JOHN BYRON

Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity

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162

Mohr Siebeck

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Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity

A Traditio-Historical and Exegetical Examination

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

The seeds of the present volume were planted in my mind over twenty years ago. As a child I participated in a family Bible study around the breakfast table each morning. It was during one of these sessions that my father introduced us to Paul's Epistle to Philemon through the commentary written by John Knox (*Philemon Among the Letters of Paul: A New View of it's Place and Importance* [New York: Abingdon Press, 1935,1959]). My imagination was captured by Knox's romantic suggestion that Onesimus had fled his master, somehow encountered and was converted by the apostle Paul and eventually became the bishop of Ephesus. In later years this led to a term paper and eventually a Masters thesis on the topic. During a year of postgraduate studies in Israel, I began to question if too much weight had been placed on a Greco-Roman background of slavery in Paul. While Roman law certainly would have been applicable in the case of Onesimus, was it the influence for Paul's self-understanding of himself as a slave of Christ? It was while studying at Durham University that I concluded Paul's usage of slavery metaphors was more indebted to his Jewish heritage than Greco-Roman slavery. What follows is a slightly revised version of my doctoral thesis. The person with the single most responsibility for it, my father, went to be with the Lord in February 1997. It is in dedication to him that I offer this volume as my first contribution to New Testament scholarship.

Many studies of Paul's usage of slavery language (from a Jewish context) begin with Paul and work backwards into the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature. The hazard of such an approach, however, is that it tends to squeeze early Jewish data into the mold of Pauline concepts and motifs. This results with the possible distortion of early Jewish texts that have been interpreted in light of the established categories of Pauline studies. The intent of my study is to examine the Jewish background of slavery metaphors in Paul without treating the Jewish literature in a reductionistic manner. Thus in Part One I have attempted to present the occurrence of slavery metaphors within early Jewish literature own their own terms. The result is the recovery of a well-developed tradition of how Jews came to understand themselves as slaves of God. Moreover, it prevents a presentation of Paul as the apex of this developing tradition and allows him to be examined in the context of his Jewish contemporaries.

Another common feature of Pauline studies is to create an implicit dichotomy between how Paul uses slavery language to describe himself and how he uses it throughout the rest of his epistles. Rather than restrict the examination to a myopic consideration of Paul's slave of Christ title, Part Two attempts to understand this title within the framework of Paul's wider usage of slavery language as well as in the context of his Jewish heritage.

To the best of my knowledge this is the first time that an understanding of slavery metaphors in early Judaism and Pauline Christianity has been attempted on such a scale. The reader will find that this is especially evident in Part One where I had very few secondary sources with which to interact. I look forward to hearing from those who will respond to my work and provide me with any needed corrections and modifications.

I would like to express my thanks to several people and organizations that have contributed to this work.

First of all, I am indebted to Dr. Loren T. Stuckenbruck who patiently supervised this work, provided important insights, direction and probably read more rough drafts than either of us care to remember. Without his expertise and assistance, especially in the area of early Jewish literature, I would never have asked the kinds of questions that appear in this book.

I am grateful to the British Government for having provided me with the Overseas Research Scholarship, which financed two years of my study at Durham.

I am thankful for the members of the House-to-House group. This group provided my wife and I with much needed friendship, fellowship and communal worship during our time in Durham.

I am especially grateful to Professor Dr. Jörg Frey who read and accepted this work for publication in WUNT II monograph series.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Lori, who has been a willing part of what became a ten-year journey. Without her support, love and encouragement I would never have reached this point. She has proven time and again to be my closest companion and I look forward to embarking on our next adventure together.

Epiphany 2003 John Byron

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The metaphorical usage of slavery terms in the New Testament poses a problem for biblical interpreters due to the complex relationship the language appears to have with the institution. Terms that are used to address situations between slaves and masters are also used to explain aspects of early Christian theology. Predominant in metaphorical usage are the Pauline Epistles that employ the terms more often in the construction of theology than in actual address of the institution of slavery. A survey of the undisputed Epistles reveals that 1 Corinthians 7.21–23 and the letter to Philemon are the only instances in which Paul clearly addresses an aspect of institutional slavery.[1] All other occurrences of slave language are related to Paul's understanding of an individual's relationship with Christ and others in the Christian community. Of particular interest is Paul's self-identification as a 'slave of Christ' (δοῦλος Χριστοῦ). This phrase appears three times as a title for Paul: twice within an opening greeting (Rom 1.1; Phil 1.1) and once as part of a personal defense (Gal 1.10).[2]

Interpretation of the slave of Christ designation has commonly pursued two possibilities: (1) the phrase, an honorific title found in the LXX, has been borrowed by Paul from stories about the patriarchs, Moses, David and

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[1] This assumes the traditional interpretation of Philemon, which regards Onesimus as slave. It does not take into account the 'baptismal formulas' that mention slaves but are not actually addressing the institution as such (1 Cor 12.13; Gal 3.28).

[2] The phrase also appears in 1 Cor 7.22; Eph 6.6; Col 4.12. A variation, δοῦλος θεοῦ, is found in Titus 1.1. The term σύνδουλος in Colossians 1.7 and 4.7 may also be interpreted with the same meaning as δοῦλος Χριστοῦ. In addition to these can be added the verb δουλεύω ("serve as a slave"), which on five occasions has Christ as its object, suggesting that those who fulfill this service are δοῦλοι χριστοῦ: Rom 12.11; 14.18; 16.18; Eph 6.7; and Phil 2.22 in the context of 2.21. The same verb along with its cognate δουλόω also serves the same function with God as its object in 1 Thess 1.9 and Rom 6.22. It should be noted for the present investigation, however, that all of the above references either do not have Paul as their object or occur in epistles where the Pauline authorship is disputed.

the prophets; and (2) the phrase is a symbolic adoption taken from Greco-Roman slavery and illustrates that Paul is in a similar relationship with Christ.

M.R. Vincent advocated the first alternative over one hundred years ago (1897) and suggested that for Paul the phrase carried thoughts of "cheerful and willing service; dependence upon Christ; of ownership by Christ and identification with Christ in his assuming the form of a bond servant." He contended that Paul had "quietly . . . slipped himself into the place of the Prophets and leaders of the Old Covenant" and substituted the name of Christ for Jehovah.[3] Vincent did not explain the phrase in relation to a Greco-Roman context but instead was content to invoke a Jewish background. Similar to Vincent are the conclusions of C.K. Barrett,[4] C.E.B. Cranfield,[5] E. Käsemann[6] and L. Morris.[7] J.D.G. Dunn also recognizes the background as Jewish, but does not consider the title so much honorific as indicative of dedication. He concludes that 'slave of Christ' does not necessarily imply that Paul has placed himself in line with the great figures of Israel. Rather, the phrase expresses Paul's belonging to and dependence upon Christ in the same exclusive and unconditional way that ancient Israel had done in relation to God.[8]

Other scholars, however, favor the Greco-Roman background. P.T. O'Brien concludes that the phrase has no LXX (i.e. Jewish) background and that it was used to emphasize that Paul was at the "master's" disposal.[9] G.F. Hawthorne acknowledges the possibility of a LXX Background, but concludes that if one must choose between two formative environments, the Greco-Roman is the more plausible choice.[10] Gordon Fee also opted for a Greco-Roman background based on considerations of what the original reader would have understood. However, he also recognizes that an honorific motif from the LXX lies somewhere in the background. Fee suggests that a double connotation may be possible.[11]

These various interpretations of the phrase 'slave of Christ' pose a problem for the exegesis of many of the texts containing slavery language. Because Paul has designated himself as a 'slave of Christ,' then it seems possible to consider other passages in which he uses slavery language in light of his own self-understanding as a slave. The difficulty, however, is against what background should the Pauline metaphor of slavery be

[3] Vincent 1897, 3.
[4] Barrett 1962, 15–16.
[5] Cranfield 1975, 50.
[6] Käsemann 1980, 5.
[7] Morris 1988, 37.
[8] Dunn 1988, 8–9.
[9] O'Brien 1991, 45.
[10] Hawthorne 1983, 5.
[11] Fee 1995, 63.

interpreted and understood? The contrast between the Jewish and Greco-Roman backgrounds can easily lead toward two opposite conclusions.

1.2 Overview of Contemporary Scholarship

A survey of scholarship surrounding the debate will illustrate the different approaches that have been taken to solve this problem. This will, accordingly, prepare the way for clarifying the approach taken here to explain the Pauline usage of metaphorical slave language and the background of the slave of Christ phrase.

In 1928, M.D.R. Willink suggested that the background for Paul's self-identification could be located in the *Ebed-Yahweh* theme associated with the history of Israel.[12] In general, Israel was identified as God's slaves. During times of humiliation and distress God provided Israel with special protection, which in turn made them God's slaves. More frequently, however, the phrase was "restricted to a few outstanding men occupying pivotal positions at turning points in history."[13] The greatest of all these "men of action" was the slave in Isaiah 40–55 whose future actions would be epoch making. Willink suggested that this setting in the Hebrew Bible formed a part of the background of Paul's title, but only a part. He argued that familiarity with the administrative duties of Imperial slaves in ancient Rome may have also have influenced Paul. Paul's readers may have associated his self-designation as 'slave' with the type of administration commonly undertaken by Imperial slaves. This in turn would have led them to understand Paul as an administrator on God's behalf. Thus, when Paul identifies himself as a slave of Christ he is "laying claim to a special place not only in the history of God's dealings with the world, but in the administration of His Church."[14]

Willink's hypothesis illustrates an appeal to both the Jewish and the Greco-Roman backgrounds and was influential on other scholars who later chose to explain the expression on such a basis. Unfortunately, the brevity of Willink's contribution (less than two pages) makes it difficult to evaluate properly. In general, he examines broad parallel images without offering any specific comparisons. Most of his effort is focused on the Jewish background, but his restriction of the phrase to a few "men of action" seems to overlook the possibility that the motif was more widespread. Moreover, his identification of the Isaian slave of God as the "greatest example" implies that the motif reached a climax in the Isaian

[12] Willink 1928, 46–47.
[13] Willink 1928, 47.
[14] Willink 1928, 47.

literature and thus diminishes the need to explore the wider Jewish context. Even so, he is representative of an approach later adopted by a number of scholars.

Gerhard Sass (1941) also contended for a Jewish background to Paul's Slave of Christ title by concluding that it was derived from the LXX.[15] Examining the usage of δοῦλος in the LXX, Sass determined that the term underwent an etymological shift in which it became distinguished from the notion of slavery as a restrictive bondage. This separation from the institution itself made room for a development of a meaning that was theological in nature and denoted an idea of instrumentality rather than servitude. In this new sphere of meaning people were said to be chosen "instruments" in God's dealings in history. Sass posited that Paul adapted this motif from the LXX and, once God was replaced with Christ, Paul became the "instrument" of Christ. Thus, when Paul identified himself as a slave of Christ it was not in the sphere of unconditional subjection and servitude; rather, the designation should be understood as an honorific title given to only a few individuals entrusted by God with a special task.[16]

Sass' contribution is valuable because it demonstrates that language of enslavement did not necessarily indicate servitude.[17] Problematic, nonetheless, was the limited scope of his approach. By focusing on only particular individuals in the LXX, Sass overlooked the possibility that a more widespread motif was at work. His argument that 'slave of God' was an honorific title suggests that these individuals are being located in an elevated position rather than being considered as humble 'instruments' chosen by God. Moreover, the proposal that Paul replaced 'God' with 'Christ' implies that Christ, and Christ's 'instruments' at work in the church, are the apex of a developing tradition that used Jewish notions of slavery merely as a catalyst.

Edwin Yamauchi (1966) suggested a background that was wider than the Hebrew Bible and located in the broader usage of slavery language in the Ancient Near East.[18] Examining various texts and inscriptions, he demonstrated that the self-identifying title 'slave of god' was commonly used among several people groups (predominantly Semitic). Often coloring the phrase's meaning was a particular type of institutional slavery. The ancients, however, did not regard this notion of slavery as repulsive, but as a common way of identifying with the god(s) they worshipped. Similar to Willink and Sass, Yamauchi concluded the title was often used to describe figures of exceptional status. In the case of Paul and the NT, 'slave of Christ' is said to have drawn upon this common ANE heritage of

[15] Sass 1941, 24–32.
[16] Sass 1941, 131–32.
[17] Sass is followed by Ollrog 1979, 75–76, 184 n. 108.
[18] Yamauchi 1966, 31–49.

identifying oneself as the slave of a god(s) and was further shaped by the institution of Greco-Roman slavery current in the first century. Slave of Christ, Yamauchi concluded, was an honorific title designating the humility and subjection of a slave to a sovereign.[19]

Yamauchi's contribution highlighted the need to look beyond the Hebrew Bible and to recognize that a wider motif was at work.[20] The drawback of his study, however, as with his predecessors, is the narrowness of his approach. By focusing almost exclusively on those texts and inscriptions that contained the phrase 'slave of god,' he was able to identify a wider distribution of the idea that people were slaves of the gods but did not explain how the theme may have developed. His treatment of the NT does not adequately explain how and why Paul decided to adopt the title.

In 1968 Kenneth C. Russell offered a comprehensive examination of slavery metaphors in the Bible. Russell determined that the notions of slavery to God and to Christ could be traced back to a tradition that developed within the framework of Israelite history and slavery institutions.[21] Russell concluded that the slavery to God motif was influenced by Israel's bondage in Egypt. The idea that God had become a special protector of Israel and they in turn God's slaves reflected ancient royal court language in which subjects of the king were often called slaves. This royal ideology, in the context of the language and motif of slavery, was transferred to the people of Israel as a whole as well as to select individuals. The theme reached its zenith within the *Ebed-Yahweh* of Isaiah who, though humiliated and defeated, persevered in doing God's will and was subsequently raised to glory.[22] Russell went on to provide a cursory examination of the 'Apocrypha,' 'Pseudepigrapha,' Dead Sea Scrolls, and Rabbinic literature. In each of these bodies of literature he found little that differed from the Hebrew Bible and concluded that the Isaian servant tradition, instead of being recast in new ways, remained 'vigorous and alive.'[23] In the NT Russell contended that Paul transferred the servant theme including the notions of suffering and humiliation, to

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[19] Yamauchi 1966, 48.

[20] C. Spicq also placed the phrase against the background of royal court ideology in the ANE. He suggested that the title placed Paul on level with Moses and other Israelite slaves of God especially the prophets (1966, 220).

[21] Russell 1968. Unfortunately Russell only published the second half of his dissertation, which consists of his examination of the NT but not the Hebrew bible and other Jewish literature. Special thanks are offered to the Pontifical University Library, which allowed me to examine the unpublished section of Russell's thesis while on holiday in Rome with my wife.

[22] Russell 1968, 42–43 (unpublished section).

[23] Russell 1968, 52–55.

Christ, himself, and others.[24] On this basis Russell concluded that Paul and others were understood to be sharing in the humiliation and suffering of Christ, who was regarded as the ultimate example and fulfillment of Isaian servanthood. Combined with this Jewish tradition were the real images of institutional slavery that would have influenced the way slavery language in the NT was understood. The title of 'slave,' Russell concluded, never became purely honorific but worked in tandem with its secular antitype as a description of "a fundamental condition of complete dedication to the divine will."[25]

Russell represents a significant attempt to gain a wider understanding of the slave of God motif. His examination of numerous Jewish sources placed him in a position to sketch a picture of a developing tradition. Yet even with such a broad approach Russell is too narrowly focused. Initially he avoids this narrowness by examining slavery in a variety of aspects and not just those individuals who were identified by God as 'my slaves.' But his choice to regard the Isaian servant as the height of the motif's expression and as the governing framework for all subsequent slavery metaphors demonstrates otherwise. The reader is left suspecting that Russell started with a presupposition that Christ was the final development of the suffering servant tradition and then worked backwards. His assertion that this is how Paul arrived at his understanding of slavery to Christ seems to confirm that suspicion.[26] Overall, Russell's contribution represents a step in the right direction, but it also represents an important missed opportunity.

Francis Lyall limited his approach to the background of Greco-Roman slavery.[27] His volume is an expansion of publications from the 1970's and 1980's in which he sought to correlate various legal metaphors in the NT with extant Roman laws.[28] Using the Roman legal system as a hermeneutical grid, he examined a variety of topics including slavery, citizenship, adoption, inheritance, and trade as they were regulated in Imperial Rome. Lyall surmised that because slavery was widespread in the first century Paul must have drawn upon such images in his letters. Slaves were considered the legal property of their owners, had no power over themselves, and were bound to do what their masters commanded. Thus

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[24] Russell 1968, 19, 28, 34.

[25] Russell 1968, 88. Similar to Russell is the more recent contribution of Murray Harris. Harris' approach does not focus only on the Isaian slave and Paul but encompasses a broad examination of slavery in the NT. He concludes, that for Paul, slavery to Christ was not an honorific title but represented the total devotion of believers who have made themselves available to their master (1999, 142–143).

[26] Russell 1968, 28.

[27] Lyall 1984.

[28] Lyall 1984, 23.

when Paul identifies himself as the 'slave of Christ' it "indicates the extent of Paul's self-surrender to his master."[29]

Lyall seems to assume that if an echo of Roman law can be detected in a text, then the text should be interpreted in light of that law and its implications. This approach is problematic for two reasons. First, the primary source for Roman law is the *Digest of Justinian*, which was not published until 533 CE. The Digest is a compilation of legal excerpts from which all obsolete rulings had been excised and only those still relevant to 533 CE had been preserved.[30] While some laws in the *Digest* undoubtedly go back to the first century, many may also be missing. Though the relevance of the *Digest* for NT study cannot be dismissed out of hand, it is not necessarily an accurate indicator of what laws were in vogue in the first century.[31] It is quite possible that there were other laws that did not survive and could shed light on NT texts. Thus, while a picture of the legal situation of early Imperial Rome is very good, it is also inherently incomplete. Second, the use of legal texts to define the nature and practice of slavery is methodologically questionable. J.A. Harrill has, with good reason, cautioned: "legal codes, at best, provide only inexact knowledge about social practice and, at worst, can build a highly misleading model of slavery. Reading law codes as descriptive rather than prescriptive overlooks the course of juridical decisions in the practice of law (jurisprudence)."[32] Slavery laws were established in response to situations that required some type of legal control. Whether or not they actually mirror social practices and attitudes is debatable. Lyall's attempt to understand possible Greco-Roman influences on Paul is commendable. But the method of his approach is too narrowly focused.

Dale B. Martin has been the most recent advocate for a Greco-Roman background behind slavery in Paul and it is to an analysis of his 1990 monograph that we will devote considerable attention.[33] Martin sought to discover why early Christianity accepted the phrase 'slave of Christ' as a positive designation. Seemingly aware of the drawbacks caused by a methodology such as that used by Francis Lyall, Martin examined the function of Greco-Roman slavery from a socio-historical perspective

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[29] Lyall 1984, 38.

[30] Bradley 1994, 20.

[31] In private correspondence, Keith Bradley has indicated that it is difficult to determine the extent to which Roman laws were fully implemented in Rome's provinces. Roman law applied only to Roman citizens while non-Romans typically retained their own local rules. Provincial governors applied Roman law as part of their official duties, but how effectively and thoroughly are questions difficult to decide. Governors were under no compulsion to hear particular cases, and their authority was probably felt more in cities than in rural areas, where local practices are likely to have predominated.

[32] Harrill 1995, 14.

[33] Martin 1990.

focusing specifically on opinions of slavery that might be attributed to lower class citizens. He points out that slavery and slave language meant different things to different people, that the entire system was rather ambiguous, and that it did not matter as much that one was a slave, but whose slave one was. Of particular interest for Martin are managerial slaves who sometimes had the opportunity to move up the social ladder while still remaining slaves. This advancement in society was based upon the unique position of the managerial slave and the high status of the owner. Martin concluded that the opportunity managerial slaves had for upward mobility might have served as an inspiration of hope for the lower classes. Consequently, while those of higher status held slavery in a low esteem, lower status society would have regarded it in a positive light.

In early Christian usage, Martin suggests that 'slave of Christ' was a leadership title that denoted the authority of the leader as a slave representative of Christ. Using the managerial slave pattern, Martin explains Paul's self-designation of slavery in 1 Corinthians 9. As Christ's managerial slave, Paul was able to bridge the disunity gap that, according to Martin, existed between the higher and lower class members in the church at Corinth. Martin suggests that parallels exist between Paul and Greco-Roman politicians who gained their authority by appealing to the masses. He argues that by using political speech, Paul was able to assert his authority in Corinth by deriving it not from the higher-class members, but from those of the lower-class. Paul's declaration that he was a slave would have shocked and perhaps offended the higher-class members of the church because he admitted that he was occupying the low position of a slave. On the other hand, this strategy would have appealed to the lower-class members who regarded him as a managerial slave of Christ. By casting himself this way, Paul presented himself to the higher-class members as a challenging example of how they should relate to others. To the lower-class, he embodied upward mobility and salvation through slavery to Christ.

Martin's work is valuable for the vast amount of information that he has been able to gather in defense of his position. The major weakness of the book, however, is its myopic focus on only one aspect of Paul's use of slavery metaphors. Martin hinders his approach to other slavery texts as a result of his investigation in 1 Corinthians. Furthermore, his attempt to build a plausibility structure is hindered by his inability to demonstrate certain presuppositions underlying his work.

One aspect complicating Martin's thesis is his attempt to portray slavery as an institution that provided an opportunity for upward mobility. Keith Bradley points out that the idea of slaves having a "class consciousness" of their own never developed in antiquity and that rather than admire the master's 'slave representative,' all slaves, regardless of their position,

would have been competing for the support and favor of the master.[34] Bradley further notes that while some slaves were of higher rank and influence, this did not exempt them from the same type of abuse and maltreatment other slaves received.[35] Similarly, Richard A. Horsley doubts that the notion of upward mobility among slaves would have appealed to the unenslaved lower class Paul was addressing:

> It seems generally doubtful that the low status free population felt much solidarity with slaves, the very persons in the social order that defined them as at least freeborn. The very concept of upward mobility, of course, derives from an individualistic sociological worldview that accepts and presupposes the dominant social system (without fundamental critique let alone challenge) and then focuses on how individuals may be upwardly or downwardly mobile within it.[36]

One source Martin uses to support the claim of upward mobility among slaves is various funerary inscriptions of persons who had been either slaves or freed persons. Some of these inscriptions make reference to the person as having been a φιλοδέσποτος or a φιλόκυριος. Martin infers from these details that many slaves accepted their position in the structure of society and were willing to participate in slavery as a way to be honored or improve their social status.[37] This conclusion, however, contradicts earlier observations by Martin concerning funerary inscriptions. Reviewing a study of family funerary inscriptions by Richard P. Saller and Brent D. Shaw,[38] Martin argues that, contrary to their conclusions, the inscriptions cannot be used as reliable indicators of the quality of personal relationships. He says:

> Contrary to the study's suggestion, inscriptions cannot be used, I believe, as reliable indicators of the quality of personal relationships. Inscriptions in the ancient world, as in our time, usually follow customary formats with predictable expressions. We have no way of knowing whether the sentiments expressed on the tombstone are actually the sentiments of the provider or even whether the very presence of the inscription indicates anything more than a social and not necessarily affectionate relationship between the persons named in the inscription.[39]

Martin provides no criteria for the acceptance of funerary inscriptions as a source of attitudes towards the institution among slaves, and his conflicting statements call into question the use of funerary inscriptions as an accurate indicator of social patterns. I.H. Combes and R.A. Horsley

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[34] Bradley 1994, 72–73.
[35] Bradley 1994, 152.
[36] Horsley 1998, 175–76.
[37] Martin 1990, 28–29.
[38] Saller and Shaw 1984, 124–156.
[39] Martin 1990, 4.

have also challenged Martin's use of these inscriptions, pointing out that they cannot be used as an indicator of a social mindset.[40]

These critical responses to Martin's claim about social patterns, if correct, make it difficult to accept his suggestion that slaves regarded managerial status as a means to upward mobility.[41] Also perplexing is the lack of any examples of someone who voluntarily entered slavery for the express purpose of upward mobility.[42] If slavery provided a way to circumvent social structure, as Martin claims, then at least one example of this being practiced voluntarily would lend support to his claim. Martin's understanding of how the 'slave of Christ' title functioned is also problematic. According to Martin, it was a designation of leadership, a claim supported by three references.[43] He connects Paul's self-designation as a 'slave of Christ' in Romans 1.1 with the description of the apostolic call in the same sentence. He argues that the phrase stands in apposition to the term 'apostle' and indicates leadership. Galatians 1.10 is also presented as evidence for this view. Although the reference to slavery does not appear in the same sentence as the apostolic term, Martin states that Paul's self-designation of enslavement is connected to the apostolic terminology in Galatians1.1 and emphasizes the divine authority of his leadership. Philippians 1.1 is also to be included because of Paul's portrayal of both himself and Timothy as slaves of Christ again without any use of the apostolic terminology.[44] Martin suggests that this depiction of leaders as slaves delineated those representing Christ as agents who wielded authority and could expect to be rewarded further with higher status, authority and power.[45] He concludes that as long as the hearer understood that the metaphor designated Christ as the 'god-founder' they would regard slavery under Christ as a sign of power.[46]

Martin's conclusion is overly synthetic. The most satisfactory explanation for the association of the phrase δοῦλος Χριστοῦ with the apostolic title, if one may assume that the latter derived from the former, is probably best interpreted by regarding Paul's apostolic call as a result of his being a slave of Christ. Gordon Fee seems to suggest this when he notes that in Philippians 1.1 Timothy does not receive his usual

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[40] Combes 1998, 80; Horsley 1998, 175.

[41] Harrill is also unconvinced of the social structure that Martin attempts to set up and the idea of slavery providing honor or upward mobility. He sites the work of Orlando Patterson (Patterson [1982]) who argues the complete opposite conclusion of Martin (Harrill 1992, 426–427).

[42] Martin does provide some examples of self-enslavement (1990, 39–42 and 194–5) but none of these demonstrate self-enslavement as a means to upward mobility.

[43] Martin 1990, 51.

[44] Support is also sought in the disputed and general epistles (Martin 1990, 52–55).

[45] Martin 1990, 55.

[46] Martin 1990, 56.

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