

W. H. PAUL THOMPSON

Pauline Slave Welfare in Historical Context

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Mohr Siebeck

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W. H. Paul Thompson

Pauline Slave Welfare in Historical Context

An Equality Analysis

Mohr Siebeck

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In memoriam also to my father, who would have enjoyed debating its contents.

1 Cor 4:7. *Soli Deo Gloria.*

October 2022

W. H. Paul Thompson

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

This monograph follows the standards of *SBLHS*. Additional acronyms and abbreviations either follow *IATG3* or are as follows:

AltS	Alttestamentliche Studien
AMW	<i>The Ancient Mediterranean World</i> , ed. Keith R. Bradley and Paul Cartledge, vol. 1 of <i>The Cambridge World History of Slavery</i> , 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
ANE	Ancient Near East
ARJ	<i>Annual of Rabbinic Judaism</i>
ASSt	All Souls Studies
AWCH	The Ancient World: Comparative Histories
BCBC	Believers Church Bible Commentary
BCS	Blackwell's Classical Studies
BHGNT	Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament
BPhil	<i>Behavior and Philosophy</i>
BRWTSJ	Black Religion/Womanist Thought/Social Justice
CC	Covenant Code (Exod 21:1–23:19)
CCEL	Christian Classics Ethereal Library
CICA	Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority (UK)
ComB	Commentaires Bibliques
DGRA	<i>A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities</i> , ed. William Smith, William Wayte and G. E. Marindin, 3rd ed. (London. John Murray. 1890)
DK	Danker, Frederick W. and Kathryn Krug, <i>The Concise Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament</i> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)
DSBOT	Daily Study Bible – Old Testament
EGGNT	Exegetical Guide to the Greek New Testament
ESV	English Standard Version, Text ed., 2016
EWNT	Balz, Horst and Gerhard Schneider, eds., <i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> , 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011)

- Friberg Friberg, Timothy, Barbara Friberg and Neva F. Millar, *Analytical Lexicon of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000)
- GNHE *Gregory of Nyssa. Homilies on Ecclesiastes. An English Version with Supporting Studies: Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa (St. Andrews, 5–10 September 1990)*, ed. Stuart G. Hall (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993)
- GLHBANE *Gender and Law in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. Victor H. Matthews, Bernard M. Levinson, and Tikva S. Frymer-Kensky, JSOTSup 262 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998)
- HPT *History of Political Thought*
- HRRH *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*
- IATG3 Schwertner, Siegfried M., ed., *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014)
- IndRev *Independent Review*
- IVPNTC IVP New Testament Commentary
- JBusE *Journal of Business Ethics*
- JEconH *Journal of Economic History*
- JHMAS *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*
- JLAnt *Journal of Late Antiquity*
- JMT *Journal of Moral Theology*
- JOP *Journal of Politics*
- JPE *Journal of Political Economy*
- LabH *Labor History*
- LE Law of Eshnunna (Roth, Martha T. and Harry A. Hoffner, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, ed. Piotr Michalowski, WAW 6 [Atlanta: Scholars, 1995], 57–70)
- LH Law of Hammurabi (Roth and Hoffner, *Law Collections*, 71–142)
- LL Laws of Lipit-Ishtar (Roth and Hoffner, *Law Collections*, 23–35)
- Louw-Nida Louw, Johannes P. and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988)
- LU Laws of Ur-Namma (Roth and Hoffner, *Law Collections*, 13–22)
- MAPS *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*

NIV	New International Version, 2011 ed.
NIVAC	New International Version Application Commentary
NSCI	New Surveys in the Classics
NTER	New Testament for English Readers
ONS	Office of National Statistics (UK)
OTEO	Old Testament for Everyone
ÖTKNT	Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament
PAST	Pauline Studies
PentC	Pentecostal Commentary
PopPS	Popular Patristics Series
PtW	Preaching the Word
RSAW	Routledge Sourcebooks for the Ancient World
ReadNT	Reading the New Testament
<i>Rebellion Record</i>	<i>The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, etc.</i>
<i>RER</i>	<i>Review of Educational Research</i>
<i>SBLHS</i>	Billy J. Collins, Bob Buller and John F. Kutsko, eds., <i>The SBL Handbook of Style</i> , 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL, 2014)
SENT	Schlatter Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>SEP</i>	<i>Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy</i> , ed. Edward N. Zalta, https://plato.stanford.edu/
SGB	Scriptorum Graecorum Bibliotheca
<i>SlavAbol</i>	<i>Slavery and Abolition</i>
ThKNT	Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
XP	Chi Rho Commentary
ZECNT	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament

Equality is a contested subject: people who praise it or disparage it disagree about *what* they are praising or disparaging.¹

There is no such thing as pure equality, equality per se. All the interesting theories focus on identifying the right property [or *attribute*], answering the question, “Equal what?”... [Until substantivised, pure equality is] innocuous ... [for] it is a principle of consistency accepted by every moral theory. Indeed, every rule-governed system incorporates the principle, for it is implied in the very idea of rule that it be followed in relevantly similar cases.²

“Equality” and “equal” are incomplete predicates that necessarily generate one question: equal in *what* respect? ... When two persons have equal status in at least one normatively relevant respect, they *must* be treated equally with regard to this respect.³

¹ Ronald M. Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 2 (emphasis additional).

² Louis P. Pojman, “Theories of Equality: A Critical Analysis,” *BPhil* 23 (1995): 1, 4, 3.

³ Stefan Gosepath, “Equality,” *SEP* (Spring 2011): §1, 2.1 (emphasis additional).

Chapter 1

Introduction

A. Incongruous

The title of this monograph may appear incongruous: in this contemporary era equality is intuitively laudable,¹ but slavery despicable. Indeed, to the modern (Western) reader, ‘slavery’ evokes the horrors of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries with the trans-Atlantic slave trade and abuses in the British Caribbean and in the US antebellum South (hereafter, *antebellum chattel slavery*).² Are they not therefore opposites? Slavery’s abolition in the nineteenth century was surely (Western) society’s correct moral response to slaves’ demand for equality and justice. Yet we will observe in his monograph that equality and justice are rarely defined.

Today nearly everyone condemns slavery as a morally repugnant practice from which humanity has finally graduated. Therefore, many might evaluate a priori any moral response to slavery other than abolition to have been inadequate. However, intuitive moral outrage can sometimes hinder good scholarship, especially when those under investigation may not share that same sense of moral outrage.³ This monograph suspends moral judgements to focus upon slavery *in antiquity* when it was unquestioned.

Our focus in this monograph is on slave welfare: how slave-masters in antiquity should treat their slaves including, but not limited to, voluntary slave *manumission*. Our focus is not on slavery’s abolition (a universal slave

¹ Felix Oppenheim, “Egalitarianism as a Descriptive Concept,” *APQ* 7 (1970): 143; Pojman, “Theories of Equality,” 23.

² Cf. Suzanne Miers, “Slavery: A Question of Definition,” *SlavAbol* 24 (2003): 11.

³ Anthony C. Thiselton (*New Horizons in Hermeneutics: The Theory and Practice of Transforming Biblical Reading* [London: Marshall Pickering; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992], 46) warns of the increasing likelihood of closed minds distorting exegesis when there is a conceptual gap between contemporary and ancient presuppositions: “Our finite situatedness in time, history, and culture defines the present (though always expanding) limits of our ‘world’, or more strictly the limits of what we can ‘see’.... It is likely that horizontal factors will play some part in interpretation.”

emancipation)⁴ nor on any ethical injunction to slaves (e.g., obey your slave-master). Although it may appear incongruous to analyse a slave's welfare for equality while still enslaved, this monograph will demonstrate the value of equality analysis once equality is rigorously defined and classified, and the reasons behind its historical rise to contemporary prominence are appreciated.

B. Equality

I. Definitions

To equality theorists, *equality* between two persons (or objects) asserts neither their identity nor their approximate correspondence. Instead, equality *quantifies* their similarity by asserting that both persons possess the same attribute or property (the *equality attribute*) while acknowledging that both are also distinguishable through other attribute(s). Strictly speaking, no two objects can ever be wholly identical for they will at least differ in their spatiotemporal location attribute.⁵

Typically, an argument's equality rhetoric signifies the relevance of only the persons' common equality attribute and the irrelevancy of those distinguishing attribute(s). That common equality attribute should be identified; for example, *moral* equality concerns the mental reasoning capacity of persons and their accountability for their ensuing actions, and *social* equality is concerned with the income and/or status disparity between rich and poor free persons.

Where the equality attribute is indivisible such that any person cannot possess it to a degree (e.g., citizenship), the relationship is said to be *numerically* equal; otherwise, where the equality attribute is divisible (e.g., human merit), the relationship is said to be *proportionally* equal. Considered formally, numerical equality is a subcase of proportional equality. However, Plato and Aristotle, the best-known definers of equality in classical literature, contrast proportional and numerical equality as they discuss oligarchy versus democracy, deliberate on political honours and human merit, and debate whether each

⁴ The two terms are frequently treated as near synonyms. However, this monograph distinguishes between *emancipation* to denote a slave-master's involuntary redeeming act under compulsion from a higher authority and *manumission* to denote a slave-master's voluntary act of slave redemption (J. Albert Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity*, HUT 32 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995], 4).

⁵ Not even identical twins, but such precision in equality discourse is rare (Gosepath, "Equality," §1–2.2). On equality's definition, see further Louis P. Pojman and Robert Westmoreland, eds., "Introduction: The Nature and Value of Equality," in *Equality: Selected Readings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1–3.

citizen's political influence should be either numerically equal to each other because citizenship is indivisible or weighed in proportion to each citizen's variable merit.⁶ In other words, they debate *which* equality attribute is the most appropriate.

Asserting equality between persons remains incomplete until the shared equality attribute is defined.⁷ Dworkin observes the frequency with which political rhetoric confuses by failing to define explicitly which equality is being asserted.⁸ We will demonstrate the same confusion in modern scholarship on Pauline slave welfare. Scholarship too needs to move beyond the mere identification of equality terminology to analyse the kind of equality being implied.

The monograph deploys the terms *egalitarian* and *egalitarianism* to refer to a development advancing greater human equality by reducing, minimising, eliminating or treating as irrelevant to the context a specific a priori distinction between persons. The following examples of equality reasoning demonstrate how an equality proposition may not be an egalitarian development; indeed, an equality of treatment proposition is expressly neither egalitarian nor inegalitarian.

II. Classification

Oppenheim classifies equality propositions into three: (i) equal personal attributes, (ii) equal distribution and (iii) equal treatment.⁹ We discuss examples of each and their implications for this monograph.

1. Equal Personal Attributes

Human beings differ in many attributes, yet traditional Christian theology asserts their *numerical* equality because all are created in the image of God (the equality attribute). More common in antiquity is a *proportional* equality between human beings according to individual merit due to, for example, their ancestry or wealth. Alternatively, some in antiquity emphasise human inequality. For example, Aristotle justifies slavery on the moral inequality between slaves and free – we will examine his definition in chapter three – whereas Enlightenment philosopher Hobbes rejects slavery because of numerical

⁶ Plato, *Leg.* 6.757B–C; Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 5 (1129a–38b15); *Pol.* 3.5–7 (1279a25–84a4); see further F. David Harvey, “Two Kinds of Equality,” *CM* 26 (1965): 101–46. For equality in other Greek writings, see Laurence L. Welborn, “Paul’s Place in a First-Century Revival of the Discourse of ‘Equality’,” *HTR* 110 (2017): 542–53.

⁷ Gosepath, “Equality,” §1, 2.1.

⁸ Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue*, 2.

⁹ Oppenheim, “Egalitarianism,” 143–44.

equality between all persons who alike possess a *sufficient* combination of mental reasoning and bodily strength. Indeed, Hobbes argues that everyone can claim an equal entitlement to what another had previously claimed and that everyone, even the weakest, can either kill or plot with others to kill anyone, even the strongest.¹⁰ This descriptive monograph analyses which personal attributes are considered to be equal or unequal and explores the offered rationales. It refrains from evaluating philosophically and empirically any underlying claim regarding pertinent equal personal attributes.¹¹

2. Equal Distribution

Both ancient and contemporary political philosophers typically deploy equality rhetoric to advocate an equal distribution scheme whereby a specified good must be distributed in proportion to the quantity of the defined equality attribute of each person. For example, we will discuss in chapter two a debate in Xenophon over whether the plunder should be distributed among the victorious soldiers *numerically* equally (each receives an identical amount) or *proportionally* according to a variable assessment of individual merit. We will also identify a forerunner of modern-day profit sharing (chapter four).

Aristotle's *Politics* also includes the concept of *reciprocal* equality that achieves an *equality of outcome* over time, not by subdividing a good between persons, but by subdividing the time for which each person in turn benefits from that good.¹² In chapter five, we will distinguish this reciprocal equality from reciprocity of action; the latter does not guarantee the former.

The contemporary political debate over which socially egalitarian distribution scheme is preferable is extensive and revolves around which equality attribute is most appropriate and when it should be measured (e.g., equality of opportunity, outcome, welfare, resources etc.),¹³ but we do not identify any contemporary equal distribution arguments in this monograph.

¹⁰ Thomas Hobbes, *Equality in the State of Nature* (repr. as pages 26–36 in *Equality: Selected Readings*, ed. Louis P. Pojman and Robert Westmoreland [New York: Oxford University Press, 1997]), 30.

¹¹ For the complexity of such evaluations, see Louis P. Pojman, "On Equal Human Worth: A Critique of Contemporary Egalitarianism," in *Equality: Selected Readings*, ed. Louis P. Pojman and Robert Westmoreland (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 282–99.

¹² Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.1.5–6 (1261a32–61b5).

¹³ For the concepts, see Oppenheim, "Egalitarianism," 143–52; Pojman, "Theories of Equality," 1–27. For extended coverage, see the anthology in Louis P. Pojman and Robert Westmoreland, eds., *Equality: Selected Readings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

3. Equal Treatment

Equal treatment, or legal equality, requires persons A and B, who both break law L which prescribes penalty P, to pay the *same* penalty P.¹⁴ In other words, *numerically equal treatment* between two persons implies that both receive *identical* (or the same) treatment because of their shared equality attribute despite other differences between them. Gosepath insists that equal treatment and human equality are inseparable: numerically equal treatment presumes numerical human equality and vice versa.¹⁵ We will also discuss in this monograph judicial and divine impartiality, how a judge and God treat defendants identically, as numerical equals, regardless of, for example, their differences in wealth.

However, today some question a law against theft that treats the rich and starving poor as numerical equals,¹⁶ and prefer a proportionate scheme where, for example, ‘unit fines’ are calculated proportionately to the culprit’s income and/or wealth.¹⁷ Such *proportionate equal treatment*, however, results in people being treated *variably*, whereas applying the *identical* penalty to all treats culprits identically or as numerical equals. Such numerically equal treatment is arguably preferable to laws in antiquity that penalise rich culprits *less* than poor culprits of the same crime. Numerically equal treatment may also be preferable to laws that treat people *differently*, as unequals; for example, one rule for citizens versus a different rule for foreigners or one rule for free persons versus a different rule for slaves.

Therefore, we will be explicit in this monograph on the *kind* of equal treatment: whether numerically equal (all are treated identically) or proportionately equal (all are treated variably in proportion to an identified personal attribute). We will also be explicit on the *scope* of equal treatment because, as both Oppenheim and Pojman highlight, equal treatment – their example is on suffrage – could permit the equal treatment of whites in allowing all of them to vote and equal treatment of blacks in preventing all of them from voting.¹⁸ The monograph, however, is focused on the equal treatment of *all* persons; for example, were suffrage relevant to this monograph, equal treatment *between* white and black. In terms of this monograph’s focus on slavery, we focus on

¹⁴ Ignoring differential mitigating circumstances.

¹⁵ Gosepath, “Equality,” §1, 2.1.

¹⁶ Cf. the quip by Anatole France (*The Red Lily*, trans. Winifred Stevens [London: Consul, 1961], 69): “The majestic equality of the laws, which forbid the rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread.”

¹⁷ As in Finland and as trialled in the UK (1992–1993) and in Staten Island, US (1988).

¹⁸ Oppenheim, “Egalitarianism,” 144; Pojman, “Theories of Equality,” 6.

equal treatment *between* slave and free rather than equal treatment between slaves.¹⁹

Numerically equal treatment does not attempt to reduce differences between people; rather, it acknowledges difference to argue for its *irrelevancy* to the ethical situation. Such an ethic might be an *egalitarian* development relative to the practices it seeks to reform, but the ethic itself is *neither egalitarian nor discriminatory*. While we will review scholarship that debates ‘egalitarianism,’ and often assumes that it is the only valid kind of equality, this monograph will argue for the centrality of this numerically equal treatment concept between rich and poor and between slave and free in both Jewish and Pauline ethical thought.

III. Associated Terminology

Since at least the days of Plato and Aristotle, *justice* (often δίκαιος in Greek) has been closely related to equality. To Aristotle, justice is *consistency* in that equals are treated as if identical (or alike) and unequals as if different (unlike), and he acknowledges the challenge of justifying the appropriate equality attribute.²⁰ To equality theorists, debates about justice are debates as to the most appropriate equality attribute:

All debates over the proper conception of justice, i.e., over who is due what, can be understood as controversies over the question of which cases are equal and which unequal... For this reason, equality theorists are correct in stressing that the claim that persons are owed equality becomes informative only when one is told – what *kind* of equality they are owed. Actually, every normative theory implies a certain notion of equality.²¹

Typically, justice rhetoric conveys moral approval upon the stated arrangement. It is often accompanied by an explicit or implicit appeal to some authoritative ethical standard: perhaps either to an external source or to the orator’s own subjective opinion. This monograph argues that justice terminology should also be analysed for that standard.

Terms such as *equity*, *equitable* and *fairness* are ambiguous because they are typically deployed in three distinct senses: (i) in contrast to equality, which might imply a proportionate equality in contrast to a numerical equality; (ii) as synonyms for justice expressing moral approval; or (iii) as per Aristotle on ἐπιεικῆς justice, to denote the law’s further refinement when unforeseen circumstances reveal the need for a new exception to the existing law’s

¹⁹ For examples of the latter, see the second chapter’s literature review into Col 4:1.

²⁰ Aristotle, *Pol.* 3.7.1 (1282b14–24).

²¹ Gosepath, “Equality,” §2.2 (emphasis original); cf. Pojman, “Theories of Equality,” 3.

generalities (hereafter, *arbitrative justice*).²² Such ambiguous terminology often confuses and blurs the important distinctions at the centre of this monograph. Instead, we will clarify their implicit equality attribute(s).

IV. Method

1. Equality Ethics and Equality Analysis

If *ethics* suggests a systematic exploration of and reflection on behaviour (as in, e.g., Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*), then most of the sources discussed in this monograph are not ethical documents. Nevertheless, they still contain discussions of desired and/or actual behaviour that can be analysed. Hence, we extend Zimmermann's multi-perspective approach for discovering NT ethics to each collection of sources analysed, deriving from each collection's explicit statements an underlying order of ethical values and arguments, its "ethical superstructure" or "*implicit ethics*," that reveals its ethical thought process.²³

In this monograph, our collections are Pauline scholarship on slave welfare (chapter two), classical Athenian and Roman slave welfare (chapter three), Jewish slave welfare (chapter four), and the Pauline corpus (chapter five). Where necessary, we will discuss any hermeneutical issues specific to each collection immediately before that collection's analysis. Where pertinent, we supplement historical-grammatical exegesis of a text with its reception history.

Equality analysis is our term for the heuristic approach of this monograph to analyse how a collection reasons about equality. Where a collection's author(s), redactor(s) and/or compiler(s) (hereafter, *author*) uses equality terminology, equality analysis *classifies* the kind of equality concept being implied and identifies its equality *parameters*; for example, whether equal distribution or equal treatment, whether numerical or proportionate equality, and, if the latter, to what attribute that variable treatment is proportionate. Our collective term is *equality ethics*. In essence, this descriptive use of equality analysis answers Pojman's question, "Equal what?"²⁴ Our equality analysis of Pauline scholarship on slave welfare (chapter two) is primarily descriptive to highlight

²² Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 5.10.3–8 (1137b11–38a4). For the term *arbitrative justice*, see Wolfgang von Leyden, *Aristotle on Equality and Justice: His Political Argument* (Houndmills, Hants.: Macmillan, 1985), 95–96.

²³ Ruben Zimmermann, "The 'Implicit Ethics' of New Testament Writings: A Draft on a New Methodology for Analysing New Testament Ethics," *Neot* 43 (2009): 403. Implicit, Zimmermann prefers, to demonstrate that they are bound to the text and neither imposed upon the text from outside nor postulated of the text's author apart from the text; they are discovered not created by the reader.

²⁴ Pojman, "Theories of Equality," 1.

what *kind* of equality scholars mean when they use equality terminology to describe Paul's ethics.

This monograph also employs equality analysis to construct how a collection's implied ethics reason about equality. We will not presume any a priori finding; instead we seek to identify the collection's internal conceptual framework in equality terms. Equality analysis does not presume that the collection's author is conscious of his own equality framework. We rely only on the claim that every ethical system has an explicit or implicit rationale for treating similar cases as alike and others as unlike.²⁵

This is primarily a comparative process; for example, equality analysis compares how an implied ethic treats, for example, rich people, citizens and/or free persons with how that same implied ethic treats poor people, foreigners and/or slaves. In other words, equality analysis identifies cases where people are treated *identically* as numerical equals because of a shared equality attribute (despite other differences between them), cases where others are treated *variably* in proportion to an identified attribute, and cases where people are treated *differently* as unequals. Equality analysis discovers which equality parameters best fit a collection's ethical reasoning and explores the reasons why. Our equality analysis of Jewish slave welfare (chapter four) is primarily constructive to deduce its author's equality ethics from its multiple descriptions of desired behaviour. In our equality analysis of Greco-Roman slave welfare (chapter three) and Paul (chapter five), we *correlate* their authors' use of equality terminology (that requires descriptive analysis) with their authors' multiple descriptions of behaviour (constructive analysis).

Inconsistent equality parameters in a collection could indicate either its arbitrariness or its incoherent ethical reasoning, but we do not identify any such cases in this monograph. We will, however, identify cases where a collection subset reveals one equality parameter and another subset reveals a different equality parameter. Equality analysis then explores the reasons why this apparent inconsistency exists between each collection subset and why one equality parameter trumps another in some cases but not others. To paraphrase Zimmermann, equality analysis identifies the author's hierarchy of equality values.²⁶ Thus, equality analysis also explores the comprehensiveness of (or, conversely, the limits to) any discovered cases of equal treatment.

While I describe this heuristic approach as a series of sequential steps – historical-grammatical exegesis, then implied ethics discovery and finally equality ethic discovery – in practice these steps can be merged. Indeed, in this

²⁵ Pojman, "Theories of Equality," 3; Gosepath, "Equality," §2.2.

²⁶ Zimmermann, "Implicit Ethics," 409.

monograph, its goal of equality ethic construction (or reconstruction) often directs our exegetical task.

In these ways, equality analysis provides greater insight in the author's conceptual framework. The monograph also explores possible Pauline dependency upon the other collections, as attested through shared equality ethics, regardless of any shared vocabulary.

2. Moral Action, Agent and Subject

This monograph also identifies and distinguishes between the moral agent and the moral subject of a moral action. A *moral action* is morally significant because a third party (typically either a state or deity) applies consequences for compliance or *immoral* non-compliance. A moral action also requires a moral agent and moral subject. The *moral agent* is the person who performs or avoids the moral action and whom the third party holds accountable; the *agent* is the grammatical subject of an imperative. The *moral subject* is the person targeted by the moral action; the *subject* is the grammatical object of an imperative. Where slaves are denied moral subject status, their slave-masters' actions towards them are *amoral*, i.e., morally neutral.

We will analyse many texts where the agent and subject are explicitly stated as slave-master and slave (or vice versa). In others, however, the agent and subject are specified in inclusive terms; for example, "all" or "one another." Such cases require additional grammatical-historical exegesis to determine whether slaves are implicitly included or excluded. Each instance is treated on a case-by-case basis; the monograph relies upon no general presumption.

3. Ethics and Ethos

This monograph also distinguishes between *ethics*, how one should behave, and *ethos*, one's actual lived-out behaviour.²⁷ Ethics, thus understood, is the author's desired ethos that he assumes to be normative but which may differ from the recipient's ethos. Thus, the monograph also refers to an *equality ethos*. We will not downplay any source's significance because its intended recipients may not behave accordingly. Our focus is on authorial intent, which should also be intelligible to his intended recipients. The monograph distinguishes

²⁷ For the distinction, see Jan G. van der Watt, ed., Preface to *Identity, Ethics, and Ethos in the New Testament*, BZNW 141 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), vi–vii; Michael Wolter, "Let No One Seek His Own, But Each One the Other's' (1 Corinthians 10:24): Pauline Ethics according to 1 Corinthians," in *Identity, Ethics, and Ethos in the New Testament*, ed. Jan G. van der Watt, BZNW 141 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 200.

between the equality ethics of the Pauline epistles and the early Christian ethos.²⁸ Our focus is on the former, the monograph is ultimately agnostic on the latter,²⁹ but we will discuss views of the latter where they affect the reconstruction of the former.

We have already observed how human equality (even if rarely defined) is now presumed to be the norm. In antiquity, however, human inequality was the norm.³⁰ To avoid anachronisms, we must appreciate when and why this development in human thought occurred. To this we now turn.

V. *The Rise of Equality in Contemporary Discourse*

Phelps Brown observes that the historical rise of equality rhetoric and egalitarianism was due to three factors: (i) a belief in human equality ‘by nature’ whose definition also changed, (ii) a humanitarian concern for another human being’s potential and (iii) the transition to *individualism* through the Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment. Prior to the rise of individualism, the human mindset passively accepted three interrelated ideas: (i) their collective (post-Fall)³¹ inequalitarian society preceded the individual, who should therefore

²⁸ The distinction between *ethics* and *ethos*, however, is more blurred in some of the other sources we will discuss.

²⁹ For one recent study into the early Christian slavery ethos that acknowledges the limitations of the available sources, see Hermut Löhr, “Einige Beobachtungen zur Rolle von Sklaven in christlichen Gemeinden in der zweiten Hälfte des ersten und in der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.,” in *Ein neues Geschlecht? Entwicklungen des frühchristlichen Selbstbewusstseins*, ed. Markus Lang, NTOA 105 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 11–29. More generally, Wayne A. Meeks (*The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*, 2nd ed. [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003], 2) observes: “If we ask, ‘What was it like to become and be an ordinary Christian in the first century?’ we receive only vague and stammering replies.” Revisionist scholar Glancy (*Slavery in Early Christianity* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2002]), however, appears definitive.

³⁰ Contemporary political philosophy often relies upon an intuitive equality presumption whereby only exceptions to the norm of treating persons equally require justification (Isaiah Berlin, “Equality as an Ideal,” *PAS* 56 [1955]: 305; Sefan Gosepath, “The Principles and the Presumption of Equality,” in *Social Equality: On What It Means to Be Equals*, ed. Carina Fourie, Fabian Schuppert, and Ivo Wallimann-Helmer [New York: Oxford University Press, 2015], 174–85; rejected Oppenheim, “Egalitarianism,” 143; Pojman, “Egalitarianism,” 5–6). With the focus of this monograph being on slavery in *antiquity*, however, we may be more tempted to rely upon an intuitive inequality presumption. This monograph rejects both presumptions and seeks always to justify its logic on a case-by-case basis.

³¹ Apart from Rousseau and his followers, this equality debate was predominately conducted within a recognisably Christian framework that distinguished between the divinely created world of Gen 1–2 and the world after Adam and Eve’s sin (Gen 3).

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