4:1

Context:

This passage from the Mishnah appears in the context of a section dealing with permitted marriages (Flesher 1988:114). Yet the primary function of the class system is to assign roles in cultic worship. The first six classes comprise those people who take part in temple worship and the last four those who do not.

Passage:

עֲשָׂרָה יוֹחֲסִין עָלוּ מִבָּבֶל כִּי הָנִי לְוִי
יִשְׂרָאֵלִי וְלֹא לְגֵרִי וְלֹא לְיִשְׂרָאֵלִי
וְלֹא לְיִשְׂרָאֵלִי וְלֹא לְיִשְׂרָאֵלִי
וְלֹא לְיִשְׂרָאֵלִי וְלֹא לְיִשְׂרָאֵלִי

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Ten classes came up from Babylonia:
(1) the priests,
(2) the Levites,
(3) the Israelites,
(4) the impaired priests,
(5) the proselytes and, (6) the freedmen,
(7) the illegitimate offspring of incestuous marriages,
(8) foreigners who once were servants of the Israelites,
(9) people who know who their mother is but not their father, and
(10) those who know neither their mother nor their father.

	ⁱ⁾ Priests who transgressed the rules of Leviticus 21:1, 7, 13-15 i.e. married divorced women or, in the case of the High-priest, a non-virgin (Flesher 1988:113).
Interpretation: Slaves are not mentioned in this list at all since they have no ties of kinship, yet they are included in the class system by way of their property link to their owner (Flesher 1988:117). A slave thus occupies a secondary status in his owner's class. Consequently, slaves were never required to perform cultic duties, yet were permitted to do so when their owners wished (Flesher 1988:119).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves owned by Jews participated in cultic duties at the behest of their owners.	

M. Hag. 1:1a	
Context: This section of the Mishnah deals with the festivals, and specifically the offerings.	
Passage: הַכֹּל לְעִיבִיל בְּרֵאִיָּה חוּץ מִן כֶּשֶׁשׁוּטָה וְקֵטָן וְטוֹמְטוֹם וְאֶנְדְּרוֹ גִּינוֹם וְנָשִׁים וְעֶבְדִּים שְׂאִינָם מְשֻׁחָכְרִים הַחִיגֵר וְהַסּוּמָה וְהַחֲזִלָּה וְהַזֶּקֶן וְהַיָּשָׁן וְהַיָּדוּשׁ וְהַיָּדוּשׁ לְעֵלֹת בְּרֵאִיָּה.	Own translation with grammatical notes: All are duty-bound to appear except a deaf-mute person, an mentally handicapped person, and a minor, and a person lacking obvious sexual features, and a person who has the sexual features of both sexes, and women, and slaves who have not been freed, a lame man, and a blind man, and a sick man, or an elderly man, and a man who is unable to stand upright.
Interpretation: The passage clearly indicates that slaves were not required to appear at the temple for the pilgrim feasts (Exod 23:17 and Deut 16:16). Many other passages contain similar exclusion for example relating to the saying of the Common Grace (M. Ber. 7:2), the blowing of the <i>shofar</i> on Rosh Hashanah (T. R.H. 4:1), and the reciting of the Megillah on Purim (T. Meg. 2:7). There is, however, evidence that slaves acted on behalf of their owners in religious rituals (M. Ter. 3:4).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: This passage reinforces slaves' exclusion from cultic rituals.	

M. Neg. 14:12	
Context: This passage is found in a section of the Mishnah dealing with purification. In contrast to other divisions of the temple cult, cultic purity treats all Israelite social categories the same (Flesher 1988:131).	
Passage: מְבִיא אָדָם עַל יָדֵי בְנוֹ עַל יָדֵי בְתוּלָה עַל יָדֵי עֶבְדוֹ וְשִׁפְחוֹתוֹ קָרְבָן עֲנִי וּמְאֻכָּלִין בְּזִקְיָהִם.	Own translation with grammatical notes: A man may bring a poor man's offering on behalf of his son [who was a leper], on behalf of his daughter [who was a leper], in behalf of his male slave [who was a leper], and on behalf of his female slave [who was a leper].
Interpretation: Even a slave, who had leprosy and has been healed, must bring offerings to the temple, albeit by his owner on his behalf.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:	

Slaves were involved indirectly with the purity rites of the Jews.

3.7.4 Section summary

Religious rights of slaves		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Based on the contradictions in the sources, slaves' participation in religious practices was probably determined by the religious community rather than civil law	In principle enslavement did not take away a slave's protection by his deity. Yet practices varied from full participation in the household religion to full prohibition of religious activities. Slaves were not excluded from cults because they did not qualify for divine protection, but rather because many cults had exclusive membership and thus also excluded many freemen (Buckland 1908:73). It therefore seems that rules regarding the religious activities of slaves were governed by the religious communities rather than civil law.	Slaves participated in religious activities at the behest or on behalf of their owners.

3.8 THE SOCIAL RIGHTS OF SLAVES

3.8.1 Greek law

Plutarchos *Amatorius* 751B

Context:

Plutarchos (ca. 50-120 AD) was a philosopher in the Platonist tradition and a biographer (Russell 2003:1200-1201). He wrote numerous treatises on popular moral philosophy, of which *Amatorius* ("The dialogue on love") is one. A rich young widow is seeking to marry a handsome younger man, evoking heated debate among adherents and opponents to paederasty. The work spiritedly defends the role of women in the marriage bond. The passage quoted below refers to legislation promulgated by Solon.

Passage:

δούλοις μὲν γὰρ ἐρᾶνι ἀρρένων παίδων
ἀπεῖπε καὶ ξηραλοιφεῖν, χρῆσθαι δὲ
συνουσίαις γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε· καλὸν
γὰρ ἡ φιλία καὶ ἀστεῖον, ἡ δ' ἡδονὴ κοινὸν καὶ
ἀνελεύθερον. ὅθεν οὐδὲ δούλων ἐρᾶνι
παίδων ἐλευθερίον ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἀστεῖον·
συνουσίας γὰρ οὗτος ὁ ἔρωρ, καθάπερ <ὁ>
τῶν γυναικῶν.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

On the one hand he prohibited slaves from lovingⁱ young boys and rubbing [them] down with oil, but on the other hand he did not prevent them from desiring sexual intercourse with women. For friendship is beautiful and refined but sensual pleasure is common and does not befit a freeman. Thus it is neither refined nor fitting for a freeman to loveⁱ young slave boys: For such loving is exactly like sexual intercourse with women.

ⁱ⁾ In the context this verb may also indicate sexual intercourse. Yet the dialogue celebrates the

	virtues of romantic passion (ἔρος) rather than sensual pleasure (ἀφροδισιακός).
Interpretation: The implication is that slaves are incapable of romantic love and friendship for their sensual desires reign supreme.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: In interpreting the New Testament passages on slaves and slavery, one has to bear in mind that slaves were not considered to be fitting marital partners or friends.	

Demosthenes <i>Contra Phormionem</i> 37	
Context: Demosthenes (384-322 BC) was the greatest of the Athenian orators (Cawkwell 2003b:456). He was renowned for his private speeches in the law courts of Athens. In this speech he acts for the plaintiff who is claiming payment of a debt. It seems as though the defendant averred that he was not liable for the debt since the parties involved were not his agents. The person under discussion was a slave.	
Passage: καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικάσται, οἰκῶν μὲν Ἀθήνησιν, οὔσης δ' αὐτῷ γυναικὸς ἐνθάδε καὶ παιδῶν, τῶν δὲ νόμων τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπιτίμια προτεθηκότων, εἴ τις οἰκῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἄλλοσέ ποί σιτηγήσειεν ἢ εἰς τὸ Ἀπικὸν ἐμπόριον, ἔτι δ' ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει οἰκοῦντες διεμετροῦντο τὰ ἄλφιτα ἐν τῷ ὠδείῳ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ ἐλάμβανον κατ' ὀβολὸν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μακρᾶς στοᾶς τὰ ἄλφιτα, καθ' ἡμίεκτον μετρούμενοι καὶ καταπατούμενοι.	Own translation with grammatical notes: And this he did, honourable members of the jury, while living in Athens, and having had here a wife and children for him, and while the laws have set the harshest penalties if anyone living in Athens should transport grain to anywhere other than the Athenian market. Besides, he did this at a time such as this, when those of you living in the town were measured out barley-meal in the Odeum, and those living in Peiraeus received loaves of bread at the dock-yard for one obol and barley-meal in the long warehouse, measured out according to one-twelfth of a corn-measure, and being trampled under foot.
Interpretation: Slaves did enter into marriage and had children.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves may have had spouses and children.	

3.8.2 Roman law

Justinianus <i>Digesta</i> 33.7.12.7, 33	
Context: Title 7 deals with legacies of equipment or implements. Fragment 12 deals with the question as to whether certain items form part of the farm implements when a farm is bequeathed.	
Passage: 7. Uxores quoque et infantes eorum, qui supra enumerati sunt, credendum est in eadem villa agentes voluisse testatorem legato contineri: neque enim duram separationem iniunxisse credendus est. 33. Contuberales quoque servorum, id est uxores, et natos, instructo fundo contineri verum est.	Own translation with grammatical notes: 7. Also, it is accepted that the testator wished to include the wives and children of those mentioned above, and living in the same house, in the legacy. Indeed, it is unbelievable to inflict such a harsh separation upon them. 33. Also, the family members of slaves, being wives and children, are certainly

	included in the farm implements.
Interpretation: The concept of slave families is implicitly accepted. Slaves formed part of the owner's family unit and could thus by definition not belong to another family. These sentences again emphasises the contradiction between slave as thing (in this case a farm implement) and slave as person (in this case as a member of a slave family).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: These sentences beg the question whether slave-owners in the New Testament held a different view point on the familial and social relations of their slaves to that of Roman law.	

3.8.3 Jewish law

M. Maas. 3:1	
Context: This section of the Mishnah deals with the tithes to be given to the Levites in terms of Leviticus 21 and Numbers 18, the products to be tithed, and when and how the tithing is to take place.	
Passage: הַמַּעֲבִיר תְּאֵנִים בְּחֻצְרוֹ לְקָצוֹת בְּנֵי וּבְנֵי בֵיתוֹ אוֹ כָּלִים וְפִטְוֵרִים...	Own translation with grammatical notes: If one was taking figs through his courtyard to be dried, his children and the members of his household may eat and they are exempt [from tithing]...
Interpretation: The mention of “his children” and “members of his household” places children and slaves side by side, and indicates the fact that slaves were considered part of the owner's household. Accordingly, a slave's social status was determined by the status of his owner (cf M. Yeb. 7:1-2).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The inclusion of slaves in the household of the slave-owner includes slaves in any number of social activities relating to the household.	

M. Abot. 2:7	
Context: This section of the Mishnah deals broadly speaking with damages and more precisely with ethical matters.	
Passage: מְרַבָּה שְׂפָחוֹת מְרַבָּה זִמָּה מְרַבָּה עֲבָדִים מְרַבָּה גְזֵל	Own translation with grammatical notes: The more female slaves the more sexual immorality; the more male slaves the more theft.
Interpretation: Notions of the evil nature of slaves and the consequent need for discipline appear repeatedly in rabbinic literature (cf Hezser 2005:151). This passage provides an example of the oft-repeated claim that slaves are prone to sexual immorality and dishonesty.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: As in other legal systems, slaves were viewed with suspicion.	

3.8.4 Section summary

The social rights of slaves		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Slaves entered into marital and family relationships but	Roman law <i>de facto</i> recognised slave marriages	Slaves were part of the Jewish household and the

were not considered fit as marriage partners to free persons.	and slave families on humanitarian grounds although both were de iure impossible (Buckland 1908:76).	extended family (Hezser 2005:212). The offspring of slave women were, however, not integrated into the family but rather ostracised by being attributed slave status. This contrasts sharply with the Biblical integration of slave children into the family (Hezser 2005:391).
---	--	---

3.9 SLAVES AND THE ECONOMY

3.9.1 Greek law

Plato <i>Leges</i> VII 805d-e, 808a	
Context: In his <i>Laws</i> Plato (ca. 429-347 BC) deals with social morality as opposed to individual morality (Annas 2003a:1191). He has given up hope that an expert ruler could rule uncorrupted by power, yet maintains that political division and strife can only be overcome by complete obedience to the laws, since the laws are the product of rational reflection. Among these laws we find the one quoted below.	
Passage: 805d-e. πότερον ἦν Θράκες ταῖς γυναιξὶν χρῶνται καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα γένη, γεωργεῖν τε καὶ βουκολεῖν καὶ ποιμαίνειν καὶ διακονεῖν μηδὲν διαφερόντως τῶν δούλων; 808a. καὶ δὴ καὶ δέσποιναν ἐν οἰκίᾳ ὑπὸ θεραπαινίδων ἐγείρεσθαι τινων καὶ μὴ πρῶτην αὐτὴν ἐγείρειν τὰς ἄλλας...	Own translation with grammatical notes: 805d-e. Whether the Thracians use their wives and many other family members to plough and to tend cattle and to herd sheep and to serve, in no respect different from slaves? 808a. And moreover that the mistress in the house should be awakened by some female slaves rather than herself being the first to awaken the others...
Interpretation: The implication is that privately-owned slaves worked primarily in agriculture and as domestic servants. They also performed other duties as physicians, actors, teachers, <i>et cetera</i> (Morrow 1939:28-29).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves in the New Testament probably worked in agriculture and the homes of citizens.	

Demosthenes <i>Contra Nicostratum</i> 21	
Context: Demosthenes (384-322 BC) was the greatest of the Athenian orators (Cawkwell 2003b:456). He was renowned for his private speeches in the law courts of Athens. In this speech he acts for the plaintiff who is claiming payment of a debt. It seems as though the defendant averred that he was not liable for the debt since the parties involved were not his agents.	
Passage: Ἐπὶ τοίνυν καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε γνῶσεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες	Own translation with grammatical notes: Yet accordingly you, honourable members of

δικασταί, ὅτι εἰσὶν Ἀρεθουσίου οἱ ἄνθρωποι.
ὅποτε γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι ἢ ὀπώραν
πρίαίντο ἢ θέρος μισθοῖντο ἐκθερίσαι ἢ ἄλλο
τι τῶν περὶ γεωργίαν ἔργων ἀναιροῖντο,
Ἀρεθούσιος ἦν ὁ ὠνούμενος καὶ μισθούμενος
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

the jury, will know from these [following facts] that the men belong to Arethusius: For whenever these men bought fruits or hired themselves out to harvest a crop or undertook any other tasks concerning farming, Arethusius was the purchaser and hired out on their behalf.

Interpretation:

The plaintiff's legal representative indicates to the court that the parties involved were the defendant's slaves and thus indeed acted on his behalf. The principle in law seems to be that a slave does not act in his personal capacity but always on behalf of his owner (Harrison 1968:174-175). If a slave committed an offence against another person, the latter could prosecute the owner (MacDowell 1978:81). Even if the slave did not act on his owner's instructions, the owner had to pay any damages or fine imposed on the slave.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

A slave always acted on behalf of his owner and not in his personal capacity.

Theophrastus *Characteres* 30.9, 15

Context:

Theophrastus (ca. 372-286 BC) was associate and successor to Aristotle (Sharples 2003:1504). His interest in human behaviour is clearly demonstrated in the *Characters*. It contains sketches of thirty more or less undesirable personality types. The excerpt comes from part 30 dealing with the avaricious man.

Passage:

9. καὶ τῶν εὕρισκομένων χαλκῶν ἐν ταῖς
ὁδοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν δεινὸς ἀπαιτῆσαι τὸ
μέρος, κοινὸν εἶναι φήσας τὸν Ἑρμῆν.ⁱⁱ
15. καὶ παρὰ παιδὸς κομιζόμενος ἀποφορὰν
τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὴν ἐπικαταλλαγὴν προσσπατεῖν,
[καὶ] λογισμὸν δὲ λαμβάνων παρὰ τοῦ
χειρίζοντος.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

9. And he would probably demandⁱ a share of copper coins found by his domestic servants in the streets, asserting: "Shares in your luck!"ⁱⁱⁱ
15. And having received payment from a slave, he would claim in addition the discount on copper coins, also finding fault with the account from the manager.

ⁱ⁾ Interpreted as a potential optative without ἄν (Smyth 1953:406-407).

ⁱⁱ⁾ Proverbial phrase (cf Liddle *et al* 1996).

Interpretation:

Although slaves are entitled to their finds, the avaricious man claims a share of it. And although slaves often ran business on behalf of their owners, the avaricious man finds fault with the manager-slave's bookkeeping.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

This passage illustrates the fact that slaves could in fact own certain property, and that they acted as business managers for their owners.

Plato *Leges* XI 917d

Context:

In his *Laws* Plato (ca. 429-347 BC) deals with social morality as opposed to individual morality (Annas 2003a:1191). He has given up hope that an expert ruler could rule uncorrupted by power, yet maintains that political division and strife can only be overcome by complete obedience to the laws, since laws are the product of rational reflection. Among

these laws we find the one quoted below.	
Passage: τὸν δὲ δὴ κίβδηλόν τι πωλοῦντα, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον τοῖς νῦν πείθεσθαι λόγοις, ὁ προστυγχάνων τῶν γιγνωσκόντων, δυνατὸς ὦν ἐξελέγχειν, ἐναντίον ἐλέγξας τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὁ μὲν δοῦλος φερέσθω ^ι τὸ κίβδηλευθὲν καὶ ὁ μέτοικος...	Own translation with grammatical notes: Now then, if someone is selling a fraudulent product, and is incapable of obeying the current laws, let any person who is present and knowledgeable [of the facts] and capable of proving the same, and expose [the fraudster] before the magistrates, gain ⁱ the fraudulent product, whether he is a slave or a metic... ⁱ⁾ Interpreted as referring to acquisition of ownership (cf Liddle <i>et al</i> 1996).
Interpretation: A slave may acquire ownership of property under special circumstances, and by implication may deal with it as owner in trade and commerce (cf Morrow 1939:73). The general rule, however, was that privately owned slaves could not own any property whatsoever (Harrison 1968:236; MacDowell 1978:80).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: A slave may under special circumstances only be the owner of property and deal with it as the owner thereof.	

Plato <i>Leges</i> VIII 846d	
Context: See above.	
Passage: πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιχώριος μηδεὶς ἔστω τῶν περὶ τὰ δημιουργικὰ τεχνήματα διαπονούντων, μηδὲ οἰκέτης ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχωρίου. τέχνην γὰρ ἱκανήν, πολλῆς ἀσκήσεως ἅμα καὶ μαθημάτων πολλῶν δεομένην, κέκτηται πολίτης ἀνὴρ τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως κόσμον σῶζων καὶ κτῶμενος...	Own translation with grammatical notes: First, neither a resident citizen nor the slave of a male resident citizen shall be numbered among those who practice craftsmen's works. For a male citizen possesses a fitting craft which at once requires much practice and many studies, namely preserving and keeping the public order of the state...
Interpretation: It was not considered worthy of a freeman to work as a craftsman and thus also not for his slave to do so. In this sense slaves were excluded from economic activity. Morrow (1939:29) indicates that this provision has no equal in Greek law, and reflects Plato's view that industrial and commercial occupations are incompatible with the virtues associated with a citizen.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: It seems that slaves were not allowed to work in a craft or trade.	

Demosthenes' law court speeches provide a clear example of slaves' involvement in the economy in the persons of Pasion and Apollodoros (Fisher 1993:77-78; cf Harrison 1968:182). Pasion worked effectively in a bank as a slave and upon his setting free was left in control of the business. He diversified into other businesses such as weapons manufacturing. Because of his riches and grants to the Athenian state, he was later decreed to be a citizen. With his new status, he could own land and loan money to others on the security of their land. On his death, Pasion did not

bequeath the bank to his son, Apollodoros, but rather leased it to Phormion, one of his freed slaves with banking expertise. Phormion also became a citizen and owned his own bank. Apollodoros rose to prominent in Athenian politics. Although these slaves' rapid rise from slave to citizen was the exception, it shows that social mobility across class boundaries was possible (Fisher 1993:78). It did not, however, erase these men's slave origins, against which they had to fight lifelong battles.

3.9.2 Roman law

Justinianus *Digesta* 2.13.4.3

Context:

Title 13 deals with the content required for a summons. This fragment states that a depositor with a banker is entitled to be shown the accounts of his deposit.

Passage:

Sed si servus argentariamⁱ faciat (potest enim)...

Own translation with grammatical notes:

However, if a slave trades as a bankerⁱ (as he is indeed permitted to do)...

ⁱ⁾ *Argentarium* refers to a banker or owner of a banking firm (Berger 1953:366). Bankers performed various financial functions. Bankers shouldered great responsibility because of the public confidence placed in them.

Interpretation:

The fragment is clear on the fact that a slave may trade as a banker and thus actively take part in the economy. This is rather surprising considering the responsibility attached to the position.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

A number of New Testament references to slaves refer specifically to their economic participation. This was indeed legal.

Gaius *Institutiones* 2.89 (cf Justinianus *Digesta* 41.1.10.2, 41.2.1.12, 41.3.44.7)

Context:

From sentence 86 onwards, Gaius deals with the acquisition of ownership and possession by persons other than the free person himself.

Passage:

Non solum autem proprietatesⁱ per eos quos in potestate habemus adquiruntur nobis, sed etiam possessioⁱⁱ...

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Moreover, not only do we acquire ownershipⁱ of property through those we have under our control, but also possessionⁱⁱ...

ⁱ⁾ *Proprietas* refers to ownership (Berger 1953:658). It is used as a synonym for *dominium*.
ⁱⁱ⁾ *Possessio* refers to the factual, physical control of a corporeal thing, combined with the intention of the possessor to retain such control, usually as the owner (Berger 1953:636).

Interpretation:

Any acquisition of ownership or possession of property by a slave accrues to the estate of his owner. The slave thus acted as the representative of the owner although Roman law did not know agency as a legal concept (Kirschenbaum 1987:15). Indeed, slaves provided a convenient method for Roman citizens to participate in economic activity at arm's length, considering the fact that trade traditionally carried a stigma (Kirschenbaum 1987:31-32).

A slave could in fact not possess or own anything for he himself was property without any

legal status (Justinianus *Institutiones* 2.9.3; cf Watson 1987:47; Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:96). However, the institution of *peculium* facilitated the agency of slaves involved in commerce (Kirschenbaum 1987:33). *Peculium* was “a sum of money, a commercial or industrial business, or a small separate property granted by an owner to his slave, for the slave’s use, free disposal, and fructification through commercial or other transactions” (Berger 1953:624). The *peculium* was distinct from the property of the owner and although it legally belonged to the owner, it was in fact the property of the slave (Buckland 1908:187; Kirschenbaum 1987:34). The *peculium* provided some security to third parties contracting with a slave in commercial transactions (Kirschenbaum 1987:39). When an owner granted his slave a *peculium* he effectively appointed the slave as his business agent with the owner’s liability limited to the extent of the *peculium* (Kirschenbaum 1987:88).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Slaves participating in economic activities must be regarded as agents of their owners acting in the interests of the latter rather than independent traders.

Justinianus *Institutiones* 2.9.3 (cf Justinianus *Digesta* 41.1.32)

Context:

Title 9 deals with persons through whom property may be acquired.

Passage:

Item vobis acquiritur, quod servi vestri ex traditioneⁱ nanciscuntur sive quid stipulenturⁱⁱ vel ex qualibet alia causa adquirunt. Hoc enim vobis et ignorantibus et invitis obvenit. Ipse enim servus qui in potestate alterius est nihil suum habere potest.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Also, property is acquired for your benefit when your slaves obtained it by way of deliveryⁱ, or if they entered into an oral agreementⁱⁱ in respect of it, or acquired it in any other way. Indeed, it falls to you whether you are ignorant or unwilling, for a slave who is subject to the ownership of another can possess nothing of his own.

ⁱ⁾ *Traditio* refers to the transfer of ownership of property by way of delivery or handing over thereof (Berger 1953:739).

ⁱⁱ⁾ *Stipulatio* refers to an oral agreement entered into by way of a question (“do you promise to...?”) and an affirming answer (“I promise to...”) (Berger 1953:716).

Interpretation:

This quote confirms Gaius *Institutiones* 2.89 above but adds that the owner acquires rights even when he has no knowledge of the acquisition or is unwilling to accept such rights. It further confirms the legal position that a slave cannot possess anything of his own.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Again, slaves participating in economic activities must be regarded as agents of their owners acting in the interests of the latter rather than independent traders. This is the case without exception.

Justinianus *Institutiones* 3.17.1 (cf Justinianus *Digesta* 41.1.10.1, 45.1.38.17)

Context:

The title deals specifically with the capacity of slaves to enter into oral contracts (*stipulation*) on behalf of their owners. It forms a sub-section to the law of obligations discussed in this book III of the Institutes.

Passage:

Sive autem domino sive sibi sive conserve suo sive impersonaliter servus stipuletur, domino acquirit.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

However, whether a slave enters into an oral agreement in favour of his owner or himself or a fellow slave or without nominating any person, he acquires in favour of his owner.

Interpretation:

This sentence confirms Gaius *Institutiones* 2.89 above but adds that the owner acquires

rights irrespective of the slave's intention when entering into an oral agreement.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Again, slaves participating in economic activities must be regarded as agents of their owners acting in the interests of the latter rather than in any other capacity. This is the case without exception.

Justinianus *Digesta* 50.17.133

Context:

A slave entering into a contract bound the other party to his owner but not *vice versa* (Buckland 1908:157). The owner could thus not be sued on the basis of such a contract. However, if the owner wanted to enforce his rights in terms of the contract, he had to satisfy the claim of the other party.

Passage:

GAIUS libro octavo ad edictum provinciale.
Melior condicio nostra per servos fieri potest,
deterior fieri non potest.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Gaius. On the provincial edict. Book VIII. Our legal status can be improved by way of our slaves, but not worsened.

Interpretation:

The interpretation is clear: A slave could enrich his owner but not impoverish him.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Owners of slaves were always in a better position than the person with whom their slaves contracted.

Justinianus *Digesta* 21.2.39.1

Context:

Title 2 deals with the situation where a purchaser is evicted because of a prior, stronger title. This specific sentence refers to cases where a slave entered into agreements of sale on behalf of his owner.

Passage:

...quod servus tuus in tradendo sine voluntateⁱ tua proprietatem hominis transferre non potuisset...

Own translation with grammatical notes:

...because your slave cannot at the time of delivery transfer ownership of another slave without your consentⁱ...

i) *Voluntas* sometimes means consent or approval (Berger 1953:770-771). I consider it to be the case in this context.

Interpretation:

It is clear that a slave could also dispose of property on behalf of his owner. The proviso, however, was that he had to do so with the consent of the owner. This did not apply with regard to the acquisition of property.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Any reference to the disposal of property by a slave must be considered in the context of whether the owner gave permission for such disposal.

Paul *Sententiae* 5.8.1

Context:

Title 8 deals with the novation of obligations.

Passage:

Non solum per nosmet ipsos novamusⁱ, quod nobis debetur, sed etiam per eos, per quos stipulari possumus, velut per familiumfamilias

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Not only can we ourselves create novationsⁱ in respect of what is due to us, but also through others who can enter into oral

vel per servum, iubendoⁱⁱ vel ratum habendoⁱⁱⁱ.	agreements (<i>stipulation</i>) on our behalf, such as through a child under parental control or a slave, by orderingⁱⁱ him or considering his actions validⁱⁱⁱ. i) <i>Novatio</i> refers to the extinguishing of an existing obligation and its substitution by a new one (Berger 1953:600), i.e. the renegotiation of a previously concluded contract. ii) In this context, <i>iubere</i> refers to "... the authorisation given by them [a father or master] to a son or slave to conclude a transaction with a third person which involved the responsibility of the father or master, respectively" (Berger 1953:517). iii) <i>Ratum habendo</i> (or <i>ratihabito</i>) refers to the ratification of a legal act or transaction (Berger 1953:667). It will occur in cases where one person concludes a transaction or performs a legal act on behalf of another person without the latter's approval or consent, and the latter approves of what had been done on his behalf.
Interpretation: A slave may novate previously concluded agreements on behalf of his owner either by way of prior authorisation or ratification after the fact.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves who novated contracts on behalf of their owners did so legally provided it was done with authorisation or ratification.	

Justinianus <i>Digesta</i> 46.3.102.2	
Context: Title 3 deals with receipt of payment from the debtor in respect of an amount owing to his creditor, and subsequent release of the debtor. It states <i>inter alia</i> who may receive payment on behalf of the creditor and whether it leads to release of the debtor. It only led to release if the original loan was authorised by the owner (cf Justinianus <i>Digesta</i> 46.3.35).	
Passage: Valerius Lucii Titii servus scripsit: 'accepi a Mario Marino ex summa maiore tot aureos'...	Own translation with grammatical notes: Valerius, the slave of Lucius Titius, wrote: 'I have received from Marius Marinus so many gold coins out of a larger amount'...
Interpretation: A slave may have received monies on behalf of his owner and such a receipt led to the release of the debtor provided that the original loan was authorised.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves who received monies on behalf of their owners did so legally if the original authorisation was legal.	

Justinianus <i>Institutiones</i> 4.7.1 (cf Justinianus <i>Digesta</i> 15.3.5.2, 15.4, 16.1.25, 50.12.2.1)	
Context: Title 7 deals with business transactions entered into with a person under the control of another.	
Passage: Si igitur iussuⁱ domini cum servo negotium gestum erit, in solidumⁱⁱ praetor adversus dominum actionem pollicetur, scilicet quia qui ita contrahit fidem domini sequi videtur.	Own translation with grammatical notes: If then business was conducted with a slave by orderⁱ of his owner, the Praetor will grant an action for the full amountⁱⁱ against the owner, evidently because he who concludes

	a contract in this manner, seem to have relied on the creditworthiness of the owner. i) <i>lussum</i> refers to the order or authorisation given by an owner to his slave to enter into business transactions (Berger 1953:534-535). ii) <i>Solidum</i> refers to the whole amount or claim of the plaintiff (cf Berger 1953:710). I interpret it as referring to the whole amount even if such amount exceeds the value of the slave's <i>peculium</i>, which would normally have been the extent of the owner's liability.
Interpretation: If a slave did business with the authorisation of his owner, the owner was liable for the full amount of the contract. This also applied to situations where the slave was appointed to conduct business with the knowledge of the third party (P.2.8.2) or where business was transacted for the benefit of the owner (Inst.4.7.4).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Owners were liable for the full amount of a contract if their slaves conducted business with the authorisation of their owners.	

3.9.3 Jewish law

M. B.M. 1:5	
Context: This section deals with matters relating to property.	
Passage: מְצִיאת בְּנוֹ וּבִתּוֹ הַקָּטָנִים מְצִיאת עֶבְדּוֹ וְשִׁפְחוֹתוֹ הַכְּנַעֲנִים מְצִיאת אִשְׁתּוֹ הַכִּי אֵלָיו שְׁלוֹ. מְצִיאת בְּנוֹ וּבִתּוֹ הַגְּדוֹלִים מְצִיאת עֶבְדּוֹ וְשִׁפְחוֹתוֹ הָעֵבֶרִים מְצִיאת אִשְׁתּוֹ שֶׁגִּרְשָׁהּ אָף עַל פִּי שְׁלֹא נָתַן כֶּתֻבָּתָהּ הַכִּי אֵלָיו שְׁלֵהוּ.	Own translation with grammatical notes: The finds of his sons and daughters, the finds of his male and female Canaanite slaves, and the finds of his wife all belong to him. However, the finds of his adult sons and daughters, the finds of his male and female Hebrew slaves, and the finds of his wife whom he has divorced, although he has not yet paid his Kethuba, does not belong to him.
Interpretation: A Hebrew slave kept what he found, and thus became the owner of it. This did not apply to foreign slaves. Other passages contradict this statement (cf M. Peah 3:8 at 3.11.3 below).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Hebrew slaves of Jewish owners may have possessed property.	

T. B.Q. 11:2	
Context: The Tosefta is a commentary on the Mishnah (see 3.3.3 above). Book IV deals with property rights and legal proceedings.	
Passage: וּבֶן שֶׁהִיָּה אוֹכֵל מִשָּׁל רַבּוֹ קוֹצֵץ וְנוֹתֵן פְּרוּסָה לְבָנוֹ וּלְבִתּוֹ וּלְעַבְדּוֹ שֶׁל אוֹהֲבוֹ וְאִינוֹ חוֹשֵׁשׁ מִשּׁוֹם גִּזְלוֹ שֶׁל בַּעַל הַבַּיִת שֶׁכַּךְ נִהְגוּ.	Own translation with grammatical notes: The son who does business with what belongs to his father, and likewise the slave who does business with what belongs to his owner, behold, [the proceeds] belong to the father, behold, [the proceeds] belong to the owner.
Interpretation:	

The legal rule is clear: A slave acts in business on behalf of his owner.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Slaves conduct business on behalf of their owners.

3.9.4 Section summary

Slaves and the economy		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Slaves actively participated in the economy on behalf of their owners. Social mobility across class boundaries was possible (Fisher 1993:78).	Slaves actively participated in the economy on behalf of their owners with full liability for acquisitions but limited liability for disposals. With regard to the disposal of property, the general rule was that a person under the potestas of another could not worsen the condition of the family head either economically or legally (Kirschenbaum 1987:38). A contract of disposal of property entered into by a slave with a third party was only enforceable by the third party if the slave acted on the authorisation of his owner.	Slaves actively participated in the economy on behalf of their owners. Hebrew slaves may have possessed property, although there is no consensus on the matter. Slaves appeared as intermediaries in business transactions, and some even worked as relatively independent businessmen on behalf of their owners (cf Hezser 2005:301).

3.10 RUNAWAY SLAVES

3.10.1 Greek law

Plato *Leges* XI 914e

Context:

In his *Laws* Plato (ca. 429-347 BC) deals with social morality as opposed to individual morality (Annas 2003a:1191). He has given up hope that an expert ruler could rule uncorrupted by power, yet maintains that political division and strife can only be overcome by complete obedience to the laws, since the laws are the product of rational reflection. Among these laws we find the one quoted below.

Passage:

Ἀγέτω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὁ βουλόμενος, ἐὰν ἔμφρων ᾖ, χρησόμενοςⁱ ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ τῶν ὁπόσαⁱⁱ ὅσια· ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τῶν οἰκείων ἢ φίλων τὸν ἀφεστῶτα ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Let him who so wishes, provided he is of sound mind, manage his own slave by usingⁱ [him] provided he wishes whateverⁱⁱ is legally permitted. And let him also lay hands on the runaway slave on behalf of another of his relatives or friends for the purpose of [the slave's] safe return.

ⁱ⁾ Interpreted as an adverbial participle indicating manner (Smyth 1956:457).

ⁱⁱ⁾ Use of ὁπόσος with the definite article as demonstrative (Smyth 1956:286). This seems to be a feature of Plato's writings.

Interpretation:

Not only the owner but also a relative or friend could detain a runaway slave for purposes of his safe return to his owner. The owner, relative or friend apparently need not approach a court of law prior to the detention of the runaway slave (cf Morrow 1939:29).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

This law must be considered in cases where a slave is in the possession of a person other than its owner.

3.10.2 Roman law**Justinianus *Digesta* 21.1.17.2** (cf Justinianus *Digesta* 21.1.17.pr-20)**Context:**

Title 1 deals with the edicts of the aediles concerned with the sale of property “whether it consists of land, portable articles, or of such as moves itself” (Justinianus *Digesta* 21.1.1.pr.) The aediles were *inter alia* responsible for controlling and regulating trade (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:5). It specifically refers to remedies granted to the purchaser in cases where the seller received a purchase price in excess of the value of the property. One such instance is that of the sale of a runaway slave, dealt with in fragment 17, and thus the need for a definition of a runaway slave.

Passage:

Cassius quoque scribit fugitivumⁱ esse, qui certo proposito dominum relinquatⁱⁱ.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Cassius also writes that a runaway slaveⁱ is a slave who desertsⁱⁱ his owner with definite intent.

ⁱ⁾ *Fugitivus* refers to a fugitive (Berger 1953:479). *Servus fugitivus* is the technical legal term for a runaway slave (Berger 1953:705) but it is clear from the context that the technical term is intended.

ⁱⁱ⁾ *Relinquere* is a term associated with the law of succession (Berger 1953:673) but in this context it means “to desert, abandon, forsake” (Simpson 1959:512).

Interpretation:

The definition contains two elements namely a physical movement away from the owner and the intention of the slave not to return.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Any reference to a slave leaving his owner must be considered in the light of this definition to determine whether such a slave was indeed a runaway slave.

Justinianus *Digesta* 21.1.17.4 (cf D.21.1.17.5 and 21.1.43.1)**Context:**

Fragment 17 deals with runaway slaves. This specific rule covers a situation where the slave does not physically run away but hides, and where a slave seeks refuge with a friend in order to negotiate better working and living conditions.

Passage:

Interrogatus Proculus de eo, qui domi latuisset in hoc scilicet, ut fugae nactus occasionem se subtraheret, ait, tametsi fugere non posset videri, qui domi mansisset, tamen eum fugitivum fuisse: sin autem in hoc tantum latuisset, quoad iracundia domini efferverceret, fugitivum non esse, sicuti ne eum quidem, qui cum dominum animadverteret verberibus se adficere velle, prae-

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Proculus, having been questioned with regard to a slave who had concealed himself in the house of his owner for the purpose of finding an opportunity to escape, says that although one who remains in the house cannot be held to have run away, he is, nevertheless, a fugitive. If, however, he concealed himself only for the purpose of waiting until his owner's anger had subsided,

ripuisset se ad amicum, quem ad precandum perduceret.	he is not a fugitive; just as where one whom his owner intends to whip betakes himself to a friend in order to induce him to intercede for him.
Interpretation: Considering the definition in 21.1.17.2 above, a slave who does not physically run away cannot be considered a fugitive slave. Yet Proculus states that if a slave hides in his owner's home with the intention to escape when the opportunity arises, the intention defines him as a runaway slave, even in lieu of any physical movement away from his owner. If the intention is not present, the slave is not a fugitive, for example if he waits for his owner's anger to subside. In the second instance Proculus indicates that the intention to run away may be absent even when there is physical movement away from the owner. In this case a slave takes physical leave of his owner's home but with the intention to find a friend who will intercede on his behalf with his owner. In such a case the slave is not a runaway slave.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: These two specific applications of the definition of fugitive slave must be borne in mind when interpreting the New Testament exhortations directed at slave-owners.	

Justinianus Digesta 50.16.225	
Context: This fragment forms part of a title containing definitions of terms. These definitions would be applicable to the whole of the Digest, and by implications all the Roman private law.	
Passage: Et ideo fugitivum quoque et erronemⁱ non secundum propositionemⁱⁱ solam, sed cum aliquo actuⁱⁱⁱ intellegi^{iv} constat.	Own translation with grammatical notes: And therefore it is also established that a slave will not be considered a runaway slave or vagabondⁱ only in accordance with his intentionⁱⁱ, but consistent with intelligent movementⁱⁱⁱ towards somewhere. i) <i>Erro</i> refers to "a vagrant slave who leaves his master's house in order to roam about, and who, after spending his money, returns to the master" (Berger 1953:456). ii) <i>Propositum</i> refers to an individual's intention (Berger 1953:657). Such intention may be good or more frequently evil for example the intention to commit a crime (as in this case). iii) Technically <i>actus</i> refers to the right to drive animals or vehicles over property belonging to another person (Berger 1953:348). But it may also generally refer to driving, moving or movement (Simpson 1959:10). Considering the context, I think it simply means "movement". iv) <i>Intellegere</i> refers to the capacity of persons to understand (Berger 1953:506). Persons may only conclude legal transactions if they have <i>intellectus</i>. Insane persons would, for example, not have <i>intellectus</i>.
Interpretation: The definition provided in Justinianus Digesta 21.1.17.2 is further expounded to indicate the type of movement that is required namely that apart from the proper intention, a runaway slave must also exhibit movement towards somewhere (and obviously away from his owner) while understanding what he is doing.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Any reference to a slave leaving his owner must be considered in the light of this requirement	

to determine whether such a slave was indeed a runaway slave.

Paul *Sententiae* 2.31.37

Context:

Title 31 deals with the action for theft. This sentence refers to the liability of the owner of a runaway slave for theft committed by the slave.

Passage:

Servus, qui in fuga est, a domino quidem possidetur, sed dominus furtiⁱ actione eius nomine non tenetur, quia in potestateⁱⁱ eum non habet.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

A slave that is on the run is indeed possessed by his owner, but the owner is not liable in terms of the action for theftⁱ on the slave's account because he does not have him under physical controlⁱⁱ.

ⁱ) *Furtus* refers to theft in a variety of forms (Berger 1953:480).

ⁱⁱ) In this context *potestas* refers to an owner's physical control over his slave (Berger 1953:640). A runaway slave is considered to be *res se moventes* (moving things) (Berger 1953:680), negating the requirement of physical control for legal possession.

Interpretation:

A slave that has run away is still possessed (and owned) by his owner. He is not *res derelictae* (a thing abandoned by its owner with the intention of getting rid of it) or *res nullius* (a thing without an owner) and thus third parties cannot claim ownership of him.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Runaway slaves referred to in the New Testament legally still belonged to their owners.

3.10.3 Jewish law

Deuteronomy 23:16-17 (BHS 1996)

Context:

Deuteronomy 23 contains various social and religious regulations.

Pericope:

לֹא-תִסָּגֵר יָרֵךְ עַל בֶּדֶל-אֶל-אֲדֹנָיִךְ יוֹ
אֲשֶׁר-יִנָּצֵץ, לְאֵלֶיךָ יָד מַעַל, מֵאֲדֹנָיִךְ יוֹ:
עַמֶּיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָרְבֶּךָ בְּמָקוֹם וּמִ
אֲשֶׁר-יִבְחָר בְּאֶחָד שְׁעָרֶיךָ יָד
בִּטְחָנוֹ וּבְלֵוֹ לֹא תִאָּוֶן, וְנָו:

Own translation with grammatical notes:

¹⁶ If a slave has taken refuge with you, do not hand him over to his owner.

¹⁷ Let him live among you wherever he likes and in whatever town he chooses. Do not oppress him.

Interpretation:

A person who takes another's fugitive slave into refuge must not hand the slave over to his owner, but rather integrate him into the community without oppression. The impression is that the slave must be treated as a freeman. Based on the immediate textual context, the regulation apparently only applied to Hebrew slaves since the succeeding paragraphs deal with Israelite prostitutes (Deut 23:18-19) and debtors (Deut 23:20-21) (cf Hezser 2005:268 fn 95). In the latter paragraph on debtors non-Israelites are specifically excluded.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

A runaway Hebrew slave of a Jewish owner need not have been handed over to his owner.

M. Git. 4:6

Context:

Book III of M. Git. deals mainly with matters of marriage, and specifically Levirate marriage. This tractate deals with divorce and remarriage based on Deuteronomy 24:1-5. Chapter 4

deals <i>inter alia</i> with the status of captives and slaves.	
Passage: אֵין פּוֹדִין אֶת־הַשְּׁבוּיִים יוֹתֵר עַל כֶּדֶי דְּמִיתָהוּ מִפְּנֵי תַקְוֹן הָעוֹלָם וְאֵין מִבְרִיחִין אֶת־הַשְּׁבוּיִין מִפְּנֵי תַקְוֹן הָעוֹלָם.	Own translation with grammatical notes: One should not ransom captives for more than their value for the sake of the good order of the world, and one should not help captives escape for the good order of the world.
Interpretation: In contrast to Deuteronomy 23:16-17 the Mishnah seems to condemn any assistance to fugitive slaves. The reasoning seems to be that any assistance to Jews enslaved by the Romans would have disrupted the good order, i.e. angered the Roman authorities (Hezser 2005:269).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The rabbinic tradition would have frowned upon any assistance to a fugitive slave.	

3.10.4 Section summary

Runaway slaves		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Slaves taking flight was viewed in a very serious light, especially if the slave was very valuable to his owner (Fisher 1993:80). This viewpoint was a matter of public policy and favoured the recapture and return of runaway slaves. Greek law assisted owners in recapturing runaway slaves.	Roman law also viewed runaway slaves in a very serious light. Thus the provisions on how to determine whether a slave ran away or not. Roman law restricts an owner's liability for the actions of his runaway slave on the basis that the owner did not have control over his slave's actions. Roman law also assisted owners in recapturing runaway slaves.	Jewish law contradicted itself by protecting runaway Hebrew slaves, yet prohibiting assistance to a runaway slave. Aiding and abetting a fugitive slave (if he was of Hebrew descent) was apparently not considered such a serious offence as under Roman law. Jewish law also did not require the seller to disclose a slave's tendency towards fleeing at the time of sale (Hezser 2005:268). Yet one may surmise that Jewish owners were as eager as Roman owners to prevent their slaves' (especially non-Hebrew slaves') escape and to ensure their recapture.

3.11 MANUMISSION OF SLAVES AND FREEDMEN

3.11.1 Greek law

Julius Pollux <i>Onomasticon</i> 3.83	
Context: Pollux (2 nd century AD) was a scholar and rhetorician (Forbes <i>et al</i> 2003:1209). The arrangement of his <i>Onomasticon</i> is thematic rather than alphabetical. The material ranges <i>inter alia</i> from the rhetorical to the arts to private and public law and anatomy.	
Passage: καὶ Δημοσθένης φησὶν ἐξελευθερικοῦς ⁱ νόμους καὶ ἀπελευθερικοῦς ⁱ νόμους.	Own translation with grammatical notes: And Demosthenes affirms laws concerning enslaved freemen who have been freed ⁱ and laws concerning other freed slaves.

	i) Zelnick-Abramovitz (2005:51) argues that ἐξελευθερικούς and ἀπελευθερικούς are not simply synonyms, as some ancient lexicographers and most modern scholars consider them to be. They rather represent different classes or sub-classes of freedmen. She bases her argument on this definition of Pollux, which seems to support her argument. Harrison (1968:181) supports this line of argument in view of Harpokration's definition quoted below.
Interpretation: Among freedmen there were at least two classes governed by different laws. Garland (1988:79) refers to these laws as "laws on freedmen" and equate them more or less to the laws established by Plato in his <i>Leges</i> (see for example Plato <i>Leges</i> 915a-915b below). Zelnick-Abramovitz (2005:301) argues that ἐξελευθέροι refer to those slaves who have been manumitted and released of ongoing service to their former owners, and ἀπελευθέροι to those who were still bound to their former owners. The sources do not provide definite clarity on this matter.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Any reference to freedmen should elicit enquiry as to the class of freedmen involved.	

Harpokration <i>Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos</i> 181.3	
Context: Valerius Harpokration (1st or 2nd century AD) was an Alexandrian lexicographer who compiled his <i>Lexicon of the Ten Orators</i> as a reading aid, comprising words and phrases in alphabetical order with references to their sources (Wilson 2003:667). The work provides information on mainly religious, legal, constitutional, and social topics.	
Passage: ἀπελεύθερος: ὁ δοῦλος ὦν, εἴτα ἀπολυθεῖς τῆς δουλείας, ὡς καὶ παρ' Αἰσχίνῃ, ἐξελεύθερος ὁ διὰ τινα αἰτίανⁱ δοῦλος γεγονώς, εἴτα ἀπολυθεῖς· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ οὐ διαφέρουσι.	Own translation with grammatical notes: ἀπελεύθερος is a slave subsequently released from slavery, even so according to Aeschines; ἐξελεύθερος became a slave through whatever causeⁱ [and was] subsequently released. But sometimes there is no difference. i) The implication is that the person was a freeman and then became a slave.
Interpretation: The ἐξελεύθεροι were those freedmen who had originally been free but had fallen into slavery and subsequently been freed, as well as the sons of freed slaves (cf Harrison 1968:181). The author concedes, however, that the distinction between ἀπελεύθερος and ἐξελεύθερος is not maintained consistently.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: References to the manumission of slaves may refer to either class of manumitted slaves.	

Aristoteles <i>Politica</i> VII 1330a 25
Context: Aristotle's (ca. 435 – 335 BC) <i>Politica</i> represents typical writings on political theory in ancient Greece and Rome (Nussbaum 2003c:1206). He provides an account of εὐδαιμονίαⁱ since those things that are politically distributed such as property and offices are means to achieve human flourishing. He also considers various regimes in an attempt to identify the best form

of government. Aristotle's statements on slaves must therefore first and foremost be considered in a political rather than legal context. This does, however, not necessarily imply that his statements on slavery, such as the one quoted above, are not juridically relevant and/or accurate. The quoted definition forms part of a section dealing with household management, and specifically the relationship between slave-owner and slave.

ⁱ⁾ According to Nussbaum (2003a:168), εὐδαιμονία is generally translated as "happiness" but may be more accurately rendered "human flourishing".

Passage:

τοὺς δὲ γεωργήσοντας μάλιστα μέν, εἰ δεῖ
κατ' εὐχῇνⁱ⁾, δούλους εἶναι... τίνα δὲ δεῖ
τρόπον χρῆσθαι δούλοις, καὶ διότι βέλτιον
πᾶσι τοῖς δούλοις ἄθλον προκεῖσθαι τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

But above all, if I had to state the idealⁱ⁾, those who work the land should be slaves... But how slaves must be used, and why it is fitting to put up freedom as reward for all slaves, we will say later.

ⁱ⁾ Use of δεῖ in the protasis of a condition in which one apologizes for pressing a point (cf Liddle *et al* 1996).

Interpretation:

The implication is clearly that freedom was envisaged as reward in order to improve slaves' loyalty towards their owners.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The manumission of slaves must be considered from the perspective of the owner's interests rather than the slave's.

Demosthenes *In Neaeram* 29-32

Context:

Neaera was a prostitute in Corinth bought as a slave from the brothel-owner by two co-owners. When the young men were about to marry, they did not want Neaera to continue working as a prostitute in the city. In order to avoid this, they were prepared to let her buy her freedom even if they incurred a loss in the process.

Passage:

ἀφιέναι οὖν αὐτῇ ἔφασαν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν
χιλίας δραχμάς, πεντακοσίας ἑκάτερος· τὰς δ'
εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἐκέλευον αὐτὴν ἐξευροῦσαν
αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

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.

Interpretation:

Slaves could buy their freedom on terms determined by their owners. In this case, Neaera's ransom was paid by her former lovers (cf Harrison 1968:182; Fisher 1993:68).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Slaves could buy their freedom if their owners were prepared to determine terms.

Herodotus *Historiae* 2.135.1-2

Context:

Herodotus was an historian indicated as the author of the earliest surviving Greek historical narrative (Gould 2003:696). The narrative is built from smaller narratives and summaries of events derived from distinguished individuals, informants, documentary sources and above all (often local) oral tradition. He incorporates personal judgments on the truth or lack of it of the source material. The whole narrative is built around two concepts namely kinship and reciprocity (Gould 2003:697). The latter is absolute and devoid of any exceptions: All men must respond with like for like. The historicity of Herodotus' narrative is under suspicion, with critics labelling him a mere storyteller rather than serious historian, or an outright liar (Gould

2003:698).	
Passage: Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῖκετο Ξάνθης τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντός [μιν], ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρῶ-νύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. Οὕτω δὴ ἡ Ῥοδῶπις ἐλευθερώθη καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ...	Own translation with grammatical notes: Then Rhodopis fled to Egypt – Xanthes of Samos brought her there to safety – but on her arrival she was set free for a vast amount of money by Kharaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis became a free woman and she lived in Egypt...
Interpretation: Considering the text's parallel to the previous text of Demosthenes (at least as far as content is concerned), it seems plausible that this text is historically reliable, and thus a true reflection of the fact that a slave's freedom could be bought by a third party.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: A third party could buy a slave's freedom if the slave's owner was prepared to determine or negotiate terms.	

Aeschines In Ctesiphontem 3.44	
Context: Aeschines (ca. 397-322 BC) was an Athenian orator and contemporary of Demosthenes (Cawkwell 2003a:25). This speech represented an opportunity for Aechines to attack Demosthenes when the city of Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes should be crowned in the theatre.	
Passage: ... καὶ διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μὴτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον, μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου, φησι, μηδεὶνός, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα.	Own translation with grammatical notes: But he expressly forbids either the setting free of a household slave in the theatre, or the proclamation of the person to be crowned by either the tribe or the district, or by anyone else, he says, not even one, or the announcer will be deprived of civic rights.
Interpretation: According to Aeschines the city's decree was contrary to existing law namely that a slave may not be freed and a person may not be crowned in a theatre for it will disturb the theatrical experience. The purpose of the proclamation was to lend publicity to the manumission, but it was outweighed by the need for public control by the Assembly (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:72). Such proclamations could also take place in sanctuaries.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Any reference to freedmen should elicit enquiry as to the manner of manumission.	

Diogenes Laertius Vitae philosophorum 5.55	
Context: Diogenes Laertius probably lived in the first half of the 3 rd century AD, based on the scope of his compendium on the lives and doctrines of the ancient philosophers from Thales to Epicurus (Long & Sharples 2003:474-475). The material is often several sources removed from the original, although he regularly cites his sources. This passage purports to be a provision from the will of the philosopher Theophrastus, an associate and successor to Aristotle (Sharples 2003:1504).	
Passage:	Own translation with grammatical notes:

τῶν δὲ παίδων Μόλωνα μὲν καὶ Τίμωνα καὶ Παρμένοντα ἤδη ἐλευθέρους ἀφίημι. Μανῆν δὲ καὶ Καλλίαν παραμείναντας ἔτη τέτταρα ἐν τῷ κήπῳ καὶ συνεργασαμένους καὶ ἀναμαρτήτους γενομένους ἀφίημι ἐλευθέρους.	And indeed, of my slaves I forthwith set free Molon and Timon and Parmenon. I also set free Manes and Callias who remained in the garden for four years and worked in it and conducted themselves blamelessly.
Interpretation: The passage clearly indicates testamentary manumission as a legal manner of setting slaves free. It also points to the fact that owners rewarded a slave's good behaviour with freedom.	

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Any reference to freedmen should elicit enquiry as to the manner of manumission, and specifically whether it was testamentary manumission.
--

Plato Leges 915a-915b	
Context: In this passage, Plato speaks of the relationship between a slave freed by his owner and his former owner, now known as his patron, although the term does not appear in the passage.	
Passage: ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, ἐάν τις μὴ θεραπεύῃ τοὺς ἀπελευθερώσαντας ἢ μὴ ἱκανῶς· θεραπεία δὲ φοιτᾶν τρεῖς τοῦ μηνὸς τὸν ἀπελευθερωθέντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀπελευθερώσαντος ἐστίαν, ἐπαγγελλόμενον ὅτι χρή δρᾶν τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἅμα δυνατῶν, καὶ περὶ γάμου ποιεῖν ὅτιπερ ἂν συνδοκῇ τῷ γενομένῳ δεσπότη. πλουτεῖν δὲ τοῦ ἀπελευθερώσαντος μὴ ἐξεῖναι μᾶλλον· τὸ δὲ πλέον γιγνέσθω τοῦ δεσπότη.	Own translation with grammatical notes: And let him even lay his hands on a freedman, if he did not serve those who set him free, or did not serve them sufficiently. Such service shall consist of calling upon by the freedman three times per month on the house of the person who set him free, proclaiming that he ought to do what is both just and feasible, and regarding marriage [that he ought to] act because it seems good to his former owner. And the freedman may not be wealthier than the one that freed him. Let the excess be the property of the owner.
Interpretation: Manumission does not sever ties between former slave and former owner, as the freedman owes his patron certain duties: To visit him three times per month and offer his services, which the patron may use at his discretion; to uphold his marriage out of respect for his patron; and not to overtake his patron in wealth (cf Morrow 1939:104, 107).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: These continuing duties of a freedman must be taken into account when dealing with freedmen in the New Testament.	

Dio Chrysostomos Orationes XV 17	
Context: Dio Chrysostomos (earlier known as Dio Cocceianus) was a first century philosopher in the Stoic and Cynic traditions (Browning & Wilson 2003:470). His philosophy is based on typical Stoic concepts such as nature, virtue and philanthropy. In this speech he deals with the distinction between slavery and freedom.	
Passage:	Own translation with grammatical notes: “Do you not know,” he continued, “the

οὐκ οἶσθα τὸν Ἀθήνησιν, ἔφη, νόμον, παρὰ πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις, ὅτι τὸν φύσει δοῦλον γενόμενον οὐκ ἔῃ μετέχειν τῆς πολιτείας;	Athenian law, equally in many other cities, that one who became a slave by birth is not allowed to partake in citizenship?"
Interpretation: The implication is that a slave by birth could not become a citizen, even by way of manumission (cf Morrow 1939:99; Fisher 1993:68). This is in contrast to the position under Roman law (see 3.11.2 below).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Under Greek law a slave freed by his owner could not become a citizen.	

Fisher (1993:67) captures the general motivation behind the setting free of slaves: "The inducement of freedom was a strong weapon in the slaveowners' armoury" (see also Aristoteles *Politica* VII 1330a 25 below). It certainly conveys the implicit message that even manumission was always in the owner's interests rather than those of the slave. Slaves were, for example, often only set free at an advanced age, when their value was declining, relieving their owners of the burden of care (Fisher 1993:67-68). Furthermore, conditions attached to manumission were heavily in favour of owners.

Manumission of a slave was within the sole discretion of the owner, who could confer freedom either during his own lifetime or by way of testamentary provision (Harrison 1968:182; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:130; see Diogenes Laertius *Vitae philosophorum* 5.55 below). He could also attach conditions to the manumission, such as payment of an amount of money by the slave from the earnings that his owner allowed him to accumulate (see Demosthenes *In Neaeram* 29-32 and Herodotus *Historiae* 2.135.1-2 below). Other forms included sacral manumission involving the consecration of slaves or their sale to a divinity (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:86ff).

Morrow (1939:103) concludes with some justification that unconditional manumission was extremely rare, if indeed possible under Greek law. It seems from the sources that no strict form was required for manumission in Athens, in contrast to other cities such as Corinth (Harrison 1968:182-183). Owners did, however, take steps to ensure that the setting free received some form of publicity in the courts or in the theatre, although the latter practice was later prohibited by law (see Aeschines *In Ctesiphontem* 3.44 below). The various means of manumission may even have been classified according to the number of people notified of the slave's new status (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005:71).

Although free in theory, Athenian law imposed serious limitations on the freedom of freed slaves (Morrow 1939:101-102; Harrison 1968:184ff; MacDowell 1978:82-83). A freedman (or freedwoman) could for example not own land in Attica, he could not enter into a marriage the offspring of which would be Athenian citizens or even marry an Athenian. As non-citizens (see Dio Chrysostomos *Orationes* XV 17 below), they enjoyed no political rights, yet had to pay certain taxes (cf Garland 1988:81). In all legal matters they had to be represented by their former owner who acted as their patron (προστάτης) (Harrison 1968:185). The patron continued to enjoy certain rights in respect of his freedman (see Plato *Leges* 915a-915b below). If a freedman died

childless and intestate he was succeeded by his patron rather than by his nearest relatives (Harrison 1968:186). Manumission thus fell short of the Greek vision of freedom as defined in 3.4.1 above.

3.11.2 Roman law

Ulpianus <i>Tituli ex corpore Ulpiani</i> 1.5, 6	
Context: Title 1 deals with freedmen and their rights.	
Passage: 5. Libertorum genera sunt tria, cives Romani ⁱ , Latini Iuniani ⁱⁱ , deditionum ⁱⁱⁱ numero. 6. Cives Romani sunt liberti, qui legitime manumissi sunt id est aut vindicta ^{iv} aut censu ^v aut testamento ^{vi} , nullo iure impediante.	Own translation with grammatical notes: 5. There are three types of freedmen namely Roman citizens ⁱ , Junian Latins ⁱⁱ , and those included among the number of the <i>deditionum</i> ⁱⁱⁱ . 6. Those freedmen who have legally been set free by way of <i>vindicta</i> ^{iv} or census ^v or will ^{vi} are Roman citizens provided there is no legal obstacle. i) <i>Civis Romanus</i> refers to a Roman citizen "i.e. any person who either by birth or otherwise became an integral part of the Roman people (<i>populus Romanus</i>) and as such enjoyed public and private rights connected with Roman citizenship" (Berger 1953:389). Freedmen were a small group of citizens not born as such who were deprived of public rights. ii) <i>Latini Iuniani</i> refer to slaves whose manumissions were either in contravention of certain statutory requirements or in forms not recognised by civil law (called informal manumission) (Berger 1953:537). Their freedom was not affected but they became Latins without political rights rather than Roman citizens. This status was created by the <i>Lex Iunia</i> predating 4 AD (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:100). iii) <i>Dediticii</i> refer to citizens of a foreign state or community who surrendered to Rome during wartime (Berger 1953:427). They were free but lacked Roman citizenship and all public rights. iv) (<i>Manumissio</i>) <i>vindicta</i> refers a fictitious trial during which the owner and slave would appear before a magistrate to answer to a claim by a third party that the slave was free (Berger 1953:577). The owner would consent to the manumission by not opposing the averment of freedom (Watson 1987:24). v) (<i>Manumissio</i>) <i>census</i> refers to the manumission of a slave through his enrolment in the list of Roman citizens with the consent of his owner (Berger 1953:576). This form of manumission was practically obsolete during the Empire (Buckland 1908:449). vi) (<i>Manumissio</i>) <i>testamento</i> refers to manumission by way of testamentary disposition of the slave's owner (Berger 1953:577). The manumission may have been conditional in which case the slave was called <i>statuliberus</i> until the condition was fulfilled (Watson 1967:194). One may assume that the majority of manumission was affected by way of will since the owner would not be deprived of the slave's services during the

owner's life time (Watson 1987:29).
Interpretation: Sentence 5 identifies three categories of freedmen, each with differing levels of citizenship and rights. Sentence 6 indicates the forms of formal manumission recognised by civil law namely manumission by way of <i>vindicta</i> , census or will. During the Empire (and specifically the reign of Constantine) another form was also recognised namely <i>In Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis</i> (Buckland 1908:449). Such manumission required written confirmation by the owner in the presence of a bishop and congregation as witnesses (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:99). The proviso that there may be no legal obstacle refers to legislation limiting the powers of owners to set their slaves free. This legislation has been considered below.
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Any reference to the freedom of a slave must be considered in the context of the legal requirements for manumission.

G.1.17	
Context: Book 1 deal with the law of persons, and especially the manumission of slaves. This sentence deals with the legal requirements and consequences of manumission.	
Passage: Nam in cuius persona tria haec concurrunt, ut maior sit annorum triginta, et ex iure Quiritium ⁱ 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.	Own translation with grammatical notes: 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 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. ⁱ⁾ <i>Quirites</i> was the earliest name for the Romans (Berger 1953:666). <i>Ius Quiritum</i> therefore refers to the ancient national law of the Romans (Berger 1953:532).
Interpretation: The requirements are threefold: A slave must be at least 30 years old, he must be the lawful property of his owner, and the manumission must have been proper and lawful. If these requirements are met, the freed slave becomes a Roman citizen. If not, he becomes a Latin since there were legal deficiencies in his manumission.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Instances of manumission in the New Testament must be tested against the requirements set out to determine the lawfulness of the manumission. The test results will also indicate the status of the slave in question.	

D.50.17.176.1	
Context: This fragment is contained in a collection of diverse legal rules added to the end of the Digest.	
Infinita aestimatio est libertatis et necessitudinis ⁱ .	Own translation with grammatical notes: The value of freedom and kinship is boundless. ⁱ⁾ <i>Necessitudo</i> refers to the tie of (blood) relationship (Berger 1953:593).
Interpretation:	

The fragment expresses the inestimable value the Romans attached to freedom and family; two of the elements of civil status (see 3.5.2 above).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

References to the freedom of slaves in the New Testament must be read in the context of the importance of freedom and family as social values.

D.50.17.20

Context:

This fragment is contained in a collection of diverse legal rules added to the end of the Digest.

Passage:

Pomponius libro septimo ad Sabinum. Quotiens dubiaⁱ interpretatio libertatis est, secundum libertatem respondendum erit.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Pomponius. On Sabinus. Book VII. Whenever the meaning of a grant of freedom is doubtfulⁱ, the opinion is in favour of freedom.

ⁱ⁾ *Dubius* refers to controversial legal problems (Berger 1953:445). These may include the interpretation of obscure clauses in wills where the intention of the testator is not clear (cf D.50.17.179).

Interpretation:

The value attached to freedom is expressed in this fragment. It gives voice to the principle of *favor libertatis* (in cases of doubt freedom is presumed) (Berger 1953:468).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

References to the freedom of slaves in the New Testament must be read in the context of the importance of freedom.

G.1.42, 43

Context:

This sentence forms part of a section dealing with the ways in which a Latin may become a Roman citizen. The *Lex Fufia Caninia* was enacted in 2 BC by emperor Augustus to restrict the number of slaves that could be manumitted by way of will (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:100). Although Suetonius (*Aug.* 40.3) states that Augustus aimed to protect the purity of the Roman people, his reforms on manumission were to a great extent politically motivated (Bradley 1987:82-84). Manumission of slaves became a political tool used by public officials in the later Republic to garner support among the servile classes with the promise of freedom. Yet Augustus' sincere concern for the quality of person attaining Roman citizenship rather than the numbers of slaves being manumitted cannot be ignored.

Passage:

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

Own translation with grammatical notes:

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

plures quam D habebit, non plures manumittere permittitur quam quintam partem; neque plures quam D servos habentis mentio in ea 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.	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, 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.
Interpretation: The legislation was clearly an attempt to limit the number of slaves that were manumitted. It may also indicate that the majority of manumissions took place through the will of the owner.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Instances of manumission in the New Testament must be tested against the requirements set out in legislation to determine the lawfulness of the manumission.	

G.1.18	
Context: This sentence forms part of a section dealing with manumission and proof of the reason for the manumission. The <i>Lex Aelia Sentia</i> was enacted in 4 AD and apart from the above also contained the following provisions (Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:101): The institution of a council to investigate manumissions in Rome and the provinces; owners under the age of 20 could not manumit their slaves except upon showing good cause to the council; slaves manumitted in contravention of the Act became Latins; certain slaves with criminal records were prohibited from becoming citizens and became <i>dediticii</i> ; manumissions intended to defraud creditors were deemed void.	
Passage: Quod autem aetate servi requiritur, lege Aelia Sentia introductum est. Nam ea lex minores xxx annorum servos non aliter voluit manumissos cives Romanos fieri, quam si vindicta, apud consilium iusta causa manumissionis adprobata, liberati fuerint.	Own translation with grammatical notes: However, the required age of a slave was introduced by the <i>Lex Aelia Sentia</i> . For this law did not permit slaves under the age of thirty who have been set free to become Roman citizens unless set free by way of <i>vindicta</i> in the presence of the Council after just cause for the setting free had been established.
Interpretation: This legislation further curtailed the manumission of slaves in the Empire.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Instances of manumission in the New Testament must be tested against the requirements set out in legislation to determine the lawfulness of the manumission.	

Manumission refers to “the release of a slave from the power of his master by the latter” (Berger 1953:575). Several forms of manumission were recognised ranging from formal manumission resulting in the slave becoming a free person and a citizen, to informal manumission with fewer legal consequences (Buckland 1908:449ff; Borkowski & Du Plessis 2005:98). The decision to manumit a slave was entirely within the discretion of his owner and usually based on the owner’s self-interest (Bartchy 1973:88-91, 104). Yet apart from working hard and pleasing his owner, there were ways for a slave to encourage his owner to set him free, such as offering him a large amount of money in return for freedom or engaging the intervention of a trustworthy third party (Bartchy 1973:97-99). A slave could neither force his owner to set him free nor resist manumission when his owner decided to make him free (Bartchy 1973:106).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

This passage begs the question whether Jewish slave-owners in the New Testament adhered to this provision of Biblical law.

M. Qid. 1:2**Context:**

Book III of the Mishnah deals with matters relating to women and marriage. Part 7 (Qid.) thereof deals with betrothals and chapter 1 *inter alia* with the acquisition and manumission of slaves.

Passage:

עבד עברי נקנה בכסף ובשטרⁱ וקונה
את עצמו בשניםⁱⁱ וביוכלⁱⁱⁱ ובגדעול^{vi}
כסף.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

A Hebrew slave is acquired by money or by contractⁱ, and he regains his freedom after six years' serviceⁱⁱ or at the advent of the Jubileeⁱⁱⁱ or by paying his outstanding worth.^{iv}

i) In a legal context a deed of sale (cf Jastrow 1950:1555).

ii) Cf Exodus 21:2.

iii) Cf Leviticus 15:40.

iv) The slave buys his freedom with a sum of money in proportion to the number of years he still had to serve (cf Jastrow 1950:242; Lev 27:18).

Interpretation:

As far as manumission is concerned, two methods are distinguished: Either by way of mandatory release in terms of Old Testament law in the seventh or Jubilee year (cf Exodus 21:2-6 and Leviticus 25:40) or by way of self-purchase. Other texts indicate that the Jubilee year was not commonly observed in rabbinic times, and that manumission of slaves in the Jubilee year depended on the individual owner's own conscience (Hezser 2005:309). One might deduce that manumission in the seventh or Jubilee years was more an ideal than actual practice.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The manumission of Hebrew slaves in the New Testament has to be read in the context of the compulsory release in terms of the Law, but also the allowance for the probably more realistic practice of self-purchase.

M. Qid. 1:3**Context:**

See M. Qid. 1:2 above.

Passage:

עבד כנעני נקנה בכסף ובשטרⁱ
ובחזקהⁱⁱ וקונה את עצמו בכסף על ידי
אחרים ובשטר על ידי עצמו.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

A Canaanite slave is acquired by money or by contractⁱ or by usucaptionⁱⁱ, and he regains his freedom by money supplied by others, or by a document presented by himself.

i) In a legal context a deed of sale (cf Jastrow 1950:1555).

ii) Ownership based on undisturbed possession for a legally fixed period of time (cf Jastrow 1950:445).

Interpretation:

A foreign slave was not set free in terms of Old Testament law, but by means commonly acknowledged in both Greek and Roman law.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The manumission of foreign slaves in the New Testament has to be read in a context far

more akin to Greek and Roman law of slavery.

M. Peah 3:8

Context:

Book I of the Mishnah deals with benedictions, prayers and other elements essential to Jewish liturgy. Tractate Peah deals with the portion of the harvest left behind for the poor (Jastrow 1950:1131). The chapter contains specific instances of peah. Mishnah 7 and 8 deal with testate succession.

Passage:

הַכּוֹתֵב נִכְסֵי יוֹ לְעַבְדּוֹ יֵצֵא בֶן
 חֹרִין.ⁱ
 וְאִם יָרַד קֶרֶקַע כָּל־שְׁהוּא ל' אֵצֶא בֶן
 חֹרִין.ⁱⁱ

Own translation with grammatical notes:

If an owner bequeaths his possessions in writing to his slave, the latter becomes a freedman.ⁱ If, however, the owner left out any amount of land whatsoever, the slave does not become a freedman.ⁱⁱ

ⁱ) The reasoning is that the slave is part of the possessions and thus becomes owner of himself, and is consequently free (Blackman 1965, I:98).

ⁱⁱ) The slave neither becomes free nor does he obtain possession of what was left to him in the will (Blackman 1965, I:98).

Interpretation:

A slave could be freed if his owner left him all his possessions without exception. The mere fact of the slave's entitlement brought him freedom.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Slaves could have obtained freedom by way of testate succession.

Josephus *Ant.* 17.61-62

Context:

Flavius Josephus (born ca 37/38 AD) was a Greek historian and Jewish priest of aristocratic descent, largely educated in the Pharisaic tradition (Smallwood & Rajak 2003:798). The *Jewish Antiquities* was published in 93/94 AD as a history of the Jews from creation to just prior to the outbreak of the revolts. Book 17 deals with the period from the deaths of Herod the Great's sons Alexander and Aristobulus (7 BC) until the banishment of Archelaus, one of his other sons (6 AD). Pheraros was Herod's youngest brother. This passage deals with former slaves' loyalty towards their owner, even after his death.

Passage:

Ἐπειδὴ Φερώρας τελευτᾷ ταφνίται
 ἐγεγόνεισαν αὐτοῦ ἀπελεύθεροι δύο τῶν
 Φερώρας τιμίων οὗτοι προσελθόντες Ἡρώδῃ
 ἤξιουν μὴ ἀνεκδίκητον καταλιπεῖν τοῦ
 ἀδελφοῦ τὸν νεκρόν, ἀλλὰ ζήτησιν ποιεῖσθαι
 τῆς ἀλόγου τε καὶ δυστυχοῦς μεταστάσεως.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

When Pheroras was dead and buried, two of his freedmen, who had been highly valued by him, came to Herod and begged him not to leave his brother's death unavenged but to hold an inquiry into his unaccountable and unhappy demise.

Interpretation:

Two of Pheraros' freedmen appealed to his brother Herod the Great to investigate his death as being suspicious. The actions of the freedmen provide an indication of the depth of their loyalty to their former owner, even in death. This loyalty also extended to being present at the former owner's funeral (Josephus *Bell.* 1.673) and providing him with financial support (Josephus *Ant.* 18.155-157). As in the case of Greek and Roman law, the relationship between slave and owner did thus not cease to exist after manumission of the slave.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The relationship between slave and owner after manumission has to be tested against the

evidence of the freedman's continued loyalty towards his former owner.

Many of the Jewish laws regarding manumission were informed by the desire to liberate Jews enslaved by gentiles in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple and the Bar Kokhba revolt (Hezser 2005:313-314). In contrast to Greek and Roman law, Jewish law allowed for the compulsory release of slaves according to Biblical law. Whereas freedom did not automatically lead to citizenship under Roman law, freedmen under Jewish law were considered part of the Israelite people within their own caste (see 3.6.3 above), participated in the temple cult and the purity system (Flesher 1988:155). This opened up the possibility of using slavery as a vehicle for social mobility: A person's caste status could be improved by entering into slavery and obtaining freedom from an owner in a higher caste.

The effect of manumission was to free the slave of his owner's control (Flesher 1988:43-45). Yet the freedman was still informally bound to his former owner in a relationship based on loyalty. From this relationship flowed certain obligations as described above, even after the owner's death. In contrast to Roman law, this relationship between freedman and former owner was not legally entrenched (cf Hezser 2005:111). It seems that freed slaves were much more integrated into Jewish society than in the case of Roman slaves and society. Despite this, freedmen faced other social barriers such as restrictions on marriage into priestly and Levite families (cf Hezser 2005:109-110).

3.11.4 Section summary

Manumission of slaves and freedmen		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Freedom within owner's discretion with onerous conditions and serious limitations and continued relationship with former owner.	Freedom within owner's discretion with onerous conditions and serious limitations and continued relationship with former owner as patron.	Prescriptive manumission with fewer and less severe limitations and more integration into Jewish society.

3.12 THE RIGHTS OF SLAVE-OWNERS IN RESPECT OF THEIR SLAVES

3.12.1 Greek law

Plato <i>Leges</i> III 690a-b	
Context: In his <i>Laws</i> Plato (ca. 429-347 BC) deals with social morality as opposed to individual morality (Annas 2003a:1191). He has given up hope that an expert ruler could rule uncorrupted by power, yet maintains that political division and strife can only be overcome by complete obedience to the laws, since the laws are the product of rational reflection. Among these laws we find the one quoted below.	
Passage: {ΑΘ.} Τέταρτον δ' αὖ δούλους μὲν ἄρχεσθαι,	Own translation with grammatical notes: Athenian: "Fourthly, on the one hand slaves ought to be ruled, and owners ought to rule."

δεσπότης δὲ ἄρχειν. {ΚΛ.} Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;	Clinias: "Absolutely." [litt. "For how not?"].
Interpretation: The general principle is stated: Owners rule over their slaves.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The general principle applies in owner-slave relationships in the New Testament: The owner rules over the slave.	

Demosthenes <i>In Evergum et Mnesibulum</i> 47.72	
Context: This private speech of Demosthenes (384-322 BC) states the law of Athens in relation to an owner's right to prosecute the perpetrator of a crime against the owner's slave.	
Passage: κελεύει γὰρ ὁ νόμος, ὧς ἄνδρες δικασταί, τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐπεξιέναι μέχρι ἀνεψιαδῶν (καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ διορίζεται ὃ τι προσήκων ἐστίν), καὶ οἰκέτης ἦ, τούτων τὰς ἐπισκήψεις ⁱ εἶναι.	Own translation with grammatical notes: For the law commands, honourable members of the jury, that relatives to the degree of cousins may prosecute (and that in the oath it will be determined what the relationship is), even if [the victim] is a servant, from which the denunciation ⁱ will proceed. ⁱ⁾ Used in this context as a technical legal term for the first step in a prosecution (Liddle <i>et al</i> 1996).
Interpretation: In the event of a crime perpetrated against a slave, the owner will have the right to institute a prosecution against the perpetrator.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: A slave-owner could institute action against the perpetrator(s) of a crime against his slave.	

Plato <i>Leges</i> IX 865c (cf 868a)	
Context: See above.	
Passage: ἐὰν μὲν δοῦλον κτείνῃ, νομίζων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διειργάσθαι τὸν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος δεσπότην ἀβλαβῇ παρεχέτω καὶ ἀζήμιον, ἢ δίκην εἰς τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ὑπεχέτω διπλῆν...	Own translation with grammatical notes: 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.
Interpretation: An owner is entitled to compensation from a perpetrator who kills his slave unlawfully (cf Morrow 1939:27).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: In the event of the death of a slave, his owner would be entitled to compensation.	

Demosthenes <i>In Aphobum</i> 1 27.9	
Context: In this private speech Demosthenes (384-322 BC) establishes the value of a disputed estate.	
Passage: ὁ γὰρ πατήρ, ὧς ἄνδρες δικασταί, κατέλιπεν	Own translation with grammatical notes: But [my] father, honourable members of the

δύ' ἐργαστήρια, τέχνης οὐ μικρὰς ἑκάτερον, μαχαιροποιοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς, ἀνὰ πέντε μνᾶς καὶ ἕξ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἢ τριῶν μνῶν ἀξίους...	jury, bequeathed two factories, each doing great business. The one was a weapons factory employing thirty-two or thirty-three slaves, each worth five or six minae but none worth less than three minae...
Interpretation: The slaves are clearly considered part of the property of the factory, and thus of the estate. And the slaves are bequeathed as part of the factory.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves may have been bequeathed by their owners.	

Antiphon <i>De Choreuta</i> 6.23	
Context: Antiphon (ca. 480-411 BC) was the first Attic orator whose works were preserved (Gagarin 2003:111). He was of Sophist conviction with a special interest in law and rhetoric. He was apparently the first to compose speeches on behalf of other litigants. In <i>De Choreuta</i>, a choir master stood accused of the murder of a choir boy who was given a drug to improve his voice. Antiphon argues that the accused was not even present at the time and that the prosecution was politically motivated. In this passage he describes his client's efforts to convince the court of this fact by allowing the interrogation under torture of his slaves and those of other owners.	
Passage: ...τοὺς δὲ δούλους, εἰ μὲν αὐτῷ ἐρωτῶντι τάληθῃ δοκοῖεν λέγειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔτοιμος ἦ ἐκδιδόναι βασανίζειν τοὺς τε ἑμαυτοῦ πάντας, καὶ εἴ τινας τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κελεύοι, ὡμολόγουν πείσας τὸν δεσπότην παραδῶσιν αὐτῷ βασανίζειν τρόπῳ ὅποιω βούλοιο.	Own translation with grammatical notes: ...with regard to the slaves, if he considers their answers to be truthful, so be it, but if not, I was prepared to hand over all my own slaves to be interrogated under torture, and should he request any belonging to others, I was willing to agree to obtain the consent of the owner to hand the slave over to be interrogated under torture by him in a similar manner.
Interpretation: An owner could rightfully hand over his slave to be interrogated under torture. In Athenian law the evidence of slaves could only be presented before a court if it was obtained by interrogation under supervised torture (MacDowell 1978:245; Fisher 1993:59). It was considered a foolproof way of obtaining the truth, although evidence also exists to the contrary. The law has an ideological rather than legal underpinning, evidenced by the few actual cases of torture, namely that slaves should provide knowledge in a manner that cannot be imposed on the free and consequently emphasises slaves' inferiority (Fisher 1993:60-61). Interestingly, Plato does not refer to the torture of slaves, though it may be because he is taking the institution for granted (Morrow 1939:80).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: A slave's testimony was only considered reliable if it stood up to torture.	

Aristoteles <i>Politica</i> 1255b 9-15
Context: Aristotle's (ca. 435 – 335 BC) <i>Politica</i> represents typical writings on political theory in ancient Greece and Rome (Nussbaum 2003c:1206). He provides an account of εὐδαιμονία¹ since those things that are politically distributed such as property and offices are means to achieve human flourishing. He also considers various regimes in an attempt to identify the best form of government. Aristotle's statements on slaves must therefore first and foremost be

considered in a political rather than legal context. This does, however, not necessarily imply that his statements on slavery, such as the one quoted above, are not juridically relevant and/or accurate. The above-quoted definition forms part of a section dealing with household management, and specifically the relationship between slave-owner and slave.

ⁱ⁾ According to Nussbaum (2003a:168), εὐδαιμονία is generally translated as “happiness” but may be more accurately rendered “human flourishing”.

Passage:

(τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ συμφέρει τῷ μέρει καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ, καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος μέρος τι τοῦ δεσπότη, οἷον ἔμψυχόν τι τοῦ σώματος κεχωρισμένον δὲ μέρος· διὸ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶ τι καὶ φιλία δούλῳ καὶ δεσπότη πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς φύσει τούτων ἡξιωμένοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ βιασθεῖσι, τούναντίον).

Own translation with grammatical notes:

(For this is useful to the part as well as the whole, to body as well as soul – for the slave is a part of the owner, a uniquely living yet separate part of the body. Subsequently there is a certain harmony and friendship between slave and owner when deemed to be in their natural state, yet if they are not in this state but according to law and force, the opposite is true).

Interpretation:

Aristotle admits that the relationship between owner and slave is not simply a legal relationship, but necessarily also functions on a personal level. The metaphor of the slave being a part of the owner’s body seems to suggest that such personal relationship does not detract in the least from the owner’s legal rights with regard to his slave.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Whatever personal relationship an owner may have with his slave, does not interfere with his legal rights.

3.12.2 Roman law

Inst.1.8.1 (cf D.1.6.1.1)

Context:

Title 8 discusses those who are their own masters and those who are subjected to another person namely slaves. The law is stated from the perspective of the owner and in terms of his rights rather than those of the slave.

Passage:

In potestate itaque dominorum sunt servi. Quae quidem potestas iurisⁱ⁾ gentium est: nam apud omnes peraeque gentes animadvertere possumus dominis in servos vitae necisque potestatemⁱⁱ⁾ esse: et quodcumque per servum acquiritur, id domino acquiritur.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Slaves are subject to the ownership of their owners. This ownership indeed derives from the lawⁱ⁾ of nations. For equally among all nations we can observe that an owner has with regard to his slaves the right of life and deathⁱⁱ⁾; and that whatever is acquired by a slave belongs to his owner.

ⁱ⁾ Genitive of content.

ⁱⁱ⁾ *Potestas (ius) vitae necisque* refers to the power or right of life or death that an owner had over his slave (Berger 1953:534). This power also included the death penalty. Although the owner had to consult a council of relatives before imposing a severe penalty, he was not obliged to heed the council’s advice.

Interpretation:

The basic principle is clearly stated namely that a slave-owner quite literally has the right of

life and death over his slave. This dichotomy suggests the two extremes of a slave-owner's power over his slave namely generosity on the one hand and force or the threat of force on the other (cf Bradley 1987:113). It was considered desirable that slaves stand in fear of their owners (Cicero *Parad.* 5.41)⁵⁴.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Any conduct by a slave and/or slave-owner described in the New Testament must be considered in the light of the owner's right to the slave's life and death.

3.12.3 Jewish law

Leviticus 25:44-46 (BHS 1996)

Context:

Leviticus 25 provides for every seventh year to be dedicated to the Lord as a sabbath of rest (the so-called Sabbath Year). Every fiftieth year must be dedicated as the Year of Jubilee during which all Israelites are to return to their clans and property. The theological basis of this provision is that all the land belongs to the Lord and that the Israelites are aliens and the Lord's tenants (Lev 25:23). Hebrew slaves are specifically included in these provisions of release from slavery.

Pericope:

וְעַבְדֶּיךָ וְאֻמָּתֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר
יְהִי-וְלָךְ מֵאֶת
הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר
סָבִיב לְתִיכָהֶם מִן
הָאֲמֻלִּים:
וְגַם מִבְּנֵי הַתּוֹשְׁבִים
בְּאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל יִמְכְּרוּ
לְךָ עֲמָלָם
מִן הַתּוֹשְׁבִים וּמִמִּשְׁפַּחֲתָם
אֲשֶׁר עִמָּךְ
אֲשֶׁר הֵוֵל יְדוֹ בְּאֶרֶץ
יִשְׂרָאֵל
לְךָ לְאֻמָּתֶיךָ:
וְהָתַנְחַלְתָּ מֵאֹתָם
לְבָנֶיךָ מֵאֲחֵרֵיכֶם
לְךָ שֵׁת אֻמָּתֶיךָ הַלְעָלָם
בְּהֵם מִתַּעֲבָדִים
וּבְאֵלֵי חֵיכֶם מִבְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל
אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁבְּעוּ
לְאֻמָּתֶיךָ הַלְעָלָם:

Own translation with grammatical notes:

⁴⁴ "Your male and female slaves are to come from the nations around you; from them you may buy slaves.

⁴⁵ You may also buy some of the temporary residents living among you and members of their clans born in your country, and they will become your property.

⁴⁶ You can will them to your children as inherited property and can make them slaves for life, but you must not rule over your fellow Israelites ruthlessly.

Interpretation:

While Hebrew slaves enjoyed legal protection and legally entrenched freedom after six years, non-Hebrew slaves (also called Canaanite slaves) were slaves in the common sense of the term. They were considered to be property first and foremost, and were enslaved for life if not set free by their owners.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

It seems probable that the majority of slaves owned by Jews during the time of the New Testament were foreign slaves, and thus considered property.

Proverbs 29:19 and 21 (BHS 1996)

⁵⁴ See chapter 4.

Context: Chapters 25-29 of the book Proverbs are attributed to Solomon, king of Israel (cf Prov 25:1). These chapters contain proverbs typical of the genre.	
Pericope: 19 בְּדִבְרֵי לֹא-יִגְדֹּל עַבְדְּךָ כִּי-יִגְדֹּל בִּי יוֹ וְאֵל יוֹ מַעַן, הֵ: 21 מְפַנֵּה קַמְנֵה עַבְדְּךָ וְ יִגְדֹּל אַחֲרֵיתָּ וְ יִהְיֶה הֵ מְנַוֵּן:	Own translation with grammatical notes: 19 A slave does not allow himself to be corrected by mere words; though he understands, he will not respond. 21 If a man pampers his servant from youth, he will bring grief in the end.
Interpretation: These two proverbs deal specifically with the relationship between slave-owner and slave, and paint a picture of general mistrust of slaves. The first proverb certainly seems to condone the use of physical punishment in the management of slaves, and the second warns against a too lenient approach.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Jewish slave-owners acted within their rights when physically punishing their slaves for misbehaviour. This right was taken for granted, albeit restricted by Biblical law (cf Hezser 2005:57; Exod 21:20-21).	

M. Git. 1:6	
Context: Book III of the Mishnah deals mainly with matters of marriage, and specifically Levirate marriage. This tractate deals with divorce and remarriage based on Deuteronomy 24:1-5. And the chapter deals with the letter of divorce, the delivery thereof and the witnesses.	
Passage: שְׂזָכִין לְאֶדָם שְׁלֵא בְּפָנָיו וְאֵל תִּבְיִן לוֹ אֶלֶא בְּפָנָיו	Own translation with grammatical notes: For if a man is inclined not to provide for his slave, he is entitled to do so...
Interpretation: The sentence quoted above is mentioned as an aside in the greater context. A husband is under legal obligation to support his wife but his obligation to his slave is strictly a moral obligation and not legally enforceable.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: A slave-owner was under Jewish law not obliged to provide for his slave.	

3.12.4 Section summary

The rights of slave-owners in respect of their slaves		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
The owner had (with few exceptions) absolute power over his slave. Greek law viewed the relationship between owner and slave from the viewpoint of power and authority. He thus could lawfully sell, bequeath or in any other manner alienate his slaves, or claim compensation for damages to his slave-property. The owner's personal	The owner had the right of life and death over his slave, with very few exceptions. This principle is founded in the point of view that slaves were property, and thus subject to the (almost) absolute power and authority of their owners.	Wide-ranging powers short of life and death. Foreign slaves may be enslaved for life, and by implication thus treated like slaves in the Greek and Roman sense of the word. Even Hebrew slaves were subjected to physical punishment, and a slave-owner was under no obligation to provide for his

relationship with his slaves had no bearing on his legal rights.		slaves. Slave-owners were not liable for damages caused by their slaves.
--	--	---

3.13 LIMITATIONS ON THE RIGHTS OF SLAVE-OWNERS

3.13.1 Greek law

Antiphon <i>De caede Herodis</i> 48	
Context: Antiphon (ca. 480-411 BC) was the first Attic orator whose works were preserved (Gagarin 2003:111). He was of Sophist conviction with a special interest in law and rhetoric. He was apparently the first to compose speeches on behalf of other litigants. In this case a Mytilenean man stands accused of murdering Herodes. Antiphon accuses the prosecutors of killing a slave before he could testify and be cross-examined.	
Passage: Καίτοι οὐδὲ οἱ τοὺς δεσπότης ἀποκτείναντες, ἐὰν ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ληφθῶσιν, οὐδ' οὗτοι ἀποθνήσκουσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προσηκόντων, ἀλλὰ παραδιδόασιν αὐτοὺς τῇ ἀρχῇ κατὰ νόμους ὑμετέρους πατρίους.	Own translation with grammatical notes: And yet, even those that have murdered their owners, [even] if they were caught red-handed, are not put to death by their owners' relatives, but they hand them over to the magistrate according to your ancestral laws.
Interpretation: According to law the relatives of an owner could not lawfully kill a slave, even if the slave killed his owner and was caught red-handed. By extension the same applied to lesser offences. According to Athenian law, an owner had to convince the city authorities to sanction an execution (cf Harrison 1968:171; Fisher 1993:63).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: In cases where a slave committed a crime against his owner, the owner or his relatives could not lawfully kill the slave.	

Antiphon <i>De choreuta</i> 4	
Context: In <i>De Choreuta</i> , a choir master stood accused of the murder of a choir boy who was given a drug to improve his voice. Antiphon argues that the accused was not even present at the time and that the prosecution was politically motivated.	
Passage: Τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀνάγκην ὁ νόμος ἔχει ὥστε καὶ ἂν τις κτείνει τινα ὧν αὐτὸς κρατεῖ καὶ μὴ ἔστιν ὁ τιμωρήσων, τὸ νομιζόμενον καὶ τὸ θεῖον δεδιὼς ἀγνεύει τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀφέξεται ὧν εἴρηται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ἐλπίζων οὕτως ἂν ἄριστα πράξειν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: For the law holds such force that even if a person kills someone that he is the owner of and there is no avenger of [the deceased's] death, he purifies himself because of the law and godly fear and abstains from those [places] prescribed by law, hoping that he will thus do the best.
Interpretation: The implication of the owner's willingness, forced by law, to perform purification rights is that his deed was unlawful. The Athenians considered homicide to be a very serious crime which could lead to religious impurity (cf Harrison 1968:169; MacDowell 1978:80; Fisher 1993:63). Thus the willingness of the owner who killed his slave to submit to purification rites.	

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

An owner who killed his own slave committed a crime.

Demosthenes *In Midiam* 21.48-49

Context:

Demosthenes' speeches contain excerpts from the laws of Athens, such as the one quoted below.

Passage:

Ἀκούετ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ νόμου τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, ὃς οὐδὲ τοὺς δούλους ὑβρίζεσθαι¹ ἀξιοῖ.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Honourable Athenians, listen to the humanity of the law, namely that it is not befitting to assault¹ slaves.

¹) Used in this context as a technical legal term for physical assault rather than insult or maltreatment (Liddle *et al* 1996). In theory, "grossly insulting ill-treatment short of killing" of slaves, women and children invoked the protection of the law of *hybris* (MacDowell 1978:143-146; Fisher 1993:63). This implies that slaves had some minimal honour that was worthy of legal protection. Plato (*Leges* VI 777d) also provides for such protection (cf Morrow 1939:47-48).

Interpretation:

The law is clear: A slave may not be assaulted (cf Harrison 1968:168). A slave's owner was, however, permitted to hit his slave (MacDowell 1978:81).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Physical violence perpetrated against a slave was unlawful.

Old Oligarch *Atheniensium respublica* [Sp.] 1.10

Context:

Old Oligarch is the modern name given to a short pamphlet about fifth century BC Athens (Hornblower 2003c:1063). It is also referred to as *Constitution of the Athenians* attributed to pseudo-Xenophon. The pamphlet is a critique on Athenian democracy as being self-serving to the lower classes. A symptom of this would be the licence allowed to slaves.

Passage:

Τῶν δούλων δ' αὖ καὶ τῶν μετοίκων πλείστη ἐστὶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀκολασία, καὶ οὔτε πατάξαι ἔξεστιν αὐτόθι οὔτε ὑπεκστήσεται σοι ὁ δοῦλος.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

The licentiousness of slaves and metics is the greatest in Athens: It is neither permitted to hit [them] on the spot nor will a slave make way for you.

Interpretation:

Violence against slaves was frowned upon in Athens, apparently in contrast to other cities (cf Harrison 1968:168; Fisher 1993:64).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Physical violence perpetrated against a slave was unacceptable in Athens.

Aeschines *In Timarchum* 16

Context:

Aeschines (ca. 397-322 BC) was an Athenian orator and contemporary of Demosthenes (Cawkwell 2003a:25). In this speech Aeschines alleges that Timarchus was guilty of immoral conduct that disqualified him from speaking to the people.

Passage:

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Νόμος [Εάν τις Ἀθηναίων ἐλεύθερον παῖδα ὕβριση, γραφέσθω ὁ κύριος τοῦ παιδὸς πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας, τμήμα ἐπιγραψάμενος... Ἔνοχοι δὲ ἔστωσαν ταῖςδε ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ οἱ εἰς τὰ οἰκετικά σώματα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες.]	Law [If any Athenian assaults a free-born child, let the guardian of the child set down the penalty before the magistrates... And let also those who commit wrongdoing against the slaves collectively be held responsible to this same action.]
Interpretation: Slaves are clearly included under the protection of the law prohibiting assault.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Violence against slaves was prohibited by law.	

Aristophanes <i>Fragmenta</i> 567 K	
Context: Aristophanes (ca. 460-386 BC) was the greatest poet of the Old Attic Comedy (Dover 2003:163). Eleven of his plays survive in addition to 32 titles with alternative titles or attributed to other authors, and nearly one thousand fragments and citations. One of these fragments is cited below.	
Passage: ἐμοὶ κράτιστόν ἐστιν εἰς τὸ Θησεῖον δραμεῖν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἕως ἄν πρᾶσιν εὐρωμεν μένειν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: It is best for me to run to the Theseum and wait there until we find someone to buy me.
Interpretation: The Theseum is a temple in Athens dedicated to Hephaestus and Athena as patrons of the arts and crafts (Theseum 2008). It probably dates from ca 450–440 BC. The temple has been known as the Theseum since the Middle Ages, apparently because some of its sculptures represent the exploits of the hero Theseus, a legendary king of Athens (Kearns 2003:1508-1509). These facts indicate that the speaker in Aristophanes' fragment was a slave who hoped to find sanctuary in the temple and a willing buyer. This was one remedy against cruelty by the slave's owner (Harrison 1968:172).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Slaves suffering under the cruelty of their owners may have sought refuge in religious sanctuaries.	

Demosthenes <i>Contra Nicostratum</i> 21	
Context: In this speech Demosthenes acts for the plaintiff who is claiming payment of a debt. It seems as though the defendant averred that he was not liable for the debt since the parties involved were not his agents.	
Passage: Ἔτι τοίνυν καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε γνῶσεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅτι εἰσὶν Ἀρεθουσίου οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ὁπότε γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι ἢ ὁπώραν πρίαίντο ἢ θέρος μισθοῖντο ἐκθερίσαι ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν περὶ γεωργίαν ἔργων ἀναιροῖντο, Ἀρεθοῦσιος ἦν ὁ ὠνούμενος καὶ μισθούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Yet accordingly you, honourable members of the jury, will know from these [following facts] that the men belong to Arethusios: For whenever these men bought fruits or hired themselves out to harvest a crop or undertook any other tasks concerning farming, Arethusios was the purchaser and hired out on their behalf.
Interpretation:	

The plaintiff's legal representative indicates to the court that the parties involved were the defendant's slaves and thus indeed acted on his behalf. The principle in law seems to be that a slave does not act in his personal capacity but always on behalf of his owner (Harrison 1968:174-175). If a slave committed an offence against another person, the latter could prosecute the owner (MacDowell 1978:81). Even if the slave did not act on his owner's instructions, the owner had to pay any damages or fine imposed on the slave.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

A slave always acted on behalf of his owner and not in his personal capacity.

3.13.2 Roman law

D.48.8.11.2 (cf D.12.4.15)

Context:

Book 48 deals with criminal procedure. Title 8 deals with criminal liability in cases of murder, arson, robbery, *et cetera*. This sentence relates to the powers of punishment of slave-owners.

Passage:

Post legem Petroniamⁱ et senatus consulta ad eam legem pertinentia dominis potestas ablata est ad bestia depugnandas suo arbitrioⁱⁱ servos tradere: oblato tamen iudici servo, si iusta sit domini querella, sic poenae tradetur.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Since the proclamation of the *Lex Petrona*ⁱ and the resolutions of the Senate pertaining thereto, owners are deprived of the right to hand over their slaves to fight against wild animals on their own authorityⁱⁱ. An owner can, however, present his slave at court, and if the court agrees with his complaint, in this manner the slave can be handed over for punishment.

ⁱ⁾ The *Lex Petronia* dates from approximately 61 AD and dealt specifically with slaves (Berger 1953:557).

ⁱⁱ⁾ *Suo arbitrio* refers to a person's own authority to make a decision (Simpson 1959:55).

Interpretation:

This sentence is a clear limitation of the right of an owner to punish his slave by handing him over to fight against wild animals. The punishment was not abolished but the discretion of the owner in handing down such a punishment was curtailed by instituting a legal process to be followed. The sentence does not reflect any motivation for the legislation, be it humanitarian or otherwise. And the question of the degree of compliance also remains unanswered since the legislation contained an obvious loophole namely that the owner could show just cause to have his slave handed over (Bradley 1987:127).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

In the time of the New Testament slaves may still have been punished in this manner.

D.40.8.2 (cf C.7.6.1.3)

Context:

It seems that it was common practice for slaves to be abandoned by their owners because of poor health minimising their economic usefulness. Emperor Claudius (41-54 AD) enacted legislation to prevent this practice as part of other social reforms increasing (at least theoretically) the rights of slaves, women, and children (Balsdon & Levick 2003:337-338).

Passage:

MODESTINUS libro sexto regularum. Servo, quem pro derelicto dominus ob gravem infirmitatem habuit, ex edicto divi Claudii competit libertas.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Modestinus. Rules. Book VI. By an edict of the divine Claudius, a slave who has been abandoned by his owner because of grave weakness will be entitled to freedom.

Interpretation:

The legislation is clear with regard to the legal rule it establishes. It might have been effective for an owner may have decided to restore his slave to health rather than to suffer the complete economic loss of a slave set free. On the other hand, a very sick slave may still have been abandoned for he would not have had much economic value in any event, and would have been a financial burden to his owner.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

This sentence may be relevant to passages dealing with sick slaves and the consequences of such illness.

D.48.8.6**Context:**

Book 48 deals with criminal procedure. Title 8 deals with criminal liability in cases of murder, arson, robbery, *et cetera*. This sentence relates to the powers of punishment of slave-owners and specifically a decree enacted during the consulate of Neratius Priscus and Annius Verus in 97 AD. Slaves were commonly castrated either as it was customary to do so or as punishment (Berger 1953:382). Imperial legislation frequently prohibited the custom and imposed ever more severe penalties culminating in the death penalty in the time of Constantine (Watson 1987:123-125). Yet the succession of legislation on the matter probably indicates that the measures were not successful (Bradley 1987:128).

Passage:

VENULEIUS SATURNINUS libro primo de officio proconsulis. Is, qui servum castradum tradiderit, pro parte dimidia bonorum multatur ex senatus consulto, quod Neratio Prisco et Annio Vero consulibus factum est.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Venuleius Saturninus. On the duties of Proconsul. Book I. In terms of a decree enacted during the Consulate of Neratius Priscus and Annius Verus, he who delivers his slave to be castrated will be fined half of his property.

Interpretation:

The content of the sentence is clear. It is debatable whether the prohibition was enforced and whether the fine imposed would have deterred owners from having their slaves castrated.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

This sentence may be relevant to passages dealing with castrated slaves.

D.1.6.1.2**Context:**

This fragment forms part of the title on those free of power and those subject to power. The first sentence confirms the principle that owners have absolute ownership and power over their slaves.

Passage:

Sed hoc tempore nullis hominibus, qui sub imperio Romano sunt, licet supra modum et sine causa legibus cognita in servos suos saevire.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Presently, however, it is not allowed for any person who lives under Roman governance, to treat their slaves with cruelty which is excessive or without a recognised legal cause.

Interpretation:

This fragment is an attempt to limit owners' cruel treatment of their slaves. It is formulated in more general terms than the previous passages, and focuses on two aspects: Firstly, whether the treatment exceeded reasonable limits, and secondly, whether there was a recognised legal cause for the treatment.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The punishment of slaves in the New Testament must be tested against these two aspects.

D.1.6.2	
Context: This fragment forms part of the title on those free of power and those subject to power. D.1.6.1.2 states that no owner is allowed to treat his slaves cruelly without proper legal cause.	
Passage: Dominorum quidem potestatem in suos servos illibatam esse oportet nec cuiquam hominum ius suum detrahi: sed dominorum interest, ne auxilium contra saevitiam vel famen vel intolerabilem iniuriam denegetur his qui iuste deprecantur.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Indeed, it is proper that the ownership of owners over their slaves should remain unrestricted, and that no person should be deprived of his right. But it is in the interest of the owners that relief from cruelty, hunger or unbearable injury is not denied to him who justly pleads for it.
Interpretation: It is clear that the general principle stated in 3.12.2 above remained unchallenged. But Roman law did recognise that inhumane treatment of slaves was not in the interests of the slave-owning classes. This is again an illustration of the recognition in law of the humanity of slaves.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: This sentence begs the question whether slave-owners in the New Testament subscribed and practised the same principle.	

The right of life and death (see 3.12.2 above) was considerably curtailed by imperial legislation (Berger 1953:534). These legislative measures to prevent abuse of such power by owners was inevitable (Buckland 1908:36), probably indicating that abuse was widespread. The effectiveness of these measures must, however, be questioned since slaves had little or no access to public officials and judges, evidence of abuse would have been almost impossible to obtain, and the testimony of a slave would have been met with great suspicion (Watson 1987:117).

3.13.3 Jewish law

D.48.8.11pr	
Context: Book 48 deals with criminal procedure. Title 8 deals with criminal liability in cases of murder, arson, robbery <i>et cetera</i> . The sentence quoted above declares circumcision of any person other than a Jewish boy to be unlawful.	
Passage: Modestinus libro sexto regularum Circumcidere iudaeis filios suos tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur: in non eiusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Modestinus, Rules, Book VI. In terms of a rescript of the Divine Pius, Jews are permitted to circumcise only their own children, and anyone who performs this operation upon persons of a different religion will incur the penalty for castration.
Interpretation: Jewish slave-owners were not allowed to circumcise their slaves as prescribed by Biblical law (cf Gen 17:12). This prohibition was confirmed by Constantine in 335 AD (cf C. Th. 19.9.1) with the added provision that Christian slaves who were bought by Jewish slave-owners and subsequently circumcised, were to be set free with full privileges of liberty.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Jewish slave-owners were not allowed to circumcise their slaves as prescribed by Biblical	

A slave-owner who injures another's Hebrew slave is liable on all five counts. If he injures his own Hebrew slave, he is liable except on the ground of loss of time since his slave's time belongs to him. If he injures his own Canaanite slave, he is exempt on all counts. And if he

injures the Canaanite slave of another, he is liable on all counts.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Injury to a slave-owner's own slaves brings about either limited or no liability. But injury to the slave of another brings about full liability.

Restrictions on the rights of Jewish slave-owners focussed on the issue of circumcision of slaves. The practice was prohibited by law. The Old Testament also contained provisions for the protection of slaves against wrongful killing and injury. In keeping with Biblical prescriptions, the owner's liability was differentiated according to whether the slave was a Hebrew or a foreigner.

3.13.4 Section summary

Limitations on the rights of slave-owners		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Restrictions on the use of violence. Greek law legislated against the use of violence by slave-owners against their slaves and the murder of slaves, even by their owners. A slave-owner was also liable for his slave's wrongdoings and the damages caused by the same.	Restrictions on the use of excessive force without proper legal cause. Cruelty against slaves was not forbidden but was generally denounced.	More severe restrictions in terms of prohibitions against circumcision, wrongful death and injury.

3.14 THE DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS OF SLAVE-OWNERS

3.14.1 Greek law

Plato *Leges* XI 936c-d

Context:

This passage deals with vicarious liability i.e. the liability of a person not through his own act or omission but that of another party.

Passage:

Δοῦλος δ' ἂν ἢ δούλη βλάβῃ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ὅτιοῦν, μὴ συναίτιου τοῦ βλαβέντος αὐτοῦ γενομένου κατ' ἀπειρίαν ἢ τιν' ἐτέραν χρεῖαν μὴ σῶφρονα, ὁ τοῦ βλάψαντος δεσπότης ἢ τὴν βλάβην ἐξιάσθω μὴ ἐνδεῶς, ἢ τὸν βλάψαντ' αὐτὸν παραδότη·

Own translation with grammatical notes:

But if a male or female slave damages the property of another, when the other person did not cause any damage through lack of skill or any other moderate use, the owner of the one who caused the damage shall either sufficiently make good the damage or hand over the person of the one who caused the damage.

Interpretation:

The owner of a slave shall suffer vicarious liability for any damages caused by his slave. He may either compensate the injured party or hand over the slave himself.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

In cases of damage caused by slaves, the owner(s) will be held responsible.

3.14.2 Roman law

G.4.75 (cf In.4.8.pr, 4.17.1; D.5.3.20.5, 9.4.1, 42.1.6.1)	
Context: Book 4 deals with procedural law. Sentences 69-81 deal specifically with actions to be instituted against fathers and owners on the basis of sons' and slaves' wrongdoings and contracts.	
Passage: Ex maleficio ⁱ filiorum familias servorumque, veluti si furtum fecerint aut iniuriam commiserint, noxales actiones proditae sunt, uti liceret patri dominove aut litis aestimationem ⁱⁱ sufferre aut noxae dedere ⁱⁱⁱ ; erat enim iniquum nequitiam eorum ultra ipsorum corpora parentibus dominisque damnosam esse.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Noxal actions are granted on the basis of the wrongdoing ⁱ of son under parental control and slaves, for instance if they commit fraud or injury, so that the father or owner is permitted to either pay the assessed damages ⁱⁱ or surrender the wrongdoer ⁱⁱⁱ . For it would be unjust for the wrongdoing of a son or slave to cause loss to the father or owner beyond the bodies of the son or slave. ⁱ⁾ <i>Maleficio</i> refers to a crime or wrongdoing and is not a technical legal term (Berger 1953:573). It is used as a synonym for <i>crimen</i> and <i>delictum</i> . ⁱⁱ⁾ <i>Aestimatio</i> refers to "[T]he value in money of things, or of damages or of all kinds of losses one suffered through another's wrongdoing or by his non-fulfilment of a contractual obligation" (Berger 1953:355). ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ <i>Noxae dedere</i> refers to the handing over of the slave who committed the wrongdoing (<i>nox</i>) for which his owner was liable (Berger 1953:601).
Interpretation: An owner could be liable for the wrongdoings of a slave, but his liability was limited to the value of the assessed damages or the value of the body of the slave. If the slave was of little value, the owner might have chosen to rather surrender the slave. But in the case of a valuable slave, the owner might have rather paid the assessed damages.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: Where a slave causes damages by way of wrongdoing, his owner would be liable for such damages either to the amount assessed or the value of the slave.	

D.47.2.17.pr	
Context: Title 2 deals with theft. This fragment deals specifically with cases of theft by sons or slaves from their father or owner.	
Passage: ULPIANUS libro trigensimo nono ad Sabinum. Servi et filii nostri furtum quidem nobis faciunt, ipsi autem furti non tenentur: neque enim qui potest in furem statuere, necesse habet adversus furem litigare: idcirco nec actio ei a veteribus prodita est.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Ulpianus. On Sabinum. Book XXXIX. Our slaves and sons can indeed steal from us but for such theft they cannot be held liable. For he who has the power to decide on the theft has no need to litigate against the theft. For that reason no action was granted to him by the ancient legislators.
Interpretation: A slave could not steal from his owner since he was himself property and could not impoverish his owner through theft. However, the sentence also confirms the owner's right to meet out punishment to the slave as he may see fit.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New	

Testament:

A slave suspected or accused of stealing would have been punished by his owner without any interference from a court of law.

3.14.3 Jewish law

M. B.Q. 8:4 (cf M. Yad. 4:7)

Context:

Book IV deals with property rights and legal proceedings. Tractate B.M. deals specifically with damages based on Exodus 21:28-37 and 22:1-6. Damages include personal injury as a result of assault or rape. According to 8:1 a freeman became liable for injury to a fellow freeman on five counts: Injury, pain, healing, loss of time, and indignity. These rules of liability only applied to freeman, as the quoted passage clearly indicates.

Passage:

הַעֲבֵד וְהָאִשָּׁה פְּגִיעָתוֹ כְּעֵה הַחֹבֵל
בְּהוֹטֵב סֵבִי וְהֵם שְׁמֻבְלִי בְּאַחֲרֵים פְּטוּרִין
אֲבָל מִשְׁמֻמִּין לְאַחֲרֵי זְמַן. נִתְּגָרְשָׁה
הָאִשָּׁה נִשְׁתַּחֲרַךְ הַעֲבֵד סֵבִי וְלִשְׁלֵם.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

The slave and his wife – coming into contact with them is bad: He who injures them is liable. But should they injure others, they are exempt. But they may pay compensation at a later time: When the wife becomes divorced, or when the slave becomes free, they are liable.

Interpretation:

A slave could not be held liable for injuries caused by him to another, since damages only bear legal consequences if caused by a person with unfettered use of his reason (Fisher 1988:83). This is clear from the reasoning that a slave could become liable when he is freed: Then he is considered to have unfettered use of his reason. The implication is that the owner also is not liable for the actions of his slave, even when such actions cause damage. This interpretation led to disputes among the Sadducees and Pharisees, as M. Yad. 4:7 clearly indicates.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Damages caused by a slave did not lead to liability on the part of his owner.

3.14.4 Section summary

The duties and obligations of slave-owners		
Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Owner's liability for damage or injury caused by his slave by way of compensation for damages or surrender of the slave.	Owner's liability for damage or injury caused by his slave by way of compensation for damages or surrender of the slave.	No owner's liability for damage or injury caused by his slave.

3.15 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The following table summaries the key features of Greek, Roman, and Jewish law of slavery, focussing especially on the differences (indicated in *italics*).

	Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Legal definitions	A free person is not subject to seizure as property: he may do as he wishes, he may go where he wishes,	A free man's freedom is restricted by law.	No definition of freedom could be found.

	and he is his own person in all legal matters. A slave is subject to seizure, limited in his actions and movements, and he requires a representative in legal proceedings.	Slavery is defined in terms of the slave's subjection to the <i>power and authority of his owner</i> .	Slaves were not in the first place considered as human beings, but rather as the <i>property of their owners</i> .
Enslavement	Through captivity, as punishment, or by birth	Through captivity, by birth, as punishment, or through <i>self-sale</i>	Through captivity, by birth, as punishment, or through <i>self-sale</i>
Legal status	A slave was considered property first and foremost, to be dealt with as property.	Being considered as property first and foremost, a slave had no legal status.	Foreign slaves were considered to be property but the <i>humanity of Hebrew slaves</i> was recognised in law.
Religious rights	Slaves' participation in religious practices was determined by the religious community rather than by civil law	Slaves' participation in religious practices was determined by the religious community rather than by civil law	Slaves participated in religious activities <i>at the behest or on behalf of their owners</i> .
Social rights	Slaves entered into marital and family relationships.	Roman law <i>de facto</i> , if not <i>de iure</i> , recognised slave marriages and slave families.	Slaves were part of the Jewish household and extended family.
Economy	Slaves actively participated in the economy on behalf of their owners.	Slaves actively participated in the economy <i>on behalf of their owners with full liability for acquisitions but limited liability for disposals</i> .	Slaves actively participated in the economy on behalf of their owners.
Runaway slaves	Greek law assisted owners in recapturing runaway slaves.	Roman law assisted owners in recapturing runaway slaves.	Jewish law <i>contradicts</i> itself by protecting runaway Hebrew slaves, yet prohibiting assistance to a runaway slave.
Manumission	Freedom within owner's discretion with serious limitations and continued relationship with former owner.	Freedom within owner's discretion with serious limitations and continued relationship with former owner.	<i>Prescriptive manumission</i> with fewer and less severe limitations and fuller integration into Jewish society.
Rights of slave-owners	The owner had (with few exceptions) absolute power over his slave.	The owner had the right of life and death over his slave, with very few exceptions.	Wide-ranging powers <i>short of life and death</i> .

Limitations on the rights of slave-owners	Restrictions on the use of violence.	Restrictions on the use of excessive force without proper legal cause.	<i>More severe restrictions</i> in terms of prohibitions against circumcision, wrongful death, and injury.
Duties and obligations of slave-owners	Owner's liability for damage or injury caused by his slave.	Owner's liability for damage or injury caused by his slave.	<i>No owner's liability for damage or injury caused by his slave.</i>

3.16 CONCLUSIONS

Considering the evidence provided above, a number of conclusions may be drawn with regard to the legal context of passages on slavery in the New Testament. The three legal systems under investigation did not vary much regarding many aspects of the law of slavery. Slaves were legally seen as property and thus subject to the absolute control of their owners. The fact that slaves were human beings were by enlarge considered irrelevant to the law, since they were not deemed to be it by their own volition, but rather by that of their owners. This was also true of foreigners according to Jewish law in terms of which foreigners could be enslaved for life.

Yet the following differences between the three legal systems were also apparent:

- Greek law defined slavery as the antithesis of freedom and the characteristics of freedom while Roman and Jewish law defined slavery in terms of the owner's relationship of power with his slave.
- Roman and Jewish law allowed self-sale into slavery.
- Religious participation by slaves under Jewish law was determined by the owner rather than the religious community. This observation makes sense since the whole Jewish community was a legal and religious community.
- Slaves' representation of their owners in business was more refined in Roman law.
- Jewish law provided some form of protection for runaway slaves.
- The rights of slave-owners in respect of their slaves were not as broad and wide-ranging as those in terms of Greek and Roman law.
- Jewish law provided more severe restrictions on the rights of slave-owners as protection for slaves.
- Jewish law provided protection for owners in the form of no liability for damage or injury caused by their slaves.

It seems thus that Jewish law provided far greater protection for slaves and by implication far greater limitations on the rights of slave-owners. This is confirmed by the prescriptive manumission found in Jewish law. Hebrew slaves were not to be considered slaves in the same sense as in Greek and Roman law but rather

labourers. They were legally entitled to freedom after six years without having to pay any compensation to their owners. This very progressive order for Hebrew slaves was founded in God's salvation of Israel from slavery in Egypt. Unlike the other legal systems, Jewish law was based on divine revelation. And having Israelites enslaved for life would have been contrary to God's revelation of his salvation of Israel. This unique status of Hebrew slaves according to Jewish law, with its theological foundation, provided a sound alternative legal and religious context to the writers of the New Testament addressing Christian slave-owners. I submit that it may have functioned as a counterweight to the strict legal contexts provided by Greek and Roman law. This submission is tested below (see chapter 6) by way of philological analysis of the relevant New Testament passages.

CHAPTER 4

PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWPOINTS ON THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVE-OWNERS

Abridged table of contents

4.1	INTRODUCTION	114
4.2	GREEK PHILOSOPHY	115
4.3	GRECO-ROMAN PHILOSOPHY IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD.....	122
4.4	JEWISH PHILOSOPHY	130
4.5	CHAPTER SUMMARY	134
4.6	CONCLUSIONS	134

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to construct the philosophical context of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament. In order to achieve this aim, relevant texts from Greek, Roman, and Jewish philosophy have been identified utilizing the search filter defined in chapter 2, and the identified texts have been analysed and interpreted. In the analysis and interpretation of these sources, the pitfalls of using these sources described in 1.4.3 are borne in mind. The results of this process of analysis and interpretation are used as constructed socio-historic context for the study of the relevant New Testament passages in chapter 6.

Glancy (2006:7) points out, quite correctly, that the writings of the philosophers in early Christianity (or any other period for that matter) did not represent wider public perceptions regarding slavery. Their writings were not even necessarily an accurate reflection of their own treatment of their slaves, or evidence that they influenced others in their treatment of slaves. Yet their writings do provide a perspective on slavery. Considering the pitfalls in the study of ancient texts listed in 1.4.3 above, and specifically the fact that the ability to publish belonged to the privileged classes, one may assume that writers on slavery were at least to some extent aware of other writings on the same subject.

The material in this chapter is divided into three main sections: The first deals with Greek philosophy, the second with Greco-Roman philosophy in the Hellenistic period, and the third with Jewish philosophy. In terms of the search filter defined in chapter 2, the focus is on the philosophical roots of slavery in Greek, Roman, and Jewish society. The chapter concludes with a summary and conclusions.

4.2 GREEK PHILOSOPHY

This section deals with Greek philosophy as part of the socio-historic context of the New Testament. Classical Greek philosophy formed the basis of the philosophical schools in existence at the time of the events described in the New Testament and its period of origin⁵⁵ (De Villiers 1998b:169). The Sophists of the later fifth century BC were probably the first to classify ideas based on the number and nature of the basic realities (Schofield 2003:1170). Prior to that time the term σοφιστής indicated a person possessing wisdom or mastering a craft or skill, typically used of poets or musicians (Liddell *et al* 1996). The great Greek philosophers Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle were the successors of the Sophists in profession if not doctrine.

4.2.1 The Sophists

The Sophists were individuals travelling the Greek world, delivering lectures and instruction on a wide range of topics including philosophy, mathematics, history, geography, and anthropology (Taylor 2003b:1422). These individuals did not share a common set of doctrine and could thus not be described as a philosophical school or movement. On the one hand they were lauded for their training of aspiring politicians in rhetoric. Conversely, they were also regarded as subversive of morality and tradition on the basis of their naturalistic views on morality and religion and their teaching of techniques of argument to especially the young (Taylor 2003b:1422).

The Sophist outlook focussed on the question how to be successful in different aspects of life (De Villiers 1998b:169). They distinguished between things that came about by way of tradition and convention, and those that are natural. They questioned whether the former was relative or not. Protagoras (ca. 490-420 BC), the most celebrated of the Sophists, for instance taught that he could not know with certainty whether the gods existed or not, or how they exist (Taylor 2003a:1264). He rather believed that all sensory appearances and all beliefs are true for the person whose appearances or beliefs they are: "Man is the measure of all things."

Aristoteles *Rhetorica* 1373b:18-19

Context:

Alcidamas was a fourth century BC rhetorician and sophist in professional rivalry with Isocrates (Trapp 2003:54). His surviving writings extend only to fragmentary *The Museum*, but quotations from his *Messenian Oration* also survived. This passage relates to the freeing of the Messenians from Spartan slavery by the Thebans in 370 BC (Garlan 1988:125).

Passage:

καὶ ὥς ἐν τῷ Μεσσηνιακῷ λέγει Ἀλκιδάμας,
"ἐλευθέρους ἀφήκε πάντας θεός, οὐδένα
δοῦλον ἢ φύσις πεποίηκεν".

Own translation with grammatical notes:

And as Alcidamas says in the *Messiniacus*:
"God has left all men as free persons, and
nature has made no-one a slave."

Interpretation:

The quoted passage seems to provide a condemnation of slavery based on the principle of the equality of man. It is unclear whether Alcidamas generalises the statement, using the historic context as basis. It may be that he made the statement only in reference to Greeks who were enslaved (cf Garlan 1988:125). Yet a rethink of the philosophy of slavery seems to have come about within Sophist circles.

⁵⁵ See also 2.2.1 above.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

It is a question as to whether this line of thought based on the principle of equality of man extended into New Testament thinking on slavery.

4.2.2 Socrates

Socrates (469-399 BC) was a central participant in the intellectual debates so common to Athens in the middle and late fifth century BC (Nehamas 2003:1419). His dialogues with a number of his associates reached a broad audience despite the fact that he never wrote anything himself. In modern times Plato has become the authoritative portrayer of Socrates' philosophy. According to Plato, Socrates refrains from postulating any view points of his own, but rather questions those who claim to have such views of their own (Nehamas 2003:1419). This portrayal is in keeping with Plato's criticism of the Sophists (see 4.2.3 below), with whom Socrates was sometimes associated. Plato's earlier Socratic dialogues concern the nature and teachability of ἀρετή (virtue, goodness) and the source thereof. Socrates refutes all those who claim to know what ἀρετή is by way of the procedure of question and answer that become known as dialectic ἐλεγχος, referring to a refuting argument, cross-examination or scrutiny (Liddell *et al* 1996). Socrates' method was based on the dialectic method (διαλεκτική) referring to the philosophical method involving question and answer (cf Sedley 2003:461).

Socrates' philosophy was essentially ethical in nature, dealing with man and his duties (De Villiers 1998b:171-173; Nehamas 2003:1420). He based his ethical teachings on an epistemological theory namely that knowledge must be based on reason to ensure objective truth. This viewpoint conflicted with that of the Sophists who erased all standards of objective truth. Further, all knowledge is knowledge through concepts or terms. These concepts are formed by inclusion of all qualities common to all objects within a class, and exclusion of those qualities in which they differ from one another.

Plato <i>Phaedo</i> 62b	
Context: Phaedon, the narrator of Plato's <i>Phaedo</i> , was a young member of Socrates' circle (Rowe 2003b:1151). In this passage Cebes enquires about the ambiguous teaching on suicide. In response Socrates refers to the relationship between man and god.	
Passage: οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ τόδε γέ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Κέβης, εὖ λέγεσθαι, τὸ θεοὺς εἶναι ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῶν κτημάτων τοῖς θεοῖς εἶναι. ἢ σοὶ οὐ δοκεῖ οὕτως; Ἔμοιγε, φησὶν ὁ Κέβης.	Own translation with grammatical notes: "But at least this is definitely clear to me, o Cebes, that it is well said: the gods are our caretakers and that we men are in the power of the gods like possessions. Or doesn't it seem this way to you?" "For me, indeed, said Cebes.
Interpretation: To Socrates' mind, men are to gods as slaves to their owners. If an owner does not wish his slave to die, the slave may not commit suicide. Consequently, if the gods do not indicate suicide as a necessity, it is forbidden.	

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

It is necessary to determine whether the authors of the New Testament subscribed to the principle expounded by Socrates namely that man's relationship to God mirrors that of a slave to his owner.

4.2.3 Plato

Plato's philosophy was greatly influenced by Socrates (Annas 2003a:1190). Plato's works are all in the form of dialogues⁵⁶ in which he is absent, detaching himself from the arguments being presented. This detachment causes a decided lack of knowledge of Plato's person, and leaves the dialogues varied and interpretatively open. Plato's earlier works most closely resemble the method of Socrates and endeavour to define virtues or qualities such as courage, self-control, sanctity and justice (De Villiers 1998b:174). This attempt at definitions led to his theory of ideas which formed the crux of his philosophy. According to Plato ideas are reality, neither physical nor intellectual, outside the realms of time and space. The physical world is but a poor imitation of ideas. All ideas are summarised in the idea of Good or the principle of perfection.

Plato further taught that the soul is a spiritual reality disconnected from the body and that it is immortal (De Villiers 1998b:175). Only the soul can understand ideas, and the body is merely the vehicle of the invisible soul. Plato's analysis of the soul-body relationship led to the Western dichotomy between body and soul. Plato was a fervent opponent of the Sophist (De Villiers 1998b:170).

Plato *Leges* 720b-d**Context:**

In his *Laws* Plato (ca. 429-347 BC) deals with social morality as opposed to individual morality (Annas 2003a:1191). In contrast to Aristotle, Plato does not provide a formal discussion of slavery (Vlastos 1941:289). The passage quoted below adds considerably to our understanding of Plato's views on the matter.

Passage:

{ΑΘ.} Ἐάντε γε ἐλεύθεροι ὦσιν ἑάντε δοῦλοι, κατ' ἐπίταξιν δὲ τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν τὴν τέχνην κτῶνται, κατὰ φύσιν δὲ μή, καθάπερ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι αὐτοὶ τε μεμαθήκασιν οὕτω τοὺς τε αὐτῶν διδάσκουσι παῖδας. θείης ἂν ταῦτα δύο γένη τῶν καλουμένων ἱατρῶν;

{ΚΛ.} Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

{ΑΘ.} Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ συννοεῖς ὅτι, δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων ὄντων τῶν καμνόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, τοὺς μὲν δούλους σχεδὸν τι οἱ δοῦλοι

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Athenian: These, whether they are freemen or slaves, acquire their art under the assessment of their owners, by way of observation and practice and not by the study of nature – which is the way in which the free-born doctors have learnt the art themselves and in which they instruct their own boys. Would you assert that we have here two classes of what are called "doctors"?

Clinias: Certainly.

Athenian: You are therefore also aware that, as the sick in the cities comprise both slaves and freemen, the majority of slave doctors usually treat the slaves, either running around everywhere or waiting in their

⁵⁶ "Dialogue" is here a technical term; it refers to "a special literary-philosophical form of writing" originating in the philosophical work of Socrates (Rowe 2003a:462).

τὰ πολλὰ ἰατρεύουσιν περιτρέχοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰατρείοις περιμένοντες, καὶ οὔτε τινὰ λόγον ἐκάστου πέρα νοσήματος ἐκάστου τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων ἰατρῶν δίδωσιν οὐδ' ἀποδέχεται, προστάξας δ' αὐτῷ τὰ δόξαντα ἐξ ἐμπειρίας, ὡς ἀκριβῶς εἰδῶς, καθάπερ τύραννος αὐθαδῶς, οἴχεται ἀποπηδήσας πρὸς ἄλλον κάμνοντα οἰκέτην, καὶ ῥαστώνην οὕτω τῷ δεσπότη παρασκευάζει τῶν καμνόντων τῆς ἐπιμελείας· ὁ δὲ ἐλεύθερος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων νοσήματα θεραπεύει τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖⁱⁱ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ κάμνοντι κοινούμενος αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, ἅμα μὲν αὐτὸς μανθάνει τι παρὰ τῶν νοσοούντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἷός τέ ἐστιν, διδάσκει τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα αὐτόν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπέταξεν πρὶν ἂν πη συμπίσῃ...

surgeries; and not one of these doctors either gives or receives any account of each case concerning each disease of the domestic slaves, but prescribes for each what he conjectures from experienceⁱⁱ, just as though he had exact knowledge, and with the self-assurance of an autocrat; then up he jumps and off he rushes to another sick domestic slave, and thus he relieves his owner in his attendance on the sick. But the free-born doctor is mainly engaged in visiting and treating the diseases of free men, and he does so by investigating them from the beginning and according to nature; he consults with the patient himself and with his friends, and thus both learns himself from the sufferers and imparts instruction to them, so far as possible; and he gives no prescription until he has gained the patient's consent, and only then, while securing the patient's continued docility by means of persuasion...

ⁱ⁾ Cf Smyth 1956:298.

ⁱⁱ⁾ In contrast to principled reasoning (cf Liddell *et al* 1996).

Interpretation:

Plato contrasts the free doctor who heals the free with the slave doctor who heals slaves. The free doctor exhibits reason – he consults, teaches, learns from the sick, educates. In contrast, the slave doctor acts unreasonably – he is hurried, he provides no diagnosis, and he relies on empirical belief rather than principled reasoning. Plato believed that slaves lack reasoning – he can truly believe, but he cannot know the truth of his belief (Vlastos 1941:289). Consequently, the slave is susceptible to persuasion, whereas the free doctor persuades.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

Exegesis of the relevant New Testament passages in chapter 6 will determine whether the authors thereof subscribed to Plato's theory of slavery or not.

4.2.4 Aristotle

Aristotle (384-322 BC) was a student at Plato's Academy and the latter's influence is evident in all of Aristotle's works (Nussbaum 2003a:165). He later founded his own school called the Lyceum lecturing his students in small groups. He left his documents to his successor as head of the Lyceum, Theophrastus (Nussbaum 2003a:166). On a personal note, Aristotle lived with a slave-woman named Herpyllis after the death of his wife (Nussbaum 2003a:166). He only legally freed Herpyllis by way of testamentary manumission after his death.

In contrast to Plato, Aristotle considered things to be the ultimate reality (De Villiers 1998b:176). The purpose of every thing is to become what it is purposed to be, and when all things become what they were purposed to be, you find God. Ethics is not a

search for good but rather teaching to do good so that each person can achieve his final purpose. And the final purpose is the same for all: εὐδαιμονία. Εὐδαιμονία is generally translated as “happiness” but may be more accurately rendered “human flourishing” (Nussbaum 2003a:168).

Aristoteles *Politica* 1252a30-34

Context:

Aristotle's *Politica* contains the most elaborate theory of slavery from the fourth century BC (Garlan 1988:121-122). Aristotle's theory presents the existing social order in natural terms. Although Aristotle and Plato acknowledge the theory of the unity of the human race, they strongly emphasised hierarchical nature by way of dichotomic categories such as civilised-barbarian, body-soul, free-slave (Garlan 1988:122-123). The free-slave category is entrenched in the interests of preservation, for some (the slaves) need to do the physical work and others are free to be citizens (cf Aristoteles *Politica* 1254b).

Passage:

ἀνάγκη δὴ πρῶτον συνδυάζεσθαι τοὺς ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μὴ δυναμένους εἶναι ... ἄρχον δὲ φύσει καὶ ἀρχόμενον διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ προορᾶν ἄρχον φύσει καὶ δεσπότην φύσει, τὸ δὲ δυνάμενον [ταῦτα] τῷ σώματι πονεῖν ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύσει δοῦλον· διὸ δεσπότη καὶ δούλῳ ταῦτό συμφέρει.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Now it is necessary to firstly join those who cannot exist without each other namely ... and in respect of a ruler by nature and a subject, for the sake of preservation. For on the one hand he who with his mind can foresee is by nature ruler and by nature owner, but on the other hand he who with his body can do these [physical] things is subject and naturally a slave. This is useful to both owner and slave.

Interpretation:

The free-slave dichotomy is used in a political context to preserve a societal order on the basis that the dichotomy is supposed to be dictated by nature.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

It is a valid question whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to Aristotle's natural theory of slavery or not.

Aristoteles *Politica* 1253b20-25

Context:

It is clear from the context that Aristotle considers “these thinkers” to be his opponents (Cambiano 1987:22). Although attempts to identify these opponents have been conjectural, it would seem that they were isolated intellectuals belonging to a small and exclusive group, and that they were not slaves themselves (Cambiano 1987:23). The main thrust of their argument focuses on the nature-law dichotomy as the philosophical basis of slavery.

Passage:

τοῖς δὲ παρὰ φύσιν τὸ δεσπότην (νόμῳ γὰρ τὸν μὲν δοῦλον εἶναι τὸν δ' ἐλεύθερον, φύσει δ' οὐθὲν διαφέρειν)· διόπερ οὐδὲ δίκαιον· βίαιον γάρ.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

But for some to be owner is contrary to nature (for one man is slave and another is free according to law, but there is no difference according to nature). Accordingly there is no justice, for there is [only] force.

Interpretation:

The opponents' first premise is that the distinction between slave and free is guaranteed by the law (cf Cambiano 1987:23-25). They do not appear to criticise the institution of slavery but rather provides a different philosophical foundation for it. The second premise is that slaves and owners are not in any respect viewed as being different by nature (cf Cambiano 1987:27-28). The differences are defined juristically rather than biologically. On this point Aristotle disagrees in 1254b27-34 (see below).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

It is necessary to determine whether the authors of the New Testament subscribed to Aristotle's opponents' theory of slavery or not.

Aristoteles *Politica* 1254b25-34

Context:

Aristotle argues against the viewpoint of the opponents expounded in 1253b20-25 above.

Passage:

βούλεται μὲν οὖν ἡ φύσις καὶ τὰ σώματα διαφέροντα ποιεῖν τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ τῶν δούλων, τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν, τὰ δ' ὀρθὰ καὶ ἄχρηστα πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πολιτικὸν βίον (οὗτος δὲ καὶ γίνεται διηρημένος εἰς τὴν πολεμικὴν χρεῖαν καὶ τὴν εἰρηνικὴν), συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις καὶ τοῦναντίον, τοὺς μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχειν ἐλευθέρων τοὺς δὲ τὰς ψυχάς·

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Therefore nature indeed intends to make different the bodies of freemen and slaves, the latter strong for necessary service and the former erect and useless for work such as that of the slave but useful for citizenship (which are divided into the duties of war and peace). But often it also happens conversely: Some have the bodies of freemen, but others the soul.

Interpretation:

Whereas the opponents argued that the difference between slave and free is not biological, Aristotle argues that it is indeed physical (and thus natural) in order to enable different types of work to be performed within the household (cf 1277a35-37). Consequently freemen are destined for the good life in the state, but slaves are not (Garnsey 1996:112). The latter may at most expect security (cf 1252a30-31).

Some scholars have argued that Aristotle's views on slavery are not philosophical in nature but rather informed by ideology (Schofield 2005:91). An ideology may be defined as "a widely held body of ideas systematically biased towards the real or imagined interests of a particular sex or social group or class within society, believed by its adherents not because of rational considerations which may be offered in its support but as a result either of social causation or of a desire to promote the [real or imagined] interests (or both)" (Schofield 2005:91). A philosophical belief, on the other hand, is held because of the rational considerations offered in support of it (Schofield 2005:92).

Considering this distinction, one may conclude that Aristotle is simply presenting a more sophisticated version of the popular ideology of antiquity that slaves are degenerate as a race and thus suitable for subjection (Garnsey 1996:239). This theme is further explored in chapter 5.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to Aristotle's theory of slavery or not. A related question to be answered is whether the New Testament writings were ideologically informed.

Aristoteles *Politica* 1255a1-10

Context:

Following on the passage above (1254b25-34), Aristotle considers whether the power of the slave-owner is in fact as natural as that of other rules in the state (Garlan 1988:124).

Passage: Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τάναντία φάσκοντες τρόπον τινὰ λέγουσιν ὀρθῶς, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν. διχῶς γὰρ λέγεται τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ ὁ δοῦλος. ἔστι γάρ τις καὶ κατὰ νόμον δοῦλος καὶ δουλεύων· ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὁμολογία τίς ἐστιν ἐν ᾗ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον κρατούμενα τῶν κρατούντων εἶναι φασιν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: It is not difficult to see that those who state the contrary are in a manner also correct. For the concepts “to serve as slave” and “slave” are ambiguous. There is also such a thing as a slave or person who serves as slave according to law, since the law is some form of agreement in terms of which the spoils of war belong by assertion to the conqueror.
Interpretation: Aristotle must concede that his opponents are also correct, if only in a manner. Yet he maintains that being the strongest, and thus victorious in war, is not the sole criterion for deciding whether a person is slave or free. The natural excellence of the person destined for freedom wins out in most cases (cf Garlan 1988:125). He concedes, though, that there may be marginal cases with elements of doubts.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: It is necessary to determine whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to Aristotle's concession to his opponents.	

Aristoteles <i>Politica</i> 1255b13-15	
Context: In this section Aristotle deals with φιλία (friendship).	
Passage: διὸ καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶ τι καὶ φιλία δούλῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς φύσει τούτων ἡξιωμένοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμον καὶ βιασθεῖσι, τούναντίον.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Wherefore there is also a certain advantage and friendship for slave and owner when they have been deemed fit for one another by nature, but the opposite is true if (this happens) by law or by force.
Interpretation: Aristotle states that the relationship between slave and owner shares a characteristic with that between husband and wife and parents and children, namely that the relationship is unequal (the slave belongs to the owner) yet based on friendship (cf Zelnick-Abramavitz 2005:52). Yet the friendship is not directed at the slave as slave but rather to the slave as human being (cf Aristoteles <i>Ethica Nicomachea</i> 1161b5).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to this seemingly contradictory part of Aristotle's theory of slavery.	

Aristoteles <i>Politica</i> 1260a12-14	
Context: Aristotle considers the differences and similarities pertaining to the faculty of reason (τὸ βουλευτικόν) between slaves, women, and children.	
Passage: ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος ὅλως οὐκ ἔχει τὸ βουλευτικόν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ἔχει μὲν, ἀλλ’	Own translation with grammatical notes: For on the one hand a slave does not possess the faculty of reason at all, and on the other hand a female indeed possesses it but without authority, and a child indeed

ἄκυρον, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔχει μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀτελές.	possesses it but incomplete.
Interpretation: The central tenor of Aristotle's argument is that slavery is beneficial to the natural slave (Schofield 2005:101). While women and children possess the faculty of reason to some extent, a slave does not possess it at all, and thus requires to be ruled for his own benefit. Yet the owner has no obligation, legal or otherwise, to rule his slave to the latter's benefit, while the husband or father has such an obligation in his relationship with his wife and children (Schofield 2005:101).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to Aristotle's theory of slavery.	

4.2.5 Section summary

Sophists	Socrates	Plato	Aristotle
The Sophists seem to support a rethink of the philosophical basis of slavery in view of the principle of the equality of man.	Socrates seems to accept the reality of the slave-owner relationship. Rather than providing a philosophical justification or denouncement, he applies the relationship to that between man and the gods.	According to Plato, freemen are by nature reasonable and slaves are by nature unreasonable.	Aristotle argues that the distinction between free and slave is determined by nature rather than law, and is thus indisputable.

4.3 GRECO-ROMAN PHILOSOPHY IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

This section deals with Greco-Roman philosophy in the Hellenistic⁵⁷ period as part of the socio-historic context of the New Testament. The influence of the classic Greek philosophers endured well into the Hellenistic period and beyond (De Villiers 1998b:169). During this period the philosophical systems of the Epicureans and Stoics attracted support based on its search for an answer to one question: How does a person live happily? Ethics rather than pure scientific endeavour or epistemological questions reigned supreme (De Villiers 1998b:177-178). The following philosophical groupings are discussed in this section: The Peripatetics, the Cynics, the Epicureans, the Stoics, the Sceptics, and Syncretism and Eclecticism.

4.3.1 The Peripatetics

The name Peripatetic describes Aristotle and his successors at Lyceum (Furley 2003b:1141). The succession continued until the first century BC when the Peripatetic library at Lyceum was removed to Rome. The school engaged in systematic, co-operative research in every branch of contemporary learning.

⁵⁷ For purposes of this study, the term "Hellenistic" refers to the period 322 BC to 138 AD as defined by De Villiers (1998a:96). The debate regarding the definition of the term falls outside the scope of this study (cf Hornblower 2003b:677-678).

Peripatetic studies continued until 230 AD in the form of commentaries on Aristotle's works (De Villiers 1998b:178).

Menander fr. 857	
Context: 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 2003:956). His plays were always set in contemporary Greece, often in Athens or Attica. The plots focussed on domestic problems and often included important roles for slaves, presented as credible individuals (Arnott 2003:957).	
Passage: ἐλευθέρως δούλευε. δοῦλος οὐκ ἔσει.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Serve willing as a slave. You will not be a slave.
Interpretation: The quoted verse suggests a more progressive attitude to slaves, distinguishing between legal and moral slavery (cf Garnsey 1996:66ff). Legally the relationship between owner and slave stands as described in chapter 3 above. But figuratively speaking, a slave may be free and an owner enslaved.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribe to such a progressive theory of slavery.	

Varro <i>De re rustica</i> 1.17	
Context: Varro (116-27 BC) was Rome's greatest scholar, excelling in methodical analysis and covering nearly every field of study (Kaster 2003:1582). <i>De re rustica</i> is a treatise on farming in dialogue form.	
Passage: Omnes agri coluntur hominibus servis aut liberis aut utrisque...	Own translation with grammatical notes: All agriculture is attended to by human servants, either free or slave...
Interpretation: Varro also expresses a more progressive attitude towards slaves by recognising their human nature, albeit in contrast to a freeman.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to such a progressive theory of slavery or not.	

4.3.2 The Cynics

Cynicism was never a formal philosophical school but rather a way of life based on the principle "live according to nature" (Moles 2003a:418). From the street preaching of the Cynics developed the philosophical genre of the diatribe (De Villiers 1998b:180-181). The term generally refers to "direct transcriptions or literary developments of addresses given by Cynic or Stoic philosophers on the streets" (Moles 2003b:463). Such an address focuses on a single theme with the main aim to attack vices using a vigorous, colloquial style with colourful, everyday imagery. Diatribes are regarded as the pagan equivalent of the Christian sermon (Moles 2003b:463), attested by the many examples of diatribe in the New Testament.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁸ Examples include the question by an imaginary opponent (eg 1 Cor 15:35 and Jam 2:18), rhetorical questions for the sake of emphasis (eg 1 Cor 4:7; Jam 2:14-16), the use of pithy expressions (eg Rom 14:7), and the use of quotations from the poets (eg 1 Cor

Greek διατριβή refers to a pastime, a manner of spending time, with positive (amusement, study, philosophical discourse) or negative (wasteful) connotations (Liddell *et al* 1996). The purpose of the diatribe was to move people not to reflective thought but rather to action (De Villiers 1998b:180).

Epictetus <i>Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae</i> 4.1.114-117	
Context: Diogenes (ca. 412/403 – ca 324/321 BC) was the founder of the Cynics. He provoked extremes of admiration and hostility with his philosophy that wisdom was a matter of action rather than thought, and his subsequent rejection of all philosophical elements except ethics (Moles 2003c:474). He further taught that one must live according to nature rather than law or convention, and he promoted a complete rejection of civilised life and its institutions such as marriage, politics, and social and racial distinctions, even literature.	
Passage: Ταύτην ἤλευθερώθη Διογένης παρ’ Ἀντισθένης καὶ οὐκέτι ἔφη καταδουλωθῆναι δύνασθαι ὑπ’ οὐδενός. διὰ τοῦτο πῶς ἐάλω, πῶς τοῖς πειραταῖς ἐχρῆτο· μή τι κύριον εἶπέν τινα αὐτῶν; ... πῶς ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι κακῶς ἔτρεφον τοὺς ἐαλωκότας· πῶς ἐπράθη· μή τι κύριον ἐζήτει; ἀλλὰ δοῦλον. πῶς δὲ πραθεῖς ἀνεστρέφετο πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην· εὐθύς διελέγετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως ἐστολίσθαι δεῖ αὐτόν, οὐχ οὕτως κεκάρθαι, περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, πῶς δεῖ αὐτοὺς διάγειν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: To this [freedom] Diogenes was set free by Antisthenes, and he [Diogenes] said that he could no longer be enslaved by any man. For this reason, how was he captured, how did he treat the pirates? Did he call not one of them master? ... How did he rebuke them because they fed the captives poorly? How was he sold? Surely he did not desire any master? [No,] but a slave. And how was the sale inverted against the owner? Immediately he argued with him, that he should not dress in this manner, not shave in that manner; regarding his sons, how he ought to raise them.
Interpretation: This passage related by the Stoic Epictetus proves the point that Diogenes rejected the institutions of civilised life such as slavery, although (or perhaps because) he was enslaved himself. He considered himself to be a free soul because he possessed the science of life and practical wisdom, albeit in an enslaved body (cf Garnsey 1996:132).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to Diogenes’ theory of slavery or not.	

4.3.3 The Epicureans

The founder of the Epicurean School was Epicurus (341-270 BC). He and his followers secluded themselves from the city of Athens and maintained a modest and even austere standard of living, in accordance with Epicurus’ teachings (Furley 2003a:533). His followers included slaves and women. The Epicureans taught that man is mortal, that the cosmos is the result of accident, that there is no providential god, and that the criterion for the good life is pleasure. This teaching brought the school into conflict with Christians.⁵⁹

15:33). The New Testament also features lists of virtues (eg Rom 1:29-31; 1 Cor 6:9ff) and vices (eg 2 Cor 4:8ff, 6:8-10). Cf De Villiers (1998b:180-181).

⁵⁹ The New Testament attests to this conflict when Paul writes in 1 Cor 15:32: “εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, Φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αἴριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν.” (“If the dead are not

Epicurean philosophy taught that the purpose of philosophy is practical, namely to ensure a happy life (Furley 2003a:533). Epicurean ethics is guided by one principle: “We say that pleasure is the beginning and end of living happily” (*Men.* 128). The Epicurean ideal is ἀταραξία or calmness, freedom from disturbance, to be achieved by the study of philosophy (Furley 2003a:534). All Epicurean teaching was aimed at freeing man from fear of death, the gods, jealousy and failure, and emotional turmoil in order to achieve calmness. Despite the apparent selfishness of this philosophy, the Epicureans were famous and respected for their sense of community and friendship.

Cicero *Ad Quintum* 1.3.4.14
Context:

This letter forms part of Cicero's correspondence representing evidence of Roman social life (Powell 2003:1562).

Passage:

Praeterea Aesopi, nostri familiaris, Licinius servus tibi notus aufugit: is Athenis apud Patronem Epicureum pro libero fuit...

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Furthermore, Licinius, who is known to you, a slave of our friend Aesopus, has run away. He has been at Athens, living in the house of Patron the Epicurean as a free man.

Interpretation:

Cicero attests to the Epicureans' sense of community and friendship. It also provides evidence that the Epicureans did indeed welcome slaves, and that they were considered free by the Epicureans, if not by Cicero, a friend of Licinius' owner.

Relevance for the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the writers of the New Testament welcome slaves into their communities and allowed them to live as free persons.

4.3.4 The Stoics

This philosophical movement was founded by Zeno who came to Athens in 313 BC (Annas 2003b:1446). He developed a philosophical system divided into three parts: Logic, physics, and ethics. According to Stoic physics, the physical world is determined by laws applied without exception. These laws are called fate. Consequently, man must accept what happens to him: illness and pain, good and bad reputation, freedom and slavery, life and death (De Villiers 1998b:185). This led to an apathetic and fatalistic world view.⁶⁰ The whole of Stoic philosophy appeals to the notions of nature and reason: People should live in accordance with human nature which is to live in accordance with human reason (Annas 2003b:1446). This is the basis of objectivity: If all people think rationally, all human thinking will converge and reach truth.

Many writings of later Stoicism (first and second century AD) have been preserved (De Villiers 1998b:183). These include writings of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Lucius Annaeus Seneca (ca. 4 BC/1 AD – 65 AD) studied grammar and rhetoric in Rome (Reynolds *et al* 2003:96). His philosophical influences varied from Stoicism to Cynicism. He was severely criticised in antiquity and modernity for not practising what he preached: The unimportance of wealth and condemnation of the

raised, ‘Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.’”). See also Acts 17:18, 32 (cf De Villiers 1998b:182-183).

⁶⁰ The New Testament attests to a different interpretation of man's reality namely that the source of all suffering, namely sin, was conquered by the cross and the resurrection of Jesus Christ which enables the believer to accept his suffering as a conqueror (Rom 8:37-39; cf De Villiers 1998b:186).

abuse of power (Reynolds *et al* 2003:98).

Seneca <i>De beneficiis</i> 3.20.1	
Context: <i>De Beneficiis</i> deals with ingratitude and the bestowing of benefits. Book 3 deals <i>inter alia</i> with the question whether a slave can bestow a benefit upon his owner. Seneca's conclusion is that a slave can bestow a benefit upon his owner by giving more than is required of him, by acting as a friend rather than a slave.	
Passage: Errat, si quis existimat servitutem in totum hominem descendere : pars melior eius excepta est. Corpora obnoxia sunt, et adscripta dominis : mens quidem sui iuris ¹ ...	Own translation with grammatical notes: 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 ¹ . ¹) Cf Simpson 1959:760.
Interpretation: Seneca's conclusion is based on the argument that owner and slave are equals as far as mind is concerned, if not body (cf Garnsey 1996:66ff). Thus an owner may be enslaved in his mind, yet his slave may be free in this respect. True freedom is freedom of the mind in detachment from physical slavery (cf Diogenes' philosophy in 4.3.2 above).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to such a theory of slavery or not.	

Seneca <i>Ad Lucilium epistulae morales</i> 47.10	
Context: In <i>Ad Lucilium epistulae morales</i> Seneca builds on the philosophical tradition of Epicurus and popular philosophical discourse (Reynolds <i>et al</i> 2003:97).	
Passage: 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.	Own translation with grammatical notes: 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 freeman as for him to see in you a slave.
Interpretation: Seneca provides the philosophical basis of his assertion in the previous text: All men, whether slave or free, are equal.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: It is necessary to determine whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to the theory that all men, whether free or slave, are free.	

Diogenes Laertius <i>Vitae Philosophorum</i> 7.121-122	
Context: Diogenes Laertius was the author of a compendium on the lives and doctrines of the ancient philosophers from Thales to Epicurus (Long & Sharples 2003:474). The first part of chapter 7 deals with Zeno and Stoic philosophy.	
Passage: μόνον τ' ἐλεύθερον, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους δούλους· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσίαν	Own translation with grammatical notes: [The Stoics say:] Only he [the wise man] is free, but the bad are slaves. For freedom is the power of independent action, while slavery is the loss of independent action.

αὐτοπραγίας, τὴν δὲ δουλείαν στέρησιν αὐτοπραγίας. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην δουλείαν τὴν ἐν ὑποτάξει καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐν κτήσει τε καὶ ὑποτάξει, ἣ ἀντιτίθεται ἢ δεσποτεία, φαύλη οὖσα καὶ αὕτη.	There is also another form of slavery which consists in subordination, and a third form which consists in both possession and subordination; the last being contrasted with despotism, which also is a bad state.
Interpretation: It appears that Stoic philosophy was more concerned with moral slavery (see Seneca above) than actual slavery (cf Garnsey 1996:131). Actual slavery exists outside the control of man, as does health and illness, and thus requires indifference. Moral slavery, slavery of the mind, is however within man's control, whether slave or free (Garnsey 1996:132).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to the Stoic distinction between actual and moral slavery or not.	

Epictetus (mid-first century to second century AD) was a Stoic philosopher, and in earlier life a slave (Inwood 2003a:532). His key teachings are recorded in the Manual (Ἐγχειρίδιον). Epictetus taught basic Stoic philosophy but placed great emphasis on the need to use philosophy to reform moral character. He focussed intensely on the power of individual moral choice (Inwood 2003a:532).

Epictetus <i>Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae</i> 4.1.76-79	
Context: Epictetus dealt extensively with externals or indifferents such as wealth-poverty, health-illness, yet rarely mentioned freedom-slavery among these (Garnsey 1996:134-135). This seems peculiar since Epictetus was himself a former slave.	
Passage: Ὑγείας οὖν μὴ ὀρέγωμαι; Μηδ' αὖτως, μηδ' ἄλλου ἀλλοτρίου μηδενός. ὃ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ σοὶ παρασκευάσαι ἢ τηρῆσαι ὅτε θέλεις, τοῦτο ἀλλότριόν ἐστιν. ... Ἡ χεὶρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμή; Μέρος ἐστὶ σὸν, φύσει δὲ πηλός, κωλυτόν, ἀναγκαστόν, δοῦλον παντός τοῦ ἰσχυροτέρου.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Shall I not then desire health? No, not at all, nor anything else belonging to another. For what is not in your power to acquire or keep is none of yours, it belongs to another. ... Is not my hand my own? It is part of you, but by nature it is clay, subject to hindrance and compulsion, slave to everything that is stronger than you are.
Interpretation: The body may fall outside the control of man, and thus be subjected to slavery. Therefore actual slavery falls in the same category of externals or indifferents as health, and does not warrant further discussion. The Stoics preferred to focus on individual morality rather than societal morality (cf Garnsey 1996:136-137). As a consequence, the Stoics enjoined slaves to stay put and serve their masters well (Garnsey 1996:151).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to such an indifferent approach to slavery.	

Epictetus <i>Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae</i> 1.13.4-5	
Passage: οὐ μεμνήσῃ τί εἶ καὶ τίνων ἄρχεις; ὅτι συγγενῶν, ὅτι ἀδελφῶν φύσει, ὅτι τοῦ Διὸς	Own translation with grammatical notes: 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

ἀπογόνων;	the offspring of Zeus?
Interpretation: Epictetus states the same philosophical presumption as Seneca (see above) namely that all men are equal.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question remains whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to the philosophical presumption that all men are equal.	

4.3.5 The Sceptics

The Sceptics were philosophers who held no doctrine and suspended judgment on everything (Striker 2003:1362). According to Liddell *et al* (1996) σκεπτικός referred to a philosopher who asserted nothing positively. The founder of the movement was Pyrrhon (ca. 365-275 BC) who taught that it is not possible to determine whether things are one way rather than another, and that one should thus not assert anything (Striker 2003:1362). Such an approach is the foundation of peace of mind. This approach led to moral relativity: Everyone must do as he deems fit, for it is impossible to know what is right or good (De Villiers 1998b:186). It is therefore unsurprising that the sources dealing with the Sceptics do not express any philosophical position on slavery.⁶¹

4.3.6 Syncretism and Eclecticism

At the end of the Hellenistic period (322 BC to 138 AD as defined by De Villiers (1998a:96); see also footnote 57 above) the Greek philosophical schools of the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Stoics had lost their unique characteristics (De Villiers 1998b:188; cf Dillon 2003:502). Only the Epicureans still maintained a unique position. The time of syncretism and eclecticism had arrived. The Stoics (see 4.3.4 above) and the later Pyrrhonists (see 4.3.5 above) belonged to the syncretistic movement, taking foreign elements from different systems and combining them to form a new whole.

Eclecticism is “an approach to philosophy which consists in the selection and amalgamation of elements of different systems of thought” (Dillon 2003:502). It started at the beginning of the second century BC with a general decline in original Greek thought. Roman philosophy was especially eclectic in nature (De Villiers 1998b:188). They took elements from Greek philosophy without independent processing thereof to form a new Roman philosophy. Cicero provides a good example of Roman philosophical eclecticism.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born on 3 January 106 BC and died on 7 December 43 BC (Balsdon & Griffin 2003:1558-1560). He studied philosophy and rhetoric in Rome and Greece. He pursued a political career in Rome, became the leading counsel at

⁶¹ These sources include Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae philosophorum* on Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhon and Timon, three of the leading Sceptics (cf Striker 2003a:1363). Sextus Empiricus also wrote on Sceptic philosophy in his work *Πυρρώνειοι ὑποτυπώσεις* (Outlines of Pyrrhonism) (cf Striker 2003b:1398-1399). A computer search of these works for the lemmata tabulated in 2.2.4.1 above provided no relevant results.

the Rome bar, and was elected consul in 63. His political career was characterised by upheaval and betrayal until his death. In his personal life he was devoted to his slave and secretary Tiro⁶² to whom he addressed twenty-one letters; in 53 BC he set him free.

Cicero's philosophical writings fall into two parts: The first deals with political philosophy and statecraft, and the second with epistemology, ethics, and theology (Simon & Obbink 2003:1562). His philosophy showed influences from Plato, Aristotle, the Epicureans, Academics and Stoics. His main aim was to provide the Romans with a philosophical literature and terminology taking the place of that of the Greek philosophers on whom the Romans were intellectually dependent. In his epistemology he related to the Academics in rejecting the possibility of certain knowledge, yet acknowledging the right to adopt whatever position seemed most appropriate in every situation (Simon & Obbink 2003:1563). In ethics he was inclined to the Stoics' viewpoints on the good life and death, grief, fear, pain, as well as what is essential for the good life, including virtue.

Cicero <i>De republica</i> (from Augustine <i>De civitate Dei</i> 14.23)	
Context: In <i>De republica</i> Cicero discusses the ideal state favouring elements of a monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. His assertion of human rights and man's participation in humanity and the cosmos indicate Stoic influences (Simon & Obbink 2003:1562). Yet the argument is advanced by one participant in the dialogue that slavery can be beneficial to some persons (cf Garnsey 1996:40). Only parts of the six books are presently available, augmented by references in other works, notably those of Augustine.	
Passage: Nonne Cicero in libris de re publica, cum de imperiorum differentia disputaret et huius rei similitudinem ex natura hominis adsumeret, ut filiis dixit imperari corporis membris propter oboediendi facilitatem; vitiosas vero animi partes ut servos asperiore imperio coherceri?	Own translation with grammatical notes: Did Cicero not in his book <i>De republica</i> in his discussion on the different forms of government draw an analogy for his purpose from the nature of man, and say that we govern our bodily members like sons because of their faculty for obedience, but that the vicious parts of the soul must be treated as slaves, and be coerced with a more stringent authority?
Interpretation: While conceding that Augustine uses the references to Cicero for his own purposes, it seems that Cicero does allow for different treatment of different persons, especially those who might do harm if not governed, such as children and slaves (cf Garnsey 1996:41). And even between children and slaves differences in governance exist. Augustine interprets Cicero's viewpoint as being based on the inferiority of certain persons, specifically slaves, who must be ruled by more stringent authority for their own sake (Garnsey 1996:41).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament subscribed to such differences in treatment of slaves based on their inferiority in comparison to other persons.	

⁶² Marcus Tullius Tiro was Cicero's confidential secretary and literary advisor (Badian 2003:1564).

4.3.7 Section summary

The Peripatetic School	The Cynics	The Epicureans
The Peripatetic School accepted legal slavery. But figuratively speaking, a slave could be free and an owner enslaved. They also gave greater credence to the human nature of a slave.	According to Diogenes, a person could be free as far as his soul is concerned, yet be bodily enslaved.	The Epicureans accepted slaves into their communities and allowed them to live as free persons.

The Stoics	The Sceptics	Syncretism and Eclecticism
The Stoics believed that man could be bodily enslaved yet spiritually free. The basis of this argument is that all men are equal. Actual slavery exists outside the control of man, as does health and illness, and thus requires indifference. Moral slavery, slavery of the mind, is however within man's control, whether slave or free.	The Sceptics did not assert anything on slavery.	Cicero seems to differentiate between persons on the basis of certain persons' inferiority who must consequently be ruled by more stringent authority.

4.4 JEWISH PHILOSOPHY

This section deals with Jewish philosophy as part of the socio-historic context of the New Testament. In the time of the New Testament, Jews were considered by outsiders to be especially devoted to their religion (Goodman 2003d:1303). This devotion was equally ridiculed as superstition and praised as philosophy. The Torah or written law was the basis of this devotion, and thus Jewish philosophy.

4.4.1 Jewish philosophical groupings

From the second century BC certain philosophies emerged within Judaism such as the Pharisees (including the teachers of the law), Sadducees, and Essenes (Goodman 2003d:1303). These parties each had their own culture, religious beliefs, ceremonies, calendar, and other traditions (Scott 1995:200). Although they seem to number few in Israel, their influence far exceeded their numbers.

- The Pharisees were devotees to the law from the ranks of the Jewish people, not the priestly caste, already indicating their long-running battle with the Sadducees for control of the Jewish people. Their most recognisable characteristic was their devotion to obedience to the law which led to a whole system of legal traditions (Scott 1995:203-206; Du Rand 1998:28; cf Goodman 2003b). Their obedience was rigorous in nature, seeking perfectionism. They also followed the traditions of the elders rigorously, considering them as binding as the law itself (Scott 1995:205-206).
- A teacher of the law was well educated in the Torah as well as the oral law and legal traditions (Du Rand 1998:276). They were closely aligned to the Pharisees and their interpretation of the law.
- The Sadducees were aristocrats with links to the priestly caste (Du Rand 1998:269; cf Goodman 2003e). They only considered the Torah to be canonical, and not the oral law and traditions of the elders (Scott 1995:207). They favoured a very literal and stringent interpretation of the law, especially as far as punishment was concerned.
- The Essenes were considered by Josephus a third philosophy apart from the Pharisees and Sadducees (Du Rand 1998:285). The community at Qumran was a particular grouping among the Essenes. Although Judaist in teaching, the Essenes placed great emphasis on ethical correctness, their conduct being characterised by moderation and sobriety, a pious asceticism (Du Rand 1998:288; Goodman 2003a:558). They accepted the Torah and Prophets as Scripture and their interpretation was stricter than that of the other groups (Scott 1995:216).

These philosophical groups differed on correct cultic practices in Jerusalem, but also on more fundamental theological issues such as the role of fate and the existence of an afterlife. Yet all these groups believed that they belonged to one, united religion (Goodman 2003d:1303).

Philo *De specialibus legibus* 2.69

Context:

Philo was the leading exponent of Alexandrian-Jewish culture and with Josephus the most significant figure in Jewish-Greek literature (Rajak 2003:1167). He operated within the Greek philosophical framework, yet the sole authority of the law of Moses was fundamental to him. His ethics tended to that of the Stoics but he considered true morality to be imitation of God. In *De specialibus legibus* Philo attempts to systematise the laws of the Torah in conformity with the Ten Commandments.

Passage:

καίτοι φύσει θεράποντες¹ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι
γεγόνασιν — ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἐκ φύσεως
δοῦλος οὐδεὶς ...

Own translation with grammatical notes:

And yet servants¹ become free by nature –
for no man is a slave by nature...

¹) According to Liddell *et al* (1996) θεράπων refers
to a servant, whether slave or free.

Interpretation:

The interpretation of this passage is problematic because of the use of the terms θεράπων and δοῦλος. The terms are apparently not used as synonyms, with a θεράπων referring primarily to a free person serving others, especially in cultic contexts (BDAG 2002). Whether Philo's statement may then be generalised to include slaves, is debatable. The latter part of

the quote seems to suggest that he opposes Aristotle's theory of natural slavery.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the New Testament writers on slavery associated with Philo's statement regarding the theory of natural slavery.

Philo *Legum allegoria* 3.88

Context:

In this passage Philo commentates on the history of Jacob and Esau (Gen 25).

Passage:

φύσει γὰρ δοῦλον παρὰ θεῷ τὸ φαῦλον καὶ
ἄλογον, ἡγεμονικὸν δὲ καὶ ἐλεύθερον τὸ
ἀστέιον καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἄμεινον...

Own translation with grammatical notes:

For according to God that which is base and irrational is by nature a slave, but that which is well-bred and rational and better is suited to leadership and free...

Interpretation:

In effect, Philo presents a theological version of Aristotle's natural slave theory based on divine providence. The natural slave, Esau, is subjected to Jacob, the natural ruler, because the former is considered by God to be inferior and lacking in reason in comparison to the latter (cf Garnsey 1996:46).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

It is to be determined whether the New Testament writers on slavery subscribed to Philo's interpretation of this Old Testament passage and its application to slavery.

Philo *Legum allegoria* 3.240

Context:

Philo writes about the struggles with man's passions. His point of departure is that God is the purified soul's only Master (cf Hezser 2005:334).

Passage:

τί οὖν ὁ ἐγκρατής; εἰ μέλλω, φησί, δουλεύειν
πάθει διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν ὕλην, καὶ
ἐξελεύσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἔξω·

Own translation with grammatical notes:

What, then, does the self-controlled man say? "If", he says, "I am to become a slave to passion because of the material that causes it, I will withdraw out of reach of passions."

Interpretation:

The self-controlled man has the ability to withdraw from his passions rather than being slave to them. He who is prone to give in to his passions, on the other hand, is liable to become slave to them and be denied spiritual freedom (cf Hezser 2005:334). The self-controlled believer achieves spiritual freedom, but remains slave of God.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the New Testament writers identified with Philo's views on giving in to passions as being a form of slavery.

Philo *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 79

Context:

Philo deals in *Quod omnis probus liber sit* specifically with the freedom of the just based on Stoic principles. This passage relates to the Essenes who were considered to be righteous because of their ascetic way of life and high moral values (cf Garnsey 1996:78). A similar view point is expressed in *De vita contemplativa* (70) in respect of the Therapeutics.

Passage:

δοῦλός τε παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἷς ἐστίν, ἀλλ'
ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ἀνθυπουργοῦντες

Own translation with grammatical notes:

And not a single slave is found among them, but all are free, exchanging services with each other. They also denounce slave-

ἀλλήλοις· καταγινώσκουσί τε τῶν δεσποτῶν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀδίκων, ἰσότητα λυμαιομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀσεβῶν, θεσμὸν φύσεως ἀναιρούντων, ἥ πάντας ὁμοίως γεννήσασα καὶ θρεψαμένη μητὶς...	owners, not only in view of their [slave-owners'] injustice by damaging the principle of equality, but also their irreverence by abrogating the ordinance of nature who has begotten and raised all men alike, like a mother...
Interpretation: Again Philo seems to contradict himself as far as slavery and its philosophical roots are concerned. He seems to suggest that the just do not allow slavery because of the moral primacy of the principle of equality of man. This resonates with the Stoic viewpoint (see 4.3.4 above). Yet the Essenes and Therapeutics seem to be the exceptions. In other passages Philo insists that slavery is necessary for a wide variety of tasks (cf <i>De specialibus legibus</i> 2.123).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the New Testament authors associated more closely with Philo's apparent opposition to slavery on the basis of the equality of man and the link to the righteous.	

Josephus Ant. 20.166	
Context: Josephus (born 37/8 AD) was a Greek historian, a Jewish priest of aristocratic descent and Pharisaic education, and a political leader in Jerusalem prior to 70 AD (Smallwood & Rajak 2003:798). The <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> is a history of the Jews from creation to shortly before the revolt.	
Passage: διὰ τοῦτ' οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν μισήσαντα τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἀποστραφῆναι μὲν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν οὐκέτι καθαρὸν οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ κρίναντα Ῥωμαίους ἐπαγαγεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει καθάρσιον πῦρ καὶ δουλείαν ἐπιβαλεῖν σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις σωφρονίσαι ταῖς συμφοραῖς βουλόμενον ἡμᾶς.	Own translation with grammatical notes: And because of this I think that God, because of his hatred towards their ungodliness, on the one hand rejected our city, and on the other adjudged the temple no longer sufficiently pure for him to inhabit, but brought the Romans upon us, and purged the city by fire and brought slavery upon us, together with our wives and children, desiring to teach us self-control by way of misfortune.
Interpretation: Josephus held the revolutionary Jewish groups responsible for the destruction of the temple in 70 AD, proclaiming that God was in fact on the Romans' side because of the sins of the Jewish people. This passage clearly relates such a proclamation. To his mind slavery was intrinsically linked to spiritual decline: The spiritual decline of the Jewish people led to their enslavement by the Romans, or at least their political subjugation. The Jews were enslaved to their passions, and thus not entitled to God's freedom. This argument shows strong agreement with the Stoic point of view (see 4.3.4 above; cf Herzer 2005:334-336). Similarly, Biblical thought identifies man's status of sin with slavery (Joh 8:34; Rom 7:14).	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the New Testament writers identify with Josephus' view that there is an intrinsic link between slavery and the spiritual decline of God's chosen people.	

4.4.2 Section summary

Philo	Josephus
Philo seems to both contradict and confirm Aristotle's natural theory of slavery. Yet the principle of equality seems to dominate.	Josephus inexorably links slavery to spiritual decline and freedom to salvation from sin.

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The evidence collected and analysed in this chapter suggests three diverging philosophies of slavery, namely the traditional philosophy based on the natural origin of slavery, a philosophy differentiating between bodily and spiritual slavery, and a progressive philosophy based on the equality of man:

	Traditional (natural theory)	Spiritual (body enslaved, spirit free)	Progressive (equality of man)
Greek philosophy	Plato Aristotle	Socrates	Sophists
Greco-Roman philosophy	Cicero (syncretism and eclecticism)	Peripatetic School Stoics Cynics	Epicureans
Jewish philosophy	Philo	Josephus	Philo

4.6 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter aimed to construct the philosophical context of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament. In order to achieve this aim, relevant texts from Greek, Roman and Jewish philosophy were identified by way of the search filter developed in chapter 2, and the identified texts have been analysed and interpreted. The results of this process of analysis and interpretation have been used as constructed socio-historic context when studying the relevant New Testament passages in chapter 6.

The evidence suggests a progression in philosophical thought on slavery.

- The classic Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle adhered to the (probably) common wisdom of the time that certain persons were naturally inclined to freedom and others to slavery. In later periods this philosophy echoes in the thoughts of Cicero and Philo.
- In Greek philosophy Socrates seemed to occupy a middle ground between an outright defence and denouncement of slavery. This philosophy accepted the social, legal, and physical reality of slavery, yet considered the soul of every man to be free. Such a philosophy also had wide appeal, probably because it reflected the accepted (at least by slave-owners) ideology of the time that slaves are degenerate as a race and thus suitable for subjection (see 4.2.4 above). Yet it provided a certain comfort to slaves in their subjection, allowing their spirits to be free. The Peripatetic School, the Stoics, the Cynics, and Josephus all followed this line of thought.

- At the other end of the spectrum were the Sophists who advocated a rejection of slavery, both physically and spiritually, on the basis that all men are equal, rather than naturally inclined to either freedom or slavery. This was certainly the most radical of the three philosophies on slavery, and whether it had much support amongst slaves, slave-owners or other members of the community, is debatable. The Epicureans and Philo, at least to some extent, followed in the Sophists' footsteps.

This chapter poses the following question: Where do the writers of the New Testament fit into this threefold philosophical framework on slavery? Formulated alternatively: Did any of these philosophical positions, or any facet of the positions, influence the writers of the New Testament in their exhortations directed at slave-owners? These questions have been answered after exegesis of the relevant exhortations in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

THE ATTITUDES OF SLAVE-OWNERS TOWARDS THEIR SLAVES, AND THEIR TREATMENT

Abridged table of contents

5.1	INTRODUCTION	136
5.2	SLAVE-OWNERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS SLAVES IN ANTIQUITY.....	136
5.3	GREEK TREATMENT OF SLAVES	142
5.4	GRECO-ROMAN TREATMENT OF SLAVES.....	146
5.5	JEWISH TREATMENT OF SLAVES	149
5.6	CHAPTER SUMMARY	151
5.7	CONCLUSIONS	151

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to construct the conduct of slave-owners, whether real or idealised, towards their slaves. In order to achieve this aim, relevant passages from Greek, Roman, and Jewish sources have been identified by way of the search filter developed in chapter 2, and the identified texts have been analysed and interpreted. In the analysis and interpretation of these sources, the pitfalls of using these sources described in 1.4.3 have been optimally avoided. The results of this process of analysis and interpretation have been used as socio-historic context when studying the relevant New Testament passages in chapter 6.

The first section of the chapter deals with conventional attitudes towards slaves in antiquity followed by more specific evidence of the treatment of slaves in Greek, Greco-Roman, and Jewish contexts. It concludes with a chapter summary and conclusions.

5.2 SLAVE-OWNERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS SLAVES IN ANTIQUITY

This section endeavours to determine slave-owners' attitudes towards slaves in antiquity. Relevant passages from Greek, Greco-Roman, and Jewish sources have been analysed.

5.2.1 Greek attitudes towards slaves

Xenophon <i>Oikonomikos</i> 5.16, 12.5-7, 13.11-12	
Context: Xenophon's <i>Oikonomikos</i> contains a number of conversations on the importance of agriculture, household organisation, and technical details on crop cultivation (Tuplin 2003:1630). The passages quoted below deal with a slave-owner's management of his slaves.	
Passage: 5.16 καὶ παρακελεύεσθαι δὲ πολλάκις οὐδὲν ἦπτον δεῖ τοῖς ἐργάταις τὸν γεωργὸν ἢ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐλπιδὼν δὲ ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ἦπτον οἱ δοῦλοι τῶν ἐλευθέρων δέονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅπως μένειν ἐθέλωσι. 12.5-7 Οὐκοῦν εὖνοιαν πρῶτον, ἔφην ἐγώ, δεήσει αὐτὸν ἔχειν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς, εἰ μέλλει ἀρκέσειν ἀντὶ σοῦ παρών. ἄνευ γὰρ εὐνοίας τί ὄφελος καὶ ὁποίας τινὸς οὖν ἐπιτρόπου ἐπιστήμης γίνεταί; Οὐδὲν μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἀλλὰ τοι τὸ εὖνοεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐγὼ πρῶτον πειρῶμαι παιδεύειν. Καὶ πῶς, ἐγὼ ἔφην, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν εὖνοιαν ἔχειν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς διδάσκεις ὄντινα ἂν βούλῃ; Εὐεργετῶν νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὅταν τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ οἱ θεοὶ ἀφθονίαν διδῶσιν ἡμῖν. Τοῦτο οὖν λέγεις, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὅτι οἱ ἀπολαύοντες τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν εὖνοί σοι γίνονται καὶ ἀγαθὸν τί σε βούλονται πράττειν; Τοῦτο γὰρ ὄργανον, ὦ Σώκρατες, εὐνοίας ἄριστον ὁρῶ ὄν. 13.11-12 πάνυ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀθυμία ἐγγίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὅταν ὁρῶσι τὰ μὲν ἔργα δι' αὐτῶν καταπραπτόμενα, τῶν δὲ ὁμοίων τυγχάνοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς μήτε πονεῖν μήτε κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντας, ὅταν δέῃ. αὐτὸς τε οὖν οὐδ' ὅπως σπιοῦν τῶν ἴσων ἀξιώ τοὺς ἀμείνους τοῖς κακίοσι τυγχάνειν...	Own translation with grammatical notes: 5.16 And it is no less necessary for a farmer to encourage his workers than for a general [to encourage] his soldiers. And no less do the slaves require good expectations than freemen, but even more, so that they are willing to remain. 12.5-7 "Certainly, firstly it is goodwill," I said, "that he will need to possess towards you and what is yours, if he is likely to prevail in your absence [lit. in place of your presence]. For without goodwill, of what use and quality at all in fact is the knowledge of a manager?" "None, by Zeus," Ischomachos said, "to be well-inclined to me and what is mine is the first thing I attempt to teach." "And how," I said, "before the gods do you teach someone you like to possess goodwill towards you and what is yours?" "By showing kindness, by Zeus," Ischomachos said, "when the gods bestow something good in abundance upon us." "So thus you say," I said, "that those who enjoy your good things are well-inclined towards you and wish you to experience something good?" "Indeed, o Socrates, I find this the best in producing goodwill." 13.11 "For it seems very much to me, o Socrates," he said, "to be disheartening to the good [slaves] when on the one hand the works are accomplished by themselves, but on the other hand the same befalls those who are unwilling to work and run risks when required. Certainly, in no way whatsoever do I deem the better ones worthy of befalling equal shares to the worthless ones."
Interpretation: The principle seems to be that a system of encouragement, or reward, for slaves induces more goodwill and loyalty, and fosters good expectations (cf Fitzgerald 2010:6). Kindness	

towards one's slaves is rewarded in kind. A simple strategy of equal treatment for all slaves irrespective of relative worth is counter-productive.

Slavery in the ancient world was mostly viewed from economic and management rather than philosophical points of view (Fitzgerald 2010:1). Slave-owners had one goal in mind: To optimise the benefit they could derive from their investment in slaves. To achieve the goal, slave-owners used the twin incentives of reward and punishment, with manumission as the ultimate reward (Fitzgerald 2010:2; see also 3.11). Xenophon mentions in his treatise the following rewards: A share in the house's profits, clothes and shoes, abundant food and drink, and permission for procreation (cf Fitzgerald 2010:6).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the authors of the New Testament proclaimed the principle of reward as an incentive to loyalty to slave-owners

Cato De Agricultura 2.2, 7

Context:

Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 BC) was a dominant figure in Roman cultural and political life in the second century BC (Briscoe 2003:1224). He was also the foremost orator of his time and the first historian to write in Latin. In *De agri cultura* he gives advice to owners of medium-sized olive oil and wine producing estates based on slave-labour. His target audience was the young man who wanted to make money and enhance his reputation by successful agriculture (Spurr 2003a:1225).

Passage:

2. Ubi ea cognovit, rationem inire oportet operarum, dierum. Si ei opus non apparet, dicit vilicus sedulo se fecisse, servos non valuisse, tempestates malas fuisse, servos aufugisse, opus publicum effecisse. Ubi eas aliasque causas multas dixit, ad rationem operum operarumque vilicum revoca.

7. Pecus consideret. Auctionem uti faciat: vendat oleum, si pretium habeat; vinum, frumentum quod supersit, vendat; boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas, lanam, pelles, plostrum vetus, ferramenta vetera, servum senem, servum morbosum, et si quid aliud supersit, vendat. Patrem familias vendacem, non emacem esse oportet.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

2. When he had considered [it] in such a manner, he should begin a calculation of labourers and days. If, woe!, the work is not prepared, the manager zealously says that he produced abundantly, the slaves were not healthy, the bad weather raged, slaves ran away, he performed public work. When he relates these many different reasons, recall [your] calculation of the work and the labourers to the manager.

7. Let him carefully consider the herd. Then hold an auction: Sell oil if the price is [acceptable]; sell wine and grain that is in surplus; sell old oxen, blemished cattle, blemished sheep, wool, hides, an old wagon, old iron tools, an old slave, a sick slave, and whatever is in surplus. The head of the household should put [it] up for sale; it is not proper to buy.

Interpretation:

Economic concerns are foremost in Cato's mind (cf Fitzgerald 2010:3). A manager who does not produce according to the proper ratio between the work and number of labourers, and offers lame excuses, must be reprimanded. And slaves who are old or sick, and thus not worth their upkeep, must be sold.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the writers of the New Testament adhered to such an economic viewpoint on slave management.

5.2.2 Greco-Roman attitudes towards slaves

Plautus <i>Asinaria</i> 256-257	
Context: Plautus was a comic playwright in the second century BC (Brown 2003b:1194). He adapted Greek New Comedy, considerably expanding the stock characters such as the parasite. The parasite was a character who attached himself to a social superior for his own benefit and who flattered and entertained his patron and suffered ill-treatment in return (Brown 2003a:1112). In several plays, including <i>Asinaria</i> , the authority-figure (the <i>pater familias</i>) is bested by the cunning slave (Brown 2003b:1195).	
Passage: serva erum, cave tu idem faxis alii quod servi solent, qui ad eri fraudationem callidum ingenium gerunt.	Own translation with grammatical notes: In order to discharge a slave; take care how you do the same as other slaves are accustomed, who employ cunning ingenuity in defrauding their owners.
Interpretation: On the one hand Plautus admonishes the slave to show loyalty to his owner by saving him, yet on the other he implicitly encourages the slave to use his cunning for his own benefit. The negative stereotyping of slaves as being cunning and dishonest remains, yet is used to undermine the owner-slave relationship.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: It is necessary to determine whether the New Testament writers shared Plautus' paradoxal stereotyping of slaves.	

Plutarchos <i>De Cohibendi Ira</i> 459d-e	
Context: Plutarchos (ca. 50 BC – 120 AD) was a Platonist philosopher and biographer (Russell 2003:1200-1201). He wrote numerous treatises on popular moral philosophy of which "The control of anger" is one.	
Passage: τρίτον ἀεὶ μνημονεύων καὶ διανοούμενος πρὸς ἑμαυτόν, ὥς οὐθ' ὁ τοξεύειν ἡμᾶς διδάξας ἐκώλυσε βάλλειν ἀλλὰ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν οὔτε τῷ κολάζειν ἐμποδῶν ἔσται τὸ διδάσκειν εὐκαιρῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ μετρίως καὶ ὠφελίμως καὶ πρεπόντως, πειρῶμαι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφαιρεῖν μάλιστα τῷ μὴ παραιρεῖσθαι τῶν κολαζομένων τὴν δικαιολογίαν ἀλλ' ἀκούειν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Thirdly, I always remember and reflect privately that he who taught us to shoot with a bow did not prohibit us to shoot but to miss, that punishment does not stand in the way of teaching at the right time, if it is done moderately and usefully and suitably. [Thus] I attempt above all to set aside the anger by not depriving those who are [to be] punished for [their] plea but listening [to them].
Interpretation: Plutarchos' imagery of the archery teacher conveys the importance of achieving one's goal. Punishment of slaves does not hinder achievement of the goal namely teaching, provided it is not meted out in anger.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question remains whether the writers of the New Testament adhered to Plutarchos' view that slave-owners should not act in anger towards their slaves.	

Dio Chrysostomos <i>Orationes</i> 10.12	
Context: Dio Chrysostomos was a Greek orator and popular philosopher (Browning & Wilson 2003:470). His philosophy was Stoic-Cynic and reflected an essentially conservative outlook in life.	
Passage: καὶ νῦν μὲν ὅταν αὐτὸς ᾗ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, οὐ φροντίζεις μή τι αὐτὸς ὑφέλῃ, οὐδὲ ὅταν καθεύδῃς, μή ἐγρηγορῶς ὁ παῖς κακὸν τι ἐργάσῃται.	Own translation with grammatical notes: And now, when on the one hand you are alone in the house, you do not ponder stealing something yourself, nor on the other hand when you lie down to sleep, [do you ponder] your waking slave doing some mischief.
Interpretation: This passage conveys the popular stereotyping of antiquity that slaves are unreliable and dishonest (cf Fitzgerald 2010:8).	
Relevance for the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question whether the New Testament writers shared this pessimistic stereotyping of slaves, begs answering.	

Columella <i>De Re Rustica</i> 1.7.6-7	
Context: Columella authored the most systematic Roman manual on agriculture (Spurr 2003b:367). It was written in 60-65 AD. He defended the intensive slave-staffed villa, characterised by capital investment and close supervision by the owner.	
Passage: In longinquis tamen fundis, in quos non est facilis excursus patris familias, cum omne genus agri tolerabilius sit sub liberis colonis quam sub villicis servis habere, tum praecipue frumentarium, quem et minime (sicut vineas aut arbustum) colonus evertere potest, et maxime vexant servi, qui boves elocant, eosdemque et cetera pecora male pascunt, nec industrie terram vertunt, longeque plus imputant seminis iacti quam quod severint; sed nec quod terrae mandaverint sic adiuvant, ut recte proveniat, idque cum in aream contulerunt, per tritum cotidie minuunt vel fraude vel negligentia. Nam et ipsi diripiunt, et ab aliis furibus non custodiunt. Sed nec conditum cum fide rationibus inferunt.	Own translation with grammatical notes: However, on remote farms to which the owner cannot easily set out, it is more bearable for every kind of land to be under [the control of] free tenant farmers than under slave managers, and especially of grain. Even to such [land] a tenant farmer can do the least harm, as for example vines and trees, and yet slaves molest [it] greatly: They rent out oxen – they feed them and other [animals] poorly; and they do not plough the land diligently, and they enter into the accounts the sowing of seed more than was sown; what they have committed to the earth they do not so cherish that it grows properly; and what is more, when they have heaped it on the threshing-floor, every day throughout the threshing they reduce [the amount] either through deception or negligence. For they themselves steal it and do not guard [it] against the thieving of others, and even when it is stored away they do not enter it honestly in the accounts.
Interpretation: Columella expresses slave-owners' typical intransigent view of slaves (Bradley 1987:27). This view generally included the perceived criminality of slaves and their propensity towards excess, illustrated clearly by this passage. Slaves were considered to be more intent on damage than farming. And any intelligence that they may possess is depicted as deception or wickedness, and geared towards enriching themselves at the cost of their owner.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:	

Again, the question remains whether the New Testament authors shared Columella's negative stereotyping of slaves.

5.2.3 Jewish attitudes towards slaves

Deuteronomy 15:12-15 (BHS 1996)

Context:

Deuteronomy 15 forms part of a larger section (12:1–28:68) dealing with religious and societal rules and regulations. The verses quoted above deal with the freeing of slaves in the context of the rules relating to the cancelling of debts (Deut 15:1-11).

Pericope:

כִּי־יִמְכַר לְךָ אֶחָיו הָעֶבְרִי אוֹ הָעֶבְרִיָּה
 12 וְעָבַדְךָ שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים וּבִשְׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִת תְּשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ
 חֲפָשִׁי מֵעִמְךָ:
 13 וְכִי־תִשְׁלַחֲנֶנּוּ חֲפָשִׁי מֵעִמְךָ לֹא תִשְׁלַחֲנֶנּוּ
 רֵיקָם;
 14 הָעֲנִיֹק תַעֲנִיק לוֹ מִצֹּאֲנוֹ וּמִנֶּגְדְּךָ
 וּמִקֶּבֶךָ
 אֲשֶׁר בֵּרַכְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִתֵּנוּ־לוֹ:
 כִּי עָבַד ה' יְיָ בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּפָדֶיךָ
 15 וְזָכְרְתָּ.
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ עָלֶיךָ אֲנִי כִי־מִצִּוֶּת
 אֶת־הַדֶּבֶר
 הַזֶּה הִיוֹם:

Own translation with grammatical notes:

¹² If a fellow Hebrew, a man or a woman, sells himself to you and serves you six years, in the seventh year you must let him go free.
¹³ And when you release him, do not send him away empty-handed.
¹⁴ Supply him liberally from your flock, your threshing floor and your winepress. Give to him as the Lord your God has blessed you.
¹⁵ Remember that you were slaves in Egypt and the Lord your God redeemed you. That is why I give you this command today.

Interpretation:

As far as Hebrew slaves were concerned, verse 14 seems to echo the sentiments of Ischomachos (see 5.2.1 above) that a slave-owner fosters goodwill towards him by sharing what is his. The Hebrew Bible provides the blessings of the Lord as theological basis of the command to supply your freed slave with livestock, grain, and wine. The passage is obviously limited to Hebrew slaves.

Relevance for the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

It is necessary to determine whether the authors of the New Testament adhered to the Old Testament attitudes towards fellow Christian slaves.

M. Abot. 2:7

Context:

This section of the Mishnah deals broadly speaking with damages and more precisely with ethical matters.

Passage:

מִרְבָּה שְׁפָחוֹת מִרְבָּה זְמָה מִרְבָּה עֲבָדִים
 מִרְבָּה גְזָל

Own translation with grammatical notes:

The more female slaves the more sexual immorality; the more male slaves the more theft.

Interpretation:

Notions of the evil nature of slaves and the consequent need for discipline appear repeatedly in rabbinic literature (cf Hezser 2005:151). This passage provides an example of the oft-repeated claim that slaves are prone to sexual immorality and dishonesty, as was prevalent throughout antiquity. This passage from the Mishnah contradicts the Old Testament's view of Hebrew slaves.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the New Testament authors shared in such negative stereotyping of slaves.

5.2.4 Section summary

Greek attitudes	Greco-Roman attitudes	Jewish attitudes
Greek attitudes towards slaves were guided by economic considerations, namely the gain to be derived from a slave's labour in relation to his upkeep. At least theoretically, the maximum gain could be achieved by a system of rewards and punishments aimed at fostering goodwill of slaves towards their owners.	Greco-Roman attitudes were based on negative stereotyping of slaves as being dishonest, cunning, unreliable, even criminal, and intent on damage. As a counter-balance, Plutarchos urged slave-owners not to act in anger towards their slaves.	Because of the blessings bestowed upon Jewish slave-owners by the Lord, they are exhorted to share those blessings with their Hebrew slaves. Yet in the Mishnah the negative stereotyping of the Greco-Roman society is mirrored.

5.3 GREEK TREATMENT OF SLAVES

Xenophon <i>Oikonomikos</i> 13.6, 9	
Context: These passages form part of a section dealing with the training of managers, bailiffs or stewards (ἐπίτροπος or <i>actor</i>). The managers were slaves themselves entrusted with greater responsibilities (cf Bradley 1994:58ff).	
Passages: 6. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῶα ἐκ δυοῖν τούτοις τὸ πείθεσθαι μαθάνουσιν, ἐκ τε τοῦ ὅταν ἀπειθεῖν ἐπιχειρῶσι κολάζεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὅταν προθύμως ὑπηρετῶσιν πάσχειν. 9. ἀνθρώπους δ' ἔστι πιθανωτέρους ποιεῖν καὶ λόγῳ, ἐπιδεικνύοντα ὡς συμφέρει αὐτοῖς πείθεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα θηριώδης παιδεία εἶναι πάνυ ἐστὶν ἐπαγωγὸς πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι διδάσκειν· τῇ γὰρ γαστρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις προσχαριζόμενος ἂν πολλὰ ἀνύτοις παρ' αὐτῶν. αἱ δὲ φιλότιμοι τῶν φύσεων καὶ τῷ ἐπαίνῳ παροξύνονται. πεινῶσι γὰρ τοῦ ἐπαίνου οὐχ ἥττον ἔναι τῶν φύσεων ἢ ἄλλαι τῶν σίτων τε καὶ ποτῶν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: 6. "Well," he said, "O Socrates, other living things indeed learn to obey in two ways: By being punished when they try to disobey, and by being treated well when they serve devoutly. 9. And men are made more obedient even by speaking, by pointing out that it is beneficial to them to obey, but for slaves even the training thought to be brutal is exceedingly attractive to teach obedience. For you will accomplish much with them by satisfying their bellies on account of [their] appetites. And even those who are ambitious by nature will be spurred on by praise, for some by nature crave praise no less than others [crave] food and drink.
Interpretation: In this passage Xenophon seems to contradict himself: Here he condones brutal treatment of slaves, while earlier he preached kindness and reward as an efficient method of fostering goodwill (see 5.16, 12.5-7, 13.11-12; 5.2.1 above). In the minds of Greek slave-owners it may very well not have been contradictory but rather complementary: Good slave management requires a carrot and a stick, and an eye for a slave's individual weaknesses.	

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the New Testament writers supported such a dual system of reward or incentive and harsh treatment.

Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8.1.43-44**Context:**

Cyropaedia is a pseudo-historical account of the life of Cyrus I the Great (Tuplin 2003:1629-1630). It deals primarily with techniques of military and political leadership.

Passage:

οὓς δ' αὖ κατεσκεύαζεν εἰς τὸ δουλεύειν, τούτους οὔτε μελετᾶν τῶν ἐλευθερίων πόνων οὐδένα παρῶρμα οὔθ' ὅπλα κεκτήσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν· ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἄσιτοι μήτε ἄποτοί ποτε ἔσονται ἐλευθερίων ἔνεκα μελετημάτων. καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε ἐλαύνουσιν τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἵππευσιν εἰς τὰ πεδία, φέρεσθαι σίτον εἰς θήραν τοῦτοις ἐπέτρεπε, τῶν δὲ ἐλευθέρων οὐδενί· καὶ ὅποτε πορεία εἴη, ἦγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ὕδατα ὥσπερ τὰ ὑποζύγια. καὶ ὅποτε δὲ ὥρα εἴη ἀρίστου, ἀνέμενεν αὐτοὺς ἔστ' ἐμφάγοιεν τι, ὥς μὴ βουλιμῶεν· ὥστε καὶ οὗτοι αὐτὸν ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι πατέρα ἐκάλουν, ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο αὐτῶν ὅπως ἀναμφιλόγως αἰεὶ ἀνδράποδα διατελοῖεν.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

On the other hand those he trained to be slaves, he did not encourage through practising the exercises of the freemen, nor did he permit them to possess weapons. But he did take care that they are not at any time without food or drink on account of the freemen's exercises. For even when they drove the animals to the plains for the horsemen, he permitted them to carry food on the hunt, but none of the freemen. And when there was a march, he led them to water like [he did] the animals. And again, when it was time for lunch, he waited until they had eaten something so that they do not suffer from ravenous hunger. And so this class, like the nobles, called him "father", for he cared for them in an unquestionable manner, while they always continued to be slaves.

Interpretation:

Xenophon points to Cyrus' slave management as being directed at their most basic needs for food and drink. Yet a (not so subtle) comparison with animals is also evident. The lesson is that slaves must be treated well as far as basic needs are concerned but no more than that. And the motivation is that this would ensure best service from them.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the writers of the New Testament preached this approach of basic and minimum care for slaves but no more.

Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2.1.16-17**Context:**

Memorabilia is a collection of Socratic dialogues (cf Tuplin 2003:1630). These dialogues deal with matters such as religion, friendship and family, and justice.

Passage:

σκεψώμεθα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, πῶς οἱ δεσπόται τοῖς τοιούτοις οἰκέταις χρῶνται. ἄρα οὐ τὴν μὲν λαγνείαν αὐτῶν τῷ λιμῷ σωφρονίζουσι;

Own translation with grammatical notes:

"But let us examine this carefully: How do owners treat these household slaves? Do they teach them not to have sexual intercourse through starving them? And do they prevent stealing by closing down where

κλέπτειν δὲ κωλύουσιν ἀποκλείοντες ὅθεν ἂν τι λαβεῖν ῆ; τοῦ δὲ δραπτεῦναι δεσμοῖς ἀπειργουσι; τὴν ἀργίαν δὲ πληγαῖς ἐξαναγκάζουσιν; ἢ σὺ πῶς ποιεῖς, ὅταν τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα τοιοῦτον ὄντα καταμανθάνῃς; Κολάζω, ἔφη, πᾶσι κακοῖς, ἕως ἂν δουλεύειν ἀναγκάσω.	there is something to take? And do they keep them from running away with chains? And do they drive out laziness with strokes? Or how do you act when you closely inspect some such properties of the household slaves?" "I punish", he said, "with all bad things, until I force them to serve."
Interpretation: The negative stereotyping of slaves (e.g. slaves are sexually immoral, dishonest, lazy) necessitates harsh treatment as a form of precaution. Enough harsh treatment will in the end lead to obedience.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the authors of the New Testament preached such an approach of harsh treatment based on the negative stereotyping of slaves.	

Plato <i>Leges</i> 777c-778a	
Context: This passage forms part of a section (starting at 777a) dealing with the fact, according to the Athenian, that slaves are not easy property to deal with. He cites as evidence frequent slave revolts and crimes committed by slaves (777b).	
Passage: πρὸς ἃ τις ἂν πάντα βλέψας διαπορήσειε τί χρὴ δρᾶν περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τοιούτων. δύο δὲ λείπεσθον μόνω μηχανά, μήτε πατριώτας ἀλλήλων εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ῥᾶον δουλεύειν, ἀσυμφώνους τε εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα, τρέφειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὀρθῶς, μὴ μόνον ἐκείνων ἔνεκα, πλεον δὲ αὐτῶν προτιμῶντας· ἢ δὲ τροφή τῶν τοιούτων μήτε τινα ὕβριν ὕβριζειν εἰς τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἦπτον δέ, εἰ δυνατόν, ἀδικεῖν ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἴσου. ... κολάζειν γε μὴν ἐν δίκῃ δούλους δεῖ, καὶ μὴ νοουθετοῦντας ὡς ἐλευθέρους θρύπτεσθαι ποιεῖν· τὴν δὲ οἰκέτου πρόσρησιν χρὴ σχεδὸν ἐπίταξιν πᾶσαν γίνεσθαι, μὴ προσπαιζοντας μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς οἰκέταις, μήτ' οὖν θηλείαις μήτε ἄρρεσιν, ἃ δὴ πρὸς δούλους φιλοῦσι πολλοὶ σφόδρα ἀνοήτως θρύπτοντες χαλεπώτερον ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸν βίον ἐκείνοις τε ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἄρχειν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: In respect of this, having seen all, one is at a loss as to what one must do concerning all such matters. Now, only two means remain: Either not to allow them to be fellow countrymen if they serve readily, and not [to be] harmonious in power; or above all to treat them properly, not only on account of them but more out of honour for ourselves. And the nurturing of the same consist of not committing some violence towards the household slaves, and if possible, hurting them even less than our equals. ... At any rate on the one hand we should punish slaves by right [justly] and not by admonishing them to become feeble like freemen. On the other hand an address to household slaves should be more or less entirely command: No joking whatsoever with household slaves, neither female nor male; in fact, many show exceedingly unheard of affection towards slaves, making it more difficult to bring life to perfection, both for those who are ruled and themselves who rule.
Interpretation: The Athenian suggests two means of controlling slaves, namely to control the cohabitation	

of fellow countrymen, or to treat slaves properly. He then warns on the one hand against violence towards slaves exceeding the boundaries of justice, and on the other a too affectionate approach. The ideal of bringing life to perfection is to be found in a balance between these extremes.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the writers of the New Testament adopted this approach of proper treatment in the guidelines they give to slave-owners.

Corpus Aristotelicum *Oikonomika* 1344a-b

Context:

Oikonomika is considered to be a work spuriously attributed to Aristotle (Nussbaum 2003a:166). Aristotle was the first philosopher to undertake economic analysis, stating the principle that material goods are tools of human flourishing (“εὐδαιμονία”) (Nussbaum 2003b:503).

Passages:

Ὅντων δὲ τριῶν, ἔργου καὶ κολάσεως καὶ τροφῆς, τὸ μὲν μήτε κολάζεσθαι, μήτ' ἐργάζεσθαι, τροφήν δ' ἔχειν ὕβριν ἐμποιεῖ· τὸ δὲ ἔργα μὲν ἔχειν καὶ κολάσεις, τροφήν δὲ μή, βίαιον καὶ ἀδυναμίαν ποιεῖ. Λείπεται δὴ ἔργα παρέχειν καὶ τροφήν ἱκανήν· ἀμίσθων γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄρχειν, δοῦλῳ δὲ μισθὸς τροφή.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Three things exist [for slaves]: Work and corporal punishment and food. On the one hand neither to be punished nor to be put to work, but on the other to be provided with food causes [slaves] to indulge in insolence. And to on the one hand have work and [receive] corporal punishment, but on the other not food, produces violence and incapacity. In fact, it remains to provide work and sufficient food. For it is impossible to rule those who are not rewarded, and for a slave food is reward.

Interpretation:

Despite the spurious nature of this passage, Aristotle's economic principle seems clear: Human flourishing is only possible when a slave-owner treats his slaves, and other material goods, properly. Conversely, if he treats his slaves unjustly, his human flourishing will suffer through violence and incapacity. The manner in which to achieve this goal is through work and punishment for work not (well) done, and food as reward for work (well) done.

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

It is necessary to determine whether the writers of the New Testament adopted such an economic approach to slave management.

The treatment of slaves among Greeks was governed by the necessity of reward or incentive on the one hand, and punishment on the other hand.

- The reward or incentive dangled in front of slaves was provision for their most basic needs, such as food and drink. Yet an overly friendly approach to one's slaves was discouraged.
- Disobedience led to punishment, sometimes even of a harsh nature. Yet punishment was, at least theoretically, delimited to what is just.

The limitations placed on the extremes of overly affectionate relations and unjust punishments suggest a balanced “middle of the road” approach to slave management and treatment.

5.4 GRECO-ROMAN TREATMENT OF SLAVES

Seneca <i>Ad Lucilium epistulae morales</i> 47.1, 5, 11	
Context: The <i>Epistulae Morales</i> comprises 124 letters written towards the end of Seneca's life (Reynolds <i>et al</i> 2003:97). They are addressed, at least nominally, to Gaius Lucilius Iunior, who may have been a Stoic philosopher, and follow the form of Epicurus' philosophical letters. Topics addressed are philosophical, literary, linguistic, and social in nature (Duff <i>et al</i> 2003:888). The passages quoted below come from a letter dealing with the relationship between Lucilius and his slaves.	
Passages: 1. Libenter ex iis qui a te veniunt cognovi familiariter te cum servis tuis vivere: hoc prudentiam tuam, hoc eruditionem decet. 'Servi sunt.' Immo homines. 'Servi sunt.' Immo contubernales. 'Servi sunt.' Immo humiles amici. 'Servi sunt.' Immo conservi, si cogitaveris tantundem in utrosque licere fortunae. 5. Deinde eiusdem arrogantiae proverbium iactatur, totidem hostes esse quot servos: non habemus illos hostes sed facimus. 11. Nolo in ingentem me locum immittere et de usu servorum disputare, in quos superbissimi, crudelissimi, contumeliosissimi sumus. Haec tamen praecepti mei summa est: sic cum inferiore vivas quemadmodum tecum superiorem velis vivere.	Own translation with grammatical notes: 1. I was pleased to learn from those who come from you that you live in a familial way with your slaves: It befits your prudence and skill. "They are slaves!" On the contrary, [they are] human beings. "They are slaves!" On the contrary, [they are] comrades. "They are slaves!" On the contrary, [they are] humble friends. "They are slaves!" On the contrary, [they are] fellow-slaves, if one reasons that fortune grants just as much in either direction. 5. Next, a proverb of this arrogance is thrown about: "So many enemies you have as you have are slaves." We do not acquire these enemies, but we make them. 11. I refuse to allow myself into this enormous topic and to argue about the use of slaves, towards whom we are excessively arrogant, cruel, and abusive. Nevertheless, here is my highest precept: "Treat your inferiors as you would be treated by your superiors."
Interpretation: In his treatment of slaves, Seneca displays typical Stoic ideas (cf 4.3.4 above), namely that all humans are equal, and thus entitled to equal treatment. Slaves do not display enmity towards their owners by nature, but enmity is fostered by an owner's harsh treatment. He describes Roman slave-owners, obviously generalising in doing so, as arrogant, cruel, and abusive towards their slaves. The basis of proper treatment of slaves should, according to Seneca, rather be that you treat all people equally and that you put yourself in the shoes of the other person.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament exhorted slave-owners to such equality in treatment of subjects and superiors.	

Cicero <i>De Officiis</i> 1.13.41	
Context: <i>De Officiis</i> was Cicero's last work (Simon & Obbink 2003:1563). It ostensibly offers advice on a range of problems of conduct, based on Stoic precepts and particularly the teachings of Panaetius, a Stoic philosopher of the second century BC (cf Inwood 2003b:1104). This passage appears at the end of a section dealing with duties connected to war.	
Passage:	Own translation with grammatical notes:

Meminerimus autem etiam adversus infimos iustitiam esse servandam. Est autem infima condicio et fortuna servorum, quibus non male praecipunt, qui ita iubent uti, ut mercennariis, operam exigendam, iusta praebenda.	Moreover, let us remember to preserve justice even towards the lowest. Now the lowest state and fortune are those of slaves, [and] they give us no bad advice who so bid us how: As [alt. like] paid employees, they must complete the work [and] they must be allowed their dues.
Interpretation: The preservation of justice is paramount, even in war. Cicero extends the principle to the owners' treatment of their slaves which should be analogous to that of a paid employee: The employee is duty-bound to complete the work, and the employer is duty-bound to pay the employee his dues.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: It is necessary to determine whether the New Testament authors taught such an analogy to paid employees in their teachings to slave-owners.	

Cicero De Officiis 2.8.24	
Context: This passage appears in a section dealing with love as the only effective tool to achieve and retain influence. Cicero contrasts love with fear which only fuels the hatred of people, as Julius Caesar found to his cost.	
Passages: Sed iis, qui vi oppressos imperio coercent, sit sane adhibenda saevitia, ut eris in famulos, si aliter teneri non possunt...	Own translation with grammatical notes: But those who restrain by forceful oppression would of course bring to bear severity, for example an owner upon his slave, if [the slave] cannot be controlled otherwise...
Interpretation: The use of force, which breeds fear among subjects, necessitates severity. It is true of the state and its subjects, but also of a slave-owner and his slave.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: It needs to be determined whether the New Testament authors taught slave-owners severity, in preference to love, in the treatment of slaves.	

Varro De re rustica 1.17.3	
Context: Varro (116-27 BC) studied literature at Rome and philosophy at Athens (Kaster 2003:1582). His works combined methodical analysis and original learning on nearly every field of study. <i>De re rustica</i> , written in 37 BC, is a treatise on farming with entertainment as subsidiary goal. It deals with agriculture in general (book 1), cattle and sheep breeding (book 2), and smaller farm animals (book 3). This passage forms part of a section dealing with the means of tilling the land. Varro's sub-division of these means is two-fold: Men, and the instruments without which men cannot cultivate the land. The instruments are further sub-divided into the articulate namely slaves, the inarticulate namely cattle, and the mute namely vehicles.	
Passage: Mancipia esse oportere neque formidulosa neque animosa.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Slaves should be neither fearful nor courageous.
Interpretation: As far as the articulate instruments, or slaves, are concerned, Varro indicates their ideal attitude, at least from the point of view of the slave-owner: Neither fearful nor courageous. Varro seems to suggest a balanced approach to the treatment of slaves: Not too harsh so as to induce fear and render them useless, and not too lenient so as to induce courage and subsequent disobedience.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New	

Testament:

The question is whether the New Testament writers preached such a balanced approach in the treatment of slaves to slave-owners.

Petronius *Satiricon* 10.75

Context:

Petronius Arbiter, who died a suicidal death in 66 AD, wrote *Satiricon*, the style and factual detail of which can be dated to the reign of emperor Nero (Harrison 2003:1149). The work is a critical parody of Greco-Roman literature and culture. This quotation is from Volume 2 entitled "The dinner of Trimalchio", in the style of the comic meal in Roman satire (Harrison 2003:1150).

Passage:

Tamen ad delicias ipsimi annos quattuordecim fui. Nec turpe est, quod dominus iubet. Ego tamen et ipsimae satis faciebam. Scitis quid dicam: taceo, quia non sum de gloriosis.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

Nevertheless, I was my master's darling [alt. mistress] for fourteen years. And there is no disgrace in the fact that [your] owner commands [you]. Yet I also satisfied my owner's wife. I say this judiciously: I say nothing because I am not of the boastful [kind].

Interpretation:

This text provides evidence of the sexual abuse of slaves, both male and female. Imaginative literature such as this must be read with caution and must preferably be verified against other kinds of evidence (Harrill 1998:29). Yet the preponderance of evidence supports the factuality of this text (cf Saller 1987:72). In Greco-Roman society slaves were the victims of their owners' sexual desires. But owners also abused their slaves sexually to avoid Roman laws pertaining to succession. The abuse of slaves as objects of sexual gratification by their owners, both male and female, was considered as one of the prerogatives of ownership (Bradley 1994:28).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the New Testament authors condoned the sexual abuse of slaves.

Marcus Aurelius Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν 1.17.7

Context:

Marcus Aurelius was emperor in Rome from 161 to 180 AD (Birley 2003:219). He is most famous for his intimate notebook recording his own reflections on human life and the ways of the gods (Rutherford 2003:220). His thoughts closest resemble those of the Stoic Epictetus. The first book, from which this passage is quoted, contains a list of relatives and teachers who taught him valuable lessons of life. In paragraph 17 he lists what he owes the gods.

Passage:

τὸ μῆτε Βενεδίκτης ἄψασθαι μῆτε Θεοδότου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν ἐρωτικοῖς πάθεσι γένόμενον ὑγιᾶναι·

Own translation with grammatical notes:

That I touched neither Benedicta nor Theodotos, but also afterwards, having fallen into sexual cravings, I was cured.

Interpretation:

Marcus Aurelius owes to the gods the fact that he never touched or, maybe more accurately, availed himself of two slaves in his possession. Indeed, the gods cured him of his sexual cravings. He certainly had the power to sexually (ab)use the slaves, one female and one male. But he considered it a spiritual victory not to have caved in to his cravings notwithstanding the opportunity to do so (cf Bradley 1994:28). This conforms to the Stoic idea that man must not be slave to his bodily cravings (see 4.3.4 above).

Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament:

The question is whether the writers of the New Testament emulated Marcus Aurelius'

spiritual attitude as an exhortation to slave-owners to respect their slaves sexually.
--

In Greco-Roman society one found the Stoic viewpoint of slave management, namely that all human beings, including slaves, are equal and thus entitled to equal treatment based on love. This may even extend to the treatment of slaves as paid employees. Generally, the treatment of slaves is described as arrogant, cruel, abusive, and fear-driven. From an economic point of view slave management must be a balancing act between overly harsh and overly friendly treatment. Using slaves sexually was common and not perceived as abuse; it is criticised only in the rarest of cases.

5.5 JEWISH TREATMENT OF SLAVES

Philo *De specialibus legibus* 2.66-68

Context:

Philo operated within the Greek philosophical framework, yet the sole authority of the law of Moses was fundamental to him (Rajak 2003:1167). His ethics tended towards Stoicism but he considered true morality to be imitation of God. In *De specialibus legibus* Philo attempts to systematise the laws of the Torah in conformity with the Ten Commandments.

Passage:

ἀλλ' ἔοικε διὰ τοὺς ἀπειθεστέρους καὶ ἥκιστα προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν τοῖς προσταπτομένοις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προσνομοθετεῖν, οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀνέχειν ἔργων ἀξιῶν ταῖς ἐβδόμαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ θεραπαίναις ἐφείεις, ἁδειαὶ καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν δι' ἑξ ἡμερῶν προκηρύττων τούτοις, ἵν' ἀμφοτέρους ἀναδιδάξῃ μάθημα κάλλιστον· τοὺς μὲν δεσπότης αὐτουργεῖν ἐθίζεσθαι, μὴ ἀναμένοντας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν λατρείας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας... τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας μὴ ἀπογινώσκειν τὰς ἀμείνους ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ἔχοντας τὴν δι' ἑξ ἡμερῶν ἄνεσιν ἐμπύρευμά τι καὶ ζώπυρον ἐλευθερίας τὴν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἄφεσιν, εἰ διαμένοιεν χρηστοὶ καὶ φιλοδέσποτοι, προσδοκᾶν. ἐκ δὲ [...], συμβήσεται τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς ἀρετὴν τελειοτάτην, ὑπομιμνησκομένων ἰσότητος καὶ ἀντεκτινόντων ἀλλήλοις χρέος ἀναγκαῖον τῶν τε λαμπρῶν εἶναι δοκούντων καὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

But it seems likely that it was on account of the disobedient and those who were the least inclined to attend to what was commanded, that he [Moses] gave additional laws, not only that freemen should cease worthy works on the seventh day, but also that [their] male and female servants be allowed [the same], proclaiming to them – not only freemen – [a day of] freedom every six days, so that both [classes] may be better taught the finest lesson: So that on the one hand owners may become accustomed to working with their own hand, not waiting for the duties and services performed by the household slaves... and on the other hand [so that] the household slaves may not despair of better expectations but have relaxation every six days as a kind of kindling and spark of freedom, expecting complete relaxation if they should continue and love their owners. And from [this], it will follow that the life of mankind progresses towards perfect excellence, they being reminded of equality and repaying each other with necessary services, both those of high and those of obscure status.

Interpretation: Philo reiterates that slave-owners must, in terms of the fourth commandment, also allow their slaves the relaxation of the Sabbath. He teaches that this commandment contains a fine lesson for both owners and slaves: Owners must learn to sometimes work with their own hands, and the Sabbath must serve to foster the expectation of freedom in slaves. It seems that Philo refers here to eventual manumission in return for loyalty and obedience. He concludes that the fourth commandment puts into practice the principles of equality of man and reciprocity between men, typical of Stoic philosophy (see 4.3.4 above).
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: The question is whether the writers of the New Testament also placed the Torah in the context of equality and reciprocity when addressing slave-owners.

Philo De specialibus legibus 3.137	
Context: This passage forms part of a greater section dealing with laws on murderers. The immediate context deals with the killing of slaves.	
Passage: Θεράποντες τύχη μὲν ἐλάττονι κέχρηται, φύσεως δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς μεταποιοῦνται τοῖς δεσπότηαις. τῷ δὲ θεῷ νόμῳ κανὼν τῶν δικαίων ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐναρμόνιον. διὸ προσήκει τοὺς κυρίους μὴ κατακόρως χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἐξουσίαις κατὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀλαζονείαν καὶ ὑπεροψίαν καὶ δεινὴν ὠμότητα ἐπιδεικνυμένους· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δείγματα ψυχῆς εἰρηνικῆς ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀκραςίας τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον ζηλούσης κατὰ τυραννικὴν δυναστείαν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: Slaves are on the one hand by fortune necessarily inferior, but on the other they lay claim to the same nature as [their] owners. And according to divine law harmony in the rules of justice does not originate from fortune but from nature. On account of which it befits the owners not to use the powers over [their] household slaves immoderately, showing off their false pretences and contempt and awful cruelty. For such [conduct] is not evidence of a peaceful inner being but, borne out of ill-temperance, of unaccountability for coveting after tyrannical power.
Interpretation: Philo describes the nature of slaves, displaying the dichotomy described in 4.4 above: On the one hand applied agreement with a natural theory of slavery, yet on the other explicit opposition to it. The principle of equality dominates and this must encourage slave-owners to treat their slaves moderately rather than with extreme harshness. Consequently, a slave-owner may be held liable if he kills his own slave intentionally.	
Relevance for the interpretation of exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament: It is necessary to determine whether the New Testament authors acted as precursors to Philo's encouragement of moderate treatment of slaves.	

According to Philo, Jewish slave-owners were duty-bound by the Law of Moses to put into practice the principles of equality and reciprocity in their treatment of their slaves. He considers these principles as being crucial to the spiritual growth of both owner and slave, much like Marcus Aurelius (see 5.2.2 above). In practice these principles would lead to the moderate treatment of slaves by their owners. One must bear in mind, however, that Philo describes the ideal rather than necessarily reality (cf Harrill 1998:28).

5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Greek treatment of slaves	Greco-Roman treatment of slaves	Jewish treatment of slaves
The treatment of slaves among Greeks was governed by the necessity of reward or incentive and punishment. This approach was true to the Greeks' economic outlook on slavery and slave management: Both reward and punishment was aimed at increased economic benefit to the owner. Slave-owners were encouraged to seek a balance between reward and punishment, avoiding too friendly an approach and unjust treatment.	Despite the negative stereotyping of slaves in Greco-Roman society, slave-owners were encouraged, based on Stoic philosophy, to treat their slaves humanely, for all human beings are equal. Yet, the treatment of slaves during this period is described as arrogant, cruel, abusive, and fear-driven. The Greco-Romans endeavoured to find the same balance as the Greeks: A midway between overly harsh and overly friendly/familial treatment.	Philo interpreted the fourth commandment as an injunction to Jewish slave-owners to treat their slaves according to the principles of equality and reciprocity. In practice these principles would lead to the moderate treatment of slaves by their owners, and to spiritual growth for both owner and slave. Furthermore, he envisages eventual manumission.

5.7 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter aimed to construct the attitude of slave-owners, whether real or idealised, towards their slaves and their treatment. In order to achieve this aim, relevant passages from Greek, Roman and Jewish sources were identified by way of the search filter developed in chapter 2, and the identified passages were analysed and interpreted. In the analysis and interpretation of these sources, the pitfalls of using these sources (described in 1.4.3) were optimally avoided. The results of this process of analysis and interpretation have been used as socio-historic context when studying the relevant New Testament passages in chapter 6.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing analysis and interpretation:

- Slave management as a field of study was designed to entrench the slave-owner's power and authority over his slaves while encouraging the slaves to work productively, loyally and honestly. Owners were warned to be loose their grip on power through too lenient treatment of their slaves. These aims of slave management always took precedence over the interests of the slaves.
- In Greek and Greco-Roman society the treatment of slaves depended on a system of reward and punishment. The ratio of reward to punishment in specific instances probably varied greatly from slave-owner to slave-owner. Negative stereotyping of slaves

as cunning, dishonest, disloyal was common, despite the efforts of Stoic philosophy to proclaim the equality of all men.

- Disobedience led to punishment, sometimes even of a harsh nature. Yet punishment was, at least theoretically, delimited to what is just. This was especially true in the case of Jewish society where proper treatment of slaves was linked directly to the Law of Moses, and was thus divinely enacted. A Jewish slave-owner, who did not adhere to the principles of equality and reciprocity in his relations with his slaves, sinned against the God of the Jews.

This chapter poses the following question: Where do the writers of the New Testament find themselves, relative to their contemporaries, when exhorting Christian slave-owners on the treatment of their slaves? Formulated differently: Were the writers of the New Testament influenced in their exhortations to slave-owners by the wisdom of the day on the matter? These questions have been answered after exegesis of the relevant exhortations in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6

THE NEW TESTAMENT ON THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVE-OWNERS

Abridged table of contents

6.1	INTRODUCTION	154
6.2	DIRECT EXHORTATIONS TO SLAVE-OWNERS.....	155
6.3	EXHORTATIONS TO SLAVE-OWNERS IMPLIED IN THE EXHORTATIONS TO SLAVES	165
6.4	DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CONDUCT OF SLAVE-OWNERS AND OTHERS TOWARDS SLAVES	180
6.5	REVELATION HISTORICAL SUMMARY	200
6.6	SOCIAL SEPARATION AND ACCULTURATION WITHIN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES.....	203
6.7	CHAPTER SUMMARY	211
6.8	CONCLUSIONS	212

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to interpret the New Testament exhortations to slave-owners. In order to achieve this aim, the following relevant passages from the New Testament were identified for analysis and interpretation:

Category	Scriptural passages
Direct exhortations to slave-owners	Eph 6:9; Col 4:1; Phlm 1-25.
Exhortations to slave-owners implied in the exhortations to slaves	1 Cor 7:21-23; Eph 6:5-8; Col 3:22-25; 1 Tim 6:1-2b; Titus 2:9-10; 1 Pet 2:18-25.
The conduct of slave-owners as phenomenon	Mt 8:5-13 ⁶³ ; 10:24-25 ⁶⁴ ; 24:45-51 ⁶⁵ ; 25:14-30 ⁶⁶ ; Luke 16:1-8; 17:7-10; John 8:35; Acts 12:13-16.

The first category (exhortations to slave-owners) appears in two contexts in the New Testament. Firstly, Paul⁶⁷ describes in a personal letter Philemon's new relationship

⁶³ Also see Luke 7:1-10.

⁶⁴ Compare John 13:16 and 15:20.

⁶⁵ Also see Luke 12:35-48.

⁶⁶ Also see Luke 19:11-27.

in Christ with his slave Onesimus in a very direct manner. Secondly, direct exhortations to slave-owners are contained in the household codes in Ephesians and Colossians. Slave-owners are explicitly exhorted to adopt an attitude regarding their slaves testifying to the fact that they themselves stand in a living relationship with Christ as their “Owner”.

The second category (exhortations to slave-owners implied in the exhortations to slaves) appears in the household codes contained in Ephesians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, Titus, and 1 Peter. This category also contains the exhortation by Paul to slaves in 1 Corinthians 7:21. The third category (the conduct of slave-owners as phenomenon) appears in the miracles and parables of Jesus Christ. In these cases the rights and duties of the slave-owner and slave, or certain aspects of it, becomes evident.

These passages have been studied by way of philological analysis. A philological study is a study of ancient texts by way of language analysis within the relevant texts’ socio-historical context (Goede 2006:6). However, such a study does not exclude the use of linguistic methodological principles and methods within a primarily philological enquiry, depending upon the nature of the ancient text in question. A philological analysis of the New Testament text is also compatible with the grammatico-historical method of exegesis described by De Klerk and Janse van Rensburg (2005) and which will form the basis of the analysis and interpretation in this chapter.⁶⁸ In the analysis and interpretation of these passages, the pitfalls of using ancient texts described in 1.4.3 are borne in mind. The results of this process of analysis and interpretation are used as basis for a comparison of the passages analysed and interpreted in chapters 3, 4, and 5.

The chapter deals with these New Testament passages category by category and concludes with a discussion on the apparently more conservative exhortations directed at slaves in the later New Testament writings in the context of separation and acculturation, and a chapter summary.

6.2 DIRECT EXHORTATIONS TO SLAVE-OWNERS

6.2.1 Ephesians 6:9

Ephesians 6:9 (UBS ⁴ 1994)	
Pericope: ⁹ Καὶ οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀνιέντες τὴν ἀπειλήν, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν	Own translation with grammatical notes: ⁹ And owners, do the same to them, giving up threatening, knowing that both their and your Lord is in [the] heavens and regard for

⁶⁷ The Pauline authorship of Philemon is generally accepted (Roberts 1984:117). The Pauline authorship of Ephesians and Colossians are however disputed by many scholars, as is that of the Pastoral Epistles. For the purposes of my study I accept that Paul was the author of all these letters.

⁶⁸ The extent of the application of the method described by De Klerk and Janse van Rensburg (2005) to each passage is determined by the relevance of each exegetical step to the interpretation of that specific passage. The relevant interpretation of each passage does not necessarily need a full exegetical analysis.

καὶ ὑμῶν ὁ κύριός ἐστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ προσωποληψία οὐκ ἔστιν παρ' αὐτῷ.	persons [partiality] is not with Him.
Placement of the pericope in the book:¹ 1. Letter Opening (1:1-23) 1.1 Address (1:1-2) 1.2 Blessing (1:3-14) 1.3 Thanksgiving (1:15-23) 2. Letter Body (2:1–6:20) 2.1 Affirmations about the mystery of Christ (2:1–3:21) 2.1.1 Resurrection and reconciliation (2:1-22) 2.1.2 Paul's stewardship of God's grace (3:1-13) 2.1.3 Prayer and doxology (3:14-21) 2.2 Exhortations to lead a Christian life (4:1–6:20) 2.2.1 Fundamental exhortations (4:1-24) 2.2.1.1 Maintain the unity of the Spirit (4:1-16) 2.2.1.2 Put off the old nature (4:17-22) 2.2.1.3 Put on the new nature (4:23-24) 2.2.2 Specific exhortations (4:25–6:9) 2.2.2.1 Various topics (4:25–5:20) 2.2.2.2 Life in the household (5:21–6:9) 2.2.2.2.1 Husband and wife (5:21-33) 2.2.2.2.2 Parents and children (6:1-4) 2.2.2.2.3 Owners and slaves (6:5-9) ← 2.2.3 Concluding exhortations (6:10-20) 2.2.3.1 Put on the whole armor of God (6:10-17) 2.2.3.2 Pray in the Spirit (6:18-20) 3. Letter Closing (6:21-24) 3.1 Commendation of Tychicus (6:21-22) 3.2 Benediction (6:23-24) Ephesians 6:9 forms part of a larger pericope (2.2.2.2.3: 6:5-9) dealing with the relationship between slave-owners and slaves, which in turn forms part of a larger section (2.2.2.2: 5:2–6:9) dealing with life in the household. These specific exhortations are rooted in the fundamental exhortations (2.2.1: 4:1-24), which in turn are rooted in the affirmations regarding Christ (2.1: 2:1–3:21). Paul writes this epistle with the universal headship of Christ as main theme (Eph 1:10; cf Furnish 1996b). The headship of Christ necessitates unity in his body, the church (4:3). And this pericope teaches slave-owners how this unity should also become evident in their relationship with their slaves. The guiding principle for life in the household is stated in Ephesians 5:21: ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ ("Submit to one another in reverence to Christ"). It provides the Christological grounding of the relationship between husband and wife, parents and children, and owner and slave. ¹) Cf Furnish (1996b).	
Genre of the pericope and of the book: The genre of this pericope, and the larger section within which it appears (5:21–6:9), is household codes. ⁶⁹	

⁶⁹ The household codes in the New Testament comprise Eph 5:21–6:9, Col 3:18–4:1; 1 Tim 2:8-15; 5:1-2; 6:1-2; Tit 2:1-10; 3:1; 1 Pet 2:11–3:12. These codes outline the duties and responsibilities of individuals in the proper or ideal management of their private relationships i.e. those between husband and wife, parents and children, and owners and slaves (Balch 1996). Opinions on the origins of the form of these codes range from the Stoics and Jewish moral teaching to Aristotle. As far as the New Testament codes are concerned, they certainly contain a greater or lesser degree of Christological grounding,

Analysis of the thought structure of the pericope:**Basic exhortation to slave-owners**

Καὶ οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς,

↳ **Required change in treatment**

ἀνιέντες τὴν ἀπειλήν,

↳ **First basis for change**

εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ὁ κύριός ἐστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς

↳ **Second basis for change**

καὶ προσωποληψία οὐκ ἔστιν παρ' αὐτῷ.

Socio-historic context of the pericope:

The pericope (in its broader textual context) suggests clearly that the membership of early Christian congregations consisted of both slave-owners and slaves. There were also Jews and non-Jews among the congregants, leading to primarily Christian thought influenced by Jewish and Hellenistic Greek thought (cf Furnish 1996b). The relationship between a slave-owner and his slave during the first century AD was first and foremost a legal relationship with very little or no room for reciprocity, as was evidenced in chapters 3 and 5 above. Paul recognises this legal relationship (cf Garnsey 1996:176).

Word study of important concepts in the pericope:

κύριος: According to Louw and Nida (1996) κύριος may reference:

- an owner of property, and more specifically slaves (domain 57A Have, possess, property, owner);
- a ruler (domain 37D Rule, govern);
- a form of address to a person who is an owner or rule (domain 87C High status or rank).

In the context, however, it refers to the title for God and Christ namely Lord (domain 12A Supernatural beings). Yet a subtle irony is also apparent: The slave-owner who is lord over his slave must realise that he himself is property of the Lord Jesus Christ (cf Glancy [2006:141] on the wordplay with κύριος).

Revelation historical context of the pericope:⁷⁰

Ephesians 6:9 must be read in conjunction with 5:21: ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ... (Submitting to one another in reverence of Christ...). Thus owner and slave should submit to one another because they both revere Christ as their Lord. There should consequently be no barrier caused by each other's legal or social status within the fellowship of believers.

Revelation about God in the pericope

God, in the Person of the Son, does not favour one over the other, irrespective of differences in class and status. The Son is further κύριος over the slave-owner as the slave-owner is κύριος over his slave.

Salvific facts in the pericope:

The title ὁ κύριος implies Christ's Lordship over those who believe in Him. His Lordship was confirmed by his deeds of salvation on the cross and by his resurrection, and especially the fact that He redeemed with his precious blood all believers to become his possessions (cf

especially evident in Ephesians 5:21–6:9. The codes function both as apologetic instruments against heresy and positive professions of faith, emphasising social duty in a secular society (Balch 1996).

⁷⁰ The pericopes analysed in this chapter are all interrelated as far as the topic of the slave-owner's rights and duties in respect of his slaves is concerned. This interrelation has been expounded in 6.5 below.

1 Pet 1:18-19). In this title the salvific facts proclaimed by the Gospels are recognised and professed.

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

Slave-owners are exhorted to submit to their slaves in reverence to Christ (5:21) and to therefore exhibit the same attitude as that required of slaves in 6:5-8 (see 6.3.2 below), to refrain from threatening their slaves, and to be reminded of the fact that as owner and slave they serve the same, impartial Lord. They should therefore model their relationship with their slaves on the relationship they, as slaves of the Lord Jesus, experience with him as their κύριος.

The communication aim of the pericope:

Through this pericope the Holy Spirit motivates slave-owners to treat their slaves in a manner which is consistent with Christ's Lordship over them.

Summary interpretation:

While acknowledging the legal relationship between slave-owner and slave, Paul places it in the context of a spiritual unity in Christ, as is evidenced by the reference to ὁ κύριος. Knowledge of this spiritual unity necessitates changes in believing slave-owners' treatment of their slaves, namely to refrain from threatening them, but to mirror the relationship they, as slaves of the Lord Jesus, experience with Him as their κύριος.

6.2.2 Colossians 4:1

Colossians 4:1 (UBS⁴ 1994)

Pericope:

¹ Οἱ κύριοι, τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα τοῖς δούλοις παρέχεσθε, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔχετε κύριον ἐν οὐρανῷ.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

¹ Owners, show what is right and fair to [your] slaves, knowing that also you have an Owner in heaven.

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

1. Letter opening (1:1-8)
 - 1.1 Address (1:1-2)
 - 1.2 Thanksgiving (1:3-8)
2. Letter body (1:9-4:6)
 - 2.1 Affirmations of the apostolic gospel (1:9-2:7)
 - 2.1.1 Introductory prayer for the knowledge of God (1:9-12)
 - 2.1.2 Affirmation of Christ's role in salvation (1:13-23)
 - 2.1.2.1 Introductory affirmation (1:13-14)
 - 2.1.2.2 Hymn in praise of Christ (1:15-20)
 - 2.1.2.3 Appeal to remain faithful to Paul's gospel (1:21-23)
 - 2.1.3 Affirmation of Paul's role (1:24-2:5)
 - 2.1.4 Summary exhortation (2:6-7)
 - 2.2 Warnings about false teachers (2:8-23)
 - 2.2.1 General warning about "human tradition" (2:8)
 - 2.2.2 Affirmations in support of the warning (2:9-15)
 - 2.2.3 Specific warnings about worthless regulations (2:16-23)
 - 2.3 Exhortations to lead a Christian life (3:1-4:6)
 - 2.3.1 Fundamental appeals (3:1-17)
 - 2.3.1.1 Seek the things that are above (3:1-4)
 - 2.3.1.2 Put off the old nature (3:5-11)
 - 2.3.1.3 Put on the new nature (3:12-17)
 - 2.3.2 Counsels about everyday life (3:18-4:6)
 - 2.3.2.1 The household (3:18-4:1)
 - 2.3.2.1.1 Wives and husbands (3:18-19)
 - 2.3.2.1.2 Children and parents (3:20-21)
 - 2.3.2.1.3 **Slaves and owners** (3:22-4:1) ←
 - 2.3.2.2 Prayer (4:2-4)

2.3.2.3 Outsiders (4:5-6)

3. Letter closing (4:7-18)
 - 3.1 News and greetings of Paul's associates (4:7-14)
 - 3.2 Concerning the church in Laodicea (4:15-16)
 - 3.3 Concerning Archippus (4:17)
 - 3.4 Autograph conclusion and benediction (4:18)

This pericope forms a unit with 3:22-25 (2.3.2.1.3) and forms part of a greater section on household relationships (2.3.2.1). The exhortations contained in 2.3.2.1 (and thus also 4:1) are rooted in the fundamental appeals contained in 2.3.1, which are in turn rooted in the affirmation of Christ's role in salvation in 2.1.2.

As is the case in the Epistle to the Ephesians, the headship of Christ based on his work of salvation (1:14) is affirmed (especially in 1:15-20). This implies communion with Christ in his death and resurrection (2:6–3:4). And this communion leads to a change in lifestyle (3:5-17) for the believer, also in his relationship with his slaves.

¹⁾ Cf Furnish (1996a).

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

The pericope forms part of the genre known as the household codes. See 5.2.1 above.

Analysis of the thought structure of the pericope:**Basic exhortation to slave-owners**

Οἱ κύριοι, τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα τοῖς δούλοις παρέχεσθε,

↳ **Basis for basic exhortation**

εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔχετε κύριον ἐν οὐρανῷ.

Socio-historic context of the pericope:

Paul writes this letter in response to false teachings in or close to the congregation in Colossae (cf Furnish 1996a). These false teachings involved an overemphasis of ascetic practises (2:18, 23) and the worshipping of the angels and other natural elements in preference to Christ (2:8, 18, 20), with the aim of attaining the full knowledge of God (cf Furnish 1996a). One may again assume that both slave-owners and slaves numbered among the congregants, and that their relationship was primarily ordered by law (see chapter 3) rather than any spiritual bond in Christ. Paul recognises this legal relationship. This pericope may have been prompted by changes in slaves' behaviour on the basis of Paul's words in Colossians 3:11: ὅπου οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἑλλήν καὶ Ἰουδαίῳ, περιτομῇ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθη, δούλος, ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλὰ [τὰ] πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός ("Here there is not Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free; but Christ is all, and in all") (cf Glancy 2006:141-142). The wording of the pericope may also have been influenced by the fact that Onesimus, Philemon's slave, accompanied Tychicus, the letter-bearer (cf Moo 2008:298, 314).

Word study of important concepts in the pericope:

On κύριος see 5.2.1 above.

Revelation historical context of the pericope:

Colossians 4:1 must be read in conjunction with Paul's description of the church as the chosen people of God, loved by Him (3:12), whether slave or free. Members of God's chosen people should be compassionate, kind, humble, gentle and patient, showing forgiveness, and loving one another (3:13-14). The revelation historical thread culminates in the unification of all believers under the headship of Christ, whether slave or free (cf Glancy [2006:141] on the wordplay with κύριος).

Revelation about God in the pericope:

God enters into personal relationships with his children through Christ. These relationships are not determined by status or rank but by his love. Christ is further κύριος over the slave-owner, as the slave-owner is κύριος over his slave.

Salvific facts in the pericope:

The title ὁ κύριος implies Christ's Lordship over those who believe in Him. His Lordship was confirmed by his deeds of salvation on the cross and by his resurrection and especially the fact that He redeemed with his precious blood all believers to become his possessions (cf 1 Pet 1:18-19). In this title the salvific facts proclaimed by the Gospels are recognised and professed.

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

Slave-owners are exhorted to treat their slaves justly and fairly by not demanding of them what is contrary to a Christian lifestyle. Glancy (2006:144) refers specifically to sexual exploitation confronting a believing slave with the choice between obedience to his owner and sexual purity.

The communication aim of the pericope:

Through this pericope the Holy Spirit motivates slave-owners to treat their slaves in a manner which is consistent with Christ's Lordship over them.

Summary interpretation:

While recognising the legal relationship between slave-owner and slave, Paul points toward the spiritual bond between believing slave-owner and slave in Christ. Their interpersonal relationship should reflect their individual relationship with the very same ὁ κύριος. Furthermore, the slave owners' relationship with their slaves should mirror the relationship they, as slaves of the Lord Jesus, experience with him as their κύριος.

6.2.3 Philemon 8-22

Philemon 8-22 (UBS⁴ 1994)

Pericope:

⁸ Διὸ πολλὴν ἐν Χριστῷ παρρησίαν ἔχων ἐπιτάσσειν σοι τὸ ἀνῆκον ⁹ διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην μᾶλλον παρακαλῶ, τοιοῦτος ὢν ὡς Παῦλος πρεσβύτης νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ· ¹⁰ παρακαλῶ σε περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου, ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς, Ὀνήσιμον, ¹¹ τὸν ποτὲ σοι ἄχρηστον νυνὶ δὲ [καὶ] σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ εὐχρηστον, ¹² ὃν ἀνέπεμψά σοι, αὐτόν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχνα· ¹³ ὃν ἐγὼ ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν κατέχειν, ἵνα ὑπὲρ σοῦ μοι διακονῇ ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ¹⁴ χωρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης οὐδὲν ἠθέλησα ποιῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ ὡς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τὸ ἀγαθόν σου ᾗ ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἐκούσιον. ¹⁵ τάχα γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐχωρίσθη πρὸς ὥραν, ἵνα αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἀπέχης, ¹⁶ οὐκέτι ὡς δοῦλον ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ δοῦλον, ἀδελφὸν ἀγαπητόν, μάλιστα ἐμοί, πόσω δὲ μᾶλλον σοὶ καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ ἐν κυρίῳ. ¹⁷ Εἰ οὖν με ἔχεις κοινωνόν, προσλαβοῦ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐμέ. ¹⁸ εἰ δέ τι ἡδίκησέν σε ἢ ὀφείλει, τοῦτο

Own translation with grammatical notes:

⁸ Therefore, although I have much confidence in Christ to command you [to do] what is proper, ⁹ for the sake of love I rather appeal to you – I am such, Paul, now an old man and also a prisoner of Christ Jesusⁱ. ¹⁰ I appeal to you concerning my son, whom I begot in chains, namely Onesimus. ¹¹ Formerly he was useless to you, but now he is useful to both you and me, ¹² whom I have sent back to you, him, that is: my own heart. ¹³ I would have liked to keep him with me so that he could serve me in your stead in chains for the sake of the gospel. ¹⁴ But I did not want to do anything without your consent, so that your good [deed] is not [performed] because of pressure but because of [your] own free will. ¹⁵ For perhaps because of this he was separated [from you] for a short period of time so that you may receive him in full for good ¹⁶ – not any longer as a slave but as more than a slave, as a beloved brother - especially to me, but even more to you both in body [as a human being] and in the Lord. ¹⁷ Therefore, if you consider me a partner, welcome him as you would me. ¹⁸ And if he wronged you in any way, or is in debt, charge it to me. ¹⁹ I, Paul, I wrote with my own hand: I will pay damages. So that I do not say to you that you also owe yourself to me. ²⁰ Indeed, brother, let me benefit from you in the Lord. Refresh my heart in Christ. ²¹ Depending upon your obedience, I wrote to

ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγα. ¹⁹ ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ, ἐγὼ ἀποτίσω· ἵνα μὴ λέγω σοι ὅτι καὶ σεαυτὸν μοι προσοφείλεις. ²⁰ ναι ἀδελφέ, ἐγὼ σου ὀναίμην ἐν κυρίῳ· ἀνάπαυσόν μου τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐν Χριστῷ. ²¹ Πεποιθὼς τῇ ὑπακοῇ σου ἔγραψά σοι, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἃ λέγω ποιήσεις. ²² ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐτοίμαζέ μοι ξενίαν· ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν χαρισθήσομαι ὑμῖν.

you, knowing you will do even more than I ask. ²² Furthermore, at the same time, also have ready a guest room for me; for I hope that I will be returned to you by grace through your prayers.

¹⁾ Interpreted as a subjective genitive.

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

Opening greetings (v.1-3)

The exordium: Thanksgiving, intercession, and praise for Philemon (v.4-7)

The body of proof: Appeal on behalf of Onesimus (v.8-16) ←

The peroration: Reiteration and expansion of the appeal (v.17-22) ←

Concluding greetings (v.23-25)

The pericopes quoted (v.8-16 and v.17-22) above comprise the body of Paul's argument which follows Greek rhetorical conventions (cf Bartchy 1996): With the exordium having set the mood and won Philemon's favour through praise, the body of proof appeals to his honour and gains the advantage, and the peroration restates the request to welcome Onesimus back, appealing to Philemon's goodwill and placing him in an emotional frame of mind.

¹⁾ Cf Bartchy (1996).

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

Although the opening and concluding greetings of the letter are Pauline in style, the letter body is argumentative in nature following Greek rhetorical tradition (cf Bartchy 1996). It thus falls into the genre of deliberative rhetoric with the aim of retaining honour and gaining an advantage.

Analysis of the thought structure of the pericope:

The body of proof: Appeal on behalf of Onesimus (v.8-16)

↳ Paul's authority over Philemon (v.8)

Διό πολλὴν ἐν Χριστῷ παρρησίαν ἔχων ἐπιτάσσειν σοι τὸ ἀνήκον

↳ Yet the ground of appeal is love (v.9)

διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην μᾶλλον παρακαλῶ, τοιοῦτος ὢν ὡς Παῦλος πρεσβύτης νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ·

→ The object of the appeal is Onesimus, Paul's spiritual son (v.10)

παρακαλῶ σε περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ τέκνου, ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς, Ὀνήσιμον,

↳ Negative description of Onesimus (v.11a)

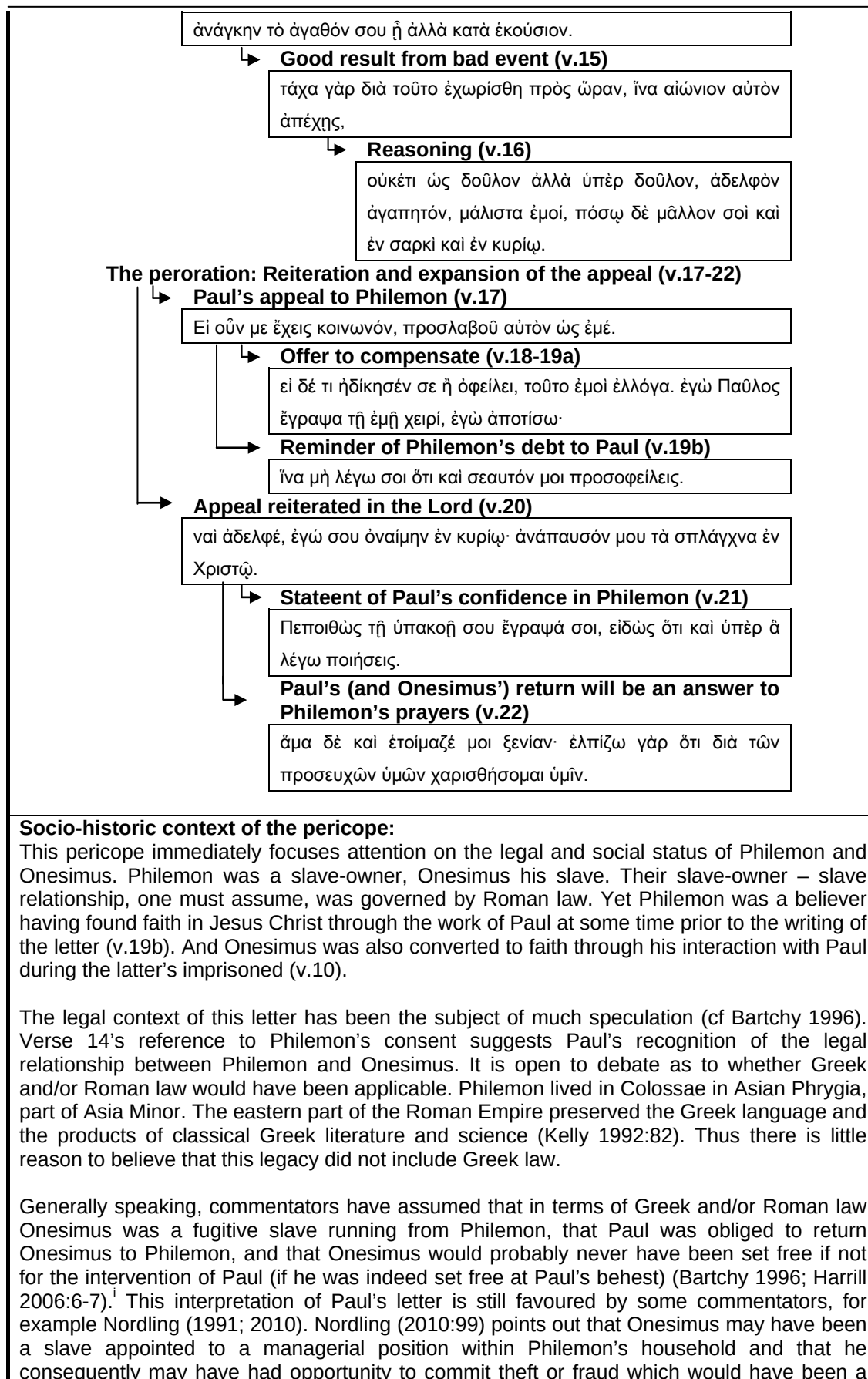
τόν ποτέ σοι ἄχρηστον νυνὶ

↳ Positive description of Onesimus (v.11b-13)

δὲ [καί] σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ εὐχρηστον, ὃν ἀνέπεμψά σοι, αὐτόν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχνα· ὃν ἐγὼ ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν κατέχειν, ἵνα ὑπὲρ σου μοι διακονῇ ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,

→ Deference to Philemon (v.14)

χωρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης οὐδὲν ἠθέλησα ποιῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ ὡς κατὰ



clear motive for running away. Nordling places such an interpretation within the framework of Jesus' parables on slaves, their managerial roles and their trustworthiness or lack of it (see 6.4 below). As to why Paul refrained from mentioning the facts of the matter in his letter, Nordling (1991:118; 2010:89) suggests that Paul did so in the interests of tact and diplomacy as befitted his apostolic office. Yet it is to my mind pertinent that Paul refrains from using the terminology (οἰκονόμος) employed in for example Luke 16:1 to describe Onesimus' position in Philemon's household.

Considering Roman law on runaway slaves (cf 3.10.2 above), the assumption that Onesimus was a fugitive slave is not necessarily correct. Onesimus may have sought out Paul to intercede with Philemon on his behalf. He then would have lacked the intention to run away, and would consequently not have been considered a fugitive slave.ⁱ⁾ Paul would also not have been under obligation to return Onesimus to Philemon but rather to intercede with the latter on Onesimus' behalf. Paul clearly does so by way of this letter. By way of this letter Paul would also have given effect to Deuteronomy 23:16-17 by not handing Onesimus summarily over to Philemon and not oppressing him (see 3.10.3 above). On balance, one must assume that Paul relied on Roman and Jewish law in his dealings with Onesimus and Philemon.

Harrill (2006:8-9) points out that Bartchy's solution is not problem-free. The Roman law texts do not necessarily reflect reality, being an exercise in legal theory. Harrill (2006:11ff) describes another solution, namely that Onesimus was dispatched to Paul in prison by Philemon. There is a New Testament precedent in the form of Epaphroditus (Phil 2:25), who as a messenger may have been a slave or freedman (cf Bradley 1994:64). Parallels also exist in extra-canonical literature (Harrill 2006:12-13). Yet the evidence is tenuous at best.

Harrill's (2006:14) own solution is that Onesimus was a slave apprenticed to Paul, reading Paul's letter to Philemon as a "journeyman apprentice" contract: Paul requests Philemon to apprentice Onesimus to him in the service of the gospel (v.13). In order to convince Philemon, Paul recommends Onesimus for the apprenticeship by enumerating his credentials. This hypothesis does not solve all the questions surrounding Paul's letter but is future orientated rather than reliant on an unknowable history to the letter. I have to agree with Glancy (2006:91) that it is impossible to say categorically whether Onesimus left Philemon's home with the latter's permission or not. She also quite correctly points out that it violates the tenor of the letter to use (or abuse) it as the starting point for an elaborate theory of slavery in the early church (2006:92). Nordling (2010:114) also concedes that "...the exact background details of Philemon cannot be recovered with certainty!"

As to whether Onesimus would never have been set free but for Paul's intervention, manumission was at the discretion of the owner but was often used as a potential reward for loyal service. Philemon may very well have foreseen manumission for Onesimus but his decision may have been influenced by Onesimus' wrongdoing (v.18-19a). Paul seems to have sensed this, drawing attention to the usefulness of Onesimus as Philemon's beloved brother in Christ, but also as a human being, suggesting equality of status (v.16). Paul does not instruct Philemon outright to manumit Onesimus, but the implication seems clear from verse 21 that Philemon will do more i.e. not only welcome Onesimus back as he would Paul, but also manumit him so that he can truly be his brother.

ⁱ⁾ I consider Bartchy's (1996) summary of opinions on this subject sufficient for purposes of this study.

ⁱⁱ⁾ The same rule apparently did not apply in Greek law (cf 3.10.1 above).

Word study of important concepts in the pericope:

ἀδελφός (v.16): According to Louw and Nida (1996) ἀδελφός references:

- a brother as next of kin (domain 10C Kinship relations of the 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-members generally (11.23), fellow-Jews of the same age group (11.25), 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 Christian community that met in Philemon's house (v.4-7). Such fellowship implies equality before the Lord (cf Gal 3:28; Col 3:11).
Revelation historical context of the pericope: Paul places the relationship between believing slave-owner and believing slave in the context of the fellowship among believers (v.16). The equality brought about by this fellowship (cf Gal 3:28; Col 3:11) must also extend to the praxis of this relationship, as to those between husbands and wives and parents and children. Other passages support this viewpoint (cf Matt 20:12; 1 Cor 12:25; 2 Cor 8:13-14).
Revelation about God in the pericope: Christ gives Paul authority to command Philemon (v.8), He is the Subject of Paul's imprisonment (v.9), his gospel is the beneficiary of Paul's imprisonment (v.13), He binds together the fellowship of believers (v.16), and He expects a positive response from Philemon to Paul's appeal (v.20).
Salvific facts in the pericope: The salvific facts of Christ's work of salvation are implied in the use of the names Χριστός (v.8, 9, 20) and κύριος (v.16, 20). The reference to ἀδελφόν (v.16) also implies the salvific fact that all believers are brothers and sisters in Christ and has God as father, irrespective of legal or social status.
Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope: Paul appeals to Philemon to welcome his slave Onesimus back as his brother in Christ. This appeal extends to the whole of their relationship, which should reflect their fellowship. This may very well include the manumission of Onesimus.
The communication aim of the pericope: The aim of the pericope is to convince Philemon of the practical implications of his fellowship in faith with Onesimus.
Summary interpretation: Of all the pericopes under investigation, this one probably speaks most directly to the relationship between slave-owner and slave. The implication of both Philemon's and Onesimus' conversion to faith is unpacked namely that they are brothers in Christ, irrespective of their legal and social status. Their fellowship implies equality, and this equality is not merely a spiritual equality but must also become evident in their relationship as slave-owner and slave, as indicated by ἐν σαρκί in verse 16. Although the system of slavery remains a reality, Paul appeals to Philemon to transform it into something resembling their fellowship in and of Christ.

6.2.4 Section summary

The direct exhortations to slave-owners all recognise the legal and social reality of the slave-owner – slave relationship. Yet these passages clearly provide another context for this relationship namely the context of the salvific work of Christ and the implications thereof for between believers. All three passages focus on the unity or bond between believers realised by the work of salvation by Christ, irrespective of believers' legal or social status. Equality surfaces as the guiding principle in this relationship. This equality is not only spiritual but must also become part of the practical relationship between slave-owner and slave, even to the extent of manumission of the slave in the interest of the fellowship of Christ and its equality. Therefore slave-owners must not threaten their slaves, they must act justly and fairly towards them, and they must accept them as their equals in Christ.

6.3 EXHORTATIONS TO SLAVE-OWNERS IMPLIED IN THE EXHORTATIONS TO SLAVES

6.3.1 1 Corinthians 7:21-23

1 Corinthians 7:21-23 (UBS⁴ 1994)

Pericope:

²¹ δοῦλος ἐκλήθης, μή σοι μελέτω· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρήσαι.

²² ὁ γὰρ ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος

ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ὁ

ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς δοῦλός ἐστιν Χριστοῦ. ²³

τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε· μή γίνεσθε δοῦλοι

ἀνθρώπων. ²⁴ ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη, ἀδελφοί,

ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω παρὰ θεῶ.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

²¹ Were you called [as] a slave, do not let it trouble you. But if indeed you are able to become free, rather utilize it [freedom]. ²² For he who was called in the Lord [as] a slave is a freedman of the Lord; similarly he who was called [as] a freeman is a slave of Christ. ²³ You were bought at a price. Do not become slaves of men. ²⁴ Brothers, where he was called, there everyone should remain before God.

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

1. Epistolary prescript (1:1-3)
 - 1.1 Sender (1:1)
 - 1.2 Addressees (1:2)
 - 1.3 Greeting and benediction (1:3)
2. Epistolary thanksgiving (1:4-9)
3. Problems according to Chloe's people (1:10–6:20)
 - 3.1 Divisions in the church (1:10–4:21)
 - 3.2 Sexual immorality (5:1-13)
 - 3.3 Lawsuits against believers (6:1-11)
 - 3.4 Again on sexual immorality (6:12-20)
4. Ethical issues mentioned in a letter from Corinthe (7:1–10:33)
 - 4.1 Marriage (7:1-40)
 - 4.1.1 Principles for marriage (7:1-16)
 - 4.1.2 **Live as you are called** (7:17-24) ←
 - 4.1.3 The unmarried and the widowed (7:25-40)
 - 4.2 Food offered to idols (8:1-13)
 - 4.3 Financial compensation for apostles (9:1-27)
 - 4.4 Warning against idolatry (10:1-33)
5. Problems regarding order and doctrine in the congregation (11:1–16:4)
 - 5.1 Place and function of women (11:1-16)
 - 5.2 The Lord's Supper (11:17-34)
 - 5.3 Spiritual gifts (12:1–14:40)
 - 5.4 Resurrection of the body (15:1-58)
 - 5.5 Collection for poor congregations in Judea (16:1-4)
6. Epistolary closing (16:5-24)
 - 6.1 Paul's travel plans (16:5-11)
 - 6.2 Final instructions (16:12-18)
 - 6.3 Greetings (16:19-22)
 - 6.4 Benediction (16:23-24)

This pericope forms part of section 4.1 (7:1-40) dealing with marriage as one of the ethical issues the congregation sought Paul's advice on. 4.1.2 (7:17-24) forms an interpolation related to the issue of marriage but illustrating the point by way of other examples. Every believer must live according to the status in which God has called him or her (7:17), be it being married, unmarried or widowed. The same principle applies to the circumcised and the uncircumcised. In this pericope Paul applies the principle to being slave and free.

¹⁾ Cf Coetzee (1975:46-49) and Betz & Mitchell (1996).

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

This pericope is an exhortation to slaves regarding their status of slavery. The book constitutes a Pauline letter.

Analysis of the thought structure of the pericope:

Paul's answer to the problem concerning believers in slavery (v.21a)

δοῦλος ἐκλήθης, μή σοι μελέτω·

Proviso to the answer (v.21b)

ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι.

Reason for the answer (principle) stated (v.22)

ὁ γὰρ ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς δοῦλός ἐστιν Χριστοῦ.

Justification for the proviso (v.23)

τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε· μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων.

Restatement of the principle underlying v.17-23 (v.24)

ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω παρὰ θεῷ.

Socio-historic context of the pericope:

The pericope focuses on slavery as socio-historic context. Paul clearly recognises the legal and social reality of slavery, even amongst congregants in Corinth. His numerous references to the institution of slavery, and his appropriation of it to describe his own relationship and those of other believers with Jesus Christ (cf for example Rom 1:1 and 1 Cor 7:22), attest to his knowledge thereof in Greek and Roman orientated territories. And his Jewish education (cf Acts 22:3) would have brought Jewish law and practice of slavery to bear in his own experience thereof.

Interpretations of this pericope veer towards two opposites, namely that Paul either wished to retain the *status quo* of slaves or that he wished them to accept freedom if offered to them (cf Bartchy 1973:1). The major difficulty lies in verse 21's last sentence: μᾶλλον χρῆσαι, which lacks an explicit object which must thus be supplied from the context. The context of the manumission of slaves as expounded in 3.11 above is essential to any interpretation (cf Bartchy 1973:175). Manumission was very common during the first century AD, to such an extent that legislative restrictions were placed on the practice (cf Glancy 2006:96). It always served the purpose of the slave-owner, either as an incentive to induce loyalty and efficiency among slaves, or to dispose of slaves who have outlived their economic usefulness. The words εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι (v.21b) seems to suggest that the slave had control of the process of manumission, but that is in the light of the evidence (see 3.11 above) incorrect and was most probably not Paul's intention. A slave could not as a rule accept or reject his manumission. Thus Paul must refer to a situation where a slave is presented with the *fate accompli* of manumission. Jewish laws on manumission, especially the provisions on compulsory manumission (see 3.11.3 above), clearly also supported this interpretation: If the Lord ordains manumission, how could a (Hebrew) slave not make use of it? Further credence for this interpretation is provided by the meaning of καλέω being used four times in the pericope (see below).

Harrill (1998:94ff) critiques Bartchy's assumptions that the lot of slaves improved during the first century AD because more slaves were born and bred at home, that the lack of slave revolts proves slave contentment, numerous persons sold themselves into slavery to improve their lives, and that slave-owners treated their slaves like they treated their children. Harrill (1998:102ff) also discusses more recent attempts at resolving the problem of 1 Corinthians 7:21. His own solution (1998:108-126) is based on a – in my opinion sound – philological and contextual reading of the text, and he concludes that verse 21 must read: "...rather make use of [freedom]." Glancy (2006:68) supports Harrill's interpretation, although she reads it

specifically in the context of the sexual exploitation of slaves by their owners, and the relative escape offered from it by freedom (cf 5.4 above).

Word study of important concepts in the pericope:

καλέω (v.17, 22, 24): According to Louw and Nida (1996) καλέω references:

- to name another person (33.131) (domain 33I Name);
- to call him by his proper name (33.129) (domain 33I Name);
- to summon someone (33.107) (domain 33C` Call);
- to call someone to a task bringing about responsibility and a new relationship between the caller and the one being called (33.112) (domain 33C` Call);
- to invite someone to accept hospitality (domain 33D` Invite).

In the greater context of this pericope, καλέω refers to God's calling of each believer in a specific life situation or status i.e. being married, unmarried, widowed, circumcised, uncircumcised, enslaved, or free. When Paul speaks of the manumission of slaves, he implies that God has changed the calling of the believer who founds himself in slavery (through no action of his own), and thus that believer must live according to his new calling to be a freedman.

Revelation historical context of the pericope:

Revelation-historically Scripture always accepted the legal and social practice of slavery. Yet the Old Testament already attests to a (if sometimes only slightly) different view on the issue than typical Greek and Roman viewpoints (see chapters 3 to 5 above). Paul seems to follow the same line of thinking, especially in 1 Timothy 1:10 where he describes enslavers as ἀνόμοις δὲ καὶ ἀνυποτάκτοις, ἀσεβέσι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς, ἄνοσίοις καὶ βεβήλοις (UBS⁴ 1994) or "lawless and rebellious, ungodly and sinful, unholy and totally worldly." This seems to suggest that Paul condemned further enslavement while condoning existing slavery as a legal and social reality. Yet in this pericope Paul places slavery in the context of God's calling for every believer (v.24). Thus, if a believer has been called in the role of slave, he should remain in that role, although the possibility of a change in calling is not excluded. And subsequently a Christian slave may grasp the opportunity to be manumitted should it arise.

Revelation about God in the pericope:

God calls every believer in a specific life situation or status. In the time of the New Testament He even called some believers in their status of enslavement. Yet, He may change that life situation or status according to his will.

Salvific facts in the pericope:

Through Christ's work of salvation (the price paid for believers' freedom – v.23), all believers are freedmen of the Lord, and all believers are slaves of Christ (v.22).

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

Paul by implication appeals to slave-owners to free their believing slaves who are freedmen of Christ as instruments implementing God's calling.

The communication aim of the pericope:

Paul wishes to encourage believing slaves to desire freedom because it is God who changes a slave's life situation or status.

Summary interpretation:

The principle is: "Brothers, where he was called, there everyone should remain before God." (v.24). Yet God changes the life situations and status of his enslaved children through the actions of their slave-owners. Thus slaves may desire and gratefully embrace manumission when it realises. And believing slave-owners must acknowledge that they are instruments in realising God's calling, also for their believing slaves.

6.3.2 Ephesians 6:5-8

Ephesians 6:5-8 (UBS⁴ 1994) Pericope: ⁵ Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐν ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ, ⁶ μὴ κατ' ὀφθαλμοδουλίαν ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ ψυχῆς, ⁷ μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις, ⁸ εἰδότες ὅτι ἕκαστος ἐάν τι ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομίσεται παρὰ κυρίου εἴτε δοῦλος εἴτε ἐλεύθερος.	Own translation with grammatical notes: ⁵ Slaves, submit to [your] owners according to the flesh with respect and trembling in sincerity of your hearts, as to Christ, not with eye-service like people-pleasers but as slaves of Christ, doing the will of God from your inner being, ⁷ serving with willingness as to the Lord and not men, ⁸ knowing that whatever good anyone does, it will be rewarded from the Lord whether he is slave or free.
Placement of the pericope in the book: See 5.2.1 above.	
Genre of the pericope and of the book: See 5.2.1 above.	
Analysis of the thought structure of the pericope: Basic exhortation to slaves (5a) Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις ↳ Manner of service positively stated (5b) μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐν ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ, ↳ Manner of service negatively stated (6a) μὴ κατ' ὀφθαλμοδουλίαν ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι ↳ Manner of service positively stated (6b) ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ ψυχῆς ↳ Manner of service positively stated (7) μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις, ↳ Motivation for basic exhortation (8) εἰδότες ὅτι ἕκαστος ἐάν τι ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομίσεται παρὰ κυρίου εἴτε δοῦλος εἴτε ἐλεύθερος.	
Socio-historic context of the pericope: See 5.2.1 above.	
Word study of important concepts in the pericope: σὰρξ (v.5): According to Louw and Nida (1996) σὰρξ references: • human or animal flesh (domain 8B Parts of the body); • a living, physical body (domain 8A Body); • humans as physical beings (domain 9A Human beings); • human nature with the emphasis on its physical aspects (domain 9A Human beings); • a group of people who are considered to be biologically related (domain 10A Groups and Members of Groups of Persons Regarded as Related by Blood but without Special Reference to Successive Generations); • the physiological aspect of human nature in contrast to the spiritual (domain 26 Physiological faculties); • Human nature particularly in relation to the physical aspect of human life (domain	

58A Nature, character).
The demarcation of domains clearly indicates the focus of σάρξ on the physical aspect of human nature. Considered with the preposition κατὰ, Paul considers slave-owners' ownership to be limited to the physical body, which is consistent with a philosophy differentiating between bodily and spiritual slavery (see 4.5 and 4.6 above). The implication would be that a believing slave is slave of Christ as far as his inner being is concerned, though property of his owner as far as his body is concerned.
Revelation historical context of the pericope: As was the case with Ephesians 6:9 (see 5.2.1 above), Ephesians 6:5-8 must be read in conjunction with 5:21: ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ... (Submitting to one another in reverence of Christ...). Thus owner and slave should submit to one another because they both revere Christ as their Lord.
Revelation about God in the pericope: God enables even slaves to be obedient to Him and to do his will (v.6), He demands such service from his children (v.7), and He will reward slave and owner alike according to the good he or she did (v.8).
Salvific facts in the pericope: Christ's salvific work is implied by the use of the names Χριστός (v.5, 6) and κύριος (v.7). It is the basis of Paul's appeal to slaves. In δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ (v.6) lies the inherent relationship between Christ and the believers, Christ having redeemed them from the slavery of sin to be his slaves.
Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope: The first words of verse 9 (see 5.2.1 above) read: Καὶ οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς... Paul clearly expects the same attitude from the believing slave-owner as from his believing slaves: To treat slaves in a manner not to impress men but in manner consistent with the owner's service to the Lord. The owner also knows that the Lord will reward whatever good he does, and he as slave-owner must become instrument in the delivery of such reward (cf Harrill 2006:90).
The communication aim of the pericope: Paul exhorts slaves to foremost remain loyal to Christ, and thus also to their owners.
Summary interpretation: As Paul exhorts slaves, he exhorts slave-owners to realise that their believing slaves serve Christ first and foremost, and then their human owners. Slave-owners must treat their slaves as subjects of the same Lord. This corresponds to the direct exhortation contained in verse 9 (see 5.2.1 above).

6.3.3 Colossians 3:22-25

Colossians 3:22-25 (UBS ⁴ 1994)	
Pericope: ²² Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις, μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλίᾳ ὡς ἄνθρωπῶρες, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπλότῃ καρδίᾳ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον. ²³ ὃ ἐὰν ποιῇτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωποις, ²⁴ εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀπολήμψεσθε τὴν ἀναταπόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας. τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε. ²⁵ ὁ γὰρ ἀδικῶν κομίζεται ὃ ἠδίκησεν, καὶ οὐκ	Own translation with grammatical notes: ²² Slaves, submit in all things to [your] owners according to the flesh, not with eye-service like people-pleasers but with sincerity of heart fearing the Lord. ²³ Whatever you do, always work from [your] inner being as for the Lord and not for men, ²⁴ knowing that you will receive from the Lord the reward of the inheritance. You, serve the Lord Christ. ²⁵ For the wrongdoer will receive back what he has done wrong, and there is no regard for persons [partiality].

ἔστιν προσωπολημψία.	
Placement of the pericope in the book: See 5.2.2 above.	
Genre of the pericope and of the book: See 5.2.2 above.	
Analysis of the thought structure of the pericope:	
Basic exhortation to slaves (22a)	
Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις,	
↳ Manner of service negatively stated (22b)	
μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλίᾳ ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι,	
→ Manner of service positively stated (22c-23)	
ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπλότῃ καρδίᾳ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον. ὃ ἐὰν ποιῇτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις,	
→ Motivation for basic exhortation (24)	
εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀπολήμψεσθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας. τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε•	
↳ Further motivation (25)	
ὁ γὰρ ἀδικῶν κομίζεται ὃ ἠδίκησεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολημψία.	
Socio-historic context of the pericope: See 5.2.2 above.	
Word study of important concepts in the pericope: On σάρξ see 6.3.2 above.	
Revelation historical context of the pericope: As is the case with Colossians 4:1, Colossians 3:22-25 must be read in conjunction with Paul's description of the church as the chosen people of God, loved by Him (3:12), whether slave or free. Members of God's chosen people should be compassionate, kind, humble, gentle and patient, showing forgiveness, and loving one another (3:13-14). The revelation historical thread culminates in the unification of all believers under the headship of Christ, whether slave or free (cf Glancy [2006:141] on the wordplay with κύριος). Consequently, there should be no regard for each other's legal or social status within the fellowship of believers.	
Revelation about God in the pericope: As is the case with Ephesians 6:5-8, God enables even slaves to be obedient to Him and to do his will (v.22); He demands such service from his children (v.23); and He will reward slave and owner alike according to the good he or she did (v.24).	
Salvific facts in the pericope: Christ's salvific work is implied by the use of the names Χριστός (v.24) and κύριος (v.22-24). The effect of Christ's work of salvation is described by the words τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε (v.24), Christ having redeemed them from the slavery of sin to be his slaves. This forms the basis of Paul's appeal to slaves.	
Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope: Paul by implication appeals to believing slave-owners not to replace the Lord Jesus Christ in the lives of their believing slaves. They, like their owners, serve the Lord first and foremost.	
The communication aim of the pericope: Paul exhorts slaves to foremost remain loyal to Christ, and thus also to their owners.	
Summary interpretation: As Paul exhorts slaves, he also exhorts slave-owners to realise that their slaves first and foremost serve Christ as their Owner, and then their human owners. Slave-owners must treat their slaves as subjects of the same Lord. This tie in to the direct exhortation contained in Colossians 4:1 (see 5.2.2 above).	

6.3.4 1 Timothy 6:1-2d

1 Timothy 6:1-2b (UBS⁴ 1994)**Pericope:**

¹ Ὅσοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δοῦλοι, τοὺς ἰδίους δεσπότης πάσης τιμῆς ἀξίους ἡγείσθωσαν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία βλασφημῇται. ^{2a-d} οἱ δὲ πιστοὺς ἔχοντες δεσπότης μὴ καταφρονεῖτωσαν, ὅτι ἀδελφοί εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δουλευέτωσαν, ὅτι πιστοὶ εἰσιν καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

¹ Let all who are under a yoke namely slaves regard their own owners as worthy of all honour so that God's name and the teaching are not slandered. ^{2a-d} But those who have believing owners must not treat them with contempt for they are brothers, but serve all the more because they are believers and beloved, beneficiaries of the benefit.

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

1. Epistolary prescript (1:1-2)
 - 1.1 Sender (1:1)
 - 1.2 Addressee (1:2a)
 - 1.3 Benediction (1:2b)
2. Transfer of the ministry of the true gospel to Timothy (1:3-20)
 - 2.1 Warning against false teachings (1:3-11)
 - 2.2 Thankful reflection on Paul's ministry of the Word (1:12-17)
 - 2.3 Transfer of the message to Timothy (1:18-20)
3. Pastoral instructions to Timothy (2:1–6:10)
 - 3.1 Pray for all people (2:1-8)
 - 3.2 The place of women in the congregaton (2:9-15)
 - 3.3 Qualifications for overseers (3:1-16)
 - 3.4 Devoted preaching and denouncement of heresy (4:1-16)
 - 3.5 Instructions to the church (5:1–6:2a)
 - 3.5.1 Treat the congregation as family (5:1-2)
 - 3.5.2 Dealing with widows (5:3-16)
 - 3.5.3 Dealing with the elders (5:17-20)
 - 3.5.4 Impartiality and patience (5:21-25)
 - 3.5.5 **Dealing with slaves** (6:1-2a) ←
 - 3.6 False teachers and true contentment (6:2b-10)
4. Personal exhortations to Timothy as “man of God” (6:11-20a)
5. Epistolary closing (6:20b)
 - 5.1 Benediction (6:20b)

This pericope forms part of the section dealing with instructions to the church (3.5: 5:1–6:2a). The section is framed by what may be described as household codes, viewing the congregation as a family (5:1-2 and 6:1-2a). Although the letter is addressed to Timothy as leader of the congregation, and deals with his pastoral approach to the members of the congregation, slaves are indirectly addressed (cf Trebilco 2004:209).

¹ Cf Coetzee (1975:46-49)

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

This pericope is classified as a household code (see 5.2.1 above).

Analysis of the thought structure of the pericope:**Basic exhortation to slaves (via Timothy) (v.1a)**

Ὅσοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δοῦλοι, τοὺς ἰδίους δεσπότης πάσης τιμῆς ἀξίους ἡγείσθωσαν,

Purpose of the exhortation (v.1b)

ἵνα μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία βλασφημῇται.

	Second negative exhortation (v.2a) οἱ δὲ πιστοὺς ἔχοντες δεσπότης μὴ καταφρονεῖτωσαν, Reason for second exhortation (v.2b) ὅτι ἀδελφοί εἰσιν, Third positive exhortation (v.2c) ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δουλεuέτωσαν, Reason for third exhortation (v.2d) ὅτι πιστοὶ εἰσιν καὶ ἀγαπῆτοὶ οἱ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι.
Socio-historic context of the pericope: The pericope clearly points to the slave-owner relationship as its socio-historic context. Again, the legal and social reality of slavery is acknowledged and the presence of slaves and slave-owners among the congregants may be safely assumed. The slaves are not addressed directly, but through Timothy, the pastor of the congregation in Ephesus (1:3). The writer's intention is clearly that Timothy must preach this pericope to the slaves in the congregation. One may also assume that the socio-historic context reconstructed in chapters 3, 4, and 5 are relevant. The role of widows in the congregation (5:3-16) further suggests a significant Jewish influence (cf Quinn 1996). The writer of the letter also clearly places the slave-owner relationship in the context of the Christian faith community.	
Word study of important concepts in the pericope: τιμῇ: According to Louw & Nida (1996) τιμῇ may reference the following: • Honor as an element in the assignment of status to a person (domain 87B Honour or respect in relation to status); • Merit or worth of an object, state or event (domain 65A Valuable, lacking in value); • Amount of money or property regarded as representing the value or price of something (domain 57L Pay, price, cost); or • Compensation given for special service, with the implication that this is a way by which honor or respect may be shown (domain 57L Pay, price, cost). The context suggests the first possible meaning namely honour based on the status of a person as the owner of his slave. A slave-owner had a socially recognised claim to honour while his slave had none (cf Glancy 2006:27).	
Revelation historical context of the pericope: The First Epistle to Timothy endeavours to expound the practical implications of the salvific work of Jesus Christ. In this Epistle these implications are directed primarily at Timothy as the pastor of the congregation in Ephesus. Yet these implications also extend to his congregants, and more specifically the slaves (and slave-owners) among them. Comparing this pericope with the others under consideration (except Titus 2:9-10; see 6.3.5 below), the following interpretative problem becomes apparent: • On the one hand, the slave-owner relationship seems to be entrenched rather than challenged, drawing a parallel with the ideological interpretation of Aristotle's natural theory of slavery (see 4.2.4 above). The line of argument of the pericope namely that slaves should honour their owners to avoid blasphemy of God and the Christian teaching, sounds like an attempt to maintain the <i>status quo</i> both in the faith community and in society, serving the interests of the slave-owners who are not addressed. Believing slaves need to change their behaviour, but believing slave-owners need not. This interpretation points to a more conservative approach to slavery than that of 1 Corinthians 7:21-24, Ephesians 6:5-8, and Colossians 3:22-25 (see 6.3.1-6.3.3 above).	

- On the other hand, the counter-argument is that a radical anti-slavery message, and rebellious slave behaviour based on such a message, would have endangered the continued existence and growth of the church, drawing critical examination of the church.

This interpretative problem has been dealt with more fully in 6.6 below.

- The pericope shares the other pericopes' basis in the fellowship of believers. Thus the exhortation to slaves not to honour their owners less because of their fellowship in Christ, but to rather serve them even better as brothers in Christ. The whole section from 5:1–6:2b reflects this familial view of the congregation. This suggests that the author does not wish slaves to seek the social consequences of their fellowship with their believing owners, probably because he considers more egalitarian connotations would be inappropriate or unwise in the social context (Trebilco 2004:564).

Revelation about God in the pericope:

God is jealous of his holy Name and thus the church and its members may not through their conduct in their interpersonal relations detract from his Name. Indeed, God through Christ binds them together as brothers and sisters.

Salvific facts in the pericope:

The salvific work of Christ is implied in the word ἡ διδασκαλία. It refers to the teachings of the church of Christ, or the doctrine. The writer of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus refer five times to ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία ("sound doctrine"), and in 1 Timothy 1:11 he explains that it accords to the gospel, God's good news to men culminating in the salvific cross and resurrection of Christ. The salvific work of Christ is thus clearly implied as the basis of the exhortations contained in these three Epistles.

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

The writer by implication appeals to slave-owners not to slander the Name of God and teachings of the church because their slaves, who are their fellow-brothers in Christ, do not regard them as worthy of all honour. The reciprocity that characterises other pericopes on the slave-owner relationship (e.g. Eph 6:5-9 and Col 3:22–4:1) is conspicuous in its absence in this pericope.

The communication aim of the pericope:

The aim of this pericope is to exhort slaves, and by implication slave-owners, to have proper regard for the honour of God's Name and the teaching of the church in their conduct towards one another.

Summary interpretation:

The focus of this pericope is the Name of God and the teaching of the church rather than the relationship between slave and slave-owner *per se*. The purpose of the writer's exhortation is clear: ἵνα μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία βλασφημῇται (v.1b). In order to preserve the Name of God and the teaching of the salvation in Christ, slaves must regard their believing owners with all honour, and slave-owners must not slander the Name of God or the teachings of the church because their slaves fail to adhere to the exhortation. The basis of the pericope is the fellowship of believers, both free and slave.

6.3.5 Titus 2:9-10

Titus 2:9-10 (UBS⁴ 1994)

Pericope:

⁹ ἰ δούλους ἰδίοις δεσπότηαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἐν
πᾶσιν, εὐαρέστους εἶναι, μὴ ἀντιλέγοντας, ¹⁰
μὴ νοσφιζομένους, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν πίστιν
ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀγαθὴν, ἵνα τὴν διδασκαλίαν

Own translation with grammatical notes:

⁹ [Keep on exhorting]ⁱ slaves to be
submissive to their own owners in all things,
to be pleasing persons, by not talking back,
¹⁰ not embezzeling, but by showing all good
faith so that they may adorn the teaching of
our Saviour God in all situations.

τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ κοσμῶσιν ἐν πᾶσιν.	i) Inserted as translation of omitted verb (παρακάλει) following the pattern of verse 6: τοὺς νεωτέρους ὡσαύτως <u>παρακάλει</u> σωφρονεῖν.
Placement of the pericope in the book:¹ 1. Epistolary prescript (1:1-4) 1.1 Sender (1:1-3) 1.2 Addressee (1:4a) 1.3 Benediction (1:4b) 2. Pastoral instructions to Titus (1:5–3:11) 2.1 Election and requirements for elders (1:5-9) 2.2 Refutation of heresy (1:10-16) 2.3 Pastoral care of the elderly, youth, and slaves (2:1-10) 2.3.1 The elderly (2:1-5) 2.3.2 The youth (2:6-8) 2.3.3 Slaves (2:9-10) 2.4 Christian lifestyle of the congregation (2:11–3:7) 2.5 Discipline in the congregation (3:8-11) 3. Personal instructions to Titus (3:12-14) 4. Epistolary closing (3:15) 4.1 Greetings (3:15a) 4.2 Benediction (3:15b)	
This pericope forms part of a larger section dealing with the pastoral care of the elderly, youth, and slaves (2.3: 2:1-10). As is the case in the First Epistle to Timothy, this section is written using familial terms, indicating the household nature of the congregation. Although the letter is addressed to Timothy as leader of the congregation, and deals with his pastoral approach to the members of the congregation, slaves are indirectly addressed, via Titus (cf Trebilco 2004:209).	
¹⁾ Cf Coetzee (1975:46-49)	
Genre of the pericope and of the book: This pericope is classified as a household code (see 5.2.1 above).	
Analysis of the thought structure of the pericope: Basic exhortation (implied from 6) [Παρακάλει] ↳ First specific exhortation (9a) δοῦλους ἰδίοις δεσπótαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἐν πᾶσιν, ↳ Second specific exhortation (9b) εὐαρέστους εἶναι, ↳ First manner of non-fulfilment (9c) μὴ ἀντιλέγοντας, ↳ Second manner of non-fulfilment (10a) μὴ νοσφιζομένους, ↳ Manner of fulfilment (10b) ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν πίστιν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀγαθὴν, ↳ Goal of the exhortation (10c) ἵνα τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ κοσμῶσιν ἐν πᾶσιν.	
Socio-historic context of the pericope: The pericope clearly has the slave-owner relationship as its socio-historic context. Again, the legal and social reality of slavery is acknowledged and the presence of slaves and slave-owners among the congregants may be safely assumed. The slaves are not addressed directly, but through Titus, the pastor of the congregation in Crete (1:5). The writer's intention	

is clearly that Titus must preach the message of this pericope to the slaves in the congregation (cf the use of *λάλει* in 2:1). One may also assume that the socio-historic context constructed in chapters 3, 4, and 5 are relevant. The writer of the letter again clearly places the slave-owner relationship in the context of the Christian faith community.

Word study of important concepts in the pericope:

κοσμῶσιν (v.10): According to Louw and Nida (1996) the verb *κοσμέω* is only used in one semantic domain, namely 79D Beautiful Ugly. In this domain it references the action of making something beautiful by way of decoration.

Revelation historical context of the pericope:

The Epistle to Titus shares the same revelation-historical context as the First Epistle to Timothy (see 6.3.4 above). It expounds the practical implications of the salvific work of Jesus Christ to Titus, the pastor of the congregation in Crete. Yet these implications also extended to his congregants, and more specifically the slaves (and slave-owners) among them. Comparing this pericope with the others under consideration (except 1 Tim 6:1-2d; see 6.3.4 above), the following interpretative problem becomes apparent:

- As is the case in 1 Timothy, the slave-owner relationship seems to be entrenched rather than challenged, drawing a parallel with the ideological interpretation of Aristotle's natural theory of slavery (see 4.2.4 above). The line of argument of the pericope, namely that slaves should honour their owners to make the teaching of God their Saviour attractive, sounds like an attempt to maintain the *status quo* both in the faith community and in society, serving the interests of the slave-owners who are not addressed. The implication seems to be that believing slaves needed to change their behaviour, but believing slave-owners did not, although it might simply be the case that the attitude and behaviour of slave-owners were not the concern of the author. The former interpretation points to a more conservative approach to slavery than that of 1 Corinthians 7:21-24, Ephesians 6:5-8, and Colossians 3:22-25 (see 6.3.1-0 above). This discrepancy is borne out by the fact that this pericope encourages slaves to be people-pleasers while the other three pericopes teach the exact opposite.
- As is the case in 1 Timothy, the counter-argument is that a radical anti-slavery message could have endangered the continued existence and growth of the church.

This interpretative problem has been dealt with more fully in 6.6 below.

- This pericope does not share the other pericopes' basis in the fellowship of believers, although it might be deduced from the family imagery used in this broader context (2:1-10).

Revelation about God in the pericope:

The revelation about God speaks clearly from the use of *τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ* in verse 10. Verse 11 intensifies the reference: *Ἐπεφάνη γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις* ("For the saving grace of God has appeared to all humans"). The reference to God's salvation extends to the salvific work of Christ. The reputation of God's teaching is again the focal point of the pericope and its immediate context (cf the use of *τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ* ("sound doctrine") in 2:1).

Salvific facts in the pericope:

The salvific work of Christ is referenced by the reference to "our Saviour God" (see above).

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

Slave-owners are by implication exhorted to accept the faithfulness of their believing slaves who act according to the positive and negative exhortations to them. Then they will also make the teaching of their Saviour God more attractive.

The communication aim of the pericope:

The aim of this pericope is to exhort slaves, and by implication slave-owners, to have proper regard for the honour of God's salvation and its teaching in the church in their conduct

towards one another.

Summary interpretation:

As is the case in 1 Timothy 6:1-2d (see 6.3.4 above), the focus of this pericope is on the honour of God the Saviour and his teaching that He entrusted to the church, rather than the relationship between slave and slave-owner *per se*. The purpose of the writer's exhortation is clear: ἵνα τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ κοσμῶσιν ἐν πᾶσιν (...so that they may adorn the teaching of our Saviour God in all situations) (v.1b). In order to make the teaching of God's salvation more attractive, slaves must be submissive to their believing owners, in a pleasing manner, honestly, and faithfully. And this implies that slave-owners must accept their believing slave's submission in this manner so that the same goal may be achieved.

6.3.6 1 Peter 2:18-25

1 Peter 2:18-25 (UBS⁴ 1994)

Pericope:

¹⁸ Οἱ οἰκέται ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπότησι, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκολιοῖς. ¹⁹ τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις εἰ διὰ συνείδησιν θεοῦ ὑποφέρει τις λύπας πάσχων ἀδίκως. ²⁰ ποῖον γὰρ κλέος εἰ ἀμαρτάνοντες καὶ κολαφιζόμενοι ὑπομενεῖτε; ἀλλ' εἰ ἀγαθοποιοῦντες καὶ πάσχοντες ὑπομενεῖτε, τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεῷ. ²¹ εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε, ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἵχνεσιν αὐτοῦ, ²² ὅς ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, ²³ ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει πάσχων οὐκ ἠτείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως. ²⁴ ὃς τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν, οὗ τῷ μῶλωπι ἰάθητε. ²⁵ ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

¹⁸ Household servants, continue to be submissive to [your] owners¹ with all respect, not only to the good and gentle ones, but also to the harsh ones. ¹⁹ For it is grace if a person through awareness of God bears up under bodily pains caused by suffering unjustly. ²⁰ Indeed, how is it a credit if you endure while doing wrong and consequently being beaten? But if you endure while doing good and consequently suffer, it is grace before God. ²¹ For to this you were called, because even Christ suffered for you, leaving behind for you an example so that you can follow in his footsteps, ²² (He) who committed no sin, and no deceit was found in his mouth; ²³ (He) who, when being insulted, did not retaliate; when suffering did not threaten, but entrusted himself to the one who judges justly; ²⁴ (He) who himself bore our sins in his body on the cross so that we may live in righteousness having died in respect of sins, (He) by the wound of whom you were healed. ²⁵ For you were like sheep led astray, but now you have been returned to the Shepherd and Guardian of your inner beings.

¹) The word δεσπότης occurs ten times in the New Testament. An analysis of these occurrences indicates that it refers in five instances to either God the Father (Luk 2:29; Acts 4:24; Rev 6:10) or Jesus Christ (2 Pet 2:1; Jud 4). In one instance it refers to a human owner of material things (2 Tim 2:21). And in four instances it refers to the owner of a slave (1 Tim 6:1 and 2; Titus 2:9; 1 Pet 2:18). All these uses share a common denominator namely the absolute power and authority of the δεσπότης over his property, be it the Lord's power and authority over the believers, a human owner's power and authority over his material things, or a slave-owner's power and authority over his slave (cf BDAG; Liddle *et al* 1996; Louw & Nida 1996). It

thus seems improbably that δεσπότης denotes anything other than a slave-owner in this pericope.

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

1. Heading: Author, addressees, greeting (1:1-2)
2. Letter opening to the letter body: Basis for four inferences in the letter body (1:3-12)
 - 2.1 Praise be to God who gave us new birth through Jesus Christ (1:3-12)
3. Letter body: Four inferences based on the letter opening (1:13–5:11)
 - 3.1 First inference: Set your hope firmly on the grace, and see to it that you are holy in all you do (1:13-25)
 - 3.2 Second inference: A new born person's obligation to his personal growth (2:1-3) and to his growth with fellow-believers (2:4-10)
 - 3.3 Third inference: Code of conduct for resident and visiting aliens (2:11–4:19)
 - 3.3.1 The basic exhortation (2:11-12)
 - 3.3.2 Relationship with political authorities (2:13-17)
 - 3.3.3 **Relationship with slave owners** (2:18-25) ←
 - 3.3.4 Relationship with marriage partner (3:1-7)
 - 3.3.5 Relationship with neighbours in general (3:8-12)
 - 3.3.6 Attitude towards and reaction to unjust sufferings (3:13–4:19)
 - 3.4 Fourth inference: Code of conduct in the church (5:1-11)
4. Letter closing: Letter purpose, salutations, greetings (5:12-14)

This pericope forms part of a greater section dealing with the conduct of Christians as resident and visiting aliens (3.3: 2:11–4:19). Such conduct is contextualised by the general exhortation serving as basis for all the relationships of authority that follow (3.3.2–3.3.5: 2:13–3:12). The section ends with another general exhortation directed at believers' attitude towards and reaction to unjust sufferings (3.3.6: 3:13–4:19).

¹) Cf Janse van Rensburg (1992:29).

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

This pericope is classified as a household code (see 5.2.1 above).

Analysis of the thought structure of the pericope:

Basic exhortation to household slaves (18)

Οἱ οἰκέται ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπótαις, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκολιοῖς.

First motivation for the exhortation to submit to unfair owners (19)

τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις εἰ διὰ συνείδησιν θεοῦ ὑποφέρει τις λύπας πάσχω·ν ἀδίκως.

Motivation further elucidated (20a)

ποῖον γὰρ κλέος εἰ ἁμαρτάνοντες καὶ κολαφιζόμενοι ὑπομενεῖτε;

Motivation further elucidated (20b)

ἀλλ' εἰ ἀγαθοποιοῦντες καὶ πάσχοντες ὑπομενεῖτε, τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεῷ.

Second motivation for the exhortation to submit to unfair owners (21a)

εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε,

The reason for their calling (21b)

ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν

Purpose of Christ's example (21c)

ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτοῦ,

Further elucidation (22-24a)

	ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, ²³ ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδορεῖ πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως· ²⁴ ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, Purpose of Christ's suffering (24b) ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν, οὗ τῷ μῶλωπι ἰάθητε. Motivation for the exhortation to follow Christ (25) ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.
Socio-historic context of the pericope:	The letter as a whole is addressed to believers typified as <i>παρεπίδημοι</i> and <i>πάροικοι</i> (1:3; 2:11). Janse van Rensburg (2000:573) indicates that these were technical terms in both Jewish and Hellenistic contexts. On the one hand the terms may have indicated the addressees' actual political status namely that they had right to residence in the areas where they lived but no political rights (Janse van Rensburg 1993:1946). And on the other hand these terms may have indicated their spiritual alien-status in the sense that they became citizens of the kingdom of heaven following their conversion. It becomes apparent from the letter itself that these believers suffered great injustice because of their faith, and that injustices were focussed specifically in the household where the <i>pater familias</i> had unlimited power and authority over his household and its members (Janse van Rensburg 1993:1946). Peter recognises the slave-owner relationship as a legal and social reality within the church of Christ. One may assume that slaves and owners were members of the congregations in Asia Minor (1:1b), although slaves seems to have outnumbered the owners by quite a margin. Peter focuses the socio-historic context on the suffering of household slaves at the hands of their owners (cf Glancy 2006:149). The evidence presented in chapter 5 clearly substantiates Peter's claim of harsh and unjust owners (v.18). One may accept that these believing slaves suffered discrimination, unjust punishment (v.20), and even physical abuse analogous to the suffering of Christ (v.22-23) at the hands of largely unbelieving owners (cf Bechtler 1998:165). Evidently, Peter does not consider physical abuse as morally irrelevant, like the Stoics (cf 4.3.4 above). The fact that the pericope deals with unbelieving owners distinguishes it from the other passages dealt with in 6.2 and 6.3. 1 Peter invokes slavery as a metaphor for its embattled addressees (Bechtler 1998:190). Slavery was the ultimate indeterminate social state. Bechtler (1998:190-191) argues that <i>κλέος</i> in 2:20 refers to public fame or renown gained on the basis of enduring beatings for doing wrong (cf BDAG) while <i>χάρις</i> in 2:19-20 refer to God's approval given to those who suffer slander and abuse at the hands of a hostile society. Societal shame is contrasted with divine honour. The example of Christ expounded in 2:21b-25 corroborates such an interpretation since He suffered shame in the eyes of society, suffered while doing good and yet received honour from God.
Word study of important concepts in the pericope:	<i>πάσχω</i> (v.19, 20, 21, 23): According to Louw and Nida (1996) <i>πάσχω</i> refers to: • Suffering pain (domain 24F Pain, suffering); or • Undergo an experience, usually difficult, and normally with the implication of physical or psychological suffering (domain 90M Experience).

The distinction seems somewhat superficial, and thus both possible meanings may very well be applicable. Peter certainly suggests physical pain and suffering as well as the psychological scars that it inflict.

Revelation historical context of the pericope:

This pericope is unique in its revelation-historical positioning since it focuses specifically, and not only by implication, on the suffering of Christ as basis for the enduring of suffering by believing slaves. In his suffering, Christ set the example to be followed by all believers who suffer because of being mistreated by persons in a position of authority: He committed no sin, never lied, never retaliated, and never threatened (v.22-23) when mistreated by persons in a position of authority. In this way He bore the sins of all believers on the cross (v.24). The implied meaning of ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις is thus that a slave who suffers injustice at the hand of his owner must still submit to him or her with all respect. In fact, it is grace from God to suffer injustice and still remain true to Him (v.19-20).

The pericope further seems to share the more conservative approach to slavery evident in 1 Timothy 6:1-2d and Titus 2:9-10 (see 6.3.4 and 6.3.5 above). See 6.6 below for a more detailed examination of this issue.

Revelation about God in the pericope:

Those household slaves who remain faithful to Him despite suffering injustice at the hands of their owners, are accredited before God (1 Pet 2:20a); it is “grace before God” (1 Pet 2:20b). God credits this form of the endurance, because it means following in the footsteps of Christ who suffered injustice from those in a position of authority. Through Christ God became their Shepherd and Guardian, who has returned the stray sheep to Himself.

Salvific facts in the pericope:

The salvific work of Christ clearly speaks from the description of his suffering and its effect (v.21-24). The believing household slave who unjustly suffers physical and emotional abuse at the hands of his owner must be reminded of the wound Christ suffered on his or her behalf and find comfort in the fact that Christ’s wound brought him or her spiritual healing, if not physical and emotional healing.

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

The appeal is only by implication: Believing slave-owners must not allow themselves to, in their relationship with their slaves, misuse their authority like the persons in positions of authority who caused unjust suffering to Christ. Rather, they should treat their slaves justly, also on the basis of Christ’s suffering on their behalf.

The communication aim of the pericope:

The pericope aims to encourage household slaves to persevere even under extreme injustice. By implication the pericope exhorts believing slave-owners in the congregations to act justly towards their household slaves.

Summary interpretation:

Peter encourages household slaves who suffer injustice at the hands of their unbelieving owners to remain submissive and not to become rebellious, taking as example Christ’s willingness to suffer unjustly at the hands of persons in positions of authority. In fact, they must follow his example of righteousness, truth and reconciliation. He is their Shepherd and Guardian, and the household slaves, like sheep having been brought back to their shepherd, should follow in his footsteps. By implication the pericope exhorts believing slave-owners in the congregations to act justly towards their household slaves.

6.3.7 Section summary

The exhortations to slaves do provide some insight into the New Testament views on the rights and duties of slave-owners. All the pericopes analysed favour a Christological recontextualisation of the relationship between owner and slave. Both slave and owner must adjust their conduct within this relationship according to their respective relationships to Christ as their Lord, taking as example Christ’s own response to injustice incurred because of the acts of persons in a position of authority. The pericopes do, however, differ in their application of this new context with resulting differences in the implicated appeals to slave-owners:

Christological recontextualisation	Indirect appeal(s) to slave-owners
1 Corinthians 7:21-23 focusses on the calling of the Lord, placing each believer, whether slave or free, in his or her life situation	To free their believing slaves who are freedmen of Christ as instruments implementing God's calling.
Ephesians 6:5-8 and Colossians 3:22-25 focus on the Lordship of Christ over both owners and slaves.	To treat slaves in a manner consistent with the owner's service to the Lord, to become an instrument in the delivery of the Lord's reward, and not to replace the Lord in the lives of their believing slaves.
1 Timothy 6:1-2d and Titus 2:9-10 places the emphasis on the preservation of the teachings of God and his church through the obedience of believing slaves.	Not to slander the Name of God and teachings of the church because their slaves, who are their fellow-brothers and sisters in Christ, do not regard them as worthy of all honour, and to accept the faithfulness of their believing slaves who act according to the positive and negative exhortations to them, all in order to preserve the teaching of God and his church.
1 Peter 2:18-25 focusses on the suffering of Christ as a template for the unjust suffering experienced by believing slaves.	Not to allow themselves to, in their relationship with their slaves, misuse their authority like the persons in positions of authority who caused unjust suffering to Christ.

6.4 DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CONDUCT OF SLAVE-OWNERS AND OTHERS TOWARDS SLAVES

6.4.1 Matthew 8:5-13

Matthew 8:5-13 (UBS ⁴ 1994) (cf Luke 7:1-10, John 4:43-54)	
Pericope: ⁵ Εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατόνταρχος παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ⁶ καὶ λέγων, Κύριε, ὁ παῖς μου βέβληται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ παραλυτικός, δεινῶς βασανιζόμενος. ⁷ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἐγὼ ἐλθὼν θεραπεύσω αὐτόν. ⁸ καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος ἔφη, Κύριε, οὐκ εἰμι ἰκανὸς ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπὲ λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήσεται ὁ παῖς μου. ⁹ καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν, ἔχων ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας, καὶ λέγω τούτῳ, Πορεύθητι, καὶ πορεύεται, καὶ ἄλλῳ, Ἔρχου, καὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ τῷ δούλῳ μου, Ποίησον τοῦτο, καὶ ποιεῖ. ¹⁰ ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐθαύμασεν καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσιν, Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, παρ' οὐδενὶ τοσαύτην πίστιν	Own translation with grammatical notes: ⁵ After he [Jesus] had entered Capernaum, an army officer commanding one hundred soldiers approached him, appealing to him ⁶ and saying: "Lord, my personal slave ⁱ is lying in the house paralyzed while suffering terribly." ⁷ And He [Jesus] says to him: "After I have come, I will heal him." ⁸ And answering, the officer said: "Lord, I am not fit that you come under my roof. But just say the word, and my slave will be healed. ⁹ For even I myself am a man with a mandate, having soldiers under me, and I tell this one 'go' and he goes, and that one 'come' and he comes, and to my slave 'do this' and he does it." ¹⁰ And having heard [this], Jesus was amazed and said to those following [him]: "Amen I say to you, I have found no one in Israel with such great faith. ¹¹ But I say to you that many will come from east and west and will be reclined (to dine) with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of the heavens, ¹² but the sons of the kingdom will be expelled to the outer darkness. There will be weeping and the gnashing of teeth." ¹³ And Jesus said

έν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὖρον. ¹¹ λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἤξουσιν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ¹² οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. ¹³ καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ ἐκατοντάρχη, Ὑπαγε, ὡς ἐπίστευσας γεννηθήτω σοι. καὶ ἰάθη ὁ παῖς [αὐτοῦ] ἐν τῇ ᾠρᾷ ἐκείνῃ.	to the officer: “Go! As you believed, it will happen for you.” And [his] slave was healed at that very hour. ⁱ⁾ ὁ παῖς may refer to a slave “possible serving as a personal slave and thus with the implication of kindly regard” (Louw & Nida 1996). BDAG (2002) also intimates that such an meaning is possible, especially referring to a trusted male slave. This would explain the use of παῖς in verse 6 but δοῦλος in verse 9.
Placement of the pericope in the book:¹ 1. The person of Jesus the Messiah (1:1–4:16) 1.1 The ancestry of Jesus the Messiah (1:1-17) 1.2 Scripture fulfilled in the birth, childhood of Jesus the Messiah (1:18–2:23) 1.3 John the Baptist and Jesus (3:1-17) 1.4 Testing and preparation (4:1-16) 2. The public ministry of Jesus in and around Galilee (4:17–16:20) 2.1 Introduction to the public ministry (4:17-25) 2.2 First discourse: Discipleship (5:1–7:29) 2.3 A selection of Jesus’ miracles (8:1–9:34) ← 2.4 Second discourse: The disciples’ mission (9:35–10:42) 2.5 Varying response to Jesus’ public ministry (11:1–12:50) 2.6 Third discourse: Jesus’ teaching in parables (13:1-52) 2.7 Further responses to Jesus’ public ministry (13:53–16:20) 3. Private ministry in Galilee; preparing the disciples (16:21–18:35) 3.1 Teaching on Jesus’ mission (16:21–17:27) 3.2 Fourth discourse: Relationships among the disciples (18:1-35) 4. Ministry in Judea <i>en route</i> to Jerusalem (19:1–25:46) 4.1 On the way to Jerusalem (19:1–20:34) 4.2 Arrival in Jerusalem (21:1-22) 4.3 Controversies with the Jewish leaders (21:23–23:39) 4.4 Fifth discourse: Judgment (24:1–25:46) 5. The death and resurrection of Jesus (26:1–28:20) 5.1 Preparation for the passion (26:1-46) 5.2 The arrest and trial of Jesus (26:47–27:26) 5.3 The crucifixion of Jesus (27:27-56) 5.4 The burial, resurrection and commission of Jesus (27:57–28:20) This pericope forms part of Matthew’s description of Jesus’ public ministry in and around Galilee (section 2). Section 2.3 constitutes the pericope’s immediate textual context and describes nine of Jesus’ miracles, eight of which were healings and the other being Jesus’ calming of the storm. The purpose of this section 2.3 is to illustrate the power and authority of Jesus as the Messiah, the Son of God, over all humanity, illness, demons, and nature. ⁱ⁾ Cf Combrink (1983:75-76). Genre of the pericope and of the book: The pericope constitutes the genre miracle narrative within the broader genre Gospel.	

Analysis of the narrative structure of the pericope: Background (5) → The officer's appeal to Jesus (6) ↳ Jesus' response to the officer (7) ↳ Testimony of the officer's great faith (8-9) ↳ Jesus' astonishment (10) ↳ Jesus compares the Jews to this officer (11-12) ↳ Jesus' response to the officer (13a) → Result: Healing of the officer's slave (13b)	
Socio-historic context of the pericope: The pericope does not provide much assistance in determining the relevant socio-historic context, e.g. the illness that the slave suffered with. Indeed, the crux of this miracle narrative is the great faith exhibited by the officer. For purposes of this study, that fact is irrelevant. But the officer's attitude towards his slave is very relevant. It is apparent that he is concerned for his slave, yet what his motivation for this concern is, is unclear. It seems plausible that his concern for his slave is based on the slave's position of trust as the officer's personal slave (see translation above). Yet the evidence provided in chapter 5 suggests that the officer's concern may just as plausibly have been economically motivated rather than by genuine concern for his slave's well-being.	
Word study of important concepts in the pericope: None.	
Revelation historical context of the pericope: This pericope indicates that Jesus Christ extended his healing, and by implication his salvation, to the legally and socially disadvantaged of his time. In his indirect interaction with the officer's slave, Jesus exhibits love and compassion towards the slave.	
Revelation about God in the pericope: Jesus Christ did not discriminate against slaves because of their lowly legal and social status. In fact, He was even prepared to go to the officer's house to heal the slave.	
Salvific facts in the pericope: Not relevant for this study.	
Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope: Based on Jesus' compassion for the officer's slave, the implicit appeal is made to believing slave-owners to also act compassionately towards their slaves, as the officer even in his unbelief did.	
The communication aim of the pericope: The pericope aims to reveal, relevant to this study, Jesus Christ's compassion for the legally and socially disadvantaged of his time.	
Summary interpretation: Although the pericope does not deal directly with the slave-owner relationship, it does provide some insight into this relationship in the first century. Jesus' compassion for the officer's slave motivates the officer to come to faith in Christ. The pericope provides a link between faith in Jesus Christ and a slave-owner's relationship with his slaves. This link is further elucidated in the pericopes analysed in 6.2 and 6.3.	

6.4.2 Matthew 10:24-25

Matthew 10:24-25 (UBS⁴ 1994) (cf John 13:16 and 15:20)	
Pericope: 24 Οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον οὐδὲ δοῦλος ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ. 25 ἄρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ὡς ὁ κύριος	Own translation with grammatical notes: 24 A disciple is not above the teacher and a slave is not above his owner. 25 It is sufficient for the disciple to become like his teacher and the slave like his owner. If they called the owner of the house Beelzebul, how much more the members of his household!

αὐτοῦ. εἰ τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην Βεελζεβούλ ἐπεκάλεσαν, πόσω μᾶλλον τοὺς οἰκιακοὺς αὐτοῦ.	
Placement of the pericope in the book:¹ 1. The person of Jesus the Messiah (1:1–4:16) 1.1 The ancestry of Jesus the Messiah (1:1-17) 1.2 Scripture fulfilled in the birth, childhood of Jesus the Messiah (1:18–2:23) 1.3 John the Baptist and Jesus (3:1-17) 1.4 Testing and preparation (4:1-16) 2. The public ministry of Jesus in and around Galilee (4:17–16:20) 2.1 Introduction to the public ministry (4:17-25) 2.2 First discourse: Discipleship (5:1–7:29) 2.3 A selection of Jesus' miracles (8:1–9:34) 2.4 Second discourse: The disciples' mission (9:35–10:42) ← 2.5 Varying response to Jesus' public ministry (11:1–12:50) 2.6 Third discourse: Jesus' teaching in parables (13:1-52) 2.7 Further responses to Jesus' public ministry (13:53–16:20) 3. Private ministry in Galilee; preparing the disciples (16:21–18:35) 3.1 Teaching on Jesus' mission (16:21–17:27) 3.2 Fourth discourse: Relationships among the disciples (18:1-35) 4. Ministry in Judea <i>en route</i> to Jerusalem (19:1–25:46) 4.1 On the way to Jerusalem (19:1–20:34) 4.2 Arrival in Jerusalem (21:1-22) 4.3 Controversies with the Jewish leaders (21:23–23:39) 4.4 Fifth discourse: Judgment (24:1–25:46) 5. The death and resurrection of Jesus (26:1–28:20) 5.1 Preparation for the passion (26:1-46) 5.2 The arrest and trial of Jesus (26:47–27:26) 5.3 The crucifixion of Jesus (27:27-56) 5.4 The burial, resurrection and commission of Jesus (27:57–28:20) This pericope forms part of Jesus' second discourse with his disciples (2.4: 9:35–10:42), still during his public ministry in and around Galilee (section 2). Jesus teaches his disciples regarding his mission for them. This pericope follows directly after Jesus' warning about the persecution that his disciples will face. ¹) Cf Combrink (1983:75-76).	
Genre of the pericope and of the book: One may describe this pericope as didactical discourse between Jesus and his disciples.	
Analysis of the narrative structure of the pericope: - Basic assertion (v.24) ↳ Explanation (v.25a) ↳ Application (v.25b)	
Socio-historic context of the pericope: The pericope utilizes the slave-owner relationship as illustration. Jesus likens his disciples to students or slaves who cannot achieve higher status than their teacher or owner, respectively. When the teacher or owner is brushed with the brush of suspicion (cf the Pharisees charge against Jesus in 12:24 that He only drives out demons through the power of Beelzebul, or Satan), the students or slaves do not escape the same. Jesus clearly acknowledges the legal and social realities of the slave-owner relationship.	
Word study of important concepts in the pericope: None.	
Revelation historical context of the pericope: This pericope deals with the fact of life that perception by association attaches to followers and teachers and slaves and slave-owners alike. Considering the other pericopes analysed	

in this chapter, these words of Jesus may provide a link to the motive expressed in 1 Timothy 6:1-2d and Titus 2:9-10 (see 6.3.4 and 6.3.5 above respectively) that the conduct of slaves (and by implication slave-owners) must not slander the Name of God but rather adorn it.

Revelation about God in the pericope:

Not relevant for this study.

Salvific facts in the pericope:

Not relevant for this study.

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

The implied appeal to believing slave-owners seems to be that they must bear in mind that the public perception about them will also attach to their slaves, who may even act publicly on their behalf (see 0 above).

The communication aim of the pericope:

The pericope aims to communicate to the disciples that they will be judged with the same heavy hand as Jesus Himself.

Summary interpretation:

Slaves must accept their close relationship with their owners, even to the extent of public perception about the owner. Likewise, believing slave-owners must bear in mind that the public perception about them will also attach to their whole household, including their slaves. Furthermore, their conduct will reflect either positively or negatively on Jesus as their Teacher/Owner.

6.4.3 Matthew 24:45-51

Matthew 24:45-51 (UBS⁴ 1994) (cf Luke 12:41-48)

Pericope:

⁴⁵ Τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος ὃν κατέστησεν ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκετείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὴν τροφήν ἐν καιρῷ; ⁴⁶ μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὐρήσει οὕτως ποιοῦντα· ⁴⁷ ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν. ⁴⁸ ἐὰν δὲ εἴπῃ ὁ κακὸς δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, Χρονίζει μου ὁ κύριος, ⁴⁹ καὶ ἄρξηται τύπτειν τοὺς συνδούλους αὐτοῦ, ἐσθίῃ δὲ καὶ πίνῃ μετὰ τῶν μεθυόντων, ⁵⁰ ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἡ οὐ γινώσκει, ⁵¹ καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτόν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν θήσει· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.

Own translation with grammatical notes:

⁴⁵ Who then is the faithful and wise slave whom the owner put in charge over his household to give food to them on time? ⁴⁶ Blessed is that slave whom his owner when he comes will find doing so. ⁴⁷ Truly, I say to you that he will put him in charge of all his possessions. ⁴⁸ But if that bad slave says in his heart: "My owner is delayed", ⁴⁹ and he starts to beat his fellow slaves and he also eats and drinks with drunkards, ⁵⁰ the owner of that slave will come on a day when he does not expect and at an hour that he does not know, ⁵¹ and he will cut him in two and consign his place among the hypocrites. Weeping and gnashing of teeth will be there.

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

1. The person of Jesus the Messiah (1:1–4:16)
 - 1.1 The ancestry of Jesus the Messiah (1:1-17)
 - 1.2 Scripture fulfilled in the birth, childhood of Jesus the Messiah (1:18–2:23)
 - 1.3 John the Baptist and Jesus (3:1-17)
 - 1.4 Testing and preparation (4:1-16)
2. The public ministry of Jesus in and around Galilee (4:17–16:20)

- 2.1 Introduction to the public ministry (4:17-25)
- 2.2 First discourse: Discipleship (5:1–7:29)
- 2.3 A selection of Jesus' miracles (8:1–9:34)
- 2.4 Second discourse: The disciples' mission (9:35–10:42)
- 2.5 Varying response to Jesus' public ministry (11:1–12:50)
- 2.6 Third discourse: Jesus' teaching in parables (13:1-52)
- 2.7 Further responses to Jesus' public ministry (13:53–16:20)
- 3. Private ministry in Galilee; preparing the disciples (16:21–18:35)
 - 3.1 Teaching on Jesus' mission (16:21–17:27)
 - 3.2 Fourth discourse: Relationships among the disciples (18:1-35)
- 4. Ministry in Judea *en route* to Jerusalem (19:1–25:46)
 - 4.1 On the way to Jerusalem (19:1–20:34)
 - 4.2 Arrival in Jerusalem (21:1-22)
 - 4.3 Controversies with the Jewish leaders (21:23–23:39)
 - 4.4 **Fifth discourse: Judgment** (24:1–25:46)
- 5. The death and resurrection of Jesus (26:1–28:20)
 - 5.1 Preparation for the passion (26:1-46)
 - 5.2 The arrest and trial of Jesus (26:47–27:26)
 - 5.3 The crucifixion of Jesus (27:27-56)
 - 5.4 The burial, resurrection and commission of Jesus (27:57–28:20)



This pericope forms part of Jesus' fifth discourse with his disciples (4.4: 24:1–25:46) *en route* to Jerusalem (section 4). Jesus teaches his disciples regarding the coming judgment and the end of the age. Jesus uses this parable to illustrate the point in 24:36-44 that the last day and hour of this age are only known to the Father and that this fact demands vigilance on the part of believers.

¹⁾ Cf Combrink (1983:75-76).

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

This pericope is a parable typical of those contained in the Gospels, referring a practical life situation in order to convey a message regarding the kingdom of God. In the Greco-Roman literary tradition parables were considered narrative fiction but in the Hebrew tradition it had a much wider range of applications, almost to the point of metaphor (cf Crossan 1996). The parables of the Gospels of the New Testament borrowed the narrative form from the Greeks and Romans, and the inclusion of real or possible events from the Hebrews. The New Testament parables are not allegories but rather brings home one truth (*tertium comparationis*) at a time (Van der Walt 2007:176).

Analysis of the narrative structure of the pericope:

- Rhetorical question (v.45)
 - ↳ Jesus' positive answer (v.46)
 - ↳ The faithful slave's reward (v.47)
 - ↳ Jesus' negative answer (v.48-49)
 - ↳ The bad slave's just desserts (v.50-51)

Socio-historic context of the pericope:

The pericope utilizes the slave-owner relationship as illustration, yet provides some clues as to the relationship between slave and slave-owner. This relationship is again taken for granted. Based on the evidence contained in chapters 3 to 5 it is very probably that an owner would have left a slave in charge of his household in his absence (cf 3.9 and 3.13 above). This parable also clearly confirms the evidence of the system of reward and very harsh punishment in slave management (cf chapter 5 above).

Word study of important concepts in the pericope:

None.

Revelation historical context of the pericope:

Not relevant for this study.

Revelation about God in the pericope:

Not relevant for this study.

Salvific facts in the pericope:

Not relevant for this study.

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

One may interpret Jesus' parable as condoning very harsh punishment and actually encouraging slave-owners to practise it. Such a conclusion would, however, not properly account for the genre of the pericope namely parable. The relationship between slave and owner, and specifically the system of reward and punishment, is not the *tertium comparationis* of the parable, but rather the fact that the faithful slave vigilantly awaits the return of his owner, and the bad slave not. Yet the slave-owner relationship remains a sub-text in the parable, and based on the socio-historic evidence presents a true picture of this relationship based on reward and punishment (cf Judge 1960:30), but also trust. Jesus acknowledges it and uses this phenomenon in his parable, but does not necessarily condone it. Slave-owners might be exhorted to treat their slaves justly according to their obedience and trustworthiness.

The communication aim of the pericope:

Jesus teaches his disciple to vigilantly await his return like the faithful slave.

Summary interpretation:

The picture of the slave-owner relationship painted by this parable is true to the socio-historic evidence: The relationship was built on trust, but also reward and punishment.

6.4.4 Matthew 25:14-30**Matthew 25:14-30 (UBS⁴ 1994) (cf Luke 19:11-27)****Pericope:**

¹⁴ Ὡςπερ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἀποδημῶν ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς ἰδίους δούλους καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ, ¹⁵ καὶ ᾧ μὲν ἔδωκεν πέντε τάλαντα, ᾧ δὲ δύο, ᾧ δὲ ἓν, ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν, καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν. εὐθέως ¹⁶ πορευθεὶς ὁ τὰ πέντε τάλαντα λαβὼν ἡργάσατο ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκέρδησεν ἄλλα πέντε. ¹⁷ ὡσαύτως ὁ τὰ δύο ἐκέρδησεν ἄλλα δύο. ¹⁸ ὁ δὲ τὸ ἓν λαβὼν ἀπελθὼν ὥρυξεν γῆν καὶ ἔκρυπεν τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ. ¹⁹ μετὰ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἔρχεται ὁ κύριος τῶν δούλων ἐκείνων καὶ συναίρει λόγον μετ' αὐτῶν. ²⁰ καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ τὰ πέντε τάλαντα λαβὼν προσήνεγκεν ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα λέγων, Κύριε, πέντε τάλαντά μοι παρέδωκας· ἴδε ἄλλα πέντε τάλαντα ἐκέρδησα. ²¹ ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ, Εὖ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστέ, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἢς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω· εἰσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου. ²² προσελθὼν [δὲ] καὶ ὁ τὰ δύο τάλαντα εἶπεν,

Own translation with grammatical notes:

¹⁴ For just as a man about to go on a journey called his own slaves and entrusted to them his possessions, ¹⁵ and to one he gave five talents, to another two, to another one, to each according to his own ability. Then he went on a journey. ¹⁶ Going at once, the one who had received the five talents engaged in business with them, and he gained five others [more]. ¹⁷ Similarly the one [who had received] the two gained two others [more]. ¹⁸ But after he left, the one who had received the one talent, dug [in the] ground and hid his owner's money. ¹⁹ Now after a long time the owner of those slaves comes and he settles accounts with them. ²⁰ And after approaching, the one who received the five talents brought five other [more] talents, saying: "Sir, you handed over to me five talents. Look! I have gained five other [more] talents." ²¹ To him his owner said: "Well done, good and faithful slave; over few [things] you were faithful; over many [things] I will put you in charge. Enter into the joy of your owner." ²² Then after approaching, also the one with the two talents said: "Sir, you handed over to me two talents. Look! I have gained two other [more] talents." ²³ His owner said to him: "Well done, good and faithful slave; over few [things] you were faithful; over many [things] I will put you in charge. Enter into the joy of your owner." ²⁴ Then after approaching, also the one who had received the one talent said: "Sir, I knew you

Κύριε, δύο τάλαντά μοι παρέδωκας· ἴδε ἄλλα δύο τάλαντα ἐκέρδησα. ²³ ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ, Εὖ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστέ, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἡς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω· εἰσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου. ²⁴ προσελθὼν δὲ καὶ ὁ τὸ ἓν τάλαντον εἰληφώς εἶπεν, Κύριε, ἔγνων σε ὅτι σκληρὸς εἶ ἄνθρωπος, θερίζων ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρας καὶ συνάγων ὅθεν οὐ διεσκόρπισας, ²⁵ καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἀπελθὼν ἔκρυψα τὸ τάλαντόν σου ἐν τῇ γῇ· ἴδε ἔχεις τὸ σόν. ²⁶ ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Πονηρὲ δοῦλε καὶ ὀκνηρέ, ἦδεις ὅτι θερίζω ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρα καὶ συνάγω ὅθεν οὐ διεσκόρπισα; ²⁷ ἔδει σε οὖν βαλεῖν τὰ ἀργύριά μου τοῖς τραπεζῖταις, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐγὼ ἐκομισάμην ἂν τὸ ἐμὸν σὺν τόκῳ. ²⁸ ἄρατε οὖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τάλαντον καὶ δότε τῷ ἔχοντι τὰ δέκα τάλαντα· ²⁹ τῷ γὰρ ἔχοντι παντὶ δοθήσεται καὶ περισσευθήσεται, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντος καὶ ὃ ἔχει ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. ³⁰ καὶ τὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον ἐκβάλετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.

that you are a merciless man, reaping where you did not sow and gathering where you did not scatter [seed], ²⁵ and being afraid and after having left, I hid your talent in the ground. Look! You have [what is] yours.” ²⁶ But answering, his owner said to him, “You bad and lazy slave; you knew that I reap where I did not sow and gather where I did not scatter [seed]? ²⁷ So you should have deposited my money with the bankers, and after having come, I would have received what was my own with interest. ²⁸ Therefore take the talent from him and give it to the one who has the ten talents. ²⁹ For to everyone who has, will be given, and their will be abundance. But from the one who has not, even what he has will be taken away from him. ³⁰ And cast the worthless slave into the outer darkness. Weeping and gnashing of teeth will be there.”

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

1. The person of Jesus the Messiah (1:1–4:16)
 - 1.1 The ancestry of Jesus the Messiah (1:1-17)
 - 1.2 Scripture fulfilled in the birth, childhood of Jesus the Messiah (1:18–2:23)
 - 1.3 John the Baptist and Jesus (3:1-17)
 - 1.4 Testing and preparation (4:1-16)
2. The public ministry of Jesus in and around Galilee (4:17–16:20)
 - 2.1 Introduction to the public ministry (4:17-25)
 - 2.2 First discourse: Discipleship (5:1–7:29)
 - 2.3 A selection of Jesus' miracles (8:1–9:34)
 - 2.4 Second discourse: The disciples' mission (9:35–10:42)
 - 2.5 Varying response to Jesus' public ministry (11:1–12:50)
 - 2.6 Third discourse: Jesus' teaching in parables (13:1-52)
 - 2.7 Further responses to Jesus' public ministry (13:53–16:20)
3. Private ministry in Galilee; preparing the disciples (16:21–18:35)
 - 3.1 Teaching on Jesus' mission (16:21–17:27)
 - 3.2 Fourth discourse: Relationships among the disciples (18:1-35)
4. Ministry in Judea *en route* to Jerusalem (19:1–25:46)
 - 4.1 On the way to Jerusalem (19:1–20:34)
 - 4.2 Arrival in Jerusalem (21:1-22)
 - 4.3 Controversies with the Jewish leaders (21:23–23:39)
 - 4.4 **Fifth discourse: Judgment** (24:1–25:46)
5. The death and resurrection of Jesus (26:1–28:20)



- 5.1 Preparation for the passion (26:1-46)
- 5.2 The arrest and trial of Jesus (26:47–27:26)
- 5.3 The crucifixion of Jesus (27:27-56)
- 5.4 The burial, resurrection and commission of Jesus (27:57–28:20)

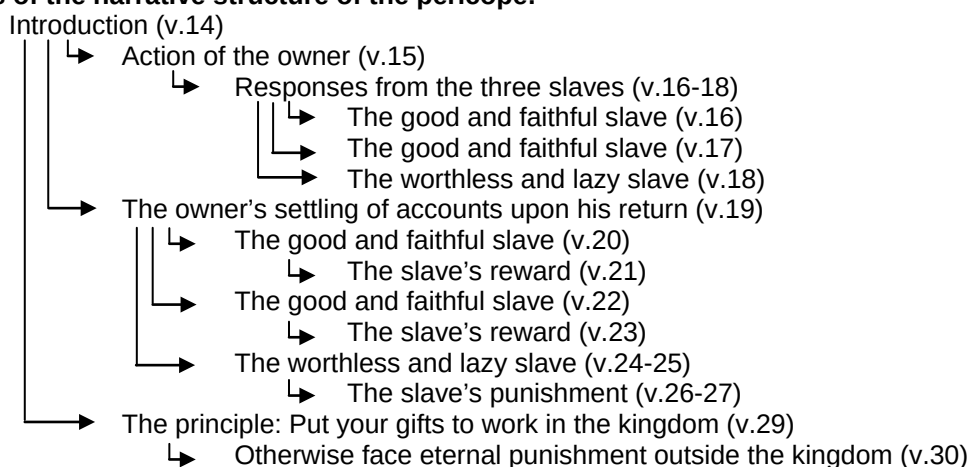
This pericope also forms part of Jesus' fifth discourse with his disciples (4.4: 24:1–25:46) *en route* to Jerusalem (section 4). Jesus teaches his disciples regarding the coming judgment and the end of the age. Jesus uses this parable to illustrate the point that believers must put their gifts to work in his interest until He returns.

ⁱ⁾ Cf Combrink (1983:75-76).

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

This pericope is a parable typical of those contained in the Gospels, referring a practical life situation in order to convey a message regarding the kingdom of God. See 6.4.3 above.

Analysis of the narrative structure of the pericope:



Socio-historic context of the pericope:

As does the previous pericope, the author utilizes the slave-owner relationship as illustration. Seccombe (2010:2; cf Snodgrass 2008:18) identifies Jesus' frequent use of incongruity and sometimes the outright bizarre as an important element of many of the parables recorded in the Gospels. While some elements of this parable are congruent with the evidence presented in chapters 3 to 5 (for example slave owners leaving slaves in charge of their household when travelling), an element of incongruity appears in verses 21 and 23: εἰσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου ("Enter into the joy of your owner"). The incongruity lies in the fact that slaves did not share in the festivities of their owner but served him and his guests, as Jesus indicates in Luke 17:7-8 (see 6.4.7 below). As Seccombe (2010:2) indicates, Jesus uses such incongruity to catch his hearer's attention and impress his truth upon them. It does not, however, detract from the reality of the relationship between slave and slave-owner as expounded in chapters 3 to 5. This parable also clearly confirms the evidence of the system of reward and punishment in slave management (cf chapter 5 above).

Word study of important concepts in the pericope:

None.

Revelation-historical context of the pericope:

Not relevant for this study.

Revelation about God in the pericope:

Not relevant for this study.

Salvific facts in the pericope:

Not relevant for this study.

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

Again, the relationship between slave and owner, and specifically the system of reward and punishment, is not the *tertium comparationis* of the parable, but rather the fact that the faithful believer will put his gifts to work to the benefit of the kingdom. Yet the slave-owner

relationship remains a sub-text in the parable, and based on the socio-historic evidence presents a true picture of this relationship based on reward and punishment (cf Judge 1960:30), apart from the incongruity presented in verses 21 and 24. Jesus acknowledges the slave-owner – slave relationship but does not necessarily condone it.

The communication aim of the pericope:

Jesus teaches his disciples to zealously reap the benefits of the gifts He bestows upon them while awaiting his return.

Summary interpretation:

The picture of the slave-owner relationship painted by this parable is true to the socio-historic evidence, apart from the incongruity identified in verses 21 and 24: The relationship was built on trust but also reward and punishment.

6.4.5 Mark 12:1-12

Mark 12:1-12 (UBS⁴ 1994) (cf Matt 21:33-46; Luke 20:9-19)

Pericope:

¹ Καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν, Ἀμπελῶνα ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν καὶ περιέθηκεν φραγμὸν καὶ ὠρυξεν ὑπολήνιον καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν πύργον καὶ ἐξέδετο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν. ² καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς τῷ καιρῷ δοῦλον ἵνα παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν λάβῃ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος. ³ καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔδειραν καὶ ἀπέστειλαν κενόν. ⁴ καὶ πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλον δοῦλον· κάκεῖνον ἐκεφαλῶσαν καὶ ἡτίμασαν. ⁵ καὶ ἄλλον ἀπέστειλεν· κάκεῖνον ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οὓς μὲν δέροντες, οὓς δὲ ἀποκτεννόντες. ⁶ ἔτι ἓνα εἶχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν· ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν ἔσχατον πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων ὅτι Ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱόν μου. ⁷ ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ γεωργοὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εἶπαν ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κληρονόμος· δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἔσται ἡ κληρονομία. ⁸ καὶ λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτόν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος. ⁹ τί [οὖν] ποιήσει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος; ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ δώσει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἄλλοις. ¹⁰ οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε, Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. ¹¹ παρὰ κυρίου

Own translation with grammatical notes:

¹ And He [Jesus] began to speak to them in parables: "A man planted a vineyard and put a fence around [it] and dug a winepress pit and built a watchtower and he leased it to tenant farmers and departed on a journey. ² And in season he sent a slave to the tenant farmers so that from the tenant farmers he will collect from the fruits of the vineyard. ³ And after seizing [him], they beat him and sent [him] away empty-handed. ⁴ And again he sent another slave to them. And that one they struck on the head and shamed [him]. ⁵ And he sent another. And that one they killed. And [he sent] many others – on the one hand they continued beating some; on the other hand they continued killing some. ⁶ Still, he [the owner] had one beloved son. Lastly he sent him to them, saying: "They will respect my son." ⁷ But those tenant farmers said to one another: "This is the heir. Come! Let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours." ⁸ And after having seized [him], they killed him and threw him out of the vineyard. ⁹ [So,] what will the owner of the vineyard do? He will come and destroy the tenant farmers and give the vineyard to others. ¹⁰ Do you not know this [passage of] Scripture: 'The stone that the builders rejected, it became the capstone. ¹¹ It became [such] from the Lord and it is wonderful in our eyes.'?" ¹² And they sought to arrest Him, but they became afraid of the people for they understood that He told the parable against them. And having left Him, they went away.

ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστή ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν; ¹² Καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον, ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον.

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

1. Superscription and introduction to the Gospel (1:1-15)
2. The public ministry of Jesus in and around Galilee (1:16–3:6)
3. Jesus' teaching and miracles (3:7–6:29)
4. Jesus' authority extended (6:30–8:26)
5. Christology and discipleship (8:27–10:52)
6. Jesus in Jerusalem (11:1–13:37)
 - 6.1 The triumphal entry (11:1-11)
 - 6.2 Jesus curses the fig tree (11:12-14)
 - 6.3 Jesus clears the temple (11:15-19)
 - 6.4 The withered fig tree (11:20-26)
 - 6.5 Confrontational discourse with the Jewish leaders (11:27–12:44)
 - 6.5.1 Question on Jesus' authority (11:27-33)
 - 6.5.2 **Parable of the tenants** (12:1-12) ←
 - 6.5.3 Question on the payment of taxes (12:13-17)
 - 6.5.4 Question on the resurrection (12:18-27)
 - 6.5.5 Question on the greatest commandment (12:28-34)
 - 6.5.6 Question on the son of David (12:35-40)
 - 6.5.7 The widow's offering (12:41-44)
 - 6.6 The prophetic discourse (13:1-37)
7. The passion narrative and the resurrection (14:1–16:8)
8. Appearance of Jesus after the resurrection (16:9-20)

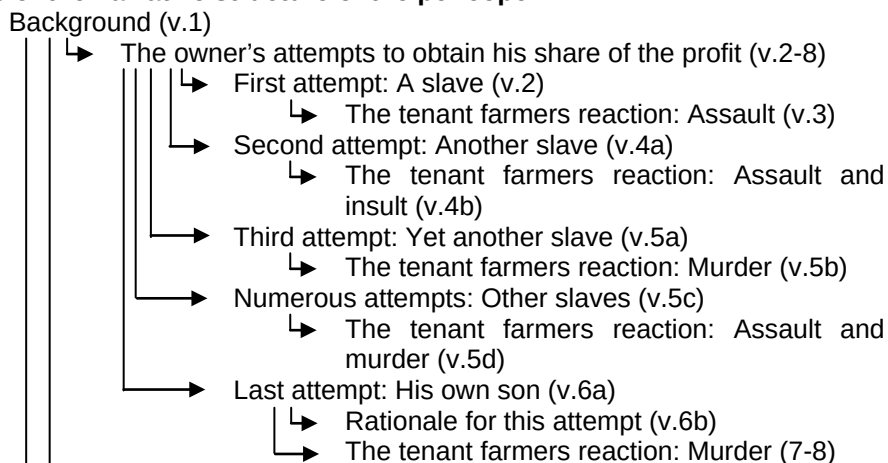
This pericope forms part of Jesus' confrontational discourse with the Jewish leaders (6.5: 11:27–12:44) in Jerusalem (section 6). All the questions posed by the Jewish leaders aim to discredit Jesus in the eyes of the people. In response Jesus points out the self-interest of the Jewish leaders, clearly illustrated by the parable in 6.5.2 (12:1-12).

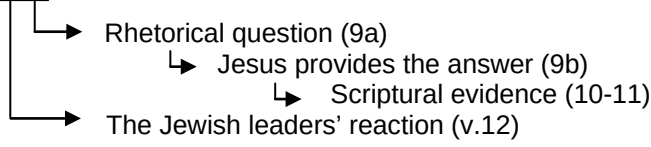
¹ Cf Vorster (1983:115-116).

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

This pericope is a parable typical of those contained in the Gospels, referring a practical life situation in order to convey a message regarding the kingdom of God. See 6.4.3 above.

Analysis of the narrative structure of the pericope:



 <pre> graph TD A[Rhetorical question (9a)] --> B[Jesus provides the answer (9b)] B --> C[Scriptural evidence (10-11)] C --> D[The Jewish leaders' reaction (v.12)] </pre>	
Socio-historic context of the pericope: This pericope (12:1-12) utilizes the slave-owner relationship as illustration; however, it does provide some clues as to the relationship between slave and slave-owner. This relationship is again taken for granted. The parable confirms the evidence contained in chapters 3 to 5 that slaves were considered to be no more than property, even if the slave belonged to another, and as a result suffered harsh and abusive treatment (cf 5.3-5.5 above). Thus the tenant farmers did not hesitate to verbally and physically abuse and even murder the slaves of the vineyard's owner.	
Word study of important concepts in the pericope: γεωργός: According to Louw and Nida (1996) γεωργός references a person who engages in agriculture or gardening i.e. a farmer or gardener (domain 43 Agriculture). It may refer to the owner of a farm or a person who does agricultural work on a contractual basis i.e a tenant farmer (BDAG). The context clearly points to the latter. Such tenant farmers were entitled to partake of the fruits of their work (TDNT 3:615). Slaves also worked as vine-dressers (cf Bradley 1994:60); it is, however, not relevant in this pericope.	
Revelation historical context of the pericope: Not relevant for this study.	
Revelation about God in the pericope: Not relevant for this study.	
Salvific facts in the pericope: Not relevant for this study.	
Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope: Again, the relationship between slave and owner is not the <i>tertium comparationis</i> of the parable, but rather the fact that the Jewish leaders served their self-interest in their dealings with the owner's slaves and son. Yet the slave-owner relationship remains a sub-text in the parable, and based on the socio-historic evidence presents a true picture of this relationship. Jesus acknowledges this relationship but the answer tot the question whther He condones it, is outside the scope of the pericope. In fact, in this parable He implicitly condemns the conduct of the tenant farmers towards the owner's slaves.	
The communication aim of the pericope: Jesus teaches that religious leaders are also prone to self-service, as are those that benefit financially from the owner's vineyard. Such self-service leads to improper and unjust conduct towards others, in this case slaves.	
Summary interpretation: The picture of the slave-owner relationship painted by this parable is true to the socio-historic evidence: The relationship was characterised by self-serving conduct towards slaves.	

6.4.6 Luke 16:1-8

Luke 16:1-8 (UBS ⁴ 1994)	
Pericope: ¹ Ἐλεγεν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς, Ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν πλούσιος ὃς εἶχεν οἰκονόμον, καὶ οὗτος διεβλήθη αὐτῷ ὡς διασκορπίζων τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ. ² καὶ φωνήσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ; ἀπόδος τὸν λόγον τῆς οἰκονομίας	Own translation with grammatical notes: ¹ But He [Jesus] was also saying to the disciples: "There was a wealthy man who had a manager, and he [the manager] was reported to him as a squanderer of his possessions. ² And having called him, he said to him: 'What is this that I hear about you? Render account of your management for you can no longer manage.' ³ But the manager said to himself: 'What will I do, for

σου, οὐ γὰρ δύνῃ ἐπι οἰκονομεῖν. ³ εἶπεν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ οἰκονόμος, Τί ποιήσω, ὅτι ὁ κύριός μου ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ; σκάπτειν οὐκ ἰσχύω, ἐπαιτεῖν αἰσχύνομαι. ⁴ ἔγνων τί ποιήσω, ἵνα ὅταν μετασταθῶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας δέξωνταί με εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν. ⁵ καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν χρεοφειλετῶν τοῦ κυρίου ἑαυτοῦ ἔλεγεν τῷ πρώτῳ, Πόσον ὀφείλεις τῷ κυρίῳ μου; ⁶ ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἑκατὸν βάτους ἐλαίου. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Δέξαι σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ καθίσας ταχέως γράψον πεντήκοντα. ⁷ ἔπειτα ἑτέρῳ εἶπεν, Σὺ δὲ πόσον ὀφείλεις; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἑκατὸν κόρους σίτου. λέγει αὐτῷ, Δέξαι σου τὰ γράμματα καὶ γράψον ὀγδοήκοντα. ⁸ καὶ ἐπῆρσεν ὁ κύριος τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας ὅτι φρονίμως ἔποσεν· ὅτι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου φρονιμώτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ φωτὸς εἰς τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῶν εἰσιν.

my owner takes away the management from me? I am not able to dig, I am ashamed to beg. ⁴ I have realized what I will do so that whenever I am removed from management, they will receive me in their homes. ⁵ And having summoned one by one the debtors of his owner, he was saying to the first: 'How much do you owe my owner?' ⁶ And he said: 'One hundred measures of olive oil.' And he said to him: 'Take your account and after sitting down quickly, write fifty.' ⁷ Thereafter he said to another: 'And you, how much do you owe?' And he said: 'One hundred measures of wheat.' He says to him: 'Take your account and write eighty.' ⁸ And the owner commended the manager for the injustice because he acted shrewdly. For the sons of this age are shrewder than the sons of the light towards their own generation."

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

1. Prologue (1:1-4)
2. The infancy narrative (1:5–2:52)
 - 2.1 The births of John the Baptist and Jesus foretold (1:5-38)
 - 2.2 Mary visits Elizabeth (1:39-56)
 - 2.3 The births of John the Baptist and Jesus (1:57–2:52)
3. Preparation for the ministry of Jesus (3:1–4:15)
 - 3.1 John the Baptist prepares the way (3:1-20)
 - 3.2 Jesus' baptism, genealogy, and temptation (3:21–4:15)
4. The ministry of Jesus in Galilee (4:16–9:50)
 - 4.1 The beginning (4:16–5:16)
 - 4.2 The beginning of controversy (5:17–6:11)
 - 4.3 Jesus teaches the disciples (6:12-49)
 - 4.4 Who is this Jesus? (7:1-50)
 - 4.5 Jesus teaches in parables (8:1-21)
 - 4.6 Jesus, Lord of nature, demons, disease and death (8:22-56)
 - 4.7 Jesus and the twelve (9:1-50)
5. Jesus *en route* to Jerusalem (9:51–19:27)
 - 5.1 The first mention of the journey to Jerusalem (9:51–13:21)
 - 5.2 The second mention of the journey to Jerusalem (13:22–17:10)
 - 5.2.1 The narrow door (13:22-30)
 - 5.2.2 Lament over Jerusalem (13:31-35)
 - 5.2.3 The healing of a man on the Sabbath (14:1-6)
 - 5.2.4 Various teachings and parables (14:7–17:10)
 - 5.2.4.1 The parable of the wedding feast (14:7-11)
 - 5.2.4.2 The parable of the great banquet (14:12-24)
 - 5.2.4.3 The cost of discipleship (14:25-33)
 - 5.2.4.4 Salt without taste is worthless (14:34-35)
 - 5.2.4.5 The parable of the lost sheep (15:1-7)

- 5.2.4.6 The parable of the lost coin (15:8-10)
- 5.2.4.7 The parable of the prodigal son (15:11-32)
- 5.2.4.8 **The parable of the dishonest manager (16:1-13)** ←
- 5.2.4.9 The law and the kingdom of God (16:14-17)
- 5.2.4.10 Divorce and remarriage (16:18)
- 5.2.4.11 The rich man and Lazarus (16:19-31)
- 5.2.4.12 Temptations to sin (17:1-4)
- 5.2.4.13 Increase our faith (17:5-6)
- 5.2.4.14 Unworthy servants (17:7-10)
- 5.3 The third mention of the journey to Jerusalem (17:11–9:27)
- 6. The ministry of Jesus in Jerusalem (19:28–21:38)
 - 6.1 The triumphal entry (19:28-40)
 - 6.2 Jesus in Jerusalem (19:41–21:38)
- 7. The suffering and death of Jesus (22:1–23:56)
 - 7.1 The plot to kill Jesus and the Passover meal (22:1-38)
 - 7.2 The arrest and trial of Jesus (22:39–23:25)
 - 7.3 The crucifixion, death, and burial of Jesus (23:26-56)
- 8. The resurrection of Jesus (24:1-53)
 - 8.1 The resurrection (24:1-12)
 - 8.2 Jesus' appearances after his resurrection (24:13-49)
 - 8.3 Jesus' ascension (24:50-53)

This pericope forms part of the section describing the second mention of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem (5.2: 14:7–17:10). Sub-section 5.2.4 contains various teachings and parables, amongst others the parable in this pericope. The sub-section contains two parables with slaves as antagonists namely this one and 5.2.4.14 (17:7-10; see 6.4.7 below).

¹⁾ Cf Du Plessis (1983a:163-164).

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

This pericope is a parable typical of those contained in the Gospels, referring a practical life situation in order to convey a message regarding the kingdom of God. See 6.4.3 above.

Analysis of the narrative structure of the pericope:

- Introduction (v.1a)
 - ↳ The charges (v.1b-2)
 - ↳ The manager's reaction (v.3)
 - ↳ His survival strategy (v.4-7)
 - ↳ The owner's reaction (v.8a)
 - ↳ Motivation (v.8b)

Socio-historic context of the pericope:

This pericope also utilizes the slave-owner relationship as illustration; however, it does provide some clues as to the relationship between slave and slave-owner. This relationship is again taken for granted. Based on the evidence contained in chapters 3 to 5 it is probably that an owner could have left a slave in charge of his business interests with considerable powers and influence (cf 0 above). The pericope also confirms the negative stereotyping of slaves as being dishonest (cf 5.2.2 above).

Harrill (2006:66ff) draws a parallel with two persona in ancient theatre namely the parasite (*parasitus*) and the clever (or trickster) slave (*servus callidus*). The former cannot exist without a host, does business as an agent and sees his parasitism as a career; he deals in extreme emotions, and he seeks a new host when the current one becomes obsolete (Harrill 2006:67-71). The latter's actions reverse the natural moral order, though entrenching his lowly status (Harrill 2006:72). He holds a position of responsibility in his owner's household, and must deal with some kind of emergency, usually by impersonating an authority figure and misleading people regarding the authority that he holds. His actions are usually followed by praise from himself, his owner, or others. All these elements of the parasite and clever slave are present in this pericope. Luke uses this theatrical set-up to indicate the manager slave's intelligence in underhanded business, but lack of it in the proper use of money (cf

Harrill 2006:77). Consequently, believers are exhorted to exhibit the same diligence when they 'manage' the 'property' of God in their dealings with other 'sons of light'.	
Word study of important concepts in the pericope:	
οικονόμος: According to Louw and Nida (1996) οικονόμος may reference:	
• a person who is in charge of running a household: "the manager of a household, a steward" (domain 46 Household Activities); or • a person who has the authority and responsibility for something: "one who is in charge of, one who is responsible for, administrator, manager" (domain 37C Exercise Authority); or • a manager of a city: "one who is in charge of the finances of a city, city treasurer" (domain 57T Keep Records).	
Louw and Nida (1996) indicate that the use of the word οικονόμος in this pericope relates to the first option, namely a manager of a household. BDAG confirms such an interpretation since the manager of the household also managed the owner's property. It seems possible, however, that there may be an overlap between the first and second options.	
According to Mason (1974:71) the word οικονόμος corresponds to the following Roman legal concepts: <i>actor</i> , <i>dispensator</i> , <i>vilicus</i> , and <i>aedilis coloniae</i> . Berger (1953) indicates that these concepts refer to the following in terms of Roman law:	
• <i>Actor</i>: "...a manager of another's business or affairs, an agent. Frequently a slave is appointed for this purpose" (Berger 1953:348). • <i>Dispensator</i>: "A financial manager of a wealthy landowner" (Berger 1953:438). • <i>Vilicus</i>: "The administrator of a country estate (villa), normally a slave who supervised all the personnel" (Berger 1953:765). • <i>Aedilis coloniae</i>: City officials or managers (cf Berger 1953:353).	
The positions of <i>actor</i> , <i>dispensator</i> and <i>vilicus</i> were filled by slaves (Bradley 1994:60-62). The position of <i>aedilis coloniae</i> is not relevant for this pericope. One may assume, therefore, that the manager in this pericope was a slave.	
Revelation historical context of the pericope:	
Not relevant for this study.	
Revelation about God in the pericope:	
Not relevant for this study.	
Salvific facts in the pericope:	
Not relevant for this study.	
Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:	
Again, the relationship between slave and owner is not the <i>tertium comparationis</i> of the parable. Yet the slave-owner relationship remains a sub-text in the parable, and based on the socio-historic evidence reflects a true picture of this relationship. It focuses on the negative aspects of this relationship namely disloyalty and self-interest from the side of the slave. Jesus acknowledges it but does not condone it.	
The communication aim of the pericope:	
The pericope encourages the disciples to exhibit the same diligence when they 'manage' the 'property' of God in their dealings with other 'sons of light'.	
Summary interpretation:	
The parable provides further evidence of the negative aspects of the slave-owner relationship identified in chapters 3 to 5.	

6.4.7 Luke 17:7-10

Luke 17:7-10 (UBS ⁴ 1994)	
Pericope:	Own translation with grammatical notes:
7 Τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν δοῦλον ἔχων ἀροτριῶντα ἢ ποιμαίνοντα, ὃς εἰσελθόντι ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐρεῖ	7 "But whom among you who has a slave plowing or keeping sheep will, after he has entered from the field say to him: 'Quickly,

αὐτῷ, Εὐθέως παρελθὼν ἀνάπεσε, ⁸ ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ, Ἐτοίμασον τί δειπνήσω καὶ περιζωσάμενος διακόνει μοι ἕως φάγω καὶ πίω, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φάγεσαι καὶ πίεσαι σὺ; ⁹ μὴ ἔχει χάριν τῷ δούλῳ ὅτι ἐποίησεν τὰ διαταχθέντα; ¹⁰ οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὅταν ποιήσητε πάντα τὰ διαταχθέντα ὑμῖν, λέγετε ὅτι Δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοί ἐσμεν, ὃ ὠφείλομεν ποιῆσαι πεπιοίκαμεν.	after you have entered, recline at the table'? ⁸ but will he not say to him: 'Prepare what I may eat, and having dressed, serve me while I eat and drink, and afterward you eat and drink'? ⁹ Does he hold favour [is he grateful] towards the slave because he did what was ordered? ¹⁰ So you also, when you have done all that you were ordered, say: 'We are unworthy slaves; we did what we owed to do.'"
---	--

Placement of the pericope in the book:¹

1. Prologue (1:1-4)
2. The infancy narrative (1:5–2:52)
 - 2.1 The births of John the Baptist and Jesus foretold (1:5-38)
 - 2.2 Mary visits Elizabeth (1:39-56)
 - 2.3 The births of John the Baptist and Jesus (1:57–2:52)
3. Preparation for the ministry of Jesus (3:1–4:15)
 - 3.1 John the Baptist prepares the way (3:1-20)
 - 3.2 Jesus' baptism, genealogy, and temptation (3:21–4:15)
4. The ministry of Jesus in Galilee (4:16–9:50)
 - 4.1 The beginning (4:16–5:16)
 - 4.2 The beginning of controversy (5:17–6:11)
 - 4.3 Jesus teaches the disciples (6:12–49)
 - 4.4 Who is this Jesus? (7:1-50)
 - 4.5 Jesus teaches in parables (8:1-21)
 - 4.6 Jesus, Lord of nature, demons, disease and death (8:22-56)
 - 4.7 Jesus and the twelve (9:1-50)
5. Jesus *en route* to Jerusalem (9:51–19:27)
 - 5.1 The first mention of the journey to Jerusalem (9:51–13:21)
 - 5.2 The second mention of the journey to Jerusalem (13:22–17:10)
 - 5.2.1 The narrow door (13:22-30)
 - 5.2.2 Lament over Jerusalem (13:31-35)
 - 5.2.3 The healing of a man on the Sabbath (14:1-6)
 - 5.2.4 Various teachings and parables (14:7–17:10)
 - 5.2.4.1 The parable of the wedding feast (14:7-11)
 - 5.2.4.2 The parable of the great banquet (14:12-24)
 - 5.2.4.3 The cost of discipleship (14:25-33)
 - 5.2.4.4 Salt without taste is worthless (14:34-35)
 - 5.2.4.5 The parable of the lost sheep (15:1-7)
 - 5.2.4.6 The parable of the lost coin (15:8-10)
 - 5.2.4.7 The parable of the prodigal son (15:11-32)
 - 5.2.4.8 The parable of the dishonest manager (16:1-13)
 - 5.2.4.9 The law and the kingdom of God (16:14-17)
 - 5.2.4.10 Divorce and remarriage (16:18)
 - 5.2.4.11 The rich man and Lazarus (16:19-31)
 - 5.2.4.12 Temptations to sin (17:1-4)
 - 5.2.4.13 Increase our faith (17:5-6)
 - 5.2.4.14 **Unworthy slaves** (17:7-10) ←
 - 5.3 The third mention of the journey to Jerusalem (17:11–19:27)
6. The ministry of Jesus in Jerusalem (19:28–21:38)
 - 6.1 The triumphal entry (19:28-40)
 - 6.2 Jesus in Jerusalem (19:41–21:38)
7. The suffering and death of Jesus (22:1–23:56)
 - 7.1 The plot to kill Jesus and the Passover meal (22:1-38)

8.	7.2 The arrest and trial of Jesus (22:39–23:25) 7.3 The crucifixion, death, and burial of Jesus (23:26-56) 8.1 The resurrection of Jesus (24:1-53) 8.2 The resurrection (24:1-12) 8.3 Jesus' appearances after his resurrection (24:13-49) 8.4 Jesus' ascension (24:50-53)
This pericope forms part of the section describing the second mention of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem (5.2: 14:7–17:10). Sub-section 5.2.4 contains various teachings and parables, amongst others the parable in this pericope. The sub-section contains two parables with slaves as antagonists namely 5.2.4.8 (16:1-13; see 6.4.6 above) and this one.	
¹⁾ Cf Du Plessis (1983a:163-164).	
Genre of the pericope and of the book: This pericope is a parable typical of those contained in the Gospels, referring to a practical life situation in order to convey a message regarding the kingdom of God. See 6.4.3 above.	
Analysis of the narrative structure of the pericope: - Rhetorical question (v.7) ↳ Antithetical question (v.8) ↳ Explanation (v.9) ↳ Application (v.10)	
Socio-historic context of the pericope: As does the previous pericopes, this one also utilizes the slave-owner relationship as illustration; however, it does provide some clues as to the relationship between slave and slave-owner. This relationship is again taken for granted. Based on the evidence contained in chapters 3 to 5 it is probable that Jesus describes an accurate and real situation between slave-owner and slave illustrating that the relationship is one of authority, not friendship or equality or reciprocity. This passage clearly illustrates the incongruity identified in Matthew 25:21 and 24 (see 6.4.4 above).	
Word study of important concepts in the pericope: None.	
Revelation historical context of the pericope: Not relevant for this study.	
Revelation about God in the pericope: Not relevant for this study.	
Salvific facts in the pericope: Not relevant for this study.	
Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope: The only implied appeal to slave-owners seems to be that slave-owners must exercise their authority over their slaves to their best advantage, not considering the interests of the slave. Taking into consideration the genre of the pericope, this is not a valid conclusion, since the <i>tertium comparationis</i> provided in verse 10 relates to Jesus' relationship with his disciples. The pericope does express the slave-owner's self-interest in his conduct towards his slave, as is also evident from the evidence presented in chapters 3 to 5.	
The communication aim of the pericope: Jesus' aim with the parable is to teach the disciples that they should not expect or demand special thanks when they just do what they are supposed and obligated to do.	
Summary interpretation: Based on the socio-historic evidence, this parable presents a fair reflection of the relationship between slave-owner and slave, namely that the relationship was solely directed at the slave-owner's interests and not those of the slave.	

6.4.8 John 8:34-36

John 8:35 (UBS⁴ 1994) Pericope: ³⁴ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν δοῦλός ἐστιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας. ³⁵ ὁ δὲ δοῦλος οὐ μένει ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ὁ υἱὸς μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ³⁶ ἐὰν οὖν ὁ υἱὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ, ὅντως ἐλεύθεροι ἔσεσθε.	Own translation with grammatical notes: ³⁴ Jesus answered them: “Truly, truly, I say to you: Everyone who commits sin is a slave of sin. ³⁵ Now, the slave does not stay in the house for eternity; the son stays for eternity. ³⁶ If then the Son sets you free, you will truly be freed persons.”
Placement of the pericope in the book:¹ 1. Prologue: The Incarnate Word (1:1-18) 2. The signs of the Messiah reveal his glory (1:19–12:50) 2.1 Witness of John the Baptist and Jesus' first disciples (1:19-51) 2.2 Jesus' ministry from Cana tot Cana: Miracles and discourses (2:1–4:54) 2.3 Signs and discourses in the light of the Jewish festivals (5:1–10:42) 2.3... The Son will set you free (8:34-36) ← 2.4 Conclusion of public ministry and Jesus' hour of glory (11:1–12:50) 3. Jesus reveals his glory to his own (13:1–20:31) 3.1 The meal as introduction (13:1-30) 3.2 Farewell discourses (13:31–17:26) 3.2.1 Jesus' departure and his disciples' remaining behind (13:31–14:31) 3.2.2 Disciples' relation to the world after his departure (15:1–16:33) 3.2.3 Jesus prays for glory for his own and all believers (17:1-26) 3.3 Hour of Jesus' glory has arrived (18:1–20:31) 3.3.1 Suffering, death, and burial (18:1–19:42) 3.3.2 Resurrection and appearances (20:1-31) 4. Epiloo: The roles of Peter and John (21:1-25) This pericope forms part of a larger section 2.3 (5:1–10:42) describing Jesus' ministry during the Jewish festivals in Jerusalem. In this pericope the focus is on the truth regarding Jesus as expressed in the “I am” sayings in this section (6:20, 35, 48, 51; 8:12, 24, 28, 58; 9:5; 10:7, 9, 11, 14). ¹ Cf Du Rand (1990:33-34).	
Genre of the pericope and of the book: The genre of this pericope is didactic narrative.	
Analysis of the narrative structure of the pericope: Not relevant to this study.	
Socio-historic context of the pericope: The pericope acknowledges the relationship between slave-owner and slave as forming part of the household (cf chapters 2 and 3 above). Yet the distinct difference between a son and a slave is also highlighted: A son remains part of the household forever, but a slave is subject to the whims of his owner: He may sell, give away, bequeath, even kill, his slave as any other property (cf 3.12 above). A slave has no potential of achieving honour, but a son does (cf Glancy 2006:35). On the other hand, the pericope may intimate that a slave may be set free by his owner, releasing him from any obligation as a slave (cf 3.11 above). The context of Jesus' discussion with Jews supports this interpretation.	
Word study of important concepts in the pericope: None.	
Revelation historical context of the pericope: Not relevant to this study.	
Revelation about God in the pericope: Jesus shows Himself to be the Truth as the Son of God. He is the One who sets those free who are slaves of sin (v.34).	

Salvific facts in the pericope:
Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is the One who sets those free who are slaves of sin (v.34).
Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:
The pericope merely illustrates the social and legal conventions namely that slave-owners may exercise their legal rights over their slaves absolutely.
The communication aim of the pericope:
Jesus teaches the Jews who believed in Him (8:31) that their situation of slavery to sin may potentially change into freedom through Him.
Summary interpretation:
As the slave-owner exercises absolute power over his slave, Jesus Christ exercises absolute power over sin and the sinner. Christ uses his power to free sinners from sin, as slave-owners may use their power to free their slaves or deal with them in any other legal manner.

6.4.9 Acts 12:13-16

Acts 12:13-16 (UBS ⁴ 1994)	
Pericope: ¹³ κρούσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θύραν τοῦ πυλῶνος προσῆλθεν παιδίσκη ὑπακούσαι ὀνόματι Ῥόδη, ¹⁴ καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ Πέτρου ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς οὐκ ἤνοιξεν τὸν πυλῶνα, εἰσδραμοῦσα δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν ἐστάναι τὸν Πέτρον πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνος. ¹⁵ οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπαν, Μαίνῃ· ἡ δὲ διίσχυριζέτο οὕτως ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον, Ὁ ἄγγελός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ. ¹⁶ ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἐπέμενεν κρούων· ἀνοίξαντες δὲ εἶδαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέστησαν.	Own translation with grammatical notes: ¹³ But after he knocked on the door of the gateway, a female slave by the name [of] Rhoda came to answer, ¹⁴ and recognising Peter's voice, from joy she did not open the gate but after running in, announced that Peter was at the gate. ¹⁵ But they said to her: "You are mad!" But she insisted it was thus. And they persistently said: "It is his angel!" ¹⁶ But Peter continued to knock. And after they opened, they saw him and were astounded.
Placement of the pericope in the book:¹ 1. Prologue: Ascension (1:1-14) 2. Establishment of the church in Jerusalem (1:15-8:3) 2.1 Election of Matthias (1:15-26) 2.2 Pentecost and the effect thereof (2:1-6:7) 2.3 The persecution of Stephen (6:8-7:60) 2.4 Start of the persecution of the church (8:1-3) 3. Expansion into Samaria and other areas (8:4-11:18) 3.1 The Samaritan mission (8:4-25) 3.2 Philip and the Ethiopian (8:26-40) 3.3 Paul's conversion (9:1-31) 3.4 Peter in Lydda, Joppa, and Caesarea (9:32-11:18) 4. Expansion to Antioch and further (11:19-15:35) 4.1 First Christians in Antioch (11:19-12:25) ← 4.2 First missionary journey – Paul and Barnabas (13:1-14:28) 4.3 First council in Jerusalem (15:1-35) 5. Expansion to Asia Minor and Greece (15:36-21:26) 5.1 Second missionary journey – Asia Minor, Macedonia, Achaia (15:36-18:23a) 5.2 Third missionary journey – stay in Ephesus, Greece, return to Jerusalem (18:23b-21:26) 6. Jerusalem to Rome (21:27-28:31) 6.1 Paul's arrest (21:27-22:30) 6.2 Trials before the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem (23:1-22) 6.3 Trials in Caesarea before Felix, Festus, and Agrippa (23:23-26:32)	

- 6.4 Journey to Rome (27:1–28:15)
 6.5 Awaiting trial in Rome (28:16-31)

This pericope forms part of section 4 dealing with the expansion of the gospel to Antioch and further. In Acts 12:1-5 Luke relates the arrest and execution of James, one of Jesus' disciples and brother of John, the beloved disciple. Herod saw that his actions carried favour with the Jews, and he had Peter also arrested. Yet Peter was miraculously freed from prison despite extra security to ensure his captivity (12:6-11). Upon his freeing he went to the home of Mary, the mother of Mark, where the believers had gathered and prayed for him (12:12). This pericope describes the events following his arrival at the house.

ⁱ⁾ Cf Du Plessis (1983b:209)

Genre of the pericope and of the book:

The genre of Acts as a book and of this pericope may be described as kerugmatic narrative (cf Du Plessis 1983b:197). The greater part of the book constitutes proclamation to both believers and non-believers during the expansion of the gospel to the corners of the known world (1:8), proclaiming the kingdom of God and teaching what Christ taught the apostles (28:31).

Analysis of the narrative structure of the pericope:

Setting of the scene: The knock on the door (v.13)

↳ Rhode's silly reaction (v.14)

↳ Incredulity of the believers (v.15)

↳ Their incredulity turns to astonishment (v.16)

Socio-historic context of the pericope:

The female slave, Rhoda, plays a key-role in this scene which shows clear pantomimic elements. Again, the slave-owner relationship as legal and social reality is acknowledged. The scene provides ample support for the negative stereotyping of slaves as stupid, laughable, foolish, infantile (see chapter 5 above). It certainly gives credence to Harrill's (2006:2) thesis that "early Christian writers reflected, participated in, and promoted the literary imagination about slaves and the ideology of mastery widely diffused in the ancient Mediterranean." The persona of the *servus currens* ("running slave") is among the most familiar characters in Roman comedy, to the extent that it became a technical term (Harrill 2006:60-61). It served the function of discrediting slaves by way of negative stereotyping and it reinforced the servile attitude of the slave, running at another's bidding. The slave usually expects some sort of reward – extra food, special privileges, or even freedom – for the urgent news he or she is about to deliver (Harrill 2006:64-65). And in the end there is no reward but ridicule.

Why does Luke use the *servus currens*? Harrill (2006:66) suggests, in my opinion rightly so, that he uses the comic relief to increase the impact of the believers' subsequent meeting with the freed Peter. Luke's use of this typical Greco-Roman negative stereotype does not cast doubt on the historicity of the events described since such stereotypes are typically grounded in everyday reality. Luke may also be drawing a parallel with the delivery of the news of Jesus' resurrection in Luke 24:1-12: Women deliver the news and they are not believed.

Word study of important concepts in the pericope:

παιδίσκη: According to Louw and Nida (1996) παιδίσκη refers in the New Testament only to female slaves, or slave girls. The word is used in different contexts: Peter's betrayal of Jesus (Mat 26:69); a slave girl with a spirit of divination (Act 16:16); and Paul's exposition of the example of Hagar and Sarah (Gal 4:21-31).

Revelation historical context of the pericope:

Not relevant to this study.

Revelation about God in the pericope:

Not relevant to this study.

Salvific facts in the pericope:

Not relevant to this study.

Appeals to slave-owners in the pericope:

The pericope seems to condone the negative stereotyping of (especially female) slaves,

although that is not central to the thrust of the pericope.

The communication aim of the pericope:

The purpose of the scene, given the immediate textual context, is to bring believers to the astounding realisation of the power of God who freed Peter from a high security prison.

Summary interpretation:

Luke uses a typical Greco-Roman negative stereotype of a female slave to emphasise the believers' unexpected confrontation with Peter, and through Peter with Christ. The text seems neutral as to the morality of the stereotype.

6.4.10 Section summary

The pericopes analysed above provide some light in the relationship between slave-owner and slave in the time of the New Testament. It also provides verifying evidence of some aspects of slavery as socio-historic context to the New Testament, as described in previous chapters. These aspects are:

- The link between the faith of a slave-owner in Jesus Christ and his relationship to his slaves;
- The conduct of a slave-owner influences public perception regarding his slaves, and *vice versa*;
- The elements of trust, reward, and punishment in this relationship;
- The negative elements of disloyalty and self-interest from both parties;
- The absolute power of a slave-owner over his slave, countered by his relationship in faith to his believing slave; and
- The negative stereotyping of slaves in Greco-Roman, and Jewish, society.

6.5 REVELATION HISTORICAL SUMMARY

The pericopes analysed in this chapter all relate to one question: What does the New Testament reveal regarding a slave owner's rights and duties in respect of his slaves? As indicated in footnote 70 above, the pericopes analysed are all interrelated as far as this aspect is concerned. The analysis indicated that especially the pericopes analysed in sections 6.2 and 6.3 are relevant since they deal directly with the topic of slavery, while the pericopes analysed in section 6.4 utilize the slave-owner relationship as illustration. In the case of each pericope in sections 6.2 and 6.3, it was determined what contribution the specific pericope makes to a Scriptural understanding of the topic (cf De Klerk & Janse van Rensburg 2005:79). This section attempts to summarise such analysis and to point to the interrelation of these pericopes as far as a slave owner's rights and duties in respect of his slaves are concerned.

As far as revelation historical context is concerned, the pericopes analysed in sections 6.2 and 6.3 may be categorised as follows according to the pericopes' basis for a proper Christian slave-owner – slave relationship:

Category: Basis for a Christian slave-owner – slave relationship	Relevant pericopes	Pericope's specific contribution
Lordship of Christ: The relationship is built on the fact that both slave-owner and slave belong to the same Owner, namely the Lord Jesus Christ	Ephesians 6:5-8, 9	Owner and slave should submit to one another because they both revere Christ as their Lord, their Owner.
Headship: The relationship is built on the fact that both slave-owner and slave belong to the body of Christ, the Head.	Colossians 3:22-25, 4:1	All believers are unified under the headship of Christ, whether slave or free person.
Fellowship: The relationship is built on the fact that believing slave-owner and believing slave are brothers in the fellowship of believers.	Philemon 8-22 1 Timothy 6:1-2d	The equality brought about by the fellowship of believers (cf Gal 3:28; Col 3:11) must also extend to the practice of the slave-owner – slave relationship Slaves are exhorted not to honour their owners less because of their fellowship in Christ, but to rather serve them even better as brothers in Christ. Slave-owners are exhorted not to slander the Name of God and teachings of the church because their slaves, who are their fellow-brothers in Christ, do not regard them as worthy of all honour.
God's calling: The relationship is built on the fact that God called a slave to his role as slave, as He did a woman to the role of wife.	1 Corinthians 7:21-23	If a believer has been called in the role of slave, he should remain in that role, although the possibility of a change in calling is not excluded. And subsequently a Christian slave may grasp the opportunity to be manumitted should it arise. Slave-owners are exhorted to free their believing slaves who are freedmen of Christ as instruments implementing God's calling.
Priority of God's Name: The relationship is built on the fact that the behaviour of slaves may not detract from the glory of God's Name.	1 Timothy 6:1-2d	Slaves must consider their non-believing and believing owners to be worthy of all honour. Slave-owners must treat

	Titus 2:9-10	their slaves in such a manner as to be worthy of all honour, and thus to glorify the Name of God and the teachings of the church. Slaves must be submissive to their owners in all things, pleasing them. Slave-owners are exhorted to accept the faithfulness of their believing slaves who act according to the positive and negative exhortations to them. Then they also will make the teaching of their Saviour God more attractive.
The suffering of Christ: The relationship is built on the fact believing slaves may have to endure suffering at the hands of their owners as Christ suffered for them at the hands of persons in positions of authority.	1 Peter 2:18-25	Slaves should submit to their owners, following the example set by Christ: He committed no sin, never lied, never retaliated, and never threatened. Believing slave-owners must not allow themselves to, in their relationship with their slaves, misuse their authority like the persons in positions of authority who caused unjust suffering to Christ.

Considering all the evidence, it becomes clear that all these aspects contribute to the New Testament's teaching on slavery and the relationship between slave-owner and slave. A proper relationship between believing slave-owner and believing slave would involve:

- Submission by both to their Lord and Head, Jesus Christ;
- Realisation of their fellowship as brothers in Christ;
- Due recognition of their respective callings in the social order;
- Giving priority to God's name and sound teaching in their relationship, especially as it is viewed or perceived by outsiders; and
- As far as the believing slave is concerned, reflecting a Christ-like attitude towards unjust suffering at the hands of his (even unbelieving) owner.

6.6 SOCIAL SEPARATION AND ACCULTURATION WITHIN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

6.6.1 Defining the problem

In the analysis of 1 Timothy 6:1-2d, Titus 2:9-10 and 1 Peter 2:18-25 (see 6.3.4–6.3.6 above) reference was made to the apparently more conservative approach to slavery in these texts compared to 1 Corinthians 7:21-24, Ephesians 6:5-8 and Colossians 3:22-25 (see 6.3.1–6.3.3 above). This more conservative approach may be described as an exhortation by the authors to believers to be accommodating to existing social hierarchies in the household despite their spiritual equality. The reason provided is that the believers must not bring God and Christian teaching into disrepute (1 Tim 6:1). Believing slaves should rather through their submission to their owners make the teaching of God attractive (Tit 2:10).

The problem may be stated as follows: Did the authors of 1 Timothy, Titus, and 1 Peter teach either social separation from or acculturation, assimilation and accommodation⁷¹ of social hierarchial structures, and specifically slavery? This question will now be considered in the light of the debate between David Balch and John Elliott with reference to 1 Peter.

6.6.2 The Elliott-Balch debate

The debate regarding social separation or acculturation in 1 Peter reached a climax with the publication of independent works by David Balch and John Elliott, both published in 1981. Horrell (2007:2) states that the debate remains significant not only for the interpretation of 1 Peter but also the use of social-scientific resources in New Testament studies in general. Considering the same problem from different viewpoints, Elliott and Balch arrived at contrasting, if not conflicting, conclusions (Horrell 2007:5). Bechtler (1998:12) summarises their differences succinctly: “Balch argues that 1 Peter utilizes the household code in order to promote acculturation; in sharp contrast, Elliott insists that the author’s purpose is twofold: to prevent social conformity and to win over opponents.” The following paragraphs (6.6.2.1–6.6.2.4) provide a summary of the two viewpoints and critical evaluations thereof in subsequent research.

6.6.2.1 Elliott

Elliott (1981:63) principally differs from Balch on the intended function of the household code in 1 Peter. Whereas Balch restricts his attention to the material and purpose of the code itself, Elliott is concerned with the manner in which the code serves the letter’s overall strategy (1986:65). According to Elliott, the letter aims to encourage Christians who are literally resident aliens and strangers (1981:43; 1 Pet 1:1, 17; 2:11; *contra* Horrell 2007:4) and are suffering hostility, slander, and unjustifiable abuse. The letter’s strategy of encouragement is to assure the recipients

⁷¹ Trebilco (2004:352) provides the following definitions:

- *Acculturation* refers to the non-material aspects of the wider culture such as language, values, and intellectual traditions and ideas.
- *Assimilation* refers to social integration and concerns social contacts, interactions, and practices in the political, social, material, and religious spheres.
- *Accommodation* concerns the use a group makes of the cultural tools such as language, concepts, and frameworks of thought which it acquired from the wider culture. Such use may be aimed at integration into or separation from the wider culture (Trebilco 2004:352-353).

of the elect and holy community to which they have been called by God (1:1-2). The whole of the letter “served the common aim of reinforcing a sense of distinctive communal identity, promoting the internal cohesion of the community, and providing it with a persuasive sustaining rationale for continued faith, commitment, and hope” (Elliott 1986:66).

With reference to the sociological model of the conversionist sect (1981:102-106), Elliott interprets 1 Peter as an attempt by the Petrine community to preserve its distinctive identity as the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ (the household of God) yet to enlighten and silence outsiders’ ignorance and even winning such outsiders to faith (1986:68-69; cf Horrell 2007:4). For Elliott, the household of God is the interpretive key to 1 Peter. The household code provides a framework for delineating behavior, norms, and values typical of the member of the household of God (Elliott 1986:66). Thus Elliott states the case for social separation in 1 Peter. While on some points, for example obedience to the will of God (cf 2:15-16, 19-20), a distinctive Christian perspective is evident, he also acknowledges that on other points, including the subordination of domestic slaves to owners, Christian and secular values converge. Yet Elliott (1986:73) maintains that the author of 1 Peter does reverse the classic Greco-Roman household code by modelling the values of all Christians on those prescribed for slaves and wives namely respect and a gentle and quiet spirit, respectively (2:18; 3:4).

6.6.2.2 Criticism of Elliott’s approach

Criticism of Elliott’s approach may be summarised as follows:

- Elliott’s failure to provide enough evidence of the extent of the Christian community’s social separation from extra-Biblical sources (cf Balch 1986:84).
- Elliott’s oversimplification of the nature of the social conflict and change in early Petrine Christianity in terms of simple dualistic contrasts like rural house of God/evil city, God/devil, insiders/outside (cf Balch 1986:88).
- His failure to address the issue of class interests (cf Wire 1984:214), although I am of the opinion that the same criticism may be directed at Balch.
- Criticism of Elliott’s description of the nature of the Petrine community’s enstrangement as simply religious while it was also social (cf Volf 1994:18)
- Elliott’s reliance on foreignness as reference of the terms παρεπίδημοι and πάροικοι in their technical, legal sense while the central reference is citizenship or lack thereof rather than foreignness (cf Bechtler 1998:70-74).
- The author of the Pastoral Epistles shares certain attitudes, standards, and patterns of behaviour with the wider society (specifically in the case of slaves and wives) (Trebilco 2004:368).

6.6.2.3 Balch

Balch's work (1981:2) sets out to "trace the origin and function of the code of household ethics found in 1 Peter." He argues that sociological and anthropological theories of acculturation shed light on the social situation reflected in 1 Peter, and identifies such acculturation in the fact that "Petrine Christianity accepted hellenistic social values in tension with important values in Jewish tradition (in the Torah) and even in tension with the early Jesus movement..." He (1981:119; 1986:81) uses the household code in 1 Peter 2:11–3:12 as basis for his argument, arguing that the code has Greco-Roman culture as its historical and social source and was used to ensure hierarchical harmony in relations with the Roman government and within households. The household code in 1 Peter thus acculturated the Christian community to this harmony by emphasising the obedience of certain classes, more specifically women and slaves in religiously divided, pagan households. The author lessened the hostility and antagonism suffered by Christians by urging them to conform to conventional social expectations especially in the household (cf Horrell 2007:3-4). Therefore the author exhorts his audience to accept patterns of conduct considered "good" by the Roman emperor and his governors (cf 1 Pet 2:12-14). Yet Balch (1986:87) also acknowledges that acculturation implies rejection of certain patterns of behaviour, as 1 Peter clearly illustrates (eg. 1:18; 4:3-4).

According to Balch (1986:96) the acculturation of the hierarchies of Greco-Roman society meant a move away from important values in the Torah. Referring specifically to slaves, he concludes that this acculturation by way of the household codes of the New Testament indicated a move away from the protective commands regarding slaves in the Torah to the repressive hierarchies of the Greco-Roman household (1986:97). He draws the same conclusion with regard to 1 Timothy 6:1-2d and Titus 2:9-10. The values expressed in the household codes also differed from some values of the early Jesus movement, referring to the women who followed Him and his followers and supported them financially, as well as Jesus' own teaching in Mark 10:15 that one must receive the kingdom of God like a child (slave) (Balch 1986:98). Finally, Balch considers the Christological story of Christ's suffering as the identity symbol of the Christian community, not the household as Elliott (see 6.6.2.1 above) postulates.

6.6.2.4 Criticism of Balch's approach

- Balch's approach of seeking the purpose of the household code solely in its content and its previous history and use, rather than the context of the letter's overall purpose and strategy (cf Wire 1984:215; Elliott 1986:65).
- Balch's neglect of boundary maintenance i.e. the maintenance of social separation (cf Elliott 1986:68-72).
- An overemphasis on the author of 1 Peter's confidence that his addressees' doing good will silence the critics (cf Bechtler 1998:167).
- In some key areas such as monotheism, the centrality of Jesus Christ, and wealth, the author of the Pastoral Epistles adopts a polemical or counter-cultural edge (Trebilco 2004:379).

6.6.3 Alternative motivations for either social separation or acculturation

Some alternative motivations for either social separation or acculturation have been suggested.

6.6.3.1 Not causing social upheaval

Generally speaking, in the Pastoral Epistles the Christian community's attention turned in a new way to relations with the non-Christian environment, public perceptions of the Christian community, and ways of living which the wider world considered acceptable (Collins 2002:9). Especially with regard to slavery as social institution, all the New Testament writings on slavery indicate that the bonds and conventions of slavery were to be maintained at all costs (Judge 1960:75-76). This attitude towards slavery offered Christianity the best possible security for their existence as a *κοινωνία* or association, giving formal expression to their unity in the worship of their deity (Judge 1960:40). Such an attitude among Christians would also have served the interests of the patronal class which sponsored Christianity to its dependents (Judge 1960:76). Christian teaching on equality and its practical implementation by members may have threatened both the security of Christian communities and class interests (Judge 1960:60). Thus the reinforcement of these hierarchies among Christians became this association's best weapon against persecution.

Christianity did not see itself as a revolutionary movement although its teachings had clear reformatory implications (Bassler 1996:103). The instructions to slaves in Christian documents dating from the later decades of the first century and the beginning of the second were consistently conservative. The concern for the opinions of outsiders and the desire not to cause offence expressed in the Pastoral Epistles points towards assimilation (Trebilco 2004:370). These concerns lead to the acceptance of behaviour (by especially slaves and wives) sanctioned by society that will lead to acceptability. Because of the importance of household relationships for social stability, any new religious society was judged to a large extent on whether they complied with the expectations for these relationships (Jobes 2005:183). And thus all religious groups were forced to show compliance. Christianity did so by means of the household codes as the religion grew in Greco-Roman society.

6.6.3.2 The appeasement of Jewish elements in the Christian community

One motivation in favour of social separation in Ephesus (cf 1 Tim 6:1-2d) may have been an attempt to appease more conservative Christians from Jewish origins. Judaism flourished in Ephesus, evidenced by the presence of a synagogue (Acts 18:19; Oster 1996). Such separation may also be borne out by the insistence of Jewish Christians on the observance of Jewish practices such as circumcision, the Sabbath, and purity laws (cf Acts 15; Scott 1995:126). The same argument may be advanced for the situation in Crete since the author refers to subversive Jewish elements in Titus 1:10. In fact, Jews played an important role in the history of Crete, securing Roman patronage after oppression by the Cretes (Pattengale 1996).

6.6.3.3 Church's failure to realize the practical implications of its new status in Christ

A motivation in favour of acculturation in Titus 2:9-10 may have been that the church had not yet reached the point of recognising consistently and universally that the new

equal status in Christ posed sharp questions regarding the subordination that was a part of the hierarchical society in which it lived (Marshall 1999:257; Moo 2008:377). This would also be true of the exhortation in 1 Timothy 6:1-2d, if one accepts that the two letters under discussion were written by the same author (cf Marshall 1999:627). This pericope reinforces the impression that it was written from the perspective of Christian slave owners, who are specifically mentioned in verse 2. In their experience the Christian teaching of equality had a negative impact on their Christian slaves' respect for their owners, and they thus preferred to maintain the *status quo*.

6.6.3.4 Missionary motivation because of eschatology

Another possible motivation for acculturation in 1 Timothy 6:1-2d (and by extension Titus 2:9-10) was to avoid giving outsiders cause to speak ill of God's name and the teaching of the church (1 Tim 6:1; Lea & Griffin 1992:163-164; Marshall 1999:627; Trebilco 2004:376-377). The early church expected the Lord to return shortly and thus missionary endeavour outweighed social reform (Mounce 2000:331). In the mind and heart of the author(s), the proclamation of the gospel took precedence over all else.

Yet one must concede that if the author(s) believed that teaching equality would destroy the gospel message, and if he was not willing to confront secular society, it is a message that is impossible to reconcile with that of Paul and the rest of the New Testament (cf Mounce 2000:418). The missionary motivation of 1 Peter in particular is also questionable as Bechtler (1998:158-159) clearly demonstrates.

6.6.3.5 Honor and shame in 1 Peter

Another possible motivation in favour of acculturation was the ancient concepts of honor and shame (cf Bechtler 1998:94ff). Texts such as 1 Peter 2:12-15, 3:13-16 and 4:14 may indicate that maintaining honor in the face of threats from outside the Christian communities was a priority in the early church. Because the Christians withdrew from certain aspects of public life that they deemed inappropriate to their faith, they are slandered by their neighbours and thus their honor is threatened. Consequently they acculturate for the sake of honor in society, yet attempt to retain their unique identity by way of social separation. This leads to neither exclusive assimilation nor exclusive separatism but rather a liminal state i.e. a transitional or indeterminate state between these two extremes (Bechtler 1998:112).

6.6.3.6 A postcolonial reading of 1 Peter

The opposing conclusions reached by Elliott and Balch may raise the question whether the two authors chose the most appropriate approach to account for the character and nuance of the letter (Horrell 2007:7-8). A shortcoming in the approaches of Elliott and Balch is explicit attention to the fact of empire and the structures of imperial domination (Horrell 2007:9). Alternative social-scientific resources are those which concern themselves specifically with contexts of imperial/colonial domination and with the ways in which subaltern groups produce and sustain their identity in such contexts. A post-colonial reading of 1 Peter offers the following:

- The letter frame (1:1-2; 5:12-14) describes the addressees' alien existence in the Roman empire, reflecting their experience of the "underside of empire" and casting Rome into the role of an ungodly and domineering city (Horrell 2007:20-27).
- The positive counterpart to the negative depiction of the addressees as strangers and aliens namely their glorious salvation and positive identity as God's elect people, as described in the first main section of the letter (Horrell 2007:27-33).
- The second main section of the letter deals with the consequences for the behaviour of Christians in societal structures (Horrell 2007:33-46). It identifies two dimensions of the Christians' ambivalent relationship to the world namely conformation by doing good (2:12-15; 2:20; 3:6; 3:11-17; 4:19) and resistance by way of separation from fleshly desires (cf 4:2-4). The author clearly identifies what is good with what society considers good since it will win over the critics. This includes slaves submitting to their (even unfair) owners.

6.6.4 A continuum between Elliott and Balch

Rather than positing the theses of Elliott and Balch as contradictory, one may also consider their views as opposing ends of a continuum (cf Wire 1984:215-216; Volf 1994:19; Bechtler 1998; Jobes 2005:182). Any differences in approach to slavery within the New Testament writings can be accommodated on such a continuum as either a movement towards greater assimilation (a more conservative movement towards the entrenchment of social hierarchies) or a movement towards greater social separation (a more liberal approach towards greater equality). This creates a strange tension between attempts at acculturation and social separation (Volf 1994:21). The metaphor of the Christians being "aliens" in 1 Peter stresses the differences (Elliott's viewpoint). Yet the household codes in the same letter suggest at least attempted acculturation (Balch's viewpoint). Thus social separation and acculturation are not alternatives but they are rather applied in a piece-meal fashion; that the household codes in particular "are in fact an example of differentiated acceptance and rejection of the surrounding culture" (Volf 1994:22).

6.6.5 Own critical evaluation and model

In my opinion, the Elliott-Balch debate does indeed provide the point of departure when considering the question of separation or acculturation in the New Testament, and specifically with reference to the issue of slavery. It does become clear, however, that the debate has advanced beyond the simple contradiction offered by the two scholars' respective conclusions. Both Elliott and Balch oversimplify the social setting of 1 Peter, as both grudgingly acknowledge: The letter contains elements of both separation and acculturation; of the maintenance of a distinctive Christian identity and attempts to fit into the order of Greco-Roman society and specifically the household. To my mind this is true of the New Testament as a whole. The question thus turns to the reasons for this dual approach followed by the New Testament authors.

Considering each the hypotheses described above, I evaluate them as follows:

- Elliott's (see 6.6.2.1 above) emphasis on the distinctive communal identity, the internal cohesion of the community, and the sustenance of its continued faith, commitment, and hope is certainly aligned with the evidence of 1 Peter itself. Yet he does not explain the clear attempts at social accommodation and/or acculturation in the letter, and specifically the exhortations relating to slavery which he himself identifies as a point where Christian and secular values converge.
- Balch's (see 6.6.2.3 above) emphasis on the acculturation to secular culture in 1 Peter is also sustained by the evidence of the letter itself. Yet he fails to properly discount the clear attempts at separation and preservation of the communities' self-identity – a point that he acknowledges.
- That the more conservative exhortations directed at slaves in the Pastoral Epistles and in 1 Peter are aimed at not causing social upheaval (see 6.6.3.1 above), is evident from the writings themselves. Judge's (1960; 2008) argument that the Christian communities used this strategy to promote and protect their status as an unofficial association, also stands up to critical scrutiny. Whether the authors wrote specifically from the perspective of slave-owners, or intended to protect their interests, is not clear but that the more conservative exhortations directed at slaves *de facto* served the interests of the owners is self-evident.
- The argument that the more conservative exhortations directed at slaves were aimed at the appeasement of Jewish elements in the communities is probably the weakest of all the alternative motivations, although the letters to Timothy and Titus seem to suggest this (see 6.6.3.2 above).
- The contention that these more conservative exhortations point to the church's failure to realize the practical implications of its new status in Christ, seems to have merit. This contention relates to the authors' sensitivity for the Christian communities' standing in society: The fact that they considered the oppressive household relationships as acceptable, points to their limited insight into the practical implications of the equality that they preached. Glancy (2006:146) rightly asks whether their support of hierarchial relationships such as that of slave-owner and slave did not compromise the gospel's teaching of equality and human dignity (cf Gal 3:28; Col 3:11). It must surely have been the exact sentiments of at least some Christian slaves! Yet It could also point to their understanding of the complexity of the societal dynamics, and their motivation not to allow more marginal matters such as ethical codes to endanger the taking root of the crux of Christian faith namely salvation in Jesus Christ. If this is true, it is a double-edged sword since salvation in Jesus Christ implies a certain Christian ethic which cannot simply be dismissed as marginal. Thus Glancy's criticism is still valid. One might also consider the argument as almost too easy an explanation for a complex problem, except for

the fact that the church still grapples with the practical implications of the gospel today!

- Superficially the missionary motivation behind the more conservative exhortations directed at slaves (see 6.6.3.4 above) seems to be extremely pertinent. Yet Bechtler's (1998) refutation of the argument from the evidence of 1 Peter is very convincing. While it is clear that the authors sought to protect the reputation of God and his church, any missionary motivation is lacking. There is only one reference to repentance in the Pastoral Epistles and 1 Peter namely 2 Timothy 2:25 in the context of the attributes of a workman of God.
- An argument based on the liminality of the Christian community is in my view worthy of further consideration for it addresses the extremes posited by the Elliott-Balch debate. Yet there seems to be a contradiction in Bechtler's argument: If the Christian community valued the honour of God, his χάρις, above all, why did they find it necessary to bow to the pressures of obtaining or maintaining public fame or renown, or κλέος (1 Pet 2:19-20) as far as household relations were concerned? The answer might be that they did so as a survival strategy, but then the conflict with the teachings of equality would again be relevant.
- The focus on the context of empire and its postcolonial parallels provides an interesting new viewpoint on the Elliott-Balch debate, but the conclusion that certain elements of conformity are used to appease critics and function as a missionary weapon while other elements clearly establish distance and even resistance differs little from that of either Elliott or Balch. It simply seems to be a strategy to reconcile the differences between Elliott and Balch.

To my mind the answer lies in accepting the existence of a continuum between Elliott and Balch, as posited by various scholars (cf 6.6.4 above). The tension between differentiation or separation and attempts at acculturation identified by Volf (1994) lies at the heart of the matter. This tension gives expression to the fact that Christians are in the world but not of the world; that they live in the world yet do not belong to the world (cf John 17:14-16). This fact is also expressed in 1 Peter's use of the terms παρεπιδήμιοι and πάροικοι (1:1, 17; 2:11). The relative balance between the extremes of separation and acculturation vary according to the social context of believers at a given point in time.

The models proposed by Wire (1984) and Volf (1994) provide in my opinion a more even-handed expression of this Christian balancing act than the extreme positions of Elliott and Balch. All the alternative motivations suggested in 6.6.3 above may play a greater or lesser role in any specific social context but ultimately the church must strike a balance between living in the world but not being of the world, between separation for the sake of self-identity and acculturation for the sake of relevance in the world.

The relevance to this study is that the separation and acculturation evident in any of the New Testament writings form part of the continuum between the extremes of social separation and acculturation. Christian communities are continually positioning themselves on this continuum in their own contexts, creating tension between the demands of social separation, self-identity and acculturation. The relative positioning of Christian communities in their own contexts can therefore not be considered normative for all Christian communities irrespective of location, time, and particular context. The New Testament writings, however, also indicate those aspects of Christian teaching that are normative and thus do not form part of the church's positioning on this continuum. These are, in respect of the relationship between slave-owner and slave, the revelation-historical aspects highlighted in 6.5 above: The Lordship and Headship of Christ, the fellowship of believers, God's calling to believers, the priority of God's Name and teaching, and the suffering of Christ.

Whatever the church's positioning on the continuum between social separation and acculturation within a specific context, it may not prejudice these aspects. Slavery provides a good example of this in the New Testament: All the exhortations directed at slave-owners (and slaves) maintain the priority of these revelation-historical aspects, yet accommodate the legal and social realities of slavery. However, in a different social and legal context, it became necessary for the church to abandon its accommodation of slavery in favour of condemnation.

6.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter aimed to interpret the New Testament exhortations to slave-owners. To this end, the relevant pericopes from the New Testament were analysed and interpreted taking into consideration the socio-historic context constructed in the preceding chapters.

From the analysis of the New Testament pericopes, the following findings emerged:

- The New Testament without question acknowledged and accepted the often stark reality of legal and social slavery.
- In some respects the New Testament instructions to Christian slaves to be content and wholeheartedly obedient, and to slave-owners to treat their slaves well, echoed the sentiments of the Stoic philosophers (see 4.3.4 above).
- Yet the New Testament's model for the relationship between slave and slave-owner was the relationship between believing slave and his Lord, Jesus Christ, and the relationship between believing slave-owner and his same Lord, Jesus Christ. This relational foundation necessitated changes in their attitudes and actions towards one another.
- The revelation historical analysis of the New Testament pericopes contributed to a clear understanding of the New Testament teaching on slavery and the relationship between slave owner and slave. It became clear that a number of aspects contribute to the New Testament's teaching on slavery and the relationship between slave-owner and slave.

- The descriptions of the conduct of slave-owners in the New Testament broadly adhere to typical Greco-Roman stereotyping of slave-owners and slaves.
- The New Testament pericopes seem to diverge as far as their stance on the ideal conduct of slave-owners is concerned.
- This divergence led to a discussion on social separation and acculturation. The Elliott-Balch debate was taken as point of departure and various critiques on the debate as well as alternative explanations for such conservative exhortations were discussed and evaluated.

6.8 CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the evidence in this chapter, the following conclusions are drawn:

6.8.1 Divergent viewpoints on the conduct of slave-owners

The New Testament pericopes seem to diverge as far as their stance on the conduct of slave-owners is concerned:

- The direct exhortations to slave-owners (Eph 6:9; Col 4:1; Philem 8-22) are more radical in demanding change from slave-owners;
- The exhortations to slave-owners implied in the exhortations to slaves fall into two categories:
 - o The first category (1 Cor 7:21-23; Eph 6:5-8; Col 3:22-25; 1 Pet 2:18-25) follows the more radical approach of the direct exhortations; and
 - o The second category (1 Tim 6:1-2d; Titus 2:9-10) is far less radical in demanding change from slave-owners.

6.8.2 Explanation of the divergence

Based on the discussion of the Elliott-Balch debate, I conclude that the diverging viewpoints on the conduct of slave-owners were expressions of the church's positioning on the continuum between social separation and acculturation in a specific era and in specific contexts. This positioning, however, excludes the revelation-historical aspects highlighted above, as clearly illustrated by the exhortations directed to slave-owners (and slaves).

6.8.3 Boundaries to the divergence

The New Testament writings, however, also indicate those aspects of Christian teaching that are normative and thus do not form part of the church's positioning on this continuum. These are, in respect of the relationship between slave-owner and slave, the revelation-historical aspects namely the Lordship and Headship of Christ, the fellowship of believers, God's calling to believers, the priority of God's Name and teaching, and the suffering of Christ. Thus a proper relationship between believing slave-owner and believing slave involved:

- Submission by both to their Owner and Head, Jesus Christ;
- Realisation of their fellowship as brothers in Christ;
- Due recognition of their respective callings in the social order;
- Giving priority to the honour of God's name and sound teaching in their relationship, especially as it is viewed or perceived by outsiders; and
- As far as the believing slave is concerned, reflecting a Christ-like attitude towards unjust suffering at the hands of his (even unbelieving) owner.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Abridged table of contents

7.1	INTRODUCTION.....	214
7.2	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS.....	214
7.3	CONCLUSIONS.....	219
7.4	ACHIEVEMENT OF RESEARCH OBJECTIVES.....	226
7.5	CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY.....	227
7.6	FURTHER RESEARCH.....	227

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a summary of the orientation and problem statement of the study as formulated in chapter 1 as well as summaries of the findings based on the evidence presented in chapters 2 to 6. It further presents the key conclusions drawn from the summarised findings, as well as how the study relates to the research objectives stated in chapter 1. The chapter concludes with an appraisal of the contribution of the study to the fields of Greek philological and the socio-historic context of the New Testament, and suggestions for further research.

7.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

7.2.1 Orientation and problem statement (chapter 1)

In chapter 1 the problem investigated in this study was formulated as follows: What is the legal context of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament? The overarching aim of this study was to construct the legal rights and duties of slave-owners in the first century AD as context for the exhortations directed in the New Testament at slave-owners. In order to achieve this aim, the following specific objectives were formulated:

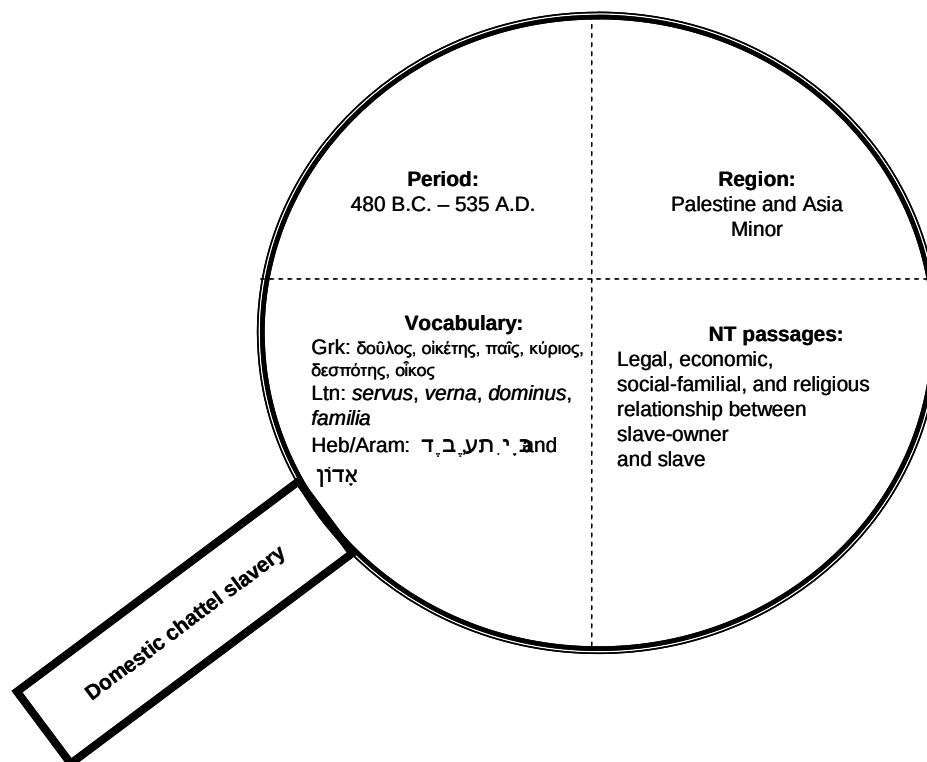
- Determine the prevailing rights and duties of slave-owners according to Roman law;
- Determine the prevailing rights and duties of slave-owners according to Greek law;
- Determine the prevailing viewpoint(s) regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners according to Jewish law;
- Determine prevailing religious and/or philosophical viewpoints regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners;

- Determine how the conduct of slave-owners towards their slaves was described in relevant first century texts;
- Determine the rights and duties of slave-owners according to the New Testament;
- Determine the similarities and/or differences between the prevailing legal and other convictions regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners and the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament; and
- Formulate, in the light of the legal context, a valid interpretation of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament.

The central theoretical argument of the study was that the legal context of the first readers is essential for a valid interpretation of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament, and that taking into account this legal context makes a valid interpretation possible. The study applied philological and comparative methods as well as analysis, interpretation and synthesis of the collected material.

7.2.2 Socio-historic context (chapter 2)

This chapter aimed to provide an overview of slavery in Greek and Roman antiquity as general context of the passages from the New Testament and other literature to be studied in the following chapters. The overview was achieved by way of a literature study. In order to delimit the scope of the overview and the material to be studied, the following search filter was defined:



This filter was then successfully applied to slavery in the Greek world, the Roman Empire, and among Jews during antiquity (see 2.3 to 2.9 above). The overview emphasised the scope and diversity of slavery during the period under investigation, and served as general context to the discussions on Greek, Roman, and Jewish law in the succeeding chapters.

7.2.3 The rights and duties of slave-owners as socio-historic context of the New Testament (chapter 3)

This chapter investigated the rights and duties of slave-owners as socio-historic context of the New Testament. Relevant primary texts from Greek, Roman, and Jewish legal traditions were analysed philologically. The following table summarizes the findings on the key features of Greek, Roman, and Jewish law of slavery, focussing especially on the differences (indicated in *italics*).

	Greek law	Roman law	Jewish law
Legal definitions	A free person is not subject to seizure as property; he may do as he wishes, he may go where he wishes, and he is his own person in all legal matters. A slave is subject to seizure, limited in his actions and movements, and he requires a representative in legal proceedings.	A free man's freedom is restricted by law. Slavery is defined in terms of the slave's subjection to the <i>power and authority of his owner</i>.	No definition of freedom could be found. Slaves were not in the first place considered as human beings, but rather as the <i>property of their owners</i>.
Enslavement	Through captivity, as punishment, or by birth	Through captivity, by birth, as punishment, <i>or through self-sale</i>	Through captivity, by birth, as punishment, <i>or through self-sale</i>
Legal status	A slave was considered property first and foremost, to be dealt with as property.	Being considered as property first and foremost, a slave had no legal status.	Foreign slaves were considered to be property but the <i>humanity of Hebrew slaves</i> was recognised in law.
Religious rights	Slaves' participation in religious practices was determined by the religious community rather than by civil law	Slaves' participation in religious practices was determined by the religious community rather than by civil law	Slaves participated in religious activities <i>at the behest or on behalf of their owners</i> .
Social rights	Slaves entered into marital and family relationships.	Roman law <i>de facto</i> , if not <i>de iure</i> , recognised slave marriages and slave families.	Slaves were part of the Jewish household and extended family.
Economy	Slaves actively participated in the	Slaves actively participated in the	Slaves actively participated in the

	economy on behalf of their owners.	<i>economy on behalf of their owners with full liability for acquisitions but limited liability for disposals.</i>	economy on behalf of their owners.
Runaway slaves	Greek law assisted owners in recapturing runaway slaves.	Roman law assisted owners in recapturing runaway slaves.	Jewish law <i>contradicts</i> itself by protecting runaway Hebrew slaves, yet prohibiting assistance to a runaway slave.
Manumission	Freedom within owner's discretion with serious limitations and continued relationship with former owner.	Freedom within owner's discretion with serious limitations and continued relationship with former owner.	<i>Prescriptive manumission</i> with fewer and less severe limitations and fuller integration into Jewish society.
Rights of slave-owners	The owner had (with few exceptions) absolute power over his slave.	The owner had the right of life and death over his slave, with very few exceptions.	Wide-ranging powers <i>short of life and death</i> .
Limitations on the rights of slave-owners	Restrictions on the use of violence.	Restrictions on the use of excessive force without proper legal cause.	<i>More severe restrictions</i> in terms of prohibitions against circumcision, wrongful death, and injury.
Duties and obligations of slave-owners	Owner's liability for damage or injury caused by his slave.	Owner's liability for damage or injury caused by his slave.	<i>No owner's liability for damage or injury caused by his slave.</i>

7.2.4 Philosophical viewpoints on the rights and duties of slave-owners (chapter 4)

This chapter aimed to construct the philosophical context of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament. The evidence collected and analysed suggested three diverging philosophies of slavery, namely the traditional philosophy based on the natural origin of slavery, a philosophy differentiating between bodily and spiritual slavery, and a progressive philosophy based on the equality of man:

	Traditional (natural theory)	Spiritual (body enslaved, spirit free)	Progressive (equality of man)
Greek philosophy	Plato Aristotle	Socrates	Sophists
Greco-Roman philosophy	Cicero (syncretism and eclecticism)	Peripatetic School Stoics Cynics	Epicureans
Jewish philosophy	Philo	Josephus	Philo

7.2.5 The attitudes of slave-owners towards their slaves, and their treatment (chapter 5)

This chapter aimed to construct the attitude of slave-owners, whether real or idealised, towards their slaves and their treatment. The evidence collected and analysed may be summarised as follows:

Greek treatment of slaves	Greco-Roman treatment of slaves	Jewish treatment of slaves
The treatment of slaves among Greeks was governed by the necessity of reward or incentive and punishment. This approach was true to the Greeks' economic outlook on slavery and slave management: Both reward and punishment was aimed at increased economic benefit to the owner. Slave-owners were encouraged to seek a balance between reward and punishment, avoiding too friendly an approach and unjust treatment.	Despite the negative stereotyping of slaves in Greco-Roman society, slave-owners were encouraged, based on Stoic philosophy, to treat their slaves humanely, for all human beings are equal. Yet, the treatment of slaves during this period is described as arrogant, cruel, abusive, and fear-driven. The Greco-Romans endeavoured to find the same balance as the Greeks: A midway between overly harsh and overly friendly/familial treatment.	Philo interpreted the fourth commandment as an injunction to Jewish slave-owners to treat their slaves according to the principles of equality and reciprocity. In practice these principles would lead to the moderate treatment of slaves by their owners, and to spiritual growth for both owner and slave. Furthermore, he envisages eventual manumission.

7.2.6 The New Testament on rights and duties of slave-owners (chapter 6)

This chapter aimed to interpret the New Testament exhortations to slave-owners. To this end, the relevant pericopes from the New Testament were analysed and interpreted taking into consideration the socio-historic context constructed in the preceding chapters.

From the analysis of the New Testament pericopes, the following findings emerged:

- The New Testament without question acknowledged and accepted the often stark legal and social realities of slavery.
- In some respects the New Testament instructions to Christian slaves to be content and wholeheartedly obedient, and to slave-owners to treat their slaves well, echoed the sentiments of the Stoic philosophers (see 4.3.4 above).
- Yet the New Testament's model for the relationship between slave and slave-owner was the relationship between believing slave and his Lord, Jesus Christ, and the relationship between believing slave-owner and his same Lord, Jesus Christ. This relational foundation necessitated changes in their attitudes and actions towards one another.
- The revelation historical analysis of the New Testament pericopes contributed to a clear understanding of the New Testament

teaching on slavery and the relationship between slave owner and slave. It became clear that a number of aspects contribute to the New Testament's teaching on slavery and the relationship between slave-owner and slave.

- The descriptions of the conduct of slave-owners in the New Testament broadly adhere to typical Greco-Roman stereotyping of slave-owners and slaves.
- The New Testament pericopes seem to diverge as far as their stance on the ideal conduct of slave-owners is concerned.
- This divergence led to a discussion on social separation and acculturation. The Elliott-Balch debate was taken as point of departure and various critiques on the debate as well as alternative explanations for such conservative exhortations were discussed and evaluated.

7.3 CONCLUSIONS

This section provides some specific conclusions from each chapter, as well as overall conclusions based on the evidence presented as a whole (cf Harrill 1998:29).

7.3.1 Socio-historic context (chapter 2)

The search filter defined in chapter two proved to be useful in delimiting the vast *corpus* of primary and secondary material available on slavery. It also ensured the relevance of the collected evidence to the topic of this study. From the evidence presented in chapter 2, the following conclusions may be drawn:

- Slavery was an accepted legal and social phenomenon in Greek, Roman, and Jewish life. In Jewish thought, however, slavery was cast in the context of humility before, and service and subservience to God. Service and subservience to God became the accepted typology for the relationship between slave and slave-owner, a typology that survived in the relevant texts in the New Testament (see 7.3.6 below).
- In the Greek world only foreigners were enslaved, but in Greco-Roman and Jewish contexts Romans and Jews could also be enslaved. In all three contexts the slave trade flourished.
- In all three worlds slaves played a pivotal role in economic prosperity, both as producers and as cheap labour. Slaves fulfilled a wide variety of tasks in the economy, from manual labour to skilled work.
- In all three contexts slaves were considered as part of the household. In the Roman world slaves could not legally marry or have children. In the Jewish tradition the preservation of the purity of the household often led to the exclusion of slaves, despite the Biblical integration of slave children into the family. The treatment of slaves by their owners varied widely, depending upon the character, attitudes, social status, *et cetera* of the owner.

- As far as religion was concerned, a slave by default shared the religious convictions of his owner.
- Manumission was common in all three worlds, with the notable difference being the mandatory release of Hebrew slaves in terms of Biblical law. After manumission slaves in all three worlds became freedmen who were in principle free but were legally and socially heavily restricted in their freedom.
- Organised revolts among slaves were few and far between and usually led to greater enslavement. Rebellion was rather expressed by way of other forms of resistance.

7.3.2 The rights and duties of slave-owners as socio-historic context of the New Testament (chapter 3)

Considering the evidence presented in chapter 3, a number of conclusions may be drawn with regard to the legal context of passages on slavery in the New Testament: The three legal systems under investigation did not vary much regarding many aspects of the law of slavery:

- Slaves were legally seen as property and thus subject to the absolute control of their owners. The fact that slaves were human beings were by and large considered irrelevant to the law, since they were not deemed to be it by their own volition, but rather by that of their owners.
- Slave-owners had almost absolute power over their slaves, including the power of life and death. Here Jewish law provided more protection than either Greek or Roman law.
- The central role of slaves in the economy was recognised by all three legal systems.
- The social aspects of slavery such as marriage and family life were recognised *de facto* if not *de iure*.
- All three systems considered runaway slaves in a very negative and serious light.
- Under Greek and Roman law, a slave-owner was liable for damage or injury caused by his slave. Seemingly contradictory, Jewish law did not provide for any liability on the part of the slave-owner.

The greatest differences between the three legal systems are with regard to the protection and manumission of slaves:

- It appears from the evidence that Jewish law provided far greater protection for slaves and by implication far greater limitations on the rights of slave-owners. This is confirmed by the prescriptive manumission found in Jewish law. Hebrew slaves were not to be considered slaves in the same sense as in Greek and Roman law, but rather as labourers. They were legally entitled to freedom after six years, without having to pay any compensation to their owners.
- This very progressive order for Hebrew slaves was founded in God's salvation of Israel from slavery in Egypt. Unlike the other

legal systems, Jewish law was based on divine revelation. And having Israelites enslaved for life would have been contrary to God's revelation of his salvation of Israel. This unique status of Hebrew slaves according to Jewish law, with its theological foundation, provided a sound alternative legal and religious context to the writers of the New Testament addressing Christian slave-owners.

In chapter 3 I submitted that such an alternative legal and religious context may have functioned as a counterweight to the strict legal contexts provided by Greek and Roman law. This submission will have to be tested in 7.3.6 below in the light of the findings in chapter 6 below.

7.3.3 Philosophical viewpoints on the rights and duties of slave-owners (chapter 4)

The evidence presented in chapter 4 suggested a progression in philosophical thought on slavery.

- The classic Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle adhered to the (probably) common wisdom of the time that certain persons were naturally inclined to freedom and others to slavery. In later periods this philosophy echoes in the thoughts of Cicero and Philo.
- In Greek philosophy Socrates seems to occupy a middle ground between an outright defence and denouncement of slavery. This philosophy accepted the social, legal, and physical reality of slavery, yet considered the soul of every man to be free. Such a philosophy also had wide appeal, probably because it reflected the accepted (at least by slave-owners) ideology of the time that slaves are degenerate as a race and thus suitable for subjection (see 4.2.4 above). Yet it provided a certain comfort to slaves in their subjection, allowing their spirits to be free. The Peripatetic School, the Stoics, the Cynics, and Josephus all followed this line of thought.
- At the other end of the spectrum were the Sophists who advocated a rejection of slavery, both physically and spiritually, on the basis that all men are equal, rather than naturally inclined to either freedom or slavery. This was certainly the most radical of the three philosophies on slavery, and whether it had much support amongst slaves, slave-owners or other members of the community, is debatable. The Epicureans and Philo, at least to some extent, followed in the Sophists' footsteps.

This chapter posed the following question: Where do the writers of the New Testament fit into this threefold philosophical framework on slavery? Formulated alternatively: Did any of these philosophical positions, or any facet of the positions, influence the writers of the New Testament in their exhortations directed at slave-owners? These questions have been answered in 7.3.6 below in the light of the findings in chapter 6 above.

7.3.4 The attitudes of slave-owners towards their slaves, and their treatment (chapter 5)

The following conclusions may be drawn from the analysis and interpretation in chapter 5:

- Slave management as a field of study was designed to entrench the slave-owner's power and authority over his slaves while encouraging the slaves to work productively, loyally, and honestly. Owners were warned not to loose their grip on power through too lenient treatment of their slaves. These aims of slave management always took precedence over the interests of the slaves.
- In Greek and Greco-Roman society the treatment of slaves depended on a system of reward and punishment. The ratio of reward to punishment in specific instances probably varied greatly from slave-owner to slave-owner. Negative stereotyping of slaves as cunning, dishonest, disloyal was common, despite the efforts of Stoic philosophy to proclaim the equality of all men.
- Disobedience led to punishment, sometimes even of a harsh nature. Yet punishment was, at least theoretically, delimited to what is just. This was especially true in the case of Jewish society where proper treatment of slaves was linked directly to the Law of Moses, and was thus divinely enacted. A Jewish slave-owner who did not adhere to the principles of equality and reciprocity in his relations with his slaves, sinned against the God of the Jews.

This chapter posed the following question: Where do the writers of the New Testament find themselves, relative to their contemporaries, when exhorting Christian slave-owners on the treatment of their slaves and on the character of their relationship with them? Formulated differently: Were the writers of the New Testament influenced in their exhortations to slave-owners by the wisdom of the day on the matter? These questions have been answered in 7.3.6 below the light of the findings in chapter 6.

7.3.5 The New Testament on rights and duties of slave-owners (chapter 6)

On the basis of the findings from chapter 6 (see 0 above), the following conclusions were drawn:

7.3.5.1 Divergent viewpoints on the conduct of slave-owners

The New Testament pericopes seem to diverge as far as their stance on the conduct of slave-owners is concerned:

- The direct exhortations to slave-owners (Eph 6:9; Col 4:1; Philem 8-22) are more radical in demanding change from slave-owners;
- The exhortations to slave-owners implied in the exhortations to slaves fall into two categories:

- o The first category (1 Cor 7:21-23; Eph 6:5-8; Col 3:22-25; 1 Pet 2:18-25) follows the more radical approach of the direct exhortations; and
- o The second category (1 Tim 6:1-2d; Titus 2:9-10) is far less radical in demanding change from slave-owners.

7.3.5.2 Explanation of the divergence

Based on the discussion of the Elliott-Balch debate and subsequent research, I conclude that the diverging viewpoints on the conduct of slave-owners were expressions of the church's positioning on the continuum between social separation and acculturation in a specific era and in specific contexts. This positioning, however, excludes the revelation-historical aspects highlighted above, as clearly illustrated by the exhortations directed to slave-owners (and slaves).

7.3.5.3 Boundaries to the divergence

The New Testament writings, however, also indicate those aspects of Christian teaching that are normative and thus do not form part of the church's positioning on this continuum. These are, in respect of the relationship between slave-owner and slave, the revelation-historical aspects namely the Lordship and Headship of Christ, the fellowship of believers, God's calling to believers, the priority of God's Name and teaching, and the suffering of Christ. Thus a proper relationship between believing slave-owner and believing slave involved:

- Submission by both to their Owner and Head, Jesus Christ;
- Realisation of their fellowship as brothers in Christ;
- Due recognition of their respective callings in the social order;
- Giving priority to the honour of God's name and sound teaching in their relationship, especially as it is viewed or perceived by outsiders; and
- As far as the believing slave is concerned, reflecting a Christ-like attitude towards unjust suffering at the hands of his (even unbelieving) owner.

7.3.6 Overall conclusions

- The general socio-historic context of slavery constructed in chapter 2 and the specific legal context of slavery constructed in chapter 3 largely correspond. Drawing definite conclusions from the evidence presented is a hazardous exercise, as pointed out in paragraph 1.4.3 above. Yet the broad correspondence in the evidence on crucial aspects of the rights and duties of slave-owners does point to the reasonable reliability of the evidence, and the conclusions drawn from it. This broad correspondence also gives credence to the points of difference.
- In chapter 3 I submit that the differences between Jewish law on slavery on the one hand and Greek and Roman law on slavery on the other pointed to an alternative legal and religious context to

the New Testament which may have functioned as a counterweight to the strict legal contexts brought about by Greek and Roman law. In the light of the findings and conclusions in chapter 6 above (see 6.8 and 7.3.5), and especially the divergence of viewpoints on the conduct of slave-owners, one must conclude that Greek and Roman law accounted for the more conservative approaches to the conduct of slave-owners. Yet the history of slavery in the Old Testament, and the topology of God's relationship to his people (see chapters 2 and 3) provided a clear Jewish legal and religious context to the New Testament pericopes dealing with the topic, expounded upon by Jewish law and philosophy in the time of the New Testament (see chapters 3 and 4). The centrality of the relationship between God and his enslaved people in the Old Testament and God and the believing slave and/or slave-owner in the New Testament provided the link, as indicated by the revelation historical contexts of the New Testament pericopes (see 6.5 above). Thus the submission seems validated.

- On the basis of the threefold philosophical framework on slavery formulated in chapter 4, one may ask: Where do the writers of the New Testament fit into this framework? Formulated alternatively: Did any of these philosophical positions, or any facet of the positions, influence the writers of the New Testament in their exhortations directed at slave-owners? On the evidence of chapter 6, one may conclude that the New Testament provides support for all three frameworks according to the divergence of viewpoints on the conduct of slave-owners:

Progressive (equality of man)	The direct exhortations to slave-owners (Eph 6:9; Col 4:1; Philem 8-22) are more radical in demanding change from slave-owners.
Spiritual (body enslaved, spirit free)	Those exhortations to slave-owners implied in the exhortations to slaves (1 Cor 7:21-23; Eph 6:5-8; Col 3:22-25; 1 Pet 2:18-25) follow the more radical approach of the direct exhortations
Traditional (natural theory)	Those exhortations to slave-owners implied in the exhortations to slaves (1 Tim 6:1-2d; Titus 2:9-10) are far less radical in demanding change from slave-owners.

This divergence should not surprise, as chapter 4 indicated that all three philosophical frameworks were evident in Greek, Roman and Jewish contexts. This divergence could rather be explained as further expressions of the church's positioning on the continuum between social separation and acculturation in a specific era and in specific contexts. Whether these pericopes were influenced by the philosophical leanings suggested by them, remains open to debate.

- Chapter 5 posed the following question: Where do the writers of the New Testament find themselves relative to their contemporaries, when exhorting Christian slave-owners on the treatment of their slaves? Formulated differently: Were the writers of the New Testament influenced in their exhortations to slave-owners by the wisdom of the day on the matter? In the light of the evidence presented in chapter 6, one may conclude that the exhortations

(direct and implied) to slave-owners in the New Testament lean towards a Jewish context. The references to reward and punishment as a slave management system are almost exclusively confined to the descriptions of the conduct of slave-owners (see 6.4 above). And references to such a system in the exhortations (direct and implied) to slave-owners are negative in its evaluation (eg. 1 Pet 2:18-25). It thus seems more plausible that the principles of equality and reciprocity expounded in the New Testament stemmed from Jewish tradition rather than from Stoic roots, although the latter would have provided the writers of the New Testament with a convenient foothold in Greco-Roman society. Although never expressly formulated, some New Testament passages point to eventual manumission for slaves (eg. 1 Cor 7:21-23; Phlm 8:8-22).

- Based on the findings in section 6.4, compared to the socio-historic context constructed in the other chapters, and especially chapter 5, the descriptions of the conduct of slave-owners in the parables of Jesus correspond to reality. They clearly indicate the entrenchment of the slave-owner's power and authority over his slaves while encouraging the slaves to work productively, loyally, and honestly, a system of reward and punishment in the treatment of slaves, the negative stereotyping of slaves as cunning, dishonest, disloyal was common, and the acceptance of even harsh and cruel treatment of slaves despite the efforts of Stoic philosophy (see 4.3.4 above) to proclaim the equality of all men. In cases such as Matthew 25:14-30 where there is clear incongruity with the prevailing context of slavery, Jesus uses it as a rhetorical device (see 6.4.4 above).
- The question remains whether the New Testament pericopes dealing with slavery simply echoed the socio-historic (and specifically legal) context of the time, or whether these pericopes contained any unique features with a direct bearing on the rights and duties of slave-owners. I conclude on the basis of the evidence of chapter 6 that these texts include unique features with a direct bearing on the rights and duties of slave-owners. These features relate to the revelation historical analysis of the New Testament pericopes as expounded in chapter 6. Although the writers of the New Testament clearly and unequivocally accepted the legal and social reality of slavery, they persistently and insistently placed it in the context of the believing slave-owner and/or slave's relationship with Jesus Christ. This context can be traced to the Jewish tradition and its imagery of Israel as the slave-people of God. It is within this revelation historical context that the believing slave-owner had to find his proper place on the continuum between social separation and acculturation, as evidenced by the diverging viewpoints expounded in the New Testament on the relationship between slave-owner and slave. For one believing slave-owner his relationship with Christ may have moved him to set his slave free; for another it may at least have moved him to treat his slave more humanely.
- This study indicates the importance of Greek, Roman, and Jewish law in the interpretation of the New Testament. Greek law certainly played a lesser role while Roman law provided the practical day-to-

day legal context for the writers of the New Testament. Yet the study strongly suggests a more prominent role for Jewish law in the minds of the New Testament authors. This seems quite reasonable considering the strong Jewish influence experienced by the majority of these authors, often expressed in their writings.

7.4 ACHIEVEMENT OF RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The study achieved the research objectives formulated in chapter 1:

Research objective	Chapter
Determine the prevailing rights and duties of slave-owners according to Roman law	Chapters 2 and 3.
Determine the prevailing rights and duties of slave-owners according to Greek law	Chapters 2 and 3
Determine the prevailing viewpoint(s) regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners according to Jewish law	Chapters 2 and 3
Determine prevailing religious and/or philosophical viewpoints regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners	Chapter 4
Determine how the conduct of slave-owners towards their slaves was described in relevant first century texts	Chapter 5
Determine the rights and duties of slave-owners according to the New Testament	Chapter 6
Determine the similarities and/or differences between the prevailing legal and other convictions regarding the rights and duties of slave-owners and the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament	Chapter 6 and 7
Formulate, in the light of the legal context, a valid interpretation of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament	Chapter 7

The central theoretical argument of the study was that the legal context of the first readers is essential for a valid interpretation of the exhortations directed at slave-owners in the New Testament, and that taking into account this legal context leads to a valid interpretation. Through philological and comparative methods as well as analysis, interpretation and synthesis of the collected material the central theoretical argument was validated, and the overall research aim achieved namely to construct the legal rights and duties of slave-owners in the first century AD as context for the exhortations directed in the New Testament at slave-owners.

7.5 CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

The contribution of the study to the fields of Greek philology and the socio-historic context of the New Testament is as follows:

- The selection and compilation of primary passages relating to the rights and duties and slave-owners, philosophical viewpoints on slavery, and the attitudes of slave-owners toward their slaves;
- The philological analysis of the compiled primary passages in Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic;
- The construction of the socio-historic context of the New Testament passages dealing with slavery, with special emphasis on the legal context, but also touching on the philosophical context;
- The philological analysis of the primary passages in the New Testament dealing with slavery;
- An overview of the Elliott-Balch debate on social separation and acculturation, and subsequent research;
- Conclusions on the interpretation of the New Testament pericopes dealing with slavery in the light of the constructed socio-historic, and specifically legal, context;
- Application of the conclusions reached in this study to other societal relationships, especially those involving women.

7.6 FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research based on the findings and conclusions of this study could include:

- Similar studies on other legal concepts in the New Testament, for example succession and adoption;
- Further research on the implications of the findings and conclusions of this study for labour relations today;
- Further research on the continuum between social separation and acculturation in the New Testament, and its implications for the present-day church.

ABSTRACT

The exhortations to slave-owners in the New Testament: A philological study

This study aims to construct the legal rights and duties of slave-owners in the first century AD as context for the exhortations in the New Testament directed at slave-owners. The central theoretical argument has been that the legal context of the first readers is essential for a valid interpretation of these exhortations, and that taking into account this legal context makes a valid interpretation possible. The study applies philological and comparative methods as well as analysis, interpretation and synthesis of the collected material.

Chapter 1 provides an outline of the study. Chapter 2 first defines a search filter to delimit the vast collection of material on slavery in antiquity, and then describes ancient slavery as general context to the texts and the New Testament exhortations analysed in subsequent chapters. In chapter 3 the legal context has been constructed by way of analysis of primary texts from Greek, Roman, and Jewish law. Chapter 4 deals with primary texts on the philosophical underpinnings of slavery in the three worlds under investigation. In chapter 5 Greek, Roman, and Jewish primary texts dealing with the conduct of slave-owners in respect of their slaves have been analysed. In chapter 6 the New Testament exhortations to slave-owners have been analysed utilising the contexts constructed in the preceeding chapters. Chapter 7 summarises the findings and conclusions of the study.

The study has concluded the New Testament writers' acceptance of the legal and social reality of slavery in the first century AD. Their writings, however, contain unique features with a direct bearing on the rights and duties of slave-owners namely their persistent placement of the slave-owner – slave relationship in the context of the believing slave-owner and/or slave's relationship with Jesus Christ. Within this framework, the study points towards diverging viewpoints within the New Testament on a continuum between social separation and acculturation.

Key words:

Slavery

New Testament

Greek law

Roman law

Jewish law

Philology

OPSOMMING

Die oproepe tot slawe-eienaars in die Nuwe Testament: 'n Filologiese studie

Die studie het ten doel om die juridiese regte en verpligtinge van slawe-eienaars in die eerste eeu na Christus as konteks tot die oproepe tot slawe-eienaars in die Nuwe Testament te konstrueer. Die sentrale teoretiese argument is dat die regskonteks van die eerste lesers noodsaaklik is vir 'n geldige interpretasie van hierdie oproepe en dat die inagneming van sodanige regskonteks 'n geldige interpretasie moontlik maak. In die studie is filologiese en vergelykende metodes asook analise, interpretasie en sintese van die versamelde materiaal aangewend.

Hoofstuk 1 belyn die studie. Hoofstuk 2 definieer 'n soekfilter om die enorme versameling materiaal oor slawerny in antieke tye te beperk en beskryf daarna antieke slawerny as algemene konteks van die tekste en Nuwe-Testamentiese oproepe wat in opvolgende hoofstukke geanaliseer is. In hoofstuk 3 is die regskonteks gekonstrueer by wyse van die analise van primêre tekste uit Griekse, Romeinse en Joodse reg. Hoofstuk 4 analiseer primêre tekste oor die filosofiese begronding van slawerny in hierdie drie wêreldes. In hoofstuk 5 is Griekse, Romeinse en Joodse primêre tekste geanaliseer wat handel oor die optrede van slawe-eienaars met betrekking tot hulle slawe. In hoofstuk 6 is die Nuwe-Testamentiese oproepe tot slawe-eienaars geanaliseer met gebruikmaking van die kontekste wat in die voorafgaande hoofstukke gekonstrueer is. In hoofstuk 7 is die bevindings en gevolgtrekkings van die studie saamgevat.

Die studie kom tot die gevolgtrekking dat die skrywers van die Nuwe Testament die juridiese en sosiale werklikheid van slawerny in die eerste eeu na Christus aanvaar het. Hulle geskrifte bevat egter unieke kenmerke wat 'n direkte uitwerking op die regte en verpligtinge van slawe-eienaars gehad het, naamlik hulle volgehoue plasing van die slawe-eienaar – slaaf verhouding in die konteks van die gelowige slawe-eienaar en/of slaaf se verhouding met Jesus Christus. Binne hierdie raamwerk dui die studie op uiteenlopende standpunte op die kontinuum tussen sosiale skeiding en akkulturasie binne die Nuwe Testament.

Sleutelwoorde:

Slawerny

Nuwe Testament

Griekse reg

Romeinse reg

Joodse reg

Filologie

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AESCHINES. *In Ctesiphontem*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 8 October 2007).
- AESCHINES. *In Timarchum*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 9 October 2007).
- ANNAS, J. 2003a. Plato (1). (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1190-1193).
- ANNAS, J. 2003b. Stoicism. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1446).
- ANTIPHON. *De caede Herodis*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 9 October 2007).
- ANTIPHON. *De Choreuta*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 9 October 2007).
- ARISTOPHANES. *Fragmenta*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 9 October 2007).
- ARISTOTELES. *Ethica Nicomachea*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 27 August 2009).
- ARISTOTELES. *Politica*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 28 September 2007).
- ARISTOTELES. *Rhetorica*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 9 October 2007).
- ARNAOUTOGLU, I. 1998. *Ancient Greek laws: A sourcebook*. London: Routledge.
- ARNOTT, W G. 2003. Menander (1). (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.956-957).
- AUGUSTINE. *De civitate Dei*. (In: Anon. *The Latin Library*. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/augustine/civ14.shtml> Date accessed: 9 September 2009).
- BADIAN, E. 2003. Tullius Tiro, Marcus. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1564).
- BALCH, D L. 1981. *Let wives be submissive: The domestic code in 1 Peter*. Atlanta: Scholars Press. (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 26).

- BALCH, D L. 1986. Hellenization/acclturation in 1 Peter. (*In*: Talbert, C H. ed. Perspectives on First Peter. Macon: Mercer University Press. p.79-101. (NABPR Special Studies Series, Number 9)).
- BALCH, D L. 1996. Household Codes. (*In*: Freedmen, D N. ed. The Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 3. New York: Doubleday). [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- BALSDON, J P V D. 1969. Life and leisure in ancient Rome. London: The Bodley Head.
- BALSDON, J P V D. & GRIFFIN, M T. 2003. Tullius Cicero, Marcus: Life. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1558-1560).
- BALSDON, J P V D. & LEVICK, B M. 2003. Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus). (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.337-338).
- BAR-ASHER, M. 2006. Mishnaic Hebrew: An introductory study. (*In*: Safrai, S., Safrai, Z., Schwartz, J. & Tomson, P J. eds. The literature of the sages. Part II. Assen: Royal van Gorcum. p.567-595). (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum).
- BARROW, R H. 1928. Slavery in the Roman Empire. New York: Barnes & Noble.
- BARTCHY, S S. 1973. First-century slavery and the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7:21. Atlanta: Scholars Press. (SBL Dissertation Series No 11).
- BARTCHY, S S. 1992. Slavery. (*In*: Freedman, D N. ed. The Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 6. New York: Doubleday. p.58-73).
- BARTCHY, S S. 1996. Philemon, Epistle to. (*In*: Freedmen, D N. ed. The Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 5. New York: Doubleday). [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- BARTH, M. & BLANKE, H. 2000. The letter to Philemon. A new translation with notes and commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. (Eerdmans Critical Commentary).
- BASSLER, J M. 1996. 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus. Nashville: Abingdon Press. (Abingdon New Testament Commentaries).
- BDAG. See DANKER, F W.
- BECHTLER, S R. 1998. Following in his steps: Suffering, community, and Christology in 1 Peter. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature. (Dissertation Series Number 162).
- BERGER, A. 1953. Encyclopedic dictionary of Roman law. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for promoting useful knowledge. New Series. Volume 43 Part 2).

- BETZ, H D. & MITCHELL, M M. 1996. Corinthians, First Epistle to the. (*In*: Freedmen, D N. *ed.* The Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 1. New York: Doubleday). [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- BHS. 1996. Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia: With Westminster Hebrew Morphology. (electronic ed.) Stuttgart: German Bible Society.
- BIETENHARD, H. 1976. Lord, Master. (*In*: Brown, C. *ed.* The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology. Volume 2. Exeter: Paternoster Press. p.508-520).
- BIRLEY, A R. 2003. Aurelius, Marcus. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. *eds.* The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.219-220).
- BLACKMAN, P. 1965. Mishnayoth. 3rd ed. 6 vol. New York: The Judaica Press.
- BORKOWSKI, A. & DU PLESSIS, P. 2005. Textbook on Roman law. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BRADLEY, K R. 1987. Slaves and masters in the Roman Empire: A study in social control. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BRADLEY, K R. 1989. Slavery and rebellion in the Roman world, 140 B.C. -70 B.C. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- BRADLEY, K R. 1994. Slavery and society at Rome. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Key Themes in Ancient History).
- BREUER, Y. 2006. The Aramaic of the Talmudic period. (*In*: Safrai, S., Safrai, Z., Schwartz, J. & Tomson, P J. *eds.* The literature of the sages. Part II. Assen: Royal van Gorcum. p.597-625). (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum).
- BREYTENBACH, C. 2005. The "for us" phrases in Pauline soteriology: considering their background and use. (*In*: Van der Watt, JG., *ed.* Salvation in the New Testament: Perspectives on soteriology. Leiden: Brill. p.163-185). (*Novum Testamentum Supplementum* 121).
- BRISCOE, J. 2003. Porcius Cato (1), Marcus. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. *eds.* The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1224-1225).
- BROWN, C. *ed.* 1976. The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology. Volume 3. Exeter: Paternoster Press.
- BROWN, F., DRIVER, S R, & BRIGGS, C A. 2000. Enhanced Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon. Oak Harbor: Logos Research Systems. [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- BROWN, P G M. 2003a. Parasite. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. *eds.* The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1112).

- BROWN, P G M. 2003b. Plautus (Titus Maccius Plautus). (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1194-1196).
- BROWNING, R. & WILSON, N G. 2003. Dio Cocceianus. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.470).
- BUCKLAND, W W. 1908. The Roman law of slavery: The condition of the slave in private law from Augustus to Justinian. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CALHOUN, G M. 1977. Introduction to Greek legal science. Edited by Francis de Zulueta. Aalen: Scientia.
- CALLAHAN, A D., HORSLEY, R A. & SMITH, A. 1998. Introduction: The slavery of New Testament Studies. (*In*: Callahan, A D., Horsley, R A. & Smith, A., eds. Slavery in text and interpretation. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature. p.1-15). (Semeia 83/84).
- CALLENDER, D E. 1998. Servants of God(s) and servants of Kings in Israel and the Ancient Near East. (*In*: Callahan, A D., Horsley, R A. & Smith, A., eds. Slavery in text and interpretation. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature. p.67-82). (Semeia 83/84).
- CAMBIANO, G. 1987. Aristotle and the anonymous opponents of slavery. (*In* Finley, M I. ed. Classical slavery. London: Frank Cass. p.22-41.)
- CATO. *De Agricultura*. (*In*: Anon. 2007. M. Porci Catonis Censoris De Agricultura. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cato/cato.agri.html> Date accessed: 9 November 2009).
- CAWKWELL, G L. 2003a. Aeschines (1). (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.25-26).
- CAWKWELL, G L. 2003b. Demosthenes (2). (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.456-458).
- CICERO. *Ad Quintum*. (*In*: Anon. 2007. M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistularum ad Quintum. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/paradoxa.shtml> Date accessed: 27 October 2007).
- CICERO. *De Officiis*. (*In*: Anon. 2007. M. Tulli Ciceronis Topica. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/paradoxa.shtml> Date accessed: 4 November 2009).
- CICERO. *Paradoxa Stoicorum*. (*In*: Anon. 2007. M. Tulli Ciceronis Topica. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/paradoxa.shtml> Date accessed: 11 September 2007).
- CICERO. *Topica*. (*In*: Anon. 2007. M. Tulli Ciceronis Topica. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/topica.shtml> Date accessed: 12 July 2007).

- COETZEE, J C. 1975. Die Blye Boodskap. 'n Gids deur die Boeke van die Nuwe Testament. 1: Die Briewe van Paulus. Potchefstroom: Pro Rege.
- COLLINS, R F. 2002. 1 & 2 Timothy and Titus. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press. (New Testament Library).
- COLUMELLA. *De Re Rustica*. (In: Anon. 2007. L. Iunius Moderatus Columella De Re Rustica Liber Primus. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/columella/columella.rr1.shtml> Date accessed: 11 November 2009).
- COMBES, I A H. 1998. The metaphor of slavery in the writings of the Early Church: From the New Testament to the beginning of the fifth century. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- COMBRINK, H J B. 1983. The Gospel according to Matthew: Introduction and Theology. (In: Du Toit, A B. ed. Guide to the New Testament Volume IV. The Synoptic Gospels and Acts: Introduction and Theology. Halfway House: Orion Publishers. p.57-101).
- CORNELIUS TACITUS. *Annales*. (In: Crane, G R. ed. 2007. Perseus Digital Library Project. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu> Date accessed: 11 September 2007).
- CORPUS ARISTOTELICUM. *Oikonomika*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 4 November 2009).
- CROOK, J A. 1984. Law and life of Rome, 90 B.C. – A.D. 212. New York: Cornell University Press.
- CROSSAN, J D. 1996. Parable. (In: Freedmen, D N. ed. The Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 5. New York: Doubleday). [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- DANKER, F W. 2002. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. 3rd ed. University of Chicago Press: Chicago. [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- DAVIES, J K. 2003. Isaeus (1). (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.767).
- DAVIES, M. 1995. Work and slavery in the New Testament: Impoverishments of traditions. (In: Rogerson, J W., Davies, M. & Carroll, M D R., eds. The Bible in ethics: The Second Sheffield Qolloquium. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press. p.315-347).
- DE KLERK, Ben J. & VAN RENSBURG, Fika J. 2005. Making a sermon: A guide for reformed exegesis and preaching, applied to 1 Peter 2:11-12, 18-25. Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom Theological Publications.
- DE STE. CROIX, G E M. 1981. The class struggle in the ancient Greek world from the Archaic Age to the Arab conquests. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- DEMOSTHENES. *Contra Nicostratum*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 5 October 2007).
- DEMOSTHENES. *Contra Phormionem*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 5 October 2007).
- DEMOSTHENES. *In Evergum et Mnesibulum*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 9 October 2007).
- DEMOSTHENES. *In Midiam*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 9 October 2007).
- DEMOSTHENES. *In Neaeram*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 3 October 2007).
- DEMOSTHENES. *In Timocratem*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 3 October 2007).
- DE VILLIERS, J L. 1998a. The political situation in the Graeco-Roman world in the period 332 BC to AD 138. (In: Du Toit, A B. ed. *Guide to the New Testament Volume II: The New Testament milieu*. Halfway House: Orion Publishers. p.96-132).
- DE VILLIERS, J L. 1998b. Philosophical trends in the Graeco-Roman world. (In: Du Toit, A B. ed. *Guide to the New Testament Volume II: The New Testament milieu*. Halfway House: Orion Publishers. p.169-190).
- DILLON, J M. 2003. Eclecticism. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.502).
- DIO CHRYSOSTOMOS. *Orationes*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 9 October 2007).
- DIOGENES LAERTIUS. *Vitae philosophorum*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 8 October 2007).
- DOVER, K J. 2003. Aristophanes (1). (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.162-165).
- DRESCHER, S. & ENGERMAN, S L., eds. 1998. *A historical guide to world slavery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- DU PLESSIS, I J. 1983a. The Gospel according to Luke: Introduction and Theology. (*In*: Du Toit, A B. *ed.* Guide to the New Testament Volume IV. The Synoptic Gospels and Acts: Introduction and Theology. Halfway House: Orion Publishers. p.144-164).
- DU PLESSIS, I J. 1983b. Acts: Introduction and Theology. (*In*: Du Toit, A B. *ed.* Guide to the New Testament Volume IV. The Synoptic Gospels and Acts: Introduction and Theology. Halfway House: Orion Publishers. p.194-281).
- DU PLESSIS, I J. 1998. Getting to know the geography, topography and archaeology of the Bible Lands in New Testament times. (*In*: Du Toit, A B. *ed.* Guide to the New Testament Volume II: The New Testament milieu. Halfway House: Orion Publishers. p.32-85).
- DU RAND, J A. 1990. Die Evangelie volgens Johannes: Inleiding tot die Johannesevangelie. (*In*: Du Toit, A B. *ed.* Guide to the New Testament Volume VI: The New Testament milieu. Halfway House: Orion Publishers. p.1-36).
- DU RAND, J A. 1998. Groups in Jewish national life in the New Testament period. (*In*: Du Toit, A B. *ed.* Guide to the New Testament Volume II: The New Testament milieu. Halfway House: Orion Publishers. p.263-307).
- DUDREY, R P. 1998. The social and legal setting of I Corinthians 7:17-35: De facto slave marriages in the church at Corinth. Twin Cities: University of Minnesota. (Ph.D. thesis).
- DUFF, A M., FOWLER, P G. & FOWLER, D P. 2003. Lucilius (2) (Iunior), Gaius. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. *eds.* The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.887-888).
- ELLIOTT, J H. 1981. A home for the homeless: A sociological exegesis of 1 Peter, its situation and strategy. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- ELLIOTT, J H. 1986. 1 Peter, its situation and strategy: A discussion with David Balch. (*In*: Talbert, C H. *ed.* Perspectives on First Peter. Macon: Mercer University Press. p.61-78. (NABPR Special Studies Series, Number 9)).
- ELON, M. 1994. Jewish law: History, sources, principles. 4 vols. Translated from the Hebrew by Bernard Auerbach and Melvin J. Sykes. Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society.
- EPICTETUS. *Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae*. (*In*: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 27 October 2009).
- EPICURUS. *Epistula ad Menoeceum*. (*In*: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 27 October 2009).
- FINLEY, M I. 1980. Ancient slavery and modern ideology. London: Penguin Books.
- FISHER, N R E. 1993. Slavery in classical Greece. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press. (Classical World Series).

- FITZGERALD, J T. 2010. The Stoics and the Early Christians on the treatment of slaves. (*In*: Dunderberg, I., Engberg-Pedersen, T. & Rasimus, T. eds. *Stoicism in Early Christianity*. Peabody: Hendrickson).
- FITZGERALD, W. 2000. *Slavery and the Roman imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Roman literature and its contexts).
- FLESHER, P V M. 1988. Oxen, women, or citizens? Slaves in the system of the Mishnah. Atlanta: Scholars Press. (Brown Judaic Studies 143).
- FORBES, P B R., BROWNING, R. & WILSON, N G. 2003. Pollux, Iulius. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1209).
- FURLEY, D J. 2003a. Epicurus. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.532-534).
- FURLEY, D J. 2003b. Peripatetic School. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1141).
- FURNISH, V P. 1996a. Colossians, Epistle to the. (*In*: Freedmen, D N. ed. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Volume 2. New York: Doubleday). [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- FURNISH, V P. 1996b. Ephesians, Epistle to the. (*In*: Freedmen, D N. ed. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Volume 2. New York: Doubleday). [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- GAIUS. *Institutiones*. (*In* Seckel E. & Kuebler, B. 1935. *Gai Institutionum commentarii quattuor*. <http://web.upmf-grenoble.fr/Haiti/Cours/Ak/> Date accessed: 18 September 2009.)
- GAGARIN, M. 2003. Antiphon (1). (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.111-112).
- GARLAN, Y. 1988. *Slavery in ancient Greece*. Translated from the French by Janet Lloyd. London: Cornell University Press.
- GARNSEY, P. 1996. *Ideas of slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GLANCY, J A. 2006. *Slavery in early Christianity*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- GOEDE, H. 2006. Researching ancient texts: A philological and/or linguistic endeavour? (Paper presented at New Testament Workshop of South Africa Conference on 18 April 2006.) Pretoria. 11p. (Unpublished).
- GOETZMANN, J. 1976. House, Build, Manage, Steward. (*In*: Brown, C. ed. *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. Volume 2. Exeter: Paternoster Press. p.247-256).

- GOLDBERG, A. 1987a. The Mishna – a study book of Halakha. (*In: Safrai, S. ed. The literature of the sages. Part I. Philadelphia: Fortress Press. p.210-262*). (*Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*).
- GOLDBERG, A. 1987b. The Tosefta – companion to the Mishna. (*In: Safrai, S. ed. The literature of the sages. Part I. Philadelphia: Fortress Press. p.283-302*). (*Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*).
- GOLDBERG, A. 1987c. The Palestinian Talmud. (*In: Safrai, S. ed. The literature of the sages. Part I. Philadelphia: Fortress Press. p.303-322*). (*Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*).
- GOODMAN, M D. 2003a. Essenes. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.558*).
- GOODMAN, M D. 2003b. Pharisees. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1154*).
- GOODMAN, M D. 2003c. Rabbis. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1292*).
- GOODMAN, M D. 2003d. Religion, Jewish. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1303-1304*).
- GOODMAN, M D. 2003e. Sadducees. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1346*).
- GOULD, J P A. 2003. Herodotus (1). (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.696-698*).
- HARRILL, J A. 1998. The manumission of slaves in early Christianity. 2nd ed. Chicago: Mohr Siebeck.
- HARRILL, J A. 2006. Slaves in the New Testament: Literary, social and moral dimensions. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- HARRIS, M J. 2001. Slave of Christ: A New Testament metaphor for total devotion to Christ. Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press.
- HARRISON, A R W. 1968. The law of Athens: The family and property. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- HARRISON, S J. 2003. Petronius Arbiter. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1149-1150*).
- HERODOTUS. *Historiae*. (*In: Anon. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 2 October 2009*).

- HEZSER, C. 2005. Jewish slavery in antiquity. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- HOLMBERG, B. 1978. Paul and power: The structure of authority in the primitive church as reflected in the Pauline Epistles. Lund: Gleerup. (Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series II).
- HOMERUS. *Ilias*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 1 October 2007).
- HORNBLOWER, S. 2003a. Greece (prehistory and history: Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic). (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.649-652).
- HORNBLOWER, S. 2003b. Hellenism, Hellenization. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.677-678).
- HORNBLOWER, S. 2003c. Old Oligarch. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1063-1064).
- HORRELL, D. G. 2007. Beyond the Balch-Elliott debate towards a postcolonial reading of 1 Peter. (In: Webb, R. L. & Bauman-Martin, B. *Reading First Peter with new eyes: Methodological reassessments of the letter of first Peter*. London: T & T Clark. (Library of New Testament Studies 364). <http://eric.exeter.ac.uk/exeter/handle/10036/65773> Date accessed: 23 August 2010).
- HOWATSON, M. C. ed. 1989. *The Oxford companion to classical literature*. Second edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- INWOOD, B. 2003a. Epictetus. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.532).
- INWOOD, B. 2003b. Panaetius. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1104).
- ISAEUS. *De Philoctemone*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 3 October 2007).
- JANSE VAN RENSBURG, F. 1992. The outline of 1 Peter: A reconsideration. *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 74/1 (NS3):26-41.
- JANSE VAN RENSBURG, F. 1993. 1 Petrus. (In: Vosloo, W. & Janse van Rensburg, F. eds. *Die Bybel in praktyk* (Nuwe Vertaling). Vereeniging: Christelike Uitgewersmaatskappy. p.1945-1958).

- JANSE VAN RENSBURG, F. 2000. Dékor of konteks? Die verdiskontering van sosio-historiese gegewens in interpretasie van 'n Nuwe Testament-teks vir die prediking en pastoraat, geïllustreer aan die hand van die 1 Petrus-brief. *Skrif en Kerk*, 21:564-582.
- JASTROW, M. 1950. A dictionary of the Targumin, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature. 2 vols. New York: Pardes Publishing House.
- JOBES, K H. 2005. 1 Peter. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic. (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament).
- JOHNSTON, D. 1999. Roman law in context. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- JOSHEL, S R. & MURNAGHAN, S., eds. 2001. Women and slaves in Greco-Roman culture. Differential equations. London: Routledge.
- JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS. *Antiquitates judaicae*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 7 July 2009).
- JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS. *Bellum judaicum*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 7 July 2009).
- JOUBERT, S. 2005. “ in Paul. An investigation into the apostle's “performative” application of the language of *grace* within the framework of his theological reflection on the event/process of salvation. (In: Van der Watt, J G., ed. *Salvation in the New Testament: Perspectives on soteriology*. Leiden: Brill. p.187-211). (*Novum Testamentum Supplementum* 121).
- JUDGE, E A. 1960. The social pattern of the Christian groups in the first century: Some prolegomena to the study of the New Testament ideas of social obligation. London: Tyndale Press.
- JUDGE, E A. 2008. St Paul as a radical critic of society. (In: Scholer, D M., ed. *Social distinctives of the Christians in the first century: Pivotal essays by E A Judge*. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers. p.99-115).
- JULIUS POLLUX. *Onomasticon*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 8 October 2007).
- JUSTINIANUS. *Digesta*. (In: Spruit, J E., Feenstra, R. & Bongenaar, K E M. eds. 1994. *Corpus Iuris Civilis: Tekst en vertaling*. Volume II-VI. Zutphen: Walburg Pers).
- JUSTINIANUS. *Institutiones*. (In: Spruit, J E., Feenstra, R. & Bongenaar, K E M. eds. 1993. *Corpus Iuris Civilis: Tekst en vertaling*. Volume I: *Institutiones*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers).

- KASTER, R A. 2003. Varro. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1582).
- KEARNS, E. 2003. Theseus. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1508-1509).
- KELLY, J M. 1992. A short history of Western legal theory. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- KIRSCHENBAUM, A. 1987. Sons, slaves and freedmen in Roman commerce. Jerusalem: The Magna Press.
- KITTEL, G. & FRIEDRICH, G. eds. 1964. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Volumes 1-10. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- KOEHLER, L. & BAUMGARTNER, W. eds. 1998. A bilingual dictionary of the Hebrew and Aramaic Old Testament. English and German. Leiden: Brill.
- LEA, T D. & GRIFFIN, H P. 1992. 1, 2 Timothy Titus. Nashville: Broadman Press. (The New American Commentary Volume 34).
- LEAGUE OF NATIONS. 1926. Slavery Convention signed at Geneva on 25 September 1926.
- LIDDELL, H G., SCOTT, R., JONES, H S., & MCKENZIE, R. eds. 1996. A Greek-English lexicon with a revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press. [CD].
- LONG, H S. & SHARPLES, R W. 2003. Diogenes (6) Laertius. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.474-475).
- LOUW, J P. & NIDA, E A. 1996. Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on semantic domains. Volume 1 and 2. Electronic ed. of the 2nd edition. United Bible societies: New York. [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- MACDOWELL, D M. 1978. The law in classical Athens. London: Thames and Hudson. (Aspects of Greek and Roman life).
- MARCUS AURELIUS. Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτόν. (*In*: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 5 November 2009).
- MARSHALL, I H. 1999. A critical and exegetical commentary on the Pastoral Epistles. London: T & T Clarke.
- MARTIN, D B. 1993. Slavery and the ancient Jewish family. (*In*: Cohen, S J D. ed. The Jewish family in antiquity. Atlanta: Scholars Press. p.113-129) (Brown Judaic Studies 289).
- MASON, H J. 1974. Greek terms for Roman institutions: A lexicon and analysis. Toronto: A.M. Hakkert Ltd. (American Studies in Papyrology. Volume 13.).

- MASSEY, M. & MORELAND, P. 1992. Slavery in ancient Rome. Surrey: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- MELICK, R. R. 1991. Philippians, Colossians, Philemon. Nashville: Broadman Press. (The New American Commentary).
- MENANDER. *Fragmenta*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 27 August 2009).
- MILLER, F. D. 2005. Property rights in Aristotle. (In: Kraut, R. & Skultety, S. eds. *Aristotle's Politics: Critical essays*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. p.121-144).
- MOLES, J. L. 2003a. Cynics. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.418-419).
- MOLES, J. L. 2003b. Diatribe. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.463-464).
- MOLES, J. L. 2003c. Diogenes (2). (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.473-474).
- MOO, D. J. 2008. The letters to the Colossians and to Philemon. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- MORROW, G. R. 1939. Plato's law of slavery in its relation to Greek law. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- MORWOOD, J. 2005. Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MOUNCE, W. D. 2000. Pastoral Epistles. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers. (World Biblical Commentary Volume 46).
- NEHAMAS, M. 2003. Socrates. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1419-1420).
- NEUSNER, J. 1999. The Mishnah: Social perspectives. Leiden: Brill. (Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung. Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten).
- NILSSON, M. P. & JAMESON, M. H. 2003. Thesmophoria. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1509).
- NORDLING, J. G. 1991. Onesimus fugitivus: A defence of the runaway slave hypothesis in Philemon. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 41:97-119.
- NORDLING, J. G. 2010. Some matters favouring the runaway slave hypothesis in Philemon. *Neotestamentica: Journal of the New Testament Society of South Africa*. 44(1):85-121.

- NUSSBAUM, M C. 2003a. Aristotle. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.165-169).*
- NUSSBAUM, M C. 2003b. Economic theory (Greek). (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.502-503).*
- NUSSBAUM, M C. 2003c. Political theory. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1206-1207).*
- O'BRIEN, P T. 1982. Colossians, Philemon. Waco: Word Books. (World Biblical Commentary).
- OLD OLIGRACH. *Atheniensium respublica [Sp.]*. (*In: Anon. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 9 October 2007).*
- OSTER, R E. 1996. Ephesus (place). (*In: Freedmen, D N. ed. The Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 2. New York: Doubleday). [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].*
- PARKER, R. 2005. Law and religion. (*In: Gagarin, M. & Cohen, D. eds. The Cambridge Companion to ancient Greek law. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.61-81).*
- PATTENGAL, J A. 1996. Crete (place). (*In: Freedmen, D N. ed. The Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 2. New York: Doubleday). [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].*
- PATTERSON, O. 1982. Slavery and social death: A comparative study. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- PAUL. *Pauli Sententiae*. (*In: Girard, P F. 1937. Textes de Droit Roman Publies et Annotes. 6th ed. Paris: Rousseau & Cie).*
- PETRONIUS. *Satiricon*. (*In: Anon. 2007. C. Petronii Satiricon Liber. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/petronius1.html> Date accessed: 11 November 2009).*
- PHILLIPS, W D. 1996. Continuity and change in Western slavery: Ancient to modern times. (*In Bush, M L. ed. Serfdom and slavery: Studies in legal bondage. London: Addison Wesley Longmann. p.71-88.*)
- PHILO. *De specialibus legibus*. (*In: Anon. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 10 September 2009).*
- PHILO. *De vita contemplativa*. (*In: Anon. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 10 September 2009).*
- PHILO. *Legum allegoria*. (*In: Anon. Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 10 September 2009).*

- PHILO. *Quod omnis probus liber sit*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 10 September 2009).
- PLATO. *Gorgias*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 3 October 2007).
- PLATO. *Leges*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 3 October 2007).
- PLATO. *Phaedo*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 14 October 2009).
- PLATO. *Politicus*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 1 October 2007).
- PLAUTUS. *Asinaria*. (In: Anon. 2007. T. Macci Plauti *Asinaria*. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/plautus/asinaria.shtml> Date accessed: 11 November 2009).
- PLUTARCHOS. *Amatorius*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 5 October 2007).
- POWELL, J G F. 2003. Tullius Cicero, Marcus: Letters. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1562).
- PRINGSHEIM, F. 1950. *The Greek law of sale*. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger.
- QUINN, J D. 1996. Timothy and Titus, Epistles to. (In: Freedmen, D N. ed. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Volume 6. New York: Doubleday). [Libronix Digital Library System Version 3.0d 2000-2006].
- RAJAK, T. 2003. Philon (4). (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1167-1168).
- REYNOLDS, L D., GRIFFIN, M T. & FANTHAM, E. 2003. Annaeus Seneca (2), Lucius. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.96-98).
- ROBERTS, J H. 1984. Die evangenskapsbriewe. (In: Du Toit, A B., red. *Handleiding by die Nuwe Testament, Deel V: Die Pauliniese briewe: Inleiding en teologie*. Pretoria: NG Kerkboekhandel. p.114-157).
- ROBINSON, O F. 1997. *The sources of Roman law: Problems and methods for ancient historians*. London: Routledge.
- ROWE, C J. 2003a. Dialogue. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.462).

- ROWE, C J. 2003b. Phaeton. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1151).*
- RUSSELL, D A. 2003. Plutarch. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1200-1201).*
- RUTHERFORD, R B. 2003. Aurelius, Marcus: Meditations, (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.220-221).*
- SAFRAI, S. 1987. Halakha. (*In: Safrai, S. ed. The literature of the sages. Part I. Philadelphia: Fortress Press. p.121-209).* (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum).
- SALLER, R. 1987. Slavery and the Roman family. (*In: Finley, M I. ed. Classical slavery. London: Frank Cass. p.65-87).*
- SALLER, R. 1996. The hierarchical household in Roman society: A study of domestic slavery. (*In Bush, M L. ed. Serfdom and slavery: Studies in legal bondage. London: Addison Wesley Longmann. p.112-129.*)
- SCHOFIELD, M. 2003. History of Philosophy. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1170-1171).*
- SCHOFIELD, M. 2005. Ideology and philosophy in Aristotle's theory of slavery. (*In: Kraut, R. & Skultety, S. eds. Aristotle's Politics: Critical essays. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. p.91-119).* (Critical Essays on the Classics).
- SCOTT, J J. 1995. Jewish background to the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker Books House Co.
- SECCOMBE, D. 2010. Incongruity in the Gospel parables. Submitted for review to Tyndale Bulletin.
- SEDLEY, D N. 2003. Dialectic. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.461).*
- SENECA. *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales.* (*In: Anon. The Internet Archive. <http://www.archive.org/details/adluciliumepistu01sene> Date accessed: 5 August 2009).*
- SENECA. *De Beneficiis.* (*In: Anon. Itinera Electronica. http://agoraclass.fltr.ucl.ac.be/concordances/sen_bienfaitsIII/texte.htm Date accessed: 2 September 2009).*
- SHARPLES, R W. 2003. Theophrastus. (*In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1504-1505).*
- SHERWIN-WHITE, A N. 1963. Roman society and Roman law in the New Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- SHERWIN-WHITE, A. N. 1967. Racial prejudice in imperial Rome. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SIMON, J. H. & OBBINK, D. 2003. Tullius Cicero, Marcus: Philosophica. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1562-1564).
- SIMPSON, D. P. 1959. Cassell's New Latin-English English-Latin Dictionary. London: Cassell.
- SMALLWOOD, E. M. & RAJAK, T. 2003. Josephus (Flavius Iosephus). (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.798-799).
- SMYTH, H. W. 1956. Greek grammar. Revised by G.M. Messing. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- SNODGRASS, K. 2008. Stories with Intent: A comprehensive guide to the parables of Jesus. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- SPERBER, D. 2006. Rabbinic knowledge of Greek. (*In*: Safrai, S., Safrai, Z., Schwartz, J. & Tomson, P. J. eds. The literature of the sages. Part II. Assen: Royal van Gorcum. p.627-640). (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum).
- SPURR, M. S. 2003a. Appendix: Cato (Censorius), De agricultura. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1225).
- SPURR, M. S. 2003b. Columella, Lucius Iunius Moderatus. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.367).
- STRIKER, G. 2003a. Sceptics. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1362-1363).
- STRIKER, G. 2003b. Sextus Empiricus. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1398-1399).
- SUETONIUS. *Divus Augustus*. (*In*: Crane, G. R. ed. 2007. Perseus Digital Library Project. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu> Date accessed: 11 September 2007).
- TAYLOR, C. C. W. 2003a. Protagoras. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1264-1265).
- TAYLOR, C. C. W. 2003b. Sophists. (*In*: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1422).
- TDNT. See KITTEL, G. & FRIEDRICH, G.

- THEOPHRASTUS. *Characteres*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 8 October 2007).
- THESEUM. 2008. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Online. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/591822/Theseum>>. Date accessed: 22 October 2008.
- TRAPP, M B. 2003. Alcidas. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.54).
- TREBILCO, P. 2004. *The early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans.
- TUPLIN, C J. 2003. Xenophon (1). (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.1628-1631).
- TURLEY, D. 2000. *Slavery*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- UBS⁴. 1994. *Greek Bible with dictionary*. 4th revised ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft and United Bible Societies.
- ULPIANUS. *Tituli ex corpore Ulpiani*. (In: Girard, P F. & Senn, F. 1967. *Textes de droit romain*. Volume I. <http://web.upmf-grenoble.fr/Haiti/Cours/Ak/> Date accessed: 2 October 2009).
- VANGEMEREN, W A. 1997. ed. *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*. Volume 5. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House.
- VAN DER WALT, T. 2007. *Die Messias het gekom! 'n Gids vir die Evangelies vir toegewyde Bybel-studente*. 2^{de} hersiene uitgawe. Potchefstroom: Potchefstroomse Teologiese Publikasies.
- VAN DER WATT, Jan. red. 2003. *Die Bybel A-Z*. Vereeniging: CUM.
- VAN ZYL, D H. 1977. *Geskiedenis en beginsels van die Romeinse Privaatreg*. Durban: Butterworths.
- VARRO. *De re rustica*. (In: Winchester, S. *The Latin Library*. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/varro.html> Date accessed: 27 August 2009).
- VLASTOS, G. 1941. Slavery in Plato's thought. *The Philosophical Review*, 50(3):289-304, May.
- VOGT, J. 1974. *Ancient slavery and the ideal of man*. Translated from German by Thomas Wiedemann. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- VOLF, M. 1994. Soft difference: Theological reflections on the relation between church and culture in 1 Peter. *Ex Auditu*, 10:15-30.
- VORSTER, W S. 1983. *The Gospel according to Mark: Introduction and Theology*. (In: Du Toit, A B. ed. *Guide to the New Testament Volume IV. The Synoptic Gospels and Acts: Introduction and Theology*. Halfway House: Orion Publishers. p.102-143).

- WATSON, A. 1967. The law of persons in the later Roman Republic. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- WATSON, A. 1987. Roman slave law. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- WATSON, A. 1995. The spirit of Roman Law. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- WATSON, A. 1998. Ancient law and modern understanding: At the edges. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- WESTERMANN, W L. 1955. The slave systems of Greek and Roman antiquity. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society.
- WESTERMANN, W L. 1959. Slavery and the elements of freedom in ancient Greece. (In: Finley, M I. ed. Slavery in classical antiquity: Views and controversies. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd. p.17-32).
- WIEDEMANN, T E J. 1981. Greek and Roman slavery. London: Routledge.
- WIEDEMANN, T E J. 1987. Slavery. Oxford: Clarendon Press. (New Surveys in the Classics No. 19).
- WILLCOCK, M M. 2003. Homer. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.718-720).
- WILSON, N G. 2003. Harpocraion, Valerius. (In: Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. eds. The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.667).
- WIRE, A C. 1984. Review Essay on *A home for the homeless: A sociological exegesis of 1 Peter, its situation and strategy* by John H. Elliott and *Let wives be submissive: The domestic code in 1 Peter* by David L. Balch. Religious Studies Review, 10(3):209-216.
- WRIGHT, B G. 1998. *Ebed/doulos*: Terms and social status in the meeting of Hebrew Biblical and Hellenistic Roman Culture. (In: Callahan, A D., Horsley, R A & Smith, A, eds. Slavery in text and interpretation. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature. p.83-111). (*Semeia* 83/84).
- XENOPHON. *Cyropaedia*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 3 October 2007).
- XENOPHON. *Memorabilia*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 11 November October 2009).
- XENOPHON. *Oikonomikos*. (In: Anon. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: A digital library of Greek literature. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu> Date accessed: 4 November October 2009).
- ZANE, J M. 1998. The story of law. 2nd ed. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.

ZELNICK-ABRAMOVITZ, R. 2005. Not wholly free: The concept of manumission and the status of manumitted slaves in the ancient Greek world. Leiden: Brill. (Mnemosyne Supplementa Volume 266).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my heavenly Father the honour and the glory! This thesis reached completion through his grace alone! Yet He used many instruments over a long period of time to achieve this goal. Special words of gratitude to:

- Professor Fika J van Rensburg who guided my studies with insight and sensitivity, always providing sound advice when required;
- My wife, Roelien, who carried the burden with me, always encouraging, and who provided life-saving IT support;
- Rika and Kari, at the time of completion five and three years old respectively, who had no idea what I was busy with in my study (and probably never will!);
- Dr Roelie van der Walt, my father-in-law, who assisted with proofreading and editing;
- Colleagues at the Faculty of Theology, Potchefstroom Campus, North-West University, the Theological School of the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*, and fellow-ministers of the said churches who advised and encouraged;
- The church council and congregation of the *Gereformeerde Kerk Vereeniging-Oos* for their support and prayers;
- Family and friends for their support.

Hennie Goede

December 2010