ENSLAVED TO CHRIST: PAUL AND THE FREE CORINTHIAN CHRISTIAN AS 'SLAVES OF CHRIST'

A metaphor theoretical investigation into the Pauline expression δοῦλός Χριστοῦ

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Introduction

In the proems of his letters to the early churches in Rome, Philippi and Galatia Paul designates himself 'slave of Christ' (δοῦλος Χριστοῦ). In 1 Cor 7:22 he uses the same metaphorical expression to address the free Corinthian Christians. The discussion on the understanding of this phrase is connected to the ongoing debate concerning Paul's use of slavery metaphors in general. This study focuses on the particular relationship between Paul's use of the metaphorical phrase 'slave of Christ' in Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1 and Gal 1:10 on the one hand, and in 1 Cor. 7:22 on the other hand.

Various backgrounds have been proposed for Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' and his broader use of slavery metaphors. Approaching from a socio-historical angle, Dale Martin (1990) argues that Paul's self-designation as a 'slave of Christ' in 1 Cor 9 is best understood as an analogy to slaves of aristocrats (like the slaves of Caesar) who, due to their masters' status and power in society, held a considerably high status themselves.[1] John Byron (2003) holds the opinion that the tradition of slavery metaphors as it develops from the Old Testament, via the Septuagint, Josephus, Philo and other Greek intertestamental literature, is the only appropriate background for the understanding of Paul's engagement in slavery metaphors. His self-designation as 'slave of Christ' should be understood in the light of the ancient Israel's self-understanding as 'slave of God.'[2] Albert Harrill (2005; 2006) draws his conclusions concerning Paul's use of slavery metaphors in Romans 7 on the basis of a comparison to ancient Greek and Latin literature. According to him, the 'I'-voice does not reflect Paul's authorial self. Reading the passage in terms of speech-in-character (*prosopopoiia*), Harrill proposes that, to make his point, Paul uses the stock figure of a slave.[3] More recently, Edwin Bryant (2016) investigated the effect Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' may have had on the self-understanding of converted urban slaves. Bryant acknowledges that from a traditio-historical perspective, Paul may have drawn on Old Testament traditions of prophets designating themselves 'slaves of God,' but from a viewpoint of existential philosophy these two self-references are categorically different as they function in ontological different temporal paradigms.[4]

As each of these scholars approach Paul's use of slavery metaphors from a different perspective, a great variety of possible backgrounds has emerged. Yet as Harrill convincingly argues in his review on Byron's work, these proposed interpretive horizons are not necessarily mutually exclusive.[5] In the first chapter of this study I will describe and analyse these four preceding contributions and evaluate which elements I consider contributive. As none of the four scholars offer a satisfying reflection on the metaphorical character of the expression 'slave of Christ,' this study takes its methodological starting point in Zoltán Kövecses' (2015) metaphor theory of contextual blending.[6] Embedding the application of metaphors in communication, Kövecses proposes four different contexts which influence a speaker's choice for the metaphor he considers most appropriate to convey his message to a particular receiver. Drawing on these contextual factors will provide the possibility to integrate the valuable elements from the different approaches into one single interpretive framework. In the second chapter, the four contexts that play a role in Paul's addressing of the free Corinthians as 'slaves of Christ' in 1 Cor 7:22 and in his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in the proems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians will be reconstructed. In chapter three, I will show how Kövecses' theory of contextual blending helps to understand the metaphorical expression 'slave of Christ' in verse 22 in the scope of the exegesis of 1 Cor 7:17-24. Applied to a discourse of identity, it evokes the interpretive frame of the 'household of Christ,' in which the free Corinthian Christian is conceptualised as 'slave of Christ.' Based on Graeco-Roman letter conventions, in the proems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians the expression 'slave of Christ' serves as a title of authorisation. By designating himself 'slave of Christ,' within this discoursal

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[1] Dale B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

[2] John Byron, *Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity: A Traditio-Historical and Exegetical Examination*, WUNT 2/162 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

[3] J. Albert Harrill, "Paul and the Slave Self," in *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, ed. David Brakke, Michael L. Satlow, and Steven Weitzman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 51–69; idem, *Slaves in the New Testament: Literary, Social, and Moral Dimensions* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 17-34.

[4] K. Edwin Bryant, *Paul and the Rise of the Slave: Death and Resurrection of the Oppressed in the Epistle to the Romans*, BibInt 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

[5] J. Albert Harrill, review of *Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity*, by John Byron, *Shofar* 23 (2005): 185–87.

[6] Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come From: Reconsidering Context in Metaphor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

context Paul evokes the interpretive frame of the kingdom of God, in which he functions as herald of Christ.

Chapter One – Status Quaestionis

The aim of this chapter is to analyse and evaluate the various perspectives recent scholarship has provided for the understanding of Paul's application of slavery metaphors. I have chosen the following four authors because they all approach Paul's use of slavery metaphors in general, and his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in particular, from a different angle. The central questions to be answered will be (a) which interpretative framework do these scholars put forward for the understanding of these metaphors and (b) how do these scholars reflect on the relationship between Paul's metaphorical self-designation as 'slave of Christ,' and his use of other slavery metaphors. At the end of this critical evaluation I will outline my own perspective, which will be further substantiated in chapter 2 and 3.

Martin – Slavery as Salvation

Dale B. Martin's monograph *Slavery as Salvation* (1990) marks the starting point of the recent scholarly discussion on Paul's use of slavery metaphors in general, and his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in particular. In this book Martin aims to explain the dissonance between Paul's self-presentations as a 'slave of Christ' in 1 Cor 9:16-18 and as 'slave to all' in 1 Cor 9:19-23. According to Martin, Paul in 9:16-18 presents himself as the managerial 'slave of Christ.' In 9:19-23, however, he seems to humiliate himself by referring to himself as 'slave of all'.

Description

Martin starts out with an investigation on ancient slavery and the status of slaves in the Graeco-Roman world. Based on an enquiry of ancient literature about slaves and grave inscriptions of slaves and freed men, Martin concludes that for a small, but visible, minority "slavery was a means of upward social mobility and was recognised as such throughout the society."[7] This upward social mobility was dependent on the rank and the wealth of the slave owner. While the slave of a shoemaker had a considerably lower status and little perspective to improve it, slaves of high aristocrats or of the imperial household could hold a very high and considerably influential position.

According to Martin, to understand Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in 1 Cor 9:16-18, the high status and power of slaves of the imperial household is the right context. Designating himself a 'slave of Christ,' Paul claims to be Christ's representative on earth. Consequently, he holds high status and great authority. But while Paul's readers may have understood right away that his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' indicates his high rank, his statement in verse 9:16 that his service is a compulsion and not a choice of free will have puzzled them. That is because in antiquity, "every good man was free,"[8] in the sense of not morally enslaved. In stating that he is compelled to serve Christ, Paul communicates clearly that he is not a philosopher who earns his living by teaching the Corinthian community. Instead, he describes himself as working as Christ's managerial slave. This means that Paul is not to be paid by the Corinthians, but that he has "received the trust of a stewardship from Christ."[9] In the context of chapter 9, Paul defends himself against the criticism that he might have less authority than other apostles, because unlike them, Paul does not want to receive any wage or support from the Corinthians. This refusal does not indicate that he was of a lower status than others. It results from his position as 'slave of Christ.' Thus, though Paul does not defend his apostleship in terms of moral philosophy, he certainly has high status and authority.

In order to explain Pauls self-designation as 'slave of all,' Martin again employs an excursus into the ancient Graeco-Roman world. As Martin explains, in the first century CE there were two dominant forms of leadership. The most popular form was the depiction of leaders as benevolent fathers: "Leaders should treat their inferiors well and attend to their needs but at the same time maintain traditional positions of social superiority, which meant that leaders had to manifest the traditional badges of high social status: sufficient income, leisure, avoidance of manual labour, education, and appropriate dress and demeanour."[10] The second form of leadership was what Martin calls 'enslaved leadership.' Such an 'enslaved leader' could either be a man from a lower class who tried to move up to a position of leadership, or a man of the upper class "who could actually gain power by seeming to give it up in a move down the social scale."[11] This second form of leadership is that of a populist who, in contrast to the traditional patronal structure of the upper class society, builds his power upon the patronage of the

[7] Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, 48.
[8] Ibid., 71.
[9] Ibid., 72.
[10] Ibid., 114-115.
[11] Ibid., 115.

people. According to Martin, it is this second form of leadership which provides the rhetorical background to Paul's self-designation as 'slave of all.' As the populist just seemingly gave up his power in order to be the servant of the people, Paul's self-designation is still to be understood as a claim for leadership. Even when he no longer builds upon the traditional upper class patronage, the demagogue does not cease to be a leader. He only changes his clientele as he becomes the patron of those without patronage.

At this stage we can come to Martin's solution of the dichotomy between 'slave of Christ' in 1 Cor 9:16-18 and 'slave of all' in 1 Cor 9:19-23. According to Martin, these two expressions are logically linked. As he explains, the contradiction between Paul's self-designations as 'slave of Christ' and 'slave of all' is only apparent. Both expressions represent "a model of leadership that is different from the normal benevolent patriarchal model."[12]

Analysis

Martin's work contributes a valuable perspective on Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ.' His focus on the positive aspects of the metaphorical use of slavery as description for the relationship between Christians and God or Christ forms an important corrective to the traditional reading of Paul's slavery metaphors in a context of humiliation.[13] Martin's decision to focus on the sociological aspects of Graeco-Roman slavery is a valuable broadening of possible approaches to the background of Paul's use of slavery metaphors. It is therefore spiteful that he only looks at Graeco-Roman material and does not include Jewish sources. As Jörg Frey points out, one should assume Paul to be formatively influenced by both Hellenistic Judaism and the Graeco-Roman world.[14] In addition, Martin could have reflected on the way in which his approach to 1 Cor 9:16-23 contributes to the understanding of Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' and his use of slavery metaphors in general; as the meaning of one particular passage has to be derived. A reflection on the validity of his interpretation outside of 1 Cor 9:16-23 is even more desirable if one takes into account that the phrase 'slave of Christ' itself is not attested in this passage.

Evaluation

Martin's socio-historical approach will prove to provide valuable elements to the approach that is taken in this study. Especially his argument for the slaves of high aristocrats as a model for Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ,'[15] I will take up at a later stage.

Byron – Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity

John Byron's monograph (2003) is a reaction to Martin's work. Martin, as analysed above, sought to explain Paul's self-designation by drawing on the social background of slavery in the Graeco-Roman society in the first century CE. Byron, however, is convinced that Paul in his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' draws on a broad Jewish tradition of Israel as 'slave(s) of God' that ultimately goes back to the Exodus.[16] To be able to understand Paul's use of slavery metaphors in his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' and his more creative application, Byron follows the development of this tradition from the Septuagint via Philo, Josephus and other Greek Intertestamental Literature.

Description

Before starting his examination however, Byron shortly reflects on his approach to metaphors. Following Isobel Combes[17] and Janet Soskice,[18] he considers the slavery metaphor having taken "a life

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[12] Ibid., 134.

[13] J. Albert Harrill, review of *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity*, by Dale B. Martin, *JR* 72 (1992): 426–27.

[14] Jörg Frey, "Jesus, Paulus und die Texte von Qumran: Forschungsgeschichtliche und hermeneutische Perspektiven," in *Jesus, Paulus und die Texte von Qumran*, ed. Jörg Frey and Enno E. Popkes, WUNT 2/390 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 1–29, 21.

[15] Cf. also Michael J. Brown, "Paul's Use of ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΗΣΟΥ in Romans 1:1," *JBL* 120 (2001): 723–37 who has argued in a similar way concerning Paul's self-designation Rom 1:1. According to Brown, Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' should be understood in the context of the *familia Caesaris*.

[16] Byron, *Slavery Metaphors*, 47-51.

[17] Isobel A. H. Combes, *The Metaphor of Slavery in the Writings of the Early Church: From the New Testament to the Beginning of the Fifth Century*, JSNTSup 156 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) (n.v.)

[18] Janet M. Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

of its own and [having] developed separately from the society in which they were used."[19] As religious metaphors often have a long history of usage, over the centuries "they become more than a simple metaphor; they are emblematic."[20]

As mentioned before, Byron argues that in the Exodus a self-understanding of the Israelites as 'slaves of God' was established.[21] When later in history the people were exiled from their country and were enslaved to other nations, the Israelites' self-understanding as slaves of God was in danger. Could they be both slaves of God and slaves of others? Did their exile mean that God, their true master, had abandoned them? To these questions they found two possible answers. The first was that they acknowledged that they had sinned and that their exile therefore was justified. Returning to the commandments of God then resulted in a return from exile and accordingly in a return to their true master i.e. God. Byron calls this the *Sin-Exile-Return* pattern. The second possibility was that they could not understand their exile resulting from sin. Consequently they interpreted the exile as a test. As long as they remained obedient to God, he would reward them in the future. Byron calls this the *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* pattern.[22]

With Philo of Alexandria these questions got a new dimension. In his treatise *Every Good Person is Free*, Philo states that it is not physical slavery that is decisive for one's identity as 'slave of God,' but moral slavery. Consequently, he even considers physical enslavement as an advantage in as far as it may lead the slave to enslavement to God; whereas enslavement of the soul is dangerous as it may lead to the soul's refusal of God, which in turn may lead to God's denial of this particular soul.[23]

Coming to Paul, Byron states that the tradition he just examined is to be considered the "'foreground' with which Paul, a Jew influenced by the Christ event, may be presumed to have interacted."[24] And indeed, in his analysis of Paul's usage of slavery metaphors, Byron finds elements of the tradition. Paul's juxtaposition of slavery to sin and slavery to God in Rom 6, echoes to the Philonic notion that it is the moral enslavement of the soul that is to be considered dangerous as it may lead to the soul's refusal of God. In his analysis of Phil 2:6-11, Byron identifies Christ as the example par excellence of the *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* pattern. At the end of his enquiry, Byron identifies four elements in the function of Paul's self-designation: the first element is that Christ is the paradigmatic 'slave of God,' second: through Christ all men have the possibility to become 'slaves of God.' Third: through imitatio Christi the 'slaves of God' are able to fulfil their obligations of obedience to God. Fourth: the 'slaves of God' are freed from sin to enslave themselves to one another, not in order to gain self-determination.[25]

Analysis

Byron's work offers a commendable contribution to the discussion on the background of Paul's use of slavery metaphors in general and his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in particular. In drawing attention to Israel's self-understanding as 'slave of God' in the Old Testament and its reception in the Greek intertestamental literature as the most probable background to Paul's use of slavery metaphors, Byron argues for an understanding of Paul as a Second Temple Jew. Analysing and evaluating each traditio-historical source separately before turning to Paul, prevents Byron from falling into parallelomania.[26] Accordinlgy, his argumentation for Israel's self-understanding as 'slave of God' as the traditio-historical background for Paul's use of slavery metaphors is convincing.

Yet his exclusive focus on Greek material is problematic as it involves what Frey calls "eine präjudizierende Einschränkung des Blickwinkels;" historic adequacy however "ist angesichts der lückenhaften Überlieferung nur durch Berücksichtigung *aller* erreichbaren Quellen zu erreichen."[27] It

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[19] Byron, *Slavery Metaphors*, 16.
[20] Ibid., 17.
[21] Following Jon Levenson, ("Exodus and Liberation," *HBT* 13 [1991]: 134–74;) Byron argues that when Isarel was liberated from Egypt, it passed from one slavery into another. First they were the slaves of Pharao, then they were the slaves of God.
[22] Byron, *Slavery Metaphors*, 37-75.
[23] Ibid., 97-116.
[24] Ibid., 144.
[25] Ibid., 258-263.
[26] A term coined by Samuel Sandmel. As parallelomania he counts crudely suggesting parallels between early Judaism and Christianity based on a falsely assumed uniformity of early Judaism. Cf. "Parallelomania," *JBL* 81 (1962): 1–13.
[27] Frey, "Deutungen des Todes Jesu," 32.

may be motivated by his exclusive focus on Greek material, nevertheless it is striking that the Suffering Servant from Is 52:13-53:12 and his reception in amongst others the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Targumin[28] has found no attention with Byron. In addition, as one should assume Paul to be formatively influenced by both Hellenistic Judaism and the Graeco-Roman world,[29] Byron's argumentation for a merely traditio-historical understanding of Paul's application of slavery metaphors is methodologically not convincing.

Evaluation

I follow Byron's notion that Israel's self-identification as 'slave of God' should be regarded as traditio-historical background for Paul's use of slavery. His reference to Soskice's considerations on the metaphor taking a life of its own, will prove helpful as well.

Harrill – Paul and the Slave Self & The Slave Self: Paul and the Discursive "I"

In his dissertation,[30] Albert Harrill, engaging with social history, focused on manumission practices in Graeco-Roman antiquity and how they affected Christian slaves. In his more recent work,[31] his focus has slightly switched from interpreting the New Testament texts on slavery from a social historic angle to reading these texts in the light of Graeco-Roman literary conventions. Based on this approach, Harrill identifies New Testament slaves modelled after stock figures from Graeco-Roman drama. Following this approach on Paul's use of slavery language in Romans 7:14-25, Harrill (2005, 2006) aims to illuminate "how an ancient *Roman* audience would have most likely heard Paul's discursive 'I,' especially in a letter whose opening words assert a slave persona: 'Paul, a slave of Jesus Christ' (Rom 1:1)."[32]

Description

To understand the first person singular speech in Rom 7:14-25, Harrill draws attention to the rhetoric figure of *prosopopoiia*, "the introduction of a character whose speech does not represent that of the author, but that of another person or invented persona."[33] This technique was well-known from ancient rhetoric and drama. Common characters were the husband, the soldier, the braggart, the barbarian or the slave.[34] Throughout his articles, Harrill argues on two levels: on the first level he considers Paul to speak to Gentile converts who were still struggling with their former pagan life. To help them to come to a dialogue between their old and new self, i.e. their old and new identity, Paul utilises the persona of a slave. The background for Paul's choice for the voice of a slave has to be sought in "the main Roman (Stoic) ideology."[35] While Greeks usually viewed slaves as nothing different from animals, "Roman law recognised the slave to have inner subjectivity and moral agency."[36] Roman masters did not want their slaves just to function automatically (as *automaton*), but to embrace their masters' outlook to such an extent that they knew their masters' wishes even before they would know them themselves.[37]

If the slave persona in Rom 7 laments that he wants what is good, but nevertheless does what is wrong, an ancient audience would have recognised the voice of "a captured slave who undergoes an agonising crisis of identity because he is alienated from his rightful owner."[38] Likewise, the Gentile converts may experience a similar crisis of identity due to the conflict between the rules of their new life under the mastery of God and the habits of their old one in the enslavement under sin. The convert's suffering from old habits that are in conflict with the new rules Paul, according to Harrill, compares to the situation of the captured slave who now has to serve under a new evil master, who requests from the

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[28] For an overview of the reception of the Suffering Servant in the Intertestamental period cf. Sydney H.T. Page, "The Suffering Servant between the Testaments," *NTS* 31 (1985): 481–97.
[29] Cf. n. 14.
[30] J. Albert Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity*, HUT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).
[31] Cf. a.o. "The Dramatic Function of the Running Slave Rhoda (Acts 12.12-16): A Piece of Greco-Roman Comedy." *NTS* 46 (2000): 150-57 (n.v.) and "The Influence of Roman Contract Law on Early Baptismal Formulae (Tertullian, Ad martyras 3)." *StPatr* 36 (2001): 275-82 (n.v.).
[32] J. Albert Harrill, *Slaves in the New Testament*, 18.
[33] J. Albert Harrill, "Paul and the Slave Self," in *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, ed. David Brakke, Michael L. Satlow, and Steven Weitzman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 51–69, 52.
[34] Harrill, *Slaves in the New Testament*, 19.
[35] Ibid., 21.
[36] Harrill, "Paul and the Slave Self," 54.
[37] Harrill, "Paul and the Slave Self," 56; the Latin term for this concept of servitude is *auctoritas*.
[38] Ibid., 63.

slave to act in way which compromises the *auctoritas* of his rightful owner. As he is answerable to his new evil master, the slave at least outwardly has to show obedience. Only in a hidden way by only following the direct commands of his master without adapting his essential character, thus by acting as *automaton*, the slave can try to resist the *auctoritas* of his new evil master. Just as this slave who outwardly has to obey his new evil master, so too the Gentile convert experiences sin still claiming power over his live, despite his conversion which placed him under the enslavement of God.

Analysis

Harrill gives a decent analysis of the processes going on with the literary "I" in Rom 7. The combination of ancient rhetoric and Roman (Stoic) ideology provides insights in the literary framework by which an average Roman citizen may have interpreted Paul's use of slavery metaphors in Rom 7. Yet in his analogy between the Gentile converts and the captured slave, Harrill shows an inconsequence. If the slave persona is to represent a pagan who converted to Christianity, it is not convincing why the persona's new master would represent 'sin.' Such an analogy requires parallelism between its two elements. Engaging in metaphor theory could have prevented Harrill from this incongruence.

It is a pity that Harrill does not take up his introducing note on Rom 1:1. It thus remains unclear how he interprets Paul's self-designation in terms of *prosopopoiia*. In addition, it is unfortunate that Harrill undertakes no attempt to reflect on the validity of his interpretational framework for other passages within or outside Romans in which Paul speaks about slavery in a metaphorical way. Consequently his commentary on Rom 7 stays isolated and it remains unclear how this interpretation contributes to the understanding of Paul's use of slavery metaphors in general.

Evaluation

Harrill's call for attention to Graeco-Roman literary conventions will be partly taken up at a later stage of this study. As he does not elaborate any further on his note on Rom 1:1, this cannot be considered in my later discussion on Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ.'

Bryant – Paul and the Rise of the Slave

Edwin Bryant in his monograph (2016) focuses on how Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Messiah Jesus,'[39] which he considers a technical term,[40] offers urban slaves an alternative consciousness or alternative means for conceptualising their identity. As Bryant comments, "Paul's description of himself as a Slave of Messiah Jesus presents a way for slaves to imagine an existence that is not mediated by Imperial ideology."[41] That is to say, Roman law and imperial ideology "located all slaves in a suspended death."[42]

Description

While Bryant locates Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Messiah Jesus' in the context of the Old Testament prophetic tradition, at the same time he states that "a categorical difference exists between the terms 'slave of God' and 'slave of Messiah Jesus.'"[43] His reasoning at this stage is quite complex, but what he ultimately says is that in baptism, Christians participate in Jesus' death and resurrection. By means of that participation they receive a messianic identity and consciousness which awakens them to the 'time of the now' – an existential philosophical term Bryant takes from Giorgio Agamben.[44] As this 'now time' is different from normal, historical time, Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Messiah Jesus,' though taken from the Old Testament prophetic tradition, functions in an ontologically different temporal paradigm.

After an enquiry of the social reality of slavery, Bryant identifies the Trastevere quarter as the most likely context for Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Messiah Jesus.' Trastevere, as Bryant points out, was a Jewish quarter mainly populated by slaves, freed men and poor free men. This population "lived on the margins and at the bottom of Roman society subject to jest, ridicule, and humiliation."[45]

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[39] Bryant considers the expression δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησου in Rom 1:1 as technical term and chooses therefore to translate it as 'slave of Messiah Jesus.'
[40] Bryant, *Paul and the Rise of the Slave*, 8 n. 48, 97.
[41] Ibid., 9.
[42] Ibid., 8.
[43] Cf. note 41.
[44] *The time that remains: a commentary on the letter to the Romans* (Stanford: University Press, 2010).
[45] Bryant, *Paul and the Rise of the Slave*, 68.

To these slaves, who were living in the reality of suspended death, Paul's self-designation offers a new identity grounded in the death and resurrection of Jesus. As Paul combines this self-designation with the notion of being called (κλητὸς), he depicts himself as a prophet. As slaves normally had no voice, "Paul's 'calling' has reclaimed him from the negative impact of the institution [of slavery], as a slave who now has the power of speech."[46] Ultimately Bryant characterises Paul's message in the letter to the Romans as counter-imperial.[47] An exegesis of Rom 6:12-23 serves to prove these claims. In his exegesis Bryant employs the hermeneutical move to identify the word law (νόμος) as "an aspect of Roman culture that identified the law as the organising principle that exercised dominion over slaves as subjects."[48]

At the end of the exegesis Bryant makes the following summarising remarks. Participating in the death of Messiah Jesus through baptism contested and offered an alternative to the prophetic propaganda of the Roman Empire that all conquered peoples were subordinate to the faith of Rome. Paul's description of his call as slave, shows that he voluntarily subordinated himself to the obedience to Christ. Paul's use of prophetical counter discourse installs 'slaves of Messiah Jesus' as weapons of justice ready to fight anything that contests the kingship of Messiah Jesus. In addition, their status changes from suppressed slaves of the demonic domain of the Empire to pilgrims who no longer belong to their outward circumstances.[49]

Analysis

Bryant's monograph provides valuable insights in how urban slaves in the Roman Empire may have received Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ.' Characterising Rom 6:12-23 in this context as anti-imperial counter discourse is an interesting, but not convincing, move. A brief reflection on other occurrences of the word νόμος (law) in Romans could have strengthened his argumentation. Without such a reflection, it remains unclear if he generally considers νόμος to mean Roman imperial law, or if the two occurrences in chapter 6 are the only instances where this meaning is to be assumed. As it is now, this assumption lacks thorough corroboration. Likewise, a reflection on the usefulness of Bryant's interpretation of Paul's self-designation in Romans to illuminate Paul's self-presentation in Galatians and Philippians would have been desirable.

Bryant's notion that Paul's self-designation traditio-historically daws on the reference to the Old Testament prophets as 'slaves of God' is convincing. However, in his explanation why the term 'slave of Christ' is fundamentally different than the term 'slave of God' he argues on an existential philosophical level. As these arguments function on different levels of reasoning, the contrast he presumes appears unneeded. His references to the work of Agamben remain cryptic. The terms 'time of the now' and 'time that remains' receive no proper introduction.

Evaluation

I share Bryant's view that the reference to the Old Testament prophets provides the traditio-historical background for Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ.' His suggestion that the term 'slave of Christ' should be regarded as a technical term will be considered in the discussion on Paul's self-designation.

The Approach Taken Here

This review of the four scholars' approaches has provided us with valuable perspectives on Paul's use of slavery metaphors in general and his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in particular. Unlike the authors analysed above, this study follows a metaphor theoretical approach. Kövecses' cognitive-linguistic metaphor theory of contextual integration will allow for integrating the above–mentioned perspectives on Paul's slavery metaphors in general and his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in particular into one interpretative framework.

In his recent work *Where metaphors come from*, Kövecses argues that metaphors are always used in a situation of communication between a sender and a receiver. Consequently, the metaphors are to be interpreted within the particular dialogue in which they are applied. In his choice for the metaphor he considers as most appropriate to convey his intended message, an author is influenced by four factors: discourse context, situational context, conceptual-cognitive context and bodily context. As these four factors function on a global and a local level, they provide the sender both with well-known metaphors and the tools to create new ones. Approaching Paul's use of slavery metaphors in line with Kövecses'

[46] Ibid., 127.
[47] Ibid., 148.
[48] Ibid., 13-14.
[49] Ibid., 203.

theory, I identify Paul as the sender, and the communities addressed in the different letters as the receiver.

Bearing Kövecses' four contextual factors which influence the senders in his choice for a particular metaphor in mind, will help to systematise the elements of previous scholarship which were identified as contributive. Martin's proposition that Paul modelled his self-presentation as 'slave of Christ' on the position of a high aristocrat's slave, will contribute to our understanding of the situational context for Paul's self-designation. Byron's plea for Israel's self-understanding as 'slave of God' as traditio-historical background for Paul's slavery will prove a central element of the discoursal context. Likewise, Bryant's note that also the Old Testament prophets' were referred to as 'slaves of God' will prove valuable for our understanding of the discourse context. Harrill's call for attention to Graeco-Roman literary conventions' influence on the New Testament will be taken up in our analysis on how Graeco-Roman letter conventions contribute to the discourse context of Paul's self-designation. Byron's reference to Soskice's understanding of religious metaphors reflected in terms of cognitive linguistics will be a valuable contribution to the conceptual-cognitive context, as will Bryant's suggestion to understand the phrase 'slave of Christ' as a technical term.

Based on the demarcation of the different global contextual factors in chapter two, chapter three will determine the local contextual factors for both Paul's use of the metaphor 'slave of Christ' and 'freed man of the Lord' in 1 Cor 7:22, as well as his application of the metaphor 'slave of Christ' in Rom 1:1, Phil 1:1 and Gal 1:10. With both the global and local contextual factors available, I will show how blending these factors by means of contextual integration advances our understanding of the message Paul intended to convey when he chose for these particular metaphors. Chapter three will end with a short reflection on the differences and similarities of Paul's use of the metaphor 'slave of Christ' in 1 Cor 7:22 on the one hand and in Rom 1:1, Phil 1:1 and Gal 1:10 on the other. It will become apparent that as the contexts in which the metaphor is applied are different, its meaning differs as well.

Chapter Two – Methodology

One of the most recent contributions to metaphor research comes from Hungarian linguist Zoltán Kövecses. Since he published his first book on metaphors in 1986,[50] he maintained a lasting interest in metaphors. His recent book *Where Metaphors Come From*, is based on some of his earlier work on conceptual metaphors.[51] In *Where Metaphors Come From* Kövecses builds on these earlier works by arguing for a context dependency of conceptual metaphors.

Kövecses – *Where Metaphors Come From*

'Conceptual metaphor' is a term from the field of cognitive linguistics. This concept goes back to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson,[52] who were the first to do research on this topic. They basically understand a metaphor as "a cognitive process in which one domain of experience (A) is conceptualised in terms of another domain of experience (B)."[53] These two domains are distinguished as source (B) and target domain (A). Generally, the target domain is more abstract than the source domain. In the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, for example, the source domain 'journey' is used to conceptualise the target domain 'life;' in the metaphor INTENSITY IS HEAT, the concept of 'heat' is used to understand the abstract word 'intensity.'

Such conceptualisations are not random, they are based on either an embodied experience or a real or assumed similarity. The conceptual metaphor INTENSITY IS HEAT finds its origin in the fact that when somebody is doing hard physical work, his body responds with an increase in temperature. The same effect occurs if someone is angry, has strong sexual feelings or is under strong psychological pressure. Consequently conceptualising 'intensity' through 'heat' can be described as an embodied experience. As 'intensity' is a broad notion that is involved in other concepts such as 'anger', 'love', 'lust', 'work' or 'argument', it can be conceptualised by the source domain 'heat.' The metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is certainly not based on a bodily correlation in experience. The mapping of the source domain 'journey' in the target domain 'life' is motivated by our "ability to recognise shared generic-level structure in distinct domains."[54]

There are, however, situations in which the mapping from source on target domain does not provide a satisfactory explanation of how a metaphor functions in a clause, as Kövecses, following Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner,[55] demonstrates with the following sentence: "God, he was so mad I could see the smoke coming out of his ears."[56] The word 'smoke' can still be explained by the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. There are several mappings taking place here: 'container' is mapped on 'body', 'hot fluid' on 'anger' and 'degrees of heat' on 'degrees of intensity.' But these mappings do not explain "the smoke coming out of his ears". What has happened here, is that two elements, 'smoke' from the source domain and 'ears' from the target domain have been combined in a blend. Instead of a straightforward mapping of one domain one the other, in the blend elements of both input spaces are integrated into a new conceptual frame. As Kövcecses shows, such a blend is strong enough that it can be developed further; it can be run. A possible advancement would be: "God, he was so mad I could see the smoke coming out of his ears – I thought his hat would catch fire!"[57]

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[50] *Metaphors of Anger, Pride, and Love: A Lexical Approach to the Structure of Concepts* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986) (n.v.).

[51] A.o. *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) (n.v.) and *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction.* Second edition (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) (n.v.).

[52] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors we live by* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980) (n.v.)

[53] Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come from*, 20.

[54] Ibid., 21.

[55] Fauconnier and Turner, "Compression and global insight," *Cognitive Linguistics* 11 (2002): 283-304 (n.v.)

[56] Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come From*, 24.

[57] Cf. the preceding note.

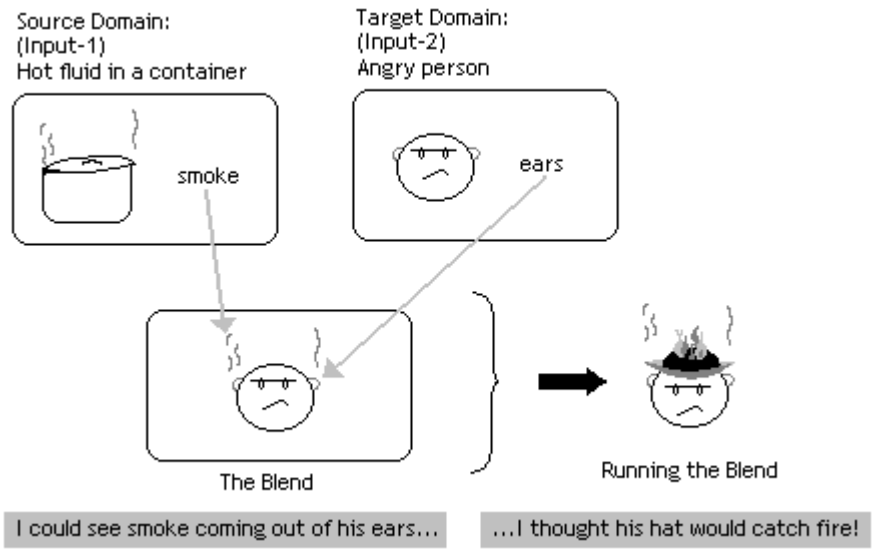

Figure 2.1. The "smoke coming out his ears" blend
Source: Zoltán Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come From*, 24.

Conceptual metaphors are always a product of a conceptual system. Kövecses dedicates a whole chapter to this term; for our purpose, however, it may suffice to define it as the system of concepts our mind uses to make sense of the world around us.

While many linguists who engage in research on conceptual metaphors only focus on the mapping of source and target domain described above and the origins of these metaphors in bodily correlations, Kövecses thinks that this focus is too narrow. He holds the opinion that "in many cases metaphorical concepts do not arise from prestored mappings in the conventional conceptual system … but result from the priming effect of contextual factors in real situations of discourse." By focusing on the influence of context on the conceptualisation of metaphors, Kövecses calls attention to the fact that metaphors have a function in communication.[58] They are applied by a speaker to communicate a message to a hearer. Kövecses calls the speaker 'conceptualiser 1' and the hearer 'conceptualiser 2.'[59] In his book, Kövecses is concerned with the factors that play a role in the choice of conceptualiser 1 for a particular metaphor.

Every communication about a particular topic stands in the line of earlier discourse on that theme. Likewise both conceptualisers are particular persons, standing in a specific situation in life. Consequently "knowledge of any one of these may lead to the use of metaphors that are specific to a particular discourse situation."[60] Zooming in on the element of discourse, Kövecses distinguishes the following sub-elements: knowledge about the main elements of the discourse, the surrounding discourse, previous discourses on the same topic, dominant forms of discourse and intertextuality, and ideology underlying discourse.[61] Another set of contextual factors that Kövecses identifies, is what he calls 'situational context'. This context encompasses the physical environment, the social situation, the cultural situation, history-memory, and interests and concerns. Besides these two contexts, Kövecses argues that the conceptual system – encompassing culture 1,[62] the metaphorical conceptual system, the values assigned to concepts and the conceptual-cognitive context – and the body can function as contextual factors.[63] All these four contextual factors (discourse context, situational context, conceptual-cognitive context and bodily context) can influence the choice for a particular metaphor. Their influence can occur both on a local and a global level. While 'local' stands for "the specific knowledge conceptualisers have about some aspect of the immediate communicative situation,"[64] 'global' "implies

[58] This can be immediate communication such as a dialogue, but also non-immediate communication such as literature.
[59] Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come From*, 1.
[60] Ibid., 53.
[61] Ibid., 53-57.
[62] Kövecses defines this term as "a shared set of frames in a language community." Cf.: Ibid., 184.
[63] Ibid., 184-86.
[64] Ibid., 188.

knowledge shared by an entire group of conceptualisers."[65] In the following figure, Kövecses has visualised the influence of the four different contextual factors on the choice for a specific metaphor:

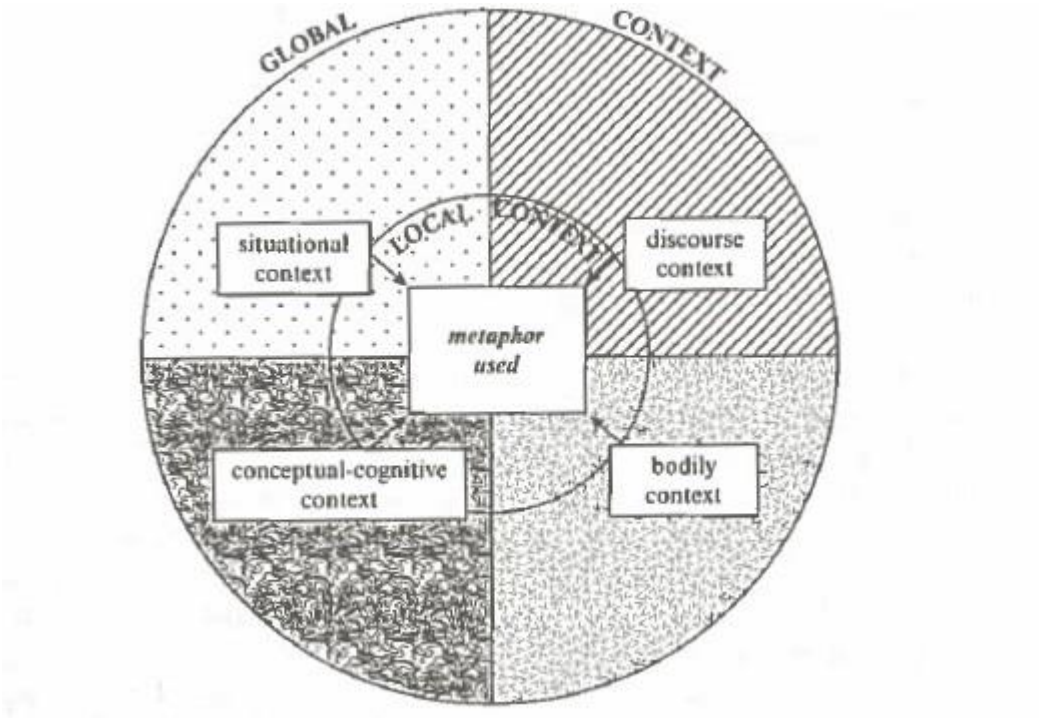

Figure 2.2. Summary of contextual factors
Source: Zoltán Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come From*, 189.

Reflecting on how these different contextual factors influence the choice for a particular metaphor, Kövecses argues that the theory of 'conceptual blending' can be extended to 'contextual blending.' Just as elements from several concepts can be combined in a blend, so too can elements from the four different contexts be combined in a blend. How such a contextual blend might look like, Kövecses explains with the following example, an US newspaper article's headline: "Cowboys corral Buffalos." To understand the blend that this headline consists of, it is important to know that 'Cowboys' and 'Buffalos' are the names of two rivalling university football teams. With this knowledge in mind, Kövecses identifies "three input spaces: (universities with their football teams, the competition between them and a space for the American West with cowboys and buffalos)."[66] These three input spaces are integrated into one blend which combines them into the meaning that one football team has beaten the other. Kövecses summarises this blend in the following figure. Though not all the contextual factors are considered in this figure it provides an indication of the dynamics that are hidden in the preceding figure:

[65] Cf. the preceding note.
[66] Ibid., 68.

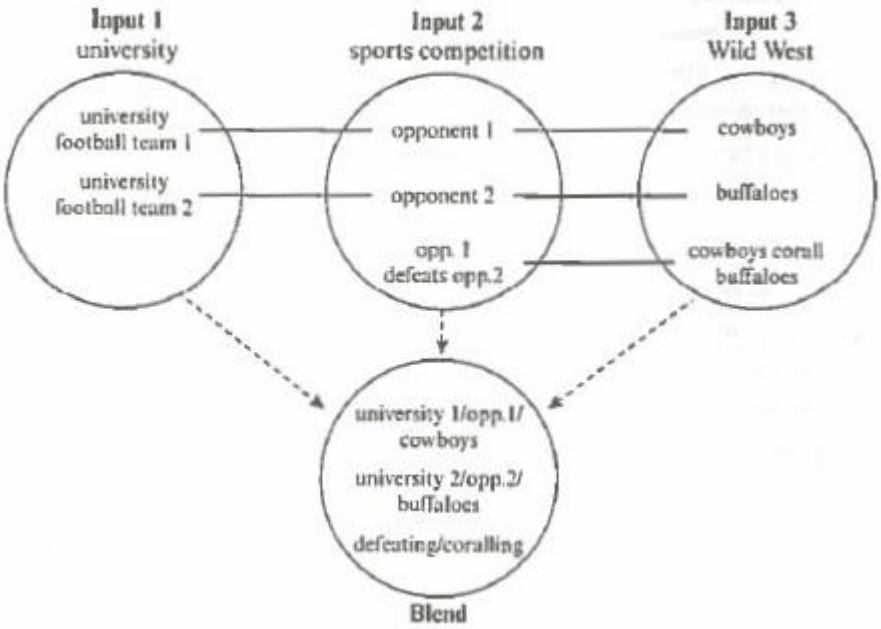

Figure 2.3. The "Cowboys Corral Buffaloes" blend
Source: Zoltán Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come From*, 68.

Each of the four contextual factors contributes to an input frame on both the local and the global level. Ignoring the fact that most of these factors consist of several sub-factors, there are at least eight different contextual input spaces that contribute elements to the blend, i.e. the metaphor.

As I will show in the following paragraph, Kövecses's theory of contextual blending provides a very useful frame for approaching the background of Paul's use of slavery metaphors. Moreover, it will help to systematise the existing contributions to this discussion. To summarise, Kövecses states that metaphors are always applied in communication; they are used by a speaker (conceptualiser 1) in order to convey a message to a hearer (conceptualiser 2). In order to reconstruct the most probable connotations of an applied metaphor, Kövecses argues that it is necessary to have knowledge about the parties involved in the communication. Apart from this information, there is a quartet of contextual factors which influence the choice for a particular metaphor on both a global and a local level. Kövecses identified the social context, the discourse context, the conceptual-cognitive context and the bodily context as these four factors. Most of these factors consist of several sub-elements; they will be listed in the introduction to the each of the contextual factors.

Paul

The first step of our reconstruction of the background of Paul's slavery metaphors and his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' will be to sketch a profile of conceptualiser 1, in this case Paul. The history of scholarship on Paul is long and complex. As this study's focus lies on Paul's slavery metaphors, a discussion of this long and complex history would go beyond its scope. I will therefore limit myself to giving a brief sketch of my perspective on Paul. In the following I will argue that Paul was a Hellenistic Jew who lived in context of the Roman Empire. While this notion would probably be accepted by all the authors analysed in the first chapter, the examination revealed that this acknowledgment has often been accompanied by favouritism of some aspects above others. While it is natural that in one study one cannot consider every aspect, weighing the different factors should not lead into what Anders Kloostergaard Petersen calls "a zero-sum game,"[67] which means that a high score of Jewishness is often understood to mean a low score of Hellenism. To counter this "aspectualism,"[68] which approaches Judaism and Hellenism as homogenic cultural entities, Kloostergaard Petersen

[67] Anders Kloostergaard Petersen, "Paul the Jew Was Also Paul the Hellenist," in *Paul the Jew: Rereading the Apostle as a Figure of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini, Carlos A. Segovia, and Cameron J. Doody (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016), 273–300, 275. A good example is Byron's claim that Paul's slavery metaphors can entirely be understood from Paul's Jewish heritage and that consequently there is no need to assume Hellenistic influence.
[68] Ibid., 274.

approaches culture as a blend.[69] This allows for conceiving of Paul as having integrated several traditions into "a cultural identity" that he "understood to be representative of true Judaism."[70]

Next to Judaism and Hellenism, Jeremy Punt shows that the setting of the Roman Empire should be regarded as another cultural factor that is integrated into the blend of Paul's cultural identity.[71] As he remarks, Paul's (rediscovered) Jewishness is often regarded to place him into conflict with the Roman Empire.[72] But since "in the first-century CE Mediterranean context, the very existence of life in its various forms was determined by the seemingly omnipresent and omnipotent Roman Empire," it forms the socio-political framework of Paul's conversation with the early Christian communities.[73] In the empire, Jews were "relatively settled."[74] Though they sporadically experienced violence against them, they were exempted from participation in the imperial cult. Accordingly, "positions toward the empire were dynamic – not naïve, static positions 'for' or 'against' – as people's responses to and interactions with empire were infinitely more complex and hybrid than merely those of singular support or opposition."[75]

With these rather abstract reflections in mind, I can now come to a more concrete portrait of Paul. Generally, portraying Paul involves a critical reflection on the relationship of Luke's characterisation of Paul in Acts and what one can learn about Paul from his letters. Ekkehard and Wolfgang Stegemann comment on the Lukan depiction of Paul as follows: "Paulus ist die ideale Verkörperung eines vorbildlichen toratreuen und an Christus glaubenden Juden, zugleich aber auch ein loyaler Untertan des Römischen Reiches."[76] Tor Vegge therefore rightly concludes that there are reasons to doubt "dass die lukanischen Aussagen als 'definite data' im heutigen Sinne historisch belegter Fakten zu beurteilen sind."[77] Accordingly, Vegge aims to weigh this data on their historical reliability and other scholars' contributions on their plausibility, in order to arrive at a more realistic picture of Paul. Based on Paul's statement in Gal 1:22 that when he had come to Jerusalem after his 'conversion,' his face was still unknown to the Judean congregations, Vegge concludes that it is quite unlikely to assume that Paul was schooled in Jerusalem during his youth. Likewise, he considers it unlikely that Paul had prosecuted Christians in Jerusalem.[78] The adequate Greek of the Pauline letters and Paul's use of elements from cynic-stoic philosophy suggest that Paul attended Hellenistic schooling of paideia until the third degree.[79] According to Jerome Neyrey, this "encourages us to see Paul as elite who was educated for a life of leisure and who learned the craft of rhetoric and philosophy."[80] Neyrey's view is in stark contrast to that of Stegemann and Stegemann who place Paul in the social stratum of the craftsmen above the subsistence level. Following Robert Hock,[81] Stegemann and Stegemann comment: "Mehr als wir uns gemeinhin vorstellen war *Paulus der Zeltmacher*. Seine Tätigkeit beanspruchte den größten Teil seiner Zeit … Sein Leben war zum großen Teil das Leben eines Menschen in einer Werkstatt … gebeugt über

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[69] Ibid., 285.
[70] Ibid., 284.
[71] Jeremy Punt, "Paul's Jewish Identity in the Roman World," in *Paul the Jew: Rereading the Apostle as a Figure of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini, Carlos A. Segovia, and Cameron J. Doody (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), 245–76.
[72] Ibid., 246.
[73] Cf. the preceding note.
[74] Ibid., 252.
[75] Ibid., 255.
[76] Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte: die Anfänge im Judentum und die Christusgemeinden in der mediterranen Welt* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995), 256.
[77] Tor Vegge, *Paulus und das antike Schulwesen: Schule und Bildung des Paulus*, BZNW 134 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 432.
[78] Ibid., 438.
[79] Ibid., 438-39.
[80] Jerome H. Neyrey, "The Social Location of Paul: Education as the Key," in *Fabrics of Discourse: Essays in Honor of Vernon K. Robbins*, ed. David B. Gowler, L. Gregory. Bloomquist, and Duane Frederick. Watson (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003), 126–64, 161.
[81] Ronald F Hock, *The social context of Paul's ministry: tentmaking and apostleship* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1980) (n.v.)

eine Werkbank wie ein Sklave und arbeitend an der Seite von Sklaven."[82] These two contrasting characterisations suggest that Paul had a 'dissonant status.'[83]

Vegge understands Paul's self-reference as a former Pharisee more in terms of cultural than in educational terms.[84] At least, this self-designation does not compellingly postulate an education in Jerusalem. If Luke speaks about Paul as a pupil of Gamaliel the Elder, this is above all for compositional reasons.[85] Vegge, however, assumes the claim Acts makes for Paul hailing from Tarsus to be historically correct.[86] He also reports that only few of the Jews in the cities of Asia Minor had Roman citizenship. Still, large flourishing Jewish communities seem to have existed in several cities, which allowed for the forming of a Jewish identity and Jewish education.[87] Stegemann and Stegemann therefore consider it unlikely that Paul would have had Roman citizenship.[88]

As noted above, Vegge acts on the assumption that Paul had a decent Greek-Hellenistic education. His schooling most likely encompassed philosophy and rhetoric, which provided Paul with oral and literal skills. These skills in turn were the fundament on which Paul as a grown-up could build his Jewish-Pharisaic learning. In both his exegesis as his formulation of Halakha Paul shows closeness to pharisaic traditions.[89] After his 'conversion,' Paul slowly broke with the Pharisees and oriented himself more to mystical and apocalyptic streams.[90] To sum up, Paul was a Hellenistic diaspora Jew who worked as a travelling tentmaker. He has enjoyed a decent schooling of paideia and a good pharisaic education. Most probably, Paul did not have Roman citizenship.

Reconstruction of the global Contextual Factors

In this paragraph I aim to reconstruct the contextual factors that most probably influenced Paul's choice for slavery metaphors on the global level. With this aim, I take a more abstract view than Kövecses offers in his book, where he always analyses one specific metaphor in a particular text. Still, I think it is possible to say something about the global contextual factors that influenced Paul in his choice for slavery metaphors. As mentioned above, Kövecses defined the global level as "knowledge shared by an entire community of conceptualisers."[91] The global level thus describes a framework of general knowledge shared by both conceptualiser 1 (Paul) and conceptualiser(s) 2 (the early churches). A more thorough characterisation of the Corinthian church will be part of the third chapter, which is centred around the analysis of Paul's use of slavery metaphors in 1 Cor 7:17-24. In the course of this examination I will also provide a reconstruction of the influences of contextual factors on the local level. At this stage it suffices to note that the early churches consisted of both Jewish and Gentile believers. As we characterised Paul as a Hellenistic diaspora Jew, the shared framework of general knowledge should be identified as both Hellenistic Judaism and the Graeco-Roman world.

Discourse Context

Introducing discourse as contextual factor, Kövecses argues that next to knowledge about the parties involved in the conversation, it is necessary to know the topic of the conversation between the two conceptualisers. Naturally, each of the passages in Paul's letters in which he applies slavery metaphors has its own specific topic that is to be identified during the reconstruction of the contextual factors' influence at the local level. At this stage it will suffice to note that in most of the passages in which slavery metaphors occur, Paul reflects on the relationship between the Christians and God or Christ.

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[82] Stegemann and Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte*, 259.
[83] A term coined by Wayne Meeks, referring to people who according to some criteria belonged to the upper class, according to others they did not. Cf. *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).
[84] Vegge distinguishes between 'Bildung' and 'Ausbildung.'
[85] Vegge, *Paulus und das antike Schulwesen*, 438-440.
[86] Ibid., 441.
[87] Ibid., 441-48.
[88] They argue that it is very unlikely that a Roman citizen would have undergone the blows and the scourging Paul refers to which Paul refers in 2 Cor 11:24-25. Also the synagogues could not have afforded it to punish a Roman citizen. Cf. Stegemann and Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte*, 258.
[89] Vegge, *Paulus und das antike Schulwesen*, 476; Peter J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles*, CRINT 3/1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1990), 263-64.
[90] Vegge, *Paulus und das antike Schulwesen*, 481.
[91] Cf. n. 64.

In addition to the parties and topic of conversation, Kövecses gives 'surrounding context,' 'previous discourses on the same topic,' 'dominant forms of discourse and intertextuality,' and 'ideology underlying discourse' as sub-elements of the contextual factor 'discourse.' What appear to be separated entities in Kövecses' explanation, illustrated by carefully selected samples, are in fact quite difficult to isolate when attempting to reconstruct the discourse influences which are reflected in Paul's choice for slavery metaphors. I will therefore not treat each of these sub-elements individually, but restrict myself to just pointing out some factors without distinguishing the specific sub-element they may belong to.

As we remember, the general topic of discourse in which Paul's slavery metaphors are applied concerns the relationship between Christians and God or Christ. This specific discourse is part of the more general discourse about the relationship between God and humankind. Speech about this relationship is by nature metaphorical, as it is through images that people try to grasp what in itself is beyond their understanding. Following this line, characterising the relationship between God and humankind by means of slavery metaphors is just one of the metaphorical conceptualisations by which the Old Testament comprehends this relation. Other conceptualisations of God are for instance are King, Judge and Vine-keeper,[92] – each of them corresponding to a different conceptualisation of humankind. As each of these metaphoric conceptualisations emphasizes different aspects of the God-humankind relationship, Paul's choice for speaking about this relation by means of slavery metaphors indeed indicates a conscious decision. As Byron has shown, speech of the ancient Israelites as 'slaves of God' came with their exodus from Egypt. As he argues, God's liberation of Israel was not a total release from slavery, in fact Israel passed from one slavery into another. Being contested in their self-understanding as slaves of God, through forced exile in foreign countries, the Israelites developed two patterns of coping with this (new) form of physical enslavement. The *Sin-Exile-Return* pattern for the instances in which they experienced the exile as God's rightful punishment for their disobedience to his law. And the *Humiliation-Obedience-Exaltation* pattern for instances in which they considered the exile as unjustified. Exile in this case was perceived as a test, where reward would follow after patient endurance. Philo, under influence of Hellenistic (Stoic) philosophy, reshapes the discourse by contrasting physical and moral slavery. While physical slavery is nothing to be worried about, it is moral slavery that is dangerous. Being enslaved to something else than God puts the soul in danger of refusing God as its rightful master, which in turn might result in God refusing the soul. Philo thus understands the ancient notion of 'slavery to God' as concerning the soul, not the body.

Besides the preceding predominant discourse on Israel as 'slave of God,' Bryant has pointed to the fact that the expression 'slaves of God' also referred to the Old Testament prophets.[93] Unlike Israel's self-identification as 'slave of God,' the designation of the prophets as God's slaves did not happen in the context of identity, but rather in the context of authorisation. The prophets were the mouthpiece through which God talked to Israel. As such, they resemble ancient kings' heralds. It was via the prophets that God reminded Israel of its identity as his slave.

Martin, Harrill and Bryant contribute to the discourse level by providing insights into the slaveholders' ideology. Martin, aiming to provide a discourse background for Paul's self-designation as 'slave of all' in 1 Cor 9:19, focuses on populistic rhetoric. Populists often referred to themselves as the 'servants of the (common) people.' With this self-reference they claimed to have given up their power and high status. Speaking about oneself as a slave, according to Martin, was a well-known rhetoric move. Besides populistic rhetoric, Martin briefly refers to Philo's treatise *Every good man is free*. In this tractate Philo explains that real freedom is inner freedom, which is independent from possible physical slavery. Harrill in his turn draws attention to the concepts of *auctoritas* and *automaton* in Roman (Stoic) ideology. While Greeks considered slaves nothing more than animals, Roman law held slaves for morally sane. Correspondingly, Roman masters wanted their slaves to outgrow a service that is only based on individual commands (*automaton*) and adapt their masters' essential character to be able to anticipate their masters' wishes. Further Harrill briefly mentions that 'slave' was also an ancient stock figure of Graeco-Roman drama. Bryant, lastly, focuses on Roman imperial ideology. As he notes, captured slaves were no longer considered persons with an own identity, but subjects caught in a suspended death. Thus in the slaveholders' ideology slaves were no longer perceived as persons; they were considered living dead who were expected to serve their masters within a symbiotic relationship in the sense that anticipated their masters' wishes even before they would know them.

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[92] Janet M. Soskice, *The Kindness of God: Metaphor, Gender, and Religious Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 66.

[93] Cf. 2 Kgs 17:13; Ezek 38:17 and Zech 1:6. In all these three verses God speaks about the prophets as my servants (עֲבָדַי/τῶν δούλων μου).

This overview, though not being exhaustive, shows that the rather positive conceptualisation of the Old Testament identification of Israel as 'slave of God' is opposed by a rather considerably negative image of what it means to be enslaved in the slaveholders' ideology.

Situational Context

As elements of the situational context, Kövecses identified the physical environment, the social situation, the cultural situation, history-memory, and interests and concerns. In the context of Paul's slavery metaphors, I consider the social setting as the main contributing sub-element.

Writing about ancient slavery is a delicate undertaking. As Harrill remarks: "the secondary literature on ancient slavery is immense, requiring entire books to provide even a basic bibliography."[94] The short sketch provided at this place will therefore by no means aim to be comprehensive in scope. John Byron, in his article on the status quaestionis on Paul and the background of slavery, distinguishes two different approaches followed in the 1970s and 1980s. The first approach, mainly based on legal texts, viewed slavery as "decidedly benign."[95] To be sure, slavery was not a desirable situation, yet it was attractive enough "that many persons willingly sold themselves into slavery with the intention of climbing socially and to gain personal and social security."[96] The second approach, accessing slavery from a sociological angle, arrived at quite different conclusions.[97] Slavery was described in terms of power and violence and based on the slaves' total estrangement from their original social and ethnic background, even described as "a death experience on the social level." Furthermore "as an institution, slavery required controls that would guarantee the stability and perpetuation of a system that the entire Roman Empire depended upon economically." [98]

In more recent years, scholars of social history have become more aware of the potential pitfalls in using the historical material. Harrill for instance includes in his sketch of 'slavery in the ancient world' a discussion on the usefulness and limits of the primary sources,[99] concluding that they are to be handled with care. Leonhard Schumacher draws attention to the fact that as slaves were by majority part of the social underclass, they did not have the means for self-presentation. Many ancient sources therefore provide merely "eine indirekte Spiegelung der Sklaverei aus der Perspektive der Herrenschicht."[100] Similarly Harrill argues in his later work that most references to and reports of slaves experiences in ancient literature do not mirror reality, these sources rather employ stock characters.[101] While this certainly is a correct observation, Keith Bradley argues that "no stereotype could function as a communicative vehicle … without the underlying, continuing institutional reality of the system of slavery."[102] Accordingly, he considers the social reality of slavery still accessible.

Before turning to the actual sketch of ancient slavery, one last differentiation should be pointed at here: as Harrill in his early work argues while engaging with ancient slavery, it is necessary to distinguish between class, order and status. While classes are modern categories employed by historians, "orders are formally defined within a state, distinguished by different legal rights, including categories such as resident, aliens, citizens, prisoners, and so forth."[103] Status is the standing a person has within a community.

According to both Harrill and Schumacher the main sources of slaves in antiquity were wars and piracy. People captured in war were sold as slaves. Small numbers could be sold at local markets.

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[94] J. Albert Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity*, HUT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 11.

[95] Byron, "Paul and the Background of Slavery," 117. Cf. a.o. S. Scott Bartchy, *First-century slavery and the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7:21* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1973) (n.v.) and Francis Lyall, *Slaves, citizens, sons: legal metaphors in the Epistles* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985) (n.v).

[96] Ibid., 118.

[97] Cf. a.o. H. Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death, A comparative study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982) (n.v.) and Keith R Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control*, CL 185 (Brussels: Latomus, 1984) (n.v.).

[98] Byron, "Paul and the Background of Slavery," 120.

[99] Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity*, 18-30.

[100] Leonhard Schumacher, *Sklaverei in der Antike: Alltag und Schicksal der Unfreien*, BAB (München: Beck, 2001), 8.

[101] J. Albert Harrill, "Slavery and Inhumanity: Keith Bradley's Legacy on Slavery in New Testament Studies," *BibInt* 21 (2013): 506–14, 512. Cf. also his work *Slaves in the New Testament*.

[102] Keith Bradley, "Engaging with Slavery," *BibInt* 21 (2013): 533–46, 538.

[103] Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity*, 48.

Greater numbers were normally sold in cities which had regular slave auctions. At such auctions slaves were appraised like cattle. But not only conquered people were in danger to be enslaved. Travelers could face this fate as well. Hijacked by pirates or other bandits they could end up in slave prisons or as slaves at great estates.[104] Being one third of the population, slaves worked nearly everywhere. Schumacher lists their employment in three economic sectors: primary sector (a.o. agriculture, stock farming, stone quarry and mines), secondary sector (a.o. building, production of ceramic, bricks, textile) and tertiary sector (a.o. trade, public administration, household, education, health care and entertainment).[105] Some slaves were highly qualified working for instance as a doctor or as an architect. As such they could gain substantial wealth. Most slaves however worked in small businesses or in households. Depending on the size of the household slaves would perform either particular tasks up to "folding fancy dinner napkins"[106] or rather broad tasks such as working in their masters' business and performing household tasks as well. The slaves of the imperial household formed an exceptional group. Some of them even held high positions within the administration of colonies. As such these slaves' actual status was higher than their social rank.[107] On the relationship between master and slaves, Keith Bradley notes that it "was always a matter of negotiation."[108] This is mainly due to the fact that slaves in antiquity had no legal status. They were considered *anthropodoi* (anthropeds)[109] – an analogy to *quattropodoi* (quadrupeds) – and were referred to as 'bodies' in wills and property registers.[110] As Jennifer Glancy argues, slaves were not in control of their own bodies – they were considered 'surrogate bodies.' By striking a slave, one could insult his master. Likewise "Roman law equivocated on the liability of an owner for a slave's criminal activity."[111] In addition to that, slaves served also as 'sexual surrogates': "If a man dreams that he is masturbating privately, he will possess either a male or female slave, because the hands that are embracing his penis are like attendants."[112]

Manumission of slaves was a quite regular phenomenon in the Roman Empire. Harrill describes five different ways of manumitting a slave, three formal ways which normally provided the slave with Roman citizenship and two informal ways which granted the former slave only partial freedom as a Junian Latin. The latter ones had "*commercium* (right to enter into Roman contracts) but neither *conubium* (right to a recognised marriage with a Roman citizen) nor *testamenti factio* (right to make and take under a Roman will)."[113] Yet as Schumacher shows there were certain groups of slaves that were less likely to receive manumission: one group were slaves that worked in the primary economic sector as they lacked a personal relationship with their masters or simply did not live long enough; another group were slaves who worked in administrative functions. Though they had good contacts to their masters, "doch überwog deren Interesse, eventuelle Unregelmäßigkeiten, Unterschlagungen oder ähnliche Delikte mittels Folterung aufzuklären, was bei Freigelassenen nicht mehr ohne weiteres möglich war."[114] But manumission was not always a reward for good service. Often economic considerations played a role as well, as it was cheaper to manumit old and ill slaves than to keep them and having to pay for their livelihood.[115] Essentially, the freed slave was not totally free, but retained lasting duties towards his former master.

Conceptual-cognitive Context

As sub-elements of the conceptual-cognitive contextual factor Kövecses identifies culture 1, the metaphorical conceptual system, and the values assigned to concepts as sub-elements of the conceptual-cognitive contextual factor. As the name suggests, it refers to the cognitive concepts by which we understand the world around us. These concepts are based on experiences. Our mind accumulates

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[104] Ibid., 30-42; Schumacher, *Sklaverei in der Antike*, 34-65.
[105] Schumacher, *Sklaverei in der Antike*, 91-238.
[106] Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity*, 47.
[107] Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 42.
[108] Bradley, "Engaging with Slavery," 535.
[109] Martin Ebner, *Die Stadt als Lebensraum der ersten Christen: Das Urchristentum in seiner Umwelt I*, GNT 1,1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 82.
[110] Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 10.
[111] Ibid., 15.
[112] Ibid., 21.
[113] Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity*, 55.
[114] Schumacher, *Sklaverei in der Antike*, 293.
[115] Cf. the preceding note.

experiences and, based on these gathered experiences, it builds up concepts. These concepts are partially universal, partially are more individualistic. Language plays an important role in this process, as it provides for a large part the bricks by which minds are able to conceptualise. Naturally, speakers of the same language have a shared set of concepts. This is what Kövecses calls 'culture 1.' A language community, however, not only shares a set of concepts, but also conceptual metaphors which are conceptualisations of more abstract concepts by means of more concrete ones such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY. If we are to identify conceptual-cognitive factors that influenced Paul's utilisation of slavery metaphors, we are to distinguish some conceptual metaphors that most probably were present in Paul's mind. As such, this part takes up the images that were brought forward in the discourse context. Discourse and conceptual-cognitive cognitive context are to a great extent two sides of a coin.

The first and most central conceptual metaphor is GOD IS LORD/MASTER. This metaphorical conceptualisation works perfectly in Greek, but also in Biblical Hebrew. In the Septuagint the Hebrew tetragrammaton יהיה is generally rendered with κύριος (Lord); in the Hebrew Bible people address God as אֲדֹנָי (my Lord). [116] In addition, it is noteworthy that in Biblical Hebrew the word 'service' (עֲבוֹדָה) encompasses all kinds of services, ranging from the service a slave owes his master to the service of priests and Levites in the tabernacle and temple.[117] In later Hebrew the term comes to mean specifically religious service; e.g., Rabbinic עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה ('serving foreign [gods]').[118]

Likewise the word 'slave/servant' (עֶבֶד) was used to indicate among others a slave in a household, a slave of a king (comprising officials, advisers, courtiers, soldiers, etc.) and a slave of God (particular individuals like Abraham, Moses, etc. but also Israel as a collective). Moreover, the phrase 'your servant' (עַבְדֶּךָ) served as a polite self-effacement towards God, but also towards other humans.[119] From these linguistic conceptualisations it is only a small step to the conceptual-cognitive metaphor RELIGION IS SERVICE TO GOD. The conceptual metaphor of HUMANS ARE SLAVES OF GOD and its derivate ISRAEL IS THE SLAVE OF GOD, which we already encountered at the discourse context, correspond to this.

As Robert Masson shows, conceptual metaphors like ISRAEL IS THE SLAVE OF GOD can be described in terms of conceptual integration as well. For his demonstration he uses the sentence 'Sally is the daughter of Paul.' As he argues, Paul and Sally as individuals form one input space, the other one is the frame of family relations, expressed by 'daughter of.' In the blend these two input spaces are integrated into the new frame that identifies Sally as Paul's daughter.[120] He summarises this conceptual integration in the left hand figure.

The four circles in the figure depict the four spaces involved in every conceptual integration. Next to the two input spaces – the circles on the left and the right side – and the blend, there always is a fourth, generic space. It indicates which elements of the two input spaces are integrated in the blend.

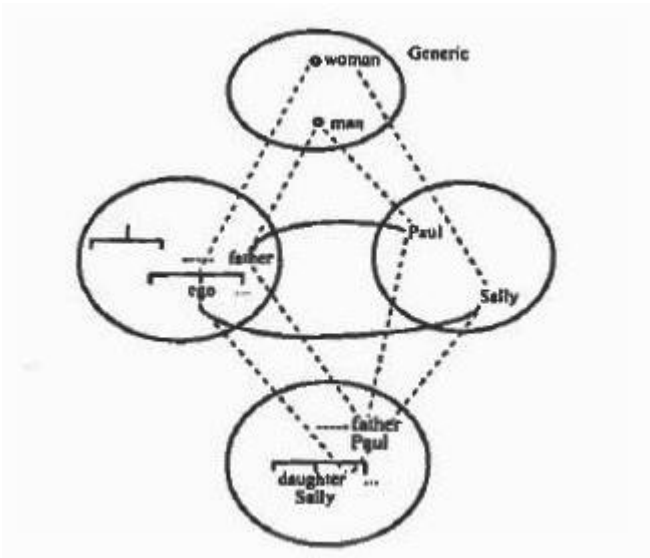

Figure 2.4. Sally is the daughter of Paul blend
Source: Robert Masson, *Without Metaphor, No Saving God*, 98.

[116] We should note here that the Greek word κύριος and the Hebrew word אָדוֹן can mean both master and lord. Thus in adressing God as κύριος or אֲדֹנָי both these meanings are present.
[117] Cf. *DCH* s.v. עֲבוֹדָה.
[118] Cf. *A Dictionary of the Targumim the Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, s.v. עָבוֹדָה.
[119] Cf. *DCH* s.v. עֶבֶד.
[120] Masson, *Without Metaphor, No Saving God: Theology after Cognitive Linguistics*, SPT 54 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 96-98.

Given the similarity between 'Sally is the daughter of Paul' and 'Israel is the slave of God,' we can assume the basic structure of these two blends to be the same, with the only difference that in the latter it is not the father-daughter relationship that is mapped, but the master-slave relationship.

At this point we should recall Byron's reference to Soskice's work on metaphors in religious language. As Soskice notes, metaphors as the ones described above develop over time. In the beginning they are just "stumbling approximations," but gradually they "became so much part of the community's [i.e. our case ancient Israel's] descriptive vocabulary that to speak about" the relationship between God and humanity in terms of slavery "became an accustomed manner of speech."[121] In terms of cognitive linguistics, these conceptual metaphors or conceptual blends have become conventional.[122] As such they are no longer perceived as metaphors. They become part of a language's regular repertoire of expressions and can be used by following generations to build on. Already in the Old Testament the expression עֶבֶד־יְהוָה (slave/servant of the Lord) and its Greek translations οἰκέτης κυρίου, παῖς κυρίου, θεράπων κυρίου, δοῦλος κυρίου and δοῦλος θεοῦ was not exclusively used for Israel, but was also applied to the patriarchs, Moses, Joshua, David and the prophets. We can safely assume that in Paul's time these metaphorical designations had become conventional.

Broadening the subjects which could be referred to with the designation 'slave of God' allowed for the conceptualisation of new metaphors. Taking up the above identified resemblance between the Old Testament prophets and ancient kings' heralds, we can reconstruct the blend 'prophets are heralds of God.' In it, the relationship of servitude between herald and king serves as input space 1, while God and the prophets belong to input space 2. As such, this conceptual integration is a derivate of the 'Israel is the slave of God' blend. Yet while the latter one conceptualises God as master/lord, the former conceptualised God as king.

Bodily Context

When he speaks about the bodily context, Kövecses investigates how the human body may influence the speaker's choice for a certain metaphor. As he argues, highly conventional metaphors like HAPPINESS IS UP, ACTION IS MOTION or KNOWLEDGE IS SEEING are based on bodily experiences.[123] Next to such more or less universal bodily experiences, more specific bodily factors like left-handedness can influence a conceptualiser's decision to use a specific metaphor as Kövecses shows with the example GOOD IS LEFT.[124] Likewise, if the sender suffers from a handicap it may influence the metaphors he uses – as Kövecses analysed in the poem of a visually impaired poet who created the conceptual metaphor POETIC CREATIVITY IS A NEW WAY OF SEEING.[125] As Paul was a free man, he will not have experienced the bodily aspects of slavery such as sexual abuse, corporal punishment or torture. As Sheila Briggs shows, we may assume that Christians slaves and free men will have had different associations with Paul's slavery metaphors.[126] Yet, this paragraph focusses on how Paul's bodily experiences may have influenced his choice for slavery metaphors, his audience's associations with slavery are beyond its scope. As Paul did not experience slavery himself, I propose that we can neglect the bodily context for our purpose.

[121] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 153.
[122] Masson, *Without Metaphor, No Saving God*, 105-106.
[123] Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come From*, 3-6.
[124] Ibid., 94.
[125] Ibid., 120-122.
[126] Sheila Briggs, "Can an Enslaved God Liberate? Hermeneutical Reflections on Phillipians 2:6-11," *Semeia* 47 (1989): 138–53.

Chapter Three – Slave of Christ

The aim of this chapter is to arrive at a conclusion concerning the relationship between Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' and his use of the same phrase as designation for the Corinthian free Christians. Firstly, I will apply the method to approach Paul's slavery metaphors introduced in chapter two on 1 Cor 7:17-24. The reason I chose this text is that verse 7:22 comprises occurrence of the expression 'slave of Christ' in the body of a letter. Likewise, this verse is the only one in which the expression 'slave of Christ' does not refer to Paul. Before coming to the discussion of the text and the applied slavery metaphors, however, we have to characterise conceptualiser 2, in this case the Corinthian church.

The Corinthians

The Corinth of Paul's time was refounded in 44 BCE by Julius Caesar. It was a Roman colony in which mostly freed men and veterans were allowed to settle. They formed the official citizens (*cives*) of the city and only they were allowed to hold representative offices in the city. Next to the category of *cives* there were also the inhabitants (*incolae*) – people from the surrounding countries who came to live in city – and among them many Jews. In the 1st century CE, next to the Roman veterans and the freedmen many Greeks had attained citizenship.[127] The city was economically prospering and had approximately 100,000 inhabitants.[128]

Neyrey, drawing on Gerhard Lenski,[129] presents eight different social levels for the society of the Roman empire. While there was an upper-class minority of aristocrats (governing class) and their retainers (retainer class) that encompassed up to 7% of the society, most of the people belonged to the lower class. This class encompassed among others merchants, priests, artisans and 'expendables' (a.o. beggars and itinerant workers).[130] This social division is represented in the respective accommodations. Upper class members and their slaves lived in a house (οἶκος/*domus*), i.e. "ein nach außen streng abgeschotteter Arbeits- und Wohnraum mit autarker Infrastruktur,"[131] situated in the better neighbourhoods of a city. The slaves were about 30% of the population of a city. The lower class lived in tenements (*insulae*). At the ground floor there usually were small stores, craftmen's workshops or cookshops. At the floors above there were flats of different sizes, *cenacula*, bigger units which could still be representative and smaller ones (*cellae*), where people just slept and stored there belongings.[132]

While it is widely accepted that early Christianity was an urban phenomenon,[133] there have been discussions about the question to which social layers the first Christians belonged. Scholars researching this question in the late 19th and early 20th century came to the consensus that the majority of the first Christians were part of the illiterate lower class,[134] which represented the lower layer of the artisans and the expendables. In the 1960s, the questions concerning the social stratification of the first Christian communities gained renewed interest. The old consensus was questioned by a new generation of scholars which came to the majority conclusion that "das vorherrschende Element aus der selbstbewussten Oberschicht der Großstädte stammte."[135] To reconcile these two conflicting positions Gerd Theißen and Wayne Meeks have suggested a middle way. In his article "Soziale Schichtung in der korinthischen Gemeinde", Theißen proposes that "einigen tonangebenden Gemeindegliedern aus der Oberschicht, die große Zahl von Christen gegenüberstand."[136] He finds one argument for his thesis in 1 Cor 1:26. Theißen interprets the word εὐγενεῖς (of noble birth) as pointing to a specific sociological

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[127] Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1-6; Dieter Zeller, *Der Erste Brief an Die Korinther*, KEK 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 29-32.

[128] Martin Ebner, *Die Stadt als Lebensraum der ersten Christen*, 85.

[129] Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984) (n.v.)

[130] Neyrey, "The Social Location of Paul," 128-30.

[131] Cf. n. 124.

[132] Ebner, *Die Stadt als Lebensraum der ersten Christen*, 82-85.

[133] Ibid., 15.

[134] Stegemann and Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte*, 249.

[135] Ibid., 250.

[136] Gerd Theißen, "Soziale Schichtung in der Korinthischen Gemeinde: Ein Beitrag zur Soziologie des Hellenistischen Urchristentums," *ZNW* 65 (1974): 232–72, 233.

category,[137] indicating that there must have been at least a few who were indeed 'of noble birth.' Next, Theißen identifies Crispus from 1 Cor 1:14 with Crispus the synagogue leader (ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγος) from Acts 18:8, and Erastus the city's director of public works (ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως) from Rom 16:23 with the Erastus the 'aedile' that is attested in an inscription found at Corinth.[138] David Gill is a bit more hesitant concerning this identification, but states that "it does seem likely from the available evidence that the Greek term 'οικονόμος of the city' was the equivalent of the Latin term *aedile*."[139] In a more recent article, Theißen also draws attention to Gaius of whom we know from 1 Cor 1:14 that he was baptised by Paul himself together with Crispus, and from Rom 16:23 that he hosted the whole Corinthian community. The fact that he is mentioned together with Crispus and that he was able to host the whole community, indicates according to Theißen that this Gaius must have belonged to the upper class.[140] Theißen interprets the fact that Crispus was baptised with his whole house as encompassing also his slaves.

Meeks is more reluctant to assume that Christians were part of the highest social layers of the society. Neither does he see evidence for the assumption that people from the lowest level – the expendables – were part of the Christian community. As the 'typical' Christian, Meeks identifies 'a free artisan or small trader (i.e. merchant).' "Some even in those occupational categories had houses, slaves, the ability of travel, and other signs of wealth."[141] Thus opening one's house for gatherings does not need to be an indication for the owner's belonging to the upper class. Generally, Meeks argues that there is also "evidence of divergent rankings in the different dimensions of status;" for instance: "wealthy artisans and traders: high in income, low in occupational prestige, wealthy independent women, wealthy Jews, freedmen who have advanced in wealth and position and Christians in the 'familia Caesaris.'"[142] As Theißen comments: "The slave of the emperor could exercise more power than a rich free person."[143] The imperial family is according to Theißen the only fitting analogy to the Christian community as both of them "transcended all social categories."[144] Concerning the size of the Corinthian Community, scholars have agreed that it did not encompass more than 100 members, presumably less.[145] Otherwise it would not have been possible to gather all together in one house.

Text and Context of the Pericope

The focus of 1 Corinthians 7 lies on rules concerning marriage, divorce and celibacy. In this chapter Paul answers the questions Corinthians had concerning these issues. Paul finds it preferable that men and women live in celibacy, which enables them to serve God without worldly distraction in the form of a partner whom he or she wants to appeal to. At the same time, Paul is realistic enough to know that not everybody has the capacity to live in abstinence. Accordingly, while it would be best to live a celibate life, it is still much better to marry than being a prey for Satan as a result of unsatisfied passions. This basic argument Paul adapts to different cases, such as people who are married to an unbelieving partner, or engaged couples, unmarried persons or widows. Paul addresses each of them and gives advice on how to best deal with their situation. In the middle of these halakhic elaborations on marriage, divorce and celibacy, Paul suddenly speaks about the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in the church and about slaves. Not surprisingly, commentators speak of the verses 17-24 as a digression;[146] a seeming "'wandering-away' from the main topic" that ultimately aims to clarify a certain part of his overall argumentation.[147]

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[137] Ibid., 233.
[138] Ibid., 235-45.
[139] David W.J. Gill, "In Search of the Social Élite in the Corinthian Church," *TynBul* 44 (1993): 323–37, 325.
[140] Gerd Theißen, "The Social Structure of Pauline Communities: Some Critical Remarks on J.J. Meggitt, Paul, Poverty and Survival," *JSNT* 84 (2001): 65–84, 80-83.
[141] Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 73.
[142] Cf. the preceding note.
[143] Theißen, "The Social Structure of Pauline Communities," 73.
[144] Cf. the preceding note.
[145] Cf. a.o. Theißen, "The Social Structure of Pauline Communities," 83; Stegemann and Stegemann, *Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte*, 239-40; Ebner, *Die Stadt als Lebensraum der ersten Christen*, 85.
[146] Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 270; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 546; Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 306.
[147] Gregory W. Dawes, "'But If You Can Gain Your Freedom' (1 Corinthians 7:17-24)," *CBQ* 52 (1990): 681–97, 683.

[17] Εἰ μὴ ἑκάστῳ ὡς ἐμέρισεν ὁ κύριος, ἕκαστον ὡς κέκληκεν ὁ θεός, οὕτως περιπατείτω. καὶ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις διατάσσομαι. [18] περιτετμημένος τις ἐκλήθη, μὴ ἐπισπάσθω· ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ κέκληταί τις, μὴ περιτεμνέσθω. [19] ἡ περιτομὴ οὐδέν ἐστιν καὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ. [20] ἕκαστος ἐν τῇ κλήσει ᾗ ἐκλήθη, ἐν ταύτῃ μενέτω. [21] δοῦλος ἐκλήθης, μή σοι μελέτω· ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι. [22] ὁ γὰρ ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς δοῦλός ἐστιν Χριστοῦ. [23] τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε· μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων. [24] ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω παρὰ θεῷ.
(1 Cor 7:17-24)

[17] But everyone, as the Lord[148] has apportioned [it], as God[149] has called each, in this way let him live. So I command in all the communities. [18] Who was called circumcised, let him not pull [the foreskin] back, who was called in the foreskin, let him not be circumcised. [19] Circumcision is nothing and the foreskin is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God. [20] Each one in the calling, in which he was called, let him remain therein. [21] Were you called as a slave? It must not be a concern to you. But if you can become free, use [it][150] the more. [22] For the slave who is called in the Lord, is a freedman of the Lord, just like the called free man is a slave of Christ. [23] You were bought with a price, do not become slaves of men. [24] Each wherein he is called, brothers, therein let him remain before God.

The Pericope Itself

The structure of the pericope can be described as "quasi-chiasmic."[151] This chiastic structure is given by the recurring words 'each' (ἕκαστος) in combination with a passive form of 'to call' (καλέω) in verses 17, 20 and 24. The eight occurrences of the verb 'to call' in these seven verses indicates that it is of central importance. In using καλέω, Paul indicates God's call of Christians into his service. While this use is already found in the Septuagint, through Paul's use of καλέω and its derivates κλῆσις (calling) and κλητός (called) have become technical terms.[152] The twofold occurrence of ἕκαστος indicates that the 'calling' has an individual character.[153] Nevertheless, one should be careful not to interpret this individualistic notion in a modern way pointing towards self-fulfilment or autonomy;[154] rather it indicates that the 'calling' happens in the distinct situation a person is in when called. In that particular situation the 'called' Christian may prove himself.[155] To illustrate, in verse 17 Paul gives the rule that he is to conduct his life at the very place and in the very situation in which he was, when he received God's call.

This rule did not mean that the Christian had to stay convulsively in exactly the same position, but rather that the calling itself did not require him to aim for a change. For instance, it neither required for a Jewish Christian to make his circumcision undone, nor for a Gentile Christian to become circumcised, as verse 18 shows. With his switch from questions concerning marriage to the issue of circumcision, Paul according to Peter Tomson addresses questions regarding a possible difference in status between Jewish and Gentile Christians.[156] Roy Ciampa and Brian Rosner on their turn, remark

[148] Three codices (K, L and Ψ), three minuscles, the majority text, several Vulgate manuscripts and the Syriac Harklensis read θεος instead of κυριος. P^{46} and the majority of the codices (including Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus and Vaticanus) support the reading of the text.
[149] The two codices K and L, three minuscles, the majority text and the Syriac Harklensis read κυριος instead of θεος; G reads κυριος ο θεος. P^{46}, and the majority of the codices (including Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus and Vaticanus) support the reading of the text.
[150] The Greek is elliptic here; it therefore unclear what object the texts refers to. Translations substitute either 'slavery' or 'freedom.'
[151] Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 548.
[152] Cf. *EWNT* s.v. καλέω.
[153] Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 250.
[154] Cf. n. 151.
[155] Cf. n. 153.
[156] Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 270.

that unlike the community in Galatia,[157] the Corinthian community was not struggling with the question whether Gentile Christians had be circumcised. As they convincingly argue, "there is no point to introducing a premise in an argument if the audience disagrees with it."[158]

In verse 19, Paul illuminates why there is no sense in striving for circumcision for a Gentile Christian or in aiming to undo it for a Jewish one: simply spoken, it just does not matter if one is circumcised or not. What does matter, is keeping God's commandments. Two verses in Galatians provide a parallel:

> ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη. (Gal. 5:6)
> For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision counts for anything, but only faith working through love. [159]

> οὔτε γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις. (Gal 6:15)
> For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation.

Zeller comments on these three verses: "hier werden die zwei alternativen Größen, ‚Beschneidung' und ‚Unbeschnittenheit', durch eine jeweils anders formulierte dritte Größe außer Kraft gesetzt." In the case of 1 Cor 7:19 this third parameter is the keeping of God's commandments (τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ). To this phrase Tomson detects a parallel in Prov 19:16 and Sir 32:23:

> שֹׁמֵר מִצְוָה שֹׁמֵר נַפְשׁוֹ בּוֹזֵה דְרָכָיו יוּמָת: (Prov 19:16)
> Whoever keeps the commandment keeps his soul; he who despises his ways will die.

> בכול מעשיך שומר נפשך כי עושה זה שומר מצוה: (Sir 32:23)[160]
> In all of your works, guard your soul, for who does so, keeps a commandment.[161]

> ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ πίστευε τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστιν τήρησις ἐντολῶν. (Sir 32:23)
> In every work trust your soul, for this is the keeping of the commandments.[162]

Based on these parallels Tomson argues that the expression τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ (to keep the commandments of God) should be read in the light of wisdom traditions.[163] Unfortunately, Tomson does not elaborate on the consequences of the wisdom context for the understanding of this phrase. Frank Thielman notes that ἐντολῶν θεοῦ in Paul's time had become a fixed idiom for the Mosaic law.[164] At the same time Thielman correctly notes that this phrase in 1 Cor 7:19 has no polemical character, but rather serves as an argument for the status quo between Jewish and gentile Christians.[165] To solve this seeming paradox, Tomson proposes that Paul, when calling for 'keeping the commandments of God,' had two different concepts in mind: the Mosaic law for the Jewish Christians, for the gentile ones the Noachian code.[166] In the context of the pericope's refrain that is to remain within his status, Tomson's interpretation seems convincing.

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[157] Cf. Gal 5.
[158] Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 310.
[159] In biblical quotations I follow the English Standard Version.
[160] This text is based on Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*, VTSup 68 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 60.
[161] My own translation.
[162] Idem.
[163] Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 272.
[164] Frank Thielman, "The Coherence of Paul's View of the Law: The Evidence of First Corinthians," *NTS* 38 (1992): 235–53, 238.
[165] Ibid., 239.
[166] Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, 271-72.

After making that point clear, Paul returns to what he said at the beginning of his regression: everybody is to stay in the 'calling' in which God has called him.[167] This means Paul is halfway in his excursus. Reflecting on the nature of Paul's digressions Gregory Dawes with reference to similar excursuses in 1 Cor 3:5-17 and 1 Cor 15:35-44a notes that it is not uncommon that Paul uses two different images to clarify the point he aims to make. When he does so, the reason is that one image would not have been enough, "for the various images choses modify and complement each other."[168] We should keep this in mind when we progress to the second half Paul's digression.

Indeed, in the following verse Paul only addresses one party, slaves – unlike in verse 18. As we have seen above, there are reasons to assume that the Corinthian community had a considerable degree of slave members. According to James Baker, Paul considered slaves as full members in spite of their lack of any legal status.[169] Yet, as Glancy argues, "because slaves were their masters' sexual property, their obligations may to their masters would at times have included actions defined as polluting or aberrant in the Christian body."[170]

One reason why Paul did not follow the same structure as in verse 18 may be that the pair 'master-slave' is different from the pair 'Jew-Gentile.' While with the latter it makes sense that change in either direction could bear some advantage or improvement, with the former improvement could only be gained in one direction. Consequently it would not have made sense for Paul to juxtapose masters and slaves in the same way as Jews and Gentiles.

This being said, are the words "do not be concerned about it" or, as others translate "do not let it bother you," that different from "let him not seek uncircumcision/circumcision"? Well, in one way they are, in another they are not. Obviously, Paul's aim with both sentences is to reassure the addresses that the state in which they were called is not in conflict with their new identity as Christians. For slaves especially it must have been a relieve to hear "that they did not have to flee slavery to Christians."[171] In addition, by speaking about slavery in the context of 'calling' – keeping in mind the previous sentence's exhortation that everybody is to stay in his 'calling' – Paul recognises slaves as full members of the Christian community.[172] In this respect, the words "do not let it bother you" convey a message similar to the words "let him not seek uncircumcision/circumcision:" it is not important for you being a Christian. Yet these words are less strict than the words "let him not seek uncircumcision/circumcision." While both sentences are expressed in a negated third person imperative present (μὴ ἐπισπάσθω/μὴ περιτεμνέσθω) and (μή σοι μελέτω), which indicate that Paul is expressing a general prohibition, in verse 18 he explicitly prohibits the changing action, while in verse 21 he only tells the slave not to be concerned. Though this difference may not seem salient, we should note that Paul in any case does not express an interdiction concerning a change in the slave's state as slave.

New Testament scholars are deeply divided on the meaning of the following part of verse 21 ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι (but if you can become free, rather use [it]). The apple of discord is the interpretation of the elliptic construction μᾶλλον χρῆσαι: with which word to complement the sentence: freedom or slavery? As Dawes puts it: "whatever position one adopts, the list of those with whom one would disagree is impressive."[173] Be this as it may, as discussions are based on arguments, they can also be judged by a thorough weighing of these arguments. Essentially, it is possible to reduce the argument to the following lines of reasoning: Scholars arguing in favour of the complementary word 'slavery' – meaning that even if slaves get the opportunity to become free, they should not make use of it, but stay in the state they are – mostly emphasise the framework of 17-24, which stresses that everybody is to stay in the state in which he was called. Furthermore they argue that the conjunction γὰρ (for) which introduces verse 22 is sensible only if one complements 'slavery.'[174] Scholars arguing in favour of complementing 'freedom' mostly bring forward lexical and grammatical arguments. Next to question of the right complementation of μᾶλλον χρῆσαι, the beginning of the second

[167] Thiselton reads the passive ἐκλήθη as 'passivum divinum.' Cf. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 533.
[168] Dawes, "'But If You Can Gain Your Freedom'," 688.
[169] James C. Baker, "Paul and Slavery: A Conflict of Metaphor and Reality" (Master Thesis, University of North Texas, 2013), 2.
[170] Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, 49.
[171] Baker, "Paul and Slavery," 48.
[172] Cf. note 170.
[173] Dawes, "'But if you can gain your freedom'," 689.
[174] Cf. the preceding note.

half of verse 21 (εἰ καὶ) is also subject to debate: should one read a strong opposition such as 'although' or 'even if,' or is it better understood as 'if indeed'?[175]

Belonging to the 'freedom'-camp, Harrill bases his arguements on an examination of ancient Greek sentences in which a construction of μᾶλλον + χραόμαι occurs. He concludes that "Paul contrasts *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι* not with the situation ('if also you can become free'), but with another course of action ('let it not be a concern to you')."[176] As Harrill explains, the two halves of verse 21 represent two different situations, which both require their own adequate reaction. "In the first situation, being a slave, Paul directs one course of action and tells the slave not to be concerned and to 'use slavery instead' (of worrying about becoming free). In the second situation, becoming free (through manumission), Paul directs a different course of action and orders the slave to be concerned and to 'use freedom instead' (of remaining a slave)."[177] Both Gordon Fee and Ciampa and Rosner argue that in an elliptical sentence such as verse 21b the most likely completion is provided by the immediate context – in this case 'freedom.'[178] Harrill, following Fee, shows by comparison to other verses with the same construction[179] that the best translation of εἰ καὶ in verse 21b is 'if indeed.'[180] To rebut the argument that only the completion with slavery is consistent with the immediate context of verses 17-24 with its strong emphases on remaining in the state in which one was called, scholars point to the wider context of chapter 7. While arguing that celibacy is surely to be preferred, Paul nevertheless allows for exceptions in distinct situations.[181] Just as these other exceptions are not in conflict with Paul's general rule, advising the slave to employ the opportunity to become free does not undermine the strong emphasis on remaining in the state in which one was called. Verse 22 thus takes up the line of the general rule again which was interrupted by the exception of verse 21b. As it begins with γὰρ (for) it will presumably provide the addresses of verse 21a – the called slaves – with the reason why they should not be concerned about their enslavement. Generally, a slave who received the call of God does not have to be concerned, because he is the Lord's freedman. Likewise, a free person who received the call, is a 'slave of Christ.' How then does the first metaphorical conceptualisation 'the slave called in the Lord is the Lord's freedman' comfort the Christian slaves?

Checking the commentaries on this verse reveals that the commentators struggle with the meaning of this verse. They understand that verse 22 in one way or another must provide the reason why Paul in verse 21 tells converted slaves that they do not have to worry about their enslavement. But in which way their being a 'freed man of the Lord' is to comfort the slave is not elaborated on clearly. The older commentaries mainly emphasise that even as a freed man, the slave is not entirely free, but owes obedience to his former master. Alternatively, they just point to the fact that by calling the slave 'freed man' and the free 'slave,' Paul shows that their outward status in not of importance.[182] In a more recent commentary, Hans Conzelmann offered the radical interpretation that this verse is all about eschatological freedom – freedom from sin: he argues that conceptualising the slave as freed man as not fitting, for civil freedom is of no value to the church.[183] Even the most recent commentaries do not offer satisfying explanations for this verse. Zeller considers the free man's conceptualisation as 'slave of Christ' to be a reference to Paul's self-designation in Rom 1:1 and Phil 1:1.[184] Ciampa and Rosner mainly employ a discussion between Martin and Byron,[185] whose interpretations shall be presented below.

According to Martin, the conceptualisation of 'the slave as freed man of the Lord' and the following one of 'the free as slave of Christ' "reflect the Graeco-Roman preoccupation with status and

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[175] J. Albert Harrill, "Paul and Slavery: The Problem of 1 Corinthians 7:21," *BR* 39 (1994): 5–28, 23-24.
[176] Ibid., 22.
[177] Cf. the preceding note.
[178] Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 173; Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 320.
[179] 1 Cor 4:7b; 7:11; 7:27-28.
[180] Harrill, "Paul and Slavery," 24.
[181] Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 318; Harrill, "Paul and Slavery," 25-26; Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 321-22.
[182] Cf. Frederik W. Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), 170-71; Jacob Kremer, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther*, RNT (Regensburg: Pustet, 1997), 149-50; Charles K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, BNTC (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968), 170-71.
[183] Hans Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, KEK 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 161.
[184] Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 255-56.
[185] Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*, 323-25.

place of persons within the patronal pyramid of society."[186] Emphasising the social status as the decisive context, Martin interprets the juxtaposition of the slave as 'freed men' and the 'free as slave' expression literally indicating a reversal of the social status within the household of Christ. According to Martin, Paul's conceptualisation of the slave as 'freedman' implies that the slave, though not being enslaved any longer, is still in a dependent position with regard to his former master. Byron, reacting to Martin, criticises him for not reflecting on the meaning of Paul's metaphors in the context of the 'calling.' Taking this context into consideration, Byron slightly shifts Martin's interpretation. While he follows Martin in assuming status to be the issue against which Paul argues in verses 18 and 21, Byron takes verse 19 as the interpretative framework for verse 22. He argues that like circumcision and uncircumcision are overridden by obedience to God's commandments, slavery and freedom are overridden by obedience to Christ. In addition, Byron wonders if Martin does not overstate the role reversal and thereby "overlooks the rhetorical purpose of the verse."[187]

The most convincing interpretation is proposed by Annette Merz in an unpublished lecture held in Kiel. As she convincingly argues, both expressions 'freed man of the Lord' and 'slave of Christ' echo the Old Testament conceptualisation of the Israelites as slaves of God;[188] consequently, she considers them being spots in the "festetablierten Bildfeldtratidion von Israel als Gottes Sklave."[189] Having been freed from slavery in Egypt, the Israelites were free, "sich Gott als ihrem alleinigen Herrn zu unterstellen."[190] As Merz argues, Paul draws on this tradition when he speaks about the free Corinthian Christians as 'slaves of God' who passed from slavery to sin into slavery to God or Christ. Following the ancient Jewish notion that true service to God is only possible for free persons, for Paul the Corinthian Christian slaves were excluded from this possibility due to their enslavement. According to Merz, this is the reason why he calls them 'freed men of the Lord.' As freed men, their status improved from objects of possession to free self-determined subjects. As such, they too could join in the true service of God. Just as the notion of exclusive enslavement to God was constitutive for the identity of ancient Israel, "die apeleuteros-Metapher" makes clear "dass der 'gerufene Sklave' in den für ihn oder sie ausmachenden, identitätsstiftenden Aspekten kein Sklave mehr ist."[191]

Recourse Metaphors

Before engaging in a discussion with Martin, Byron, and Merz, a recourse on our methodology to analyse metaphors is necessary. In the second chapter I already analysed the contextual factors that influence Paul's slavery metaphors on the global level. Byron's contribution proved to provide the main discourse, with the identification of Israel as 'slave of God' as its core element. As we learned from Harrill's and Bryant's contributions, the slaveholders' image of what it meant to be enslaved was considerably negative as it did no longer perceive slaves as persons. Rather, they were considered living dead who were supposed to serve their masters in a perfect way.

The situational context sketched a more nuanced picture of ancient slavery. Slaves were nearly found everywhere, from agricultural slaves at *latifundia* to imperial slaves serving in the administration of foreign provinces. Though they had no legal rights, slaves could profit form their masters' status in such a way that an imperial slave could in fact have had a higher status than a poor craftsman. In this respect, Martin's observation that a slave's fate was highly dependent on whose slave he or she was, is certainly true. However, a feature all slaves had in common was their lack of control over their own bodies. Only by manumission a slave could gain rights. Yet even as freedmen, former slaves retained lasting duties towards their former masters.

In the conceptual-cognitive context we identified the following conceptual metaphors: GOD IS LORD, RELIGION IS SERVICE TO GOD, HUMANS ARE SLAVES OF GOD and its derivate ISRAEL IS THE SLAVE OF GOD. Following Soskice, we noticed that these metaphors over time had become conventional and had no longer been perceived as metaphors. Due to this conventionalisation, the expression עֶבֶד־יְהוָה (slave/servant of the Lord) and its Greek translations were already in the Old Testament not exclusively used for Israel, but also to designate the patriarchs, Moses, Joshua, David and

[186] Martin, *Slavery as Salvation*, 65-66.
[187] Byron, *Slavery Metaphors*, 238.
[188] Annette B. Merz, "Christliche Sklavinnen und Sklaven als 'Freigelassene des Herrn' – Kontextualisierung und Bedeutung einer paulinischen Metapher (1Kor 7,22)" Vortrag an der Theologischen Fakultät der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, February 2, 2015, 9.
[189] Ibid., 8.
[190] Ibid., 11.
[191] Ibid., 10-11.

the prophets. At Paul's time all these metaphorical designations can be considered as having become conventional.

Regarding the local discourse context I agree with Merz, against Martin and Byron, that verse 22 is not so much concerned with status, but rather with identity. I find her notion that Paul applies his metaphors on background of the ancient Jewish notion that true service to God is only possible for free persons illuminating. Likewise, I agree with her that the Old Testament discourse on Israel as 'slave of God' as mentioned above should be considered as the overall discourse that Paul engages with in this verse.

Concerning the socio-historical background of the applied metaphors, I follow Martin's considerations as they correspond to what we earlier defined as the global situational context. I find his understanding of Paul conceptualising both the slaves and free men in changed roles belonging to the household Christ very helpful. Nevertheless, as it is the metaphor's task to comfort the slave's concerns about possible hindrance he may experience through his enslavement due to his new identity as a Christian, I do not share his notion that verse 22 should be read in the context of questions of status.

Regarding the local conceptual-cognitive context, I propose that Paul's metaphorical conceptualisations of the Christian slaves as 'freed men of the Lord' the free Corinthian Christians as 'slaves of Christ' build on the conventional blend of Israel as 'slave of God.' Merz has made a similar claim within the framework of the image field theory. Besides the substitution of Israel by the free Corinthian Christian, the main difference between the 'Israel is the slave of God' blend and the conceptual integration of the free Corinthian as 'slave of Christ,' is that God is replaced by the conceptual integration of Jesus as Messiah, i.e. Christ.

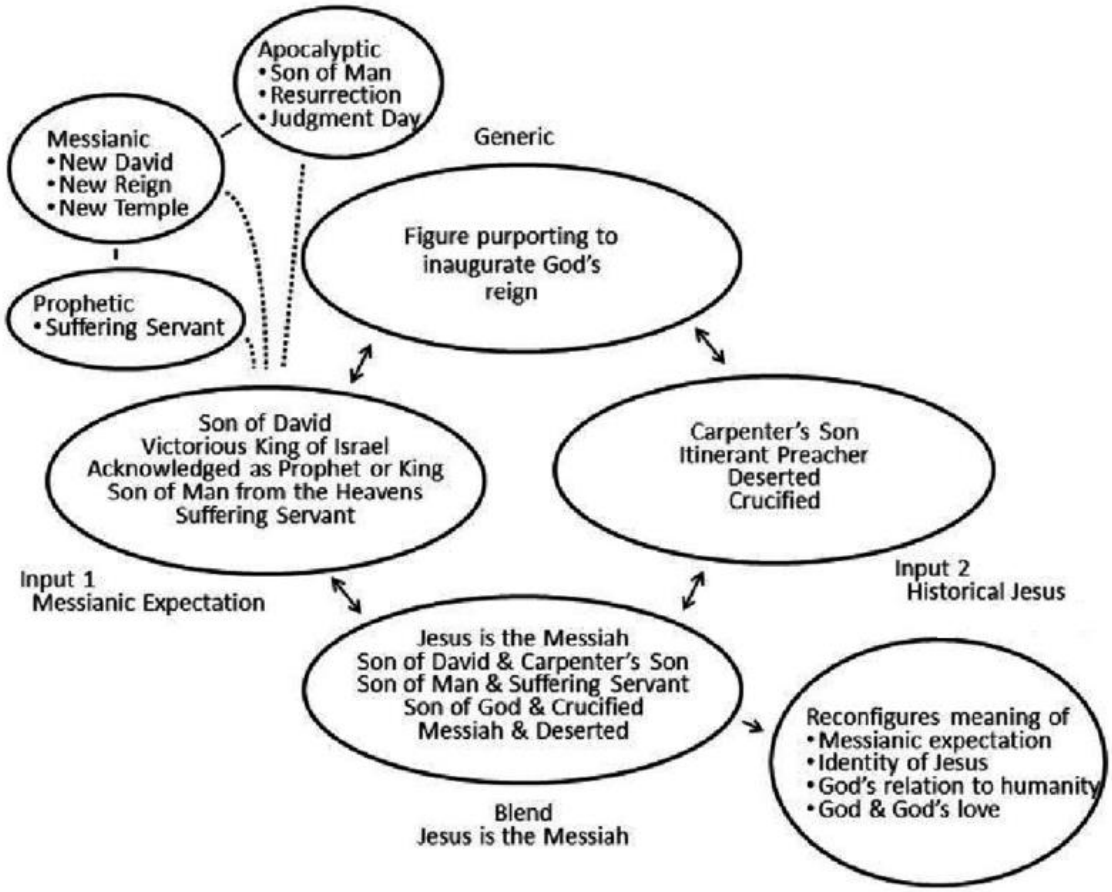

Figure 3.1. Jesus is Christ blend
Source: Robert Masson, *Without Metaphor, No Saving God*, 107.[192]

[192] I have modified the identification of the input space 2. Masson describes it as the historical Jesus *mediated by Scripture,* which is a very unfortunate wording. The process he describes in his figure is convincing, yet it already took place during Jesus' lifetime and shortly after Easter. The result of this process – the Jesus is Messiah blend, i.e. the projection of messianic expectations on the historical Jesus – is already deeply woven in the New Testament books.

Identifying Jesus as Christ, as Masson shows, involves a rather complex blend. Input space 2 is identified as the historical Jesus, input space 1 as messianic expectations, which as the expressions 'Son of David', 'Victorious King of Israel', etc. imply are a conglomeration of highly complex blends themselves. The dotted lines that lead from the first input space to the circles above indicate that partially conflicting concepts from at least three different realms – apocalyptic, messianic and prophetic – are integrated in the blend 'Messiah/Christ.' Consequently, the different images this blend contains do not always harmoniously relate to each other. Summarizing Masson comments, "the blending of the two inputs motivated by the understanding of historical events of Jesus's life as interpreted in the Scriptures resulted in notions that could not be derived from either input space: the victory of God in the crucified Jesus."[193]

In the conceptualisation of the Christian slave as 'feed man of the Lord,' by using the technical term ἀπελεύθερος Paul wittingly connotes the context of the slave's social reality. Yet the genitive attribute 'of the Lord' echoes Israel's identification as 'slave of God.' In itself the phrase is basically a variation on the Septuagint's various translations of the Hebrew expression עֶבֶד־יְהוָה (slave of the Lord) which passed along in the global conceptual-cognitive context. Aside from the substitution of Israel by the Christian slave and slave by freed man, the 'the Christian slave is the freed man of the Lord' blend follows the same structure as the conceptual integration of Israel as the slave of the Lord. Given the fact that 1 Cor 7:22 is the only verse in the New Testament in which the word ἀπελεύθερος occurs, the metaphoric expression 'freed man of the Lord' (ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου) is best described as a context-induced metaphor.[194]

Slave and Freed Man in the Household of Christ

At this stage, as we have identified and analysed the different contextual factors that influenced Paul's choice for the metaphors 'freed man of the Lord' and 'slave of Christ' in 1 Cor 7:22, we can proceed to its interpretation. Kövecses' theory of contextual integration functions as a multiple-scope blend. Just as the conceptual integrations we already encountered conceptualised their blends in a new conceptual space, so too does Kövecses' multiple-scope contextual integration. Based on the preceding analysis I propose to consider the 'household of Christ' to be this new conceptual space in verse 22. In it, all three the local contextual factors meet. Moreover, it is analogue of the global contextual factors input. It is in this new conceptual space that the free Corinthian Christians are 'slaves of Christ.' Likewise, within the new reality of the household of Christ the Christian slaves are no longer slaves, but freed men of the Lord, as they have experienced a change of their master. Although, as Martin correctly noted, they have not become entirely free, their status has improved from objects of possession to free self-determined subjects, as Merz convincingly argued. As such, they can now share with the former free 'slaves of Christ' in the true service of God.

Verse 23 runs the preceding blend of the household of Christ. It begins τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε (you were bought with a price). Apart from 7:23 the only other occurrence of this phrase is in 1 Cor 6:20. In addition, this phrase occurs three times in the Septuagint;[195] meaning 'to buy by paying a price.' At the two places in 1 Corinthians, there is no situation of a literal purchase. Yet it is noteworthy that this phrase occurs both times at the end of a logical unit indicating something like a conclusion. Likewise, both times it triggers an appeal: 'So glorify God in your body' (δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν) in 6:20 and 'do not become slaves of men' (μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων) in 7:23. The key for understanding the phrase τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε lies in the last three words of 1 Cor 6:19 οὐκ ἐστὲ ἑαυτῶν (you are not your own). This counted indeed for both slaves and freed men; they were not in (full) control of themselves, they were (former) property of someone else on whom they were dependant. Speaking about the price that is paid, Paul alludes to the practises of slave purchase on the market and of manumission. Both cases required a transaction of money. As became apparent in verse 22 it is God or Christ who paid this price freeing the Christians from the service of their former owners who Merz identifies as "Sünde, Tod und was sonst hier im Licht anderer Paulustexte substituieren will."[196] God and Christ are their new master and patron. Against this background, Paul admonishes the Corinthian Christians not to become slaves of men.

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[193] Masson, *Without Metaphor, No Saving God*., 107.
[194] A new created metaphor in the local, immediate context. Cf. Kövecses, *Where Metaphors Come from*, 96.
[195] 2 Chr 1:16; Isa 55:1 and EpJer 1:24.
[196] Merz, "Christliche Sklavinnen und Sklaven als 'Freigelassene des Herrn'," 12.

Commentators provide different answers to the question what Paul exactly meant by this warning. Some interpret Paul in the way that he tells the Corinthians not to rate the opinion of humans higher than the will of God. Anytime they sense a conflict between God's commandments and human interests, they are to esteem God's commandments above the human concerns. This is what their new freedom encompasses.[197] Another quite extreme interpretation is suggested by Heinrich Schlier. According to his understanding of the verses 20-23, the converted slave is told not to be bothered about his enslaved state that he, even when he is offered freedom, choses to remain in slavery. Desiring manumission and outward freedom would endanger the inner freedom which he has received from Christ as striving to become free is nothing different than enslaving oneself to human norms.[198] Barrett presumes Paul writing against Christian self-sale as he considered this practise in conflict with the Christian's liberation through Christ.[199] Presuming Paul to refer to a conflict between God's commandments and human interests is a promising trace. Yet it fails to explain the term 'slaves of men' in its entire depth. Can following human interests be considered as 'slavery to men'? It may well be, but as we shall see it is only the outward symptom of what is at stake here. For a deeper understanding, we should take into account the new conceptual space of the household of Christ in which the Corinthian slaves and free persons received a new identity as 'freedmen of the Lord' and 'slaves of Christ.' As stated above, it is in this context that Paul exhorts them not to become 'slaves of men.' As members of Christ's household they owed exclusive loyalty to him as their new master, which left no space for competing allegiances.[200] In Paul's admonition to not become slaves of men, one can still hear the echo of the words from Ex 20:5 כִּי אָנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵל קַנָּא (for I, the LORD your God, am a jealous God). As Paul already mentioned in verse 19b, by fulfilling the commandments the members of the household of Christ could prove their faithfulness. Verse 24 ends the digressions by repeating its refrain 'that everybody is to remain in the state he was called'.

Paul, Slave of Christ Jesus

As noted in the introduction of this chapter, 1 Cor 7:22 is the only verse in which the expression 'slave of Christ' occurs in the body of a letter while not referring to Paul himself. Besides this verse, there are three other occurrences of the expression 'slave of Christ': Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1 and Gal 1:10. In all these verses Paul uses the expression 'slave of Christ' as a self-designation.

> Παῦλος δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ (Rom 1:1)
> Paul, a servant of Christ Jesus, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God.
>
> Παῦλος καὶ Τιμόθεος δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις
> (Phil 1:1)
> Paul and Timothy, servants of Christ Jesus, to all the saints in Christ Jesus who are at Philippi, with the overseers and deacons.
>
> Ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἤμην.
> (Gal. 1:10)
> Am I now seeking human approval, or God's approval? Or am I trying to please people? If I were still pleasing people, I would not be a servant of Christ.

As we noted in the first chapter, Bryant considers the words δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ in Rom 1:1 a technical term, or at least more than merely a metaphor. Based on an earlier work of Kövecses, [201] he aims to provide a metaphor theoretical analysis of how Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' helped

[197] Kremer, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther*, 150; Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 171-72; Andreas Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief*, HNT 9/1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 173.
[198] Heinrich Schlier, "Ἐλεύθερος, Ἐλευθερόω, Ἐλευθερία, Ἀπελεύθερος," in *ThWNT II*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Gerhard Friedrich, and Oskar Rühle (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), 484–500, 498.
[199] Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 171.
[200] Cf. note 197.
[201] *Metaphor and Culture: Universality and Variation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

urban slaves to arrive at a self-understanding apart from the imperial ideology of suspended death. Following Kövecses, Bryant works with conceptual metaphors. Yet he somehow must have misunderstood Kövecses' explanations that conceptual metaphors are always the product of the mapping of two concepts reflected by an 'is' connection, in which the more concrete one serves as source and the more abstract one as target domain.[202] So when he comes to his explanation of the effect of Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' for the urban slaves, he pays the price for this misunderstanding. As Bryant explains: "Paul's description of himself as a Slave of Messiah Jesus demonstrates how metaphors map subjects (urban slaves) to particular targets (death of Messiah Jesus)."[203] This is hardly a conceptual metaphor, for neither 'urban slaves' nor 'death of Messiah Jesus' are directly attested in the words 'Paul, slave of Christ Jesus.' Moreover, Bryant does not link source and target domain by the 'is connection' which is inherent to conceptual metaphors. He actually does not identify any source domain at all. Following Agamben's notions on time Bryant continues:

> The appropriation of messianic identity as "Slaves of Messiah Jesus" subverted the continuum of time as constructed by the Roman slave-holders.[AB] To "sojourn" in messianic community required that Slaves of Messiah Jesus "transitioned within chronological time without negating messianic time."[CD] Consequently, Slaves of Messiah Jesus also "sojourned" through the Roman imposition of power on slaves as subjects. As stated above, "messianic time does not reflect a chronological period or specific duration, but represents a qualitative change in how time is experienced."[EF] It may well be that the polemical construction of messianic time and its impact on Slaves of Messiah Jesus presents itself, messianic time, in a state of "always coming."[GH] Thus the characterisation of messianic identity as Slave of Messiah Jesus conformed to a technical term more than a conceptual metaphor."[204]

As we saw in our summary of Bryant's thoughts in the first chapter, Christians receive this messianic identity through their participation in the death and resurrection of Christ. Consequently, they no longer live in chronological, but in messianic time. As Bryant has it, all this is echoed in Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ,' which is why he regards it a technical term rather than a conceptual metaphor. However, it remains unclear how he perceives the connection between these elaborations and his summary of Kövecses' explanations on conceptual metaphors.

Bryant's characterisation of Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in the preceding paragraph is similar to what we called a conventional metaphor. In this regard, there is no need to conclude that – due to it being a technical term – the expression 'slave of Christ' or 'slave of Messiah Jesus' does not conform to conceptual metaphor. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, it surely is. As we noted as well, it is even better described as a complex conceptual blend. Yet we should bear in mind Bryant's notion that Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in Rom 1:1 functions as a technical term. Just as we should do with his consideration that the phrase 'slave of Christ Jesus' functions as a characterisation the following words κλητὸς ἀπόστολος (called as apostle). Because of reasons I will explain below, I am not totally convinced of this claim. Paul frequently refers to himself as an apostle, except in 1 Cor 7:22, where Paul does not use the phrase 'salve of Christ' as a reference to himself. Additionally, in the undisputed letters the phrase's occurrence is limited to the proems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians. In Romans and Philippians it appears right in the first verse, in Galatians in verse 1:10. It is therefore convenient to have a look at Graeco-Roman letter conventions to come to a better understanding of the structure of prescripts.

Prescripts in Graeco-Roman literary culture were standardised.[205] They consisted of three or four elements: sender, (co-senders), recipient(s) and greetings. Traditionally, there are three types of letters: family letters, petition letters and official letters. The way in which the sender identified himself at the beginning of his letter depended on his origin and the type of letter he was writing. While Italian

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[202] In chapter two we have seen some highly conventional conceptual metaphors pass such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY or INTENSITY IS HEAT.

[203] Bryant, *Paul and the Rise of the Slave*, 96.

[204] Cf. the preceding note. (AB, CD, EF and GH referring to Gorgio Agamben, *The Church and the Kingdom*, 2-18).

[205] E. Randolph Richards, "Pauline Prescripts and Greco-Roman Epistolary Conventions," in *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, TENTS 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 497–514, 506.

Romans could identify themselves with a three-part name,[206] "Greeks, Egyptians, Jews and Christians were less likely than Romans to use all three names."[207] For instance, people from the countryside out of Italy identified themselves with their place of origin. If that was not specific enough a clarifying addition such as 'X son of …' or a characteristic 'Y the Zealot' could be added.[208] In private or family letters the senders usually used just their cognomen; a fuller name was used in official letters.[209] Paul, however did not adhere to this particular convention. He always uses a single name accompanied by titles of ascribed honours.[210] Concerning his letters in general, Luther Stirewalt suggests that, given to their fivefold structure,[211] Paul "adapted the conventions of official correspondence."[212] If Stirewalt's suggestion is right, comparing the prescripts of Romans and Philippians to that of official Graeco-Roman correspondences should help to get a better understanding of the function of Paul's self-designation within the prescript. One of the examples of official letters' prescripts Stirewalt gives is the following:

> Μᾶρκος Οὐαλάριος Μάρκου στρατηγὸς καὶ δήμαρχοι καὶ ἡ σύνκλητος Τηίων τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι χαίρειν.[213]
>
> Marcus Valerius, son of Marcus, strategus, [the] tribunes and the senate to the council and people of Teos greeting.[214]

In this prescript we can define four elements. The sender 'Marcus Valerius, son of Marcus, strategus,' the co-senders '[the] tribunes and the senate,' the addressee 'to the council of people of Teos' and the greeting. Most interesting in this context is the word 'strategus', which indicates the position in the authoritative structure from which the author sent his letter. It is in this place that the phrase 'slave of Christ' occurs both in Romans and Philippians. It is therefore plausible to assume 'slave of Christ' to be a functional title, just like 'strategus' served as an indication for Paul's authority. A similar claim has been made by Lutz Doering.[215] He also draws attention to a letter prescript in 4 Bar 6:17 (19):

> Βαροὺχ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ γράφει τῷ Ἰερεμίᾳ
>
> Baruch the servant of God, writes to Jeremiah[216]

Doering acknowledges that this text is younger than the Pauline letters and received its final form from Christians. "However, if Christian redaction is basically limited to chap. 9, as has been suggested, we have a Jewish letter prescript here that equally and independently from Paul and the other NT letters, attests to a similar stylisation of the addressor."[217] If Doering is right, Paul's use of the title 'slave of

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[206] Preanomen, nomen gentile, and cognomen. E.g. Gaius (praenomen (given name)), Julius (gentile name (referring to the dynasty of the Julians)) Caesar (first name or nickname). Ebner, *Die Stadt als Lebensraum der ersten Christen*, 82.
[207] Richards, "Pauline Prescripts and Greco-Roman Epistolary Conventions.", 504.
[208] Ibid., 502-503.
[209] Cf. n. 506.
[210] Ibid., 508.
[211] Identification of primary sender, naming of co-senders, multiple address, dual structure of the body, and subscriptions.
[212] M. Luther Stirewalt, *Paul, the Letter Writer* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 54.
[213] This text is taken from Robert K. Sherk, *Roman documents from the Greek East: senatus consulta and epistulae to the age of Augustus* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969), no. 34, 214-16. The letter is dated to 193 BCE. It was officially published by Edmund Chishull in *Antiquitates Asiaticae Christianam aeram antecedentes, ex primariis monumentis Graecis descriptae, Latinè versae, notisque & commentariis illustratae: accedit monumentum Latinum Ancyranum* (London: Typis Guil. Bowyer, 1728), 102.
[214] Stirewalt, *Paul, the Letter Writer*, 35. Stirewalt's translation is somewhat problematic as the word Τηίων (genitive plural of Τήϊος, α, ον (of/from Teos)) is most probably the genitive attribution to σύνκλητος (the senate).
[215] Lutz Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginnings of Christian Epistolography*, WUNT 298 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 397-98.
[216] Text and translation are taken from Jens Herzer, *4 Baruch (Paraleipomena Jeremiou)*, WGRW 22 (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2005), 22-23.
[217] Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginnings of Christian Epistolography*, 398.

Christ' in the poems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians reflected an existing Jewish tradition of authorisation that he reworked christologically. This assumption finds support in the fact that according to Doering the author of James and perhaps also the one of Titus independently of Paul have utilised similar expressions in their prescripts.[218]

In Romans this title is accompanied by that of 'apostle.' At the beginning of the prescript of Galatians Paul speaks about himself as apostle as well, stressing that it is through Jesus Christ and God the Father that he is apostle, not through or for men. In verse 10 this juxtaposition between God and men comes back as Paul complains that the Galatians far too quickly turned away from the gospel he had preached them. Pleasing men, Paul says, is incompatible with Paul's being a 'slave of Christ.' Paul's emphasis on his divine authority and independence of human authority connects verses 1 and 10. As such, it is plausible to read the occurrence of 'slave of Christ' in Gal 1:10 as a functional title as well. But while this phrase in Romans and Galatians is accompanied by Paul's office as apostle, this reference is absent in Philippians. In the Philippians prescript, however, Timothy shares in the indication of 'slave of Christ.' This suggests that Paul did not consider this title exclusively reserved for himself. Byron with reference to Fee[219] argues that these two phenomena – the absence of a reference to apostolic calling and the sharing of Timothy in the servantship of Christ – condition each other in as far as Timothy was not an apostle.[220] It seems therefore that the title of 'slave of Christ' did not necessarily serve as a characterisation of Paul's apostolic calling as Bryant proposed, but rather had an authoritative function itself.[221] This brings us to the question of how the expression 'slave of Christ' could serve as an authoritative title.

Abera Mengestu, reflecting on the different self-designations Paul uses in the prescripts of his letters, comments that "when Paul's depiction of himself as δοῦλος is put together with his depiction of his co-workers and Christ-followers as slaves, it makes the entire group a household."[222] Consequently, Mengestu, following Martin, interprets 'slave of Christ' as indicative for Paul's high status within the household of Christ. This interpretation is attractive as it provides a possible frame in which it is possible to understand Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' as a claim of authority. We encountered a similar conceptualisation in the paragraph about the global conceptual-cognitive context of Paul's slavery metaphors, noting that the Hebrew word עֶבֶד (slave) could, among others, refer to officials at an ancient Near Eastern royal court. Yet Mengestu's interpretation could better be considered as but one of the several aspects that resonate in this phrase. For as Bryant rightly noted, Paul in his self-designation as 'slave of Christ' likewise places himself in line with Old Testament prophecy and consequently claims a prophetic authority for his message.

Slave of Christ as Title of Authorisation

We should at this stage recall our analysis of the metaphors of 1 Cor 7:22. In particular, the conceptualisation of the free Corinthian Christian as 'slave of Christ' should help us to answer the question of how the expression 'slave of Christ' could serve as a title of authorisation. 'Paul, slave of Christ' viewed from a metaphor theoretical angle is very similar to 'the free Corinthian Christian is a slave of Christ.' I will therefore not repeat the entire determination of the global and local contextual factors that played a role in the preceding multiple-scope contextual integration of the free Corinthian Christian as 'slave of Christ,' but only focus on the differences the actual blend shows in comparison to the former one.

The main difference between the two blends lies in the local discourse and local conceptual cognitive-context. Unlike 1 Cor 7:22, the discourse of Rom 1:1, Phil 1:1 and Gal 1:10 is not so much about identity, but rather about authority. In the proems, Paul has to prove the authority by which he is entitled to write his letters to the different communities, for his letters contained advices and critique, among other things. The position of the phrase δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ in Rom 1:1 and δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ in Phil 1:1 in the conventionalised structure of the Graeco-Roman prescripts is indeed that of a functional title. The occurrence of Χριστοῦ δοῦλος in Gal 1:10 in the context of Paul's emphasis on his

[218] Cf. the preceding note.
[219] Gordon Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 62.
[220] Byron, *Slavery Metaphors*, 233, n. 165. Cf. also 2 Cor 1:1.
[221] Yet in 2 Cor 11:13-15 Paul uses ἀποστόλοι Χριστοῦ (apostleσ of Christ) and διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης (slaves/servants of righteousness) in a parallel way. Both terms are used to describe a disguise which the servants of Satan took on.
[222] Abera M. Mengestu, *God as Father in Paul: Kinship Language and Identity Formation in Early Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 170.

divine authority and independence of human authority that connects verses 1 and 10, indicates that the authorisation results in independence.

The local conceptual-cognitive context draws on a derivate of the basic 'Israel is the slave of God' blend, the conceptual integration of prophets as slaves of God. In their function of mouthpiece through which God talked to Israel, their task was similar to that of an ancient king's herald. Accordingly, we can modify the conceptual integration of the prophets as slaves of God to the 'prophets are heralds of God' blend. Unlike the original blend (Israel as 'slave of God'), the latter conceptual integration conceptualises God as king. The notion of servitude of the original blend is still represented in the relationship between herald and king. The conceptual integration of Paul as 'slave of Christ' takes up both the 'prophets are slaves of God' and the 'prophets are heralds of God' blend. In itself, the 'Paul is the slave of Christ' does not differ from the conceptual integration of the free Corinthian Christian as 'slave of Christ,' except that the free Corinthian Christian was substituted by Paul. Yet, bearing Bryant's comments on δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ in Rom 1:1 in mind, we should consider the possibility that Paul uses the metaphor 'slave of Christ' in a more conventionalised way than in 1 Cor 7:22. This consideration finds support in our finding on Paul's use of this phrase in the proems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians reflecting an existing Jewish tradition of authorisation. Thus, if we assume that Paul really uses this blend in a conventionalised way, it would help to understand how this metaphor can serve as a functional title.

Before coming to the contextual blend itself, we should notice that we are in fact dealing with a discourse that is separate from the one of 1 Cor 7:17-24. While Paul remains conceptualiser 1, conceptualiser 2 has changed. It is no longer the Corinthian community, but the churches in Rome, Philippi and Galatia. For the remainder of this analysis this fact does not have to worry us: not only would these communities not have been fundamentally different from the Corinthian church, we are also not dealing here with a highly particular community-related discourse. Rather, the discourse is about Paul's authorisation in general.

If we then proceed to the interpretation of this new multiple-scope contextual integration, the newly generated conceptual space can be identified as the 'kingdom of God.' Due to the discourse's topic of authorisation, Paul employs a different aspect of the global discourse context: the prophet's heraldship to God. As we saw above, the prophets served as God's mouthpiece through which he talked to Israel. In the global conceptual-cognitive context this resulted in the reconstruction of the 'prophets are heralds of God' blend in which God is conceptualised as king. In itself, this conceptual integration is still a derivate of the 'Israel is the slave of God' blend. Just as the discourse of authorisation resulted in a modification of the conceptual-cognitive context, so too does it result in the identification of the decisive elements from the global situational context. With reference to Martin, Mengestu draws attention to slaves of the family of Caesar. As we saw above, these imperial slaves could hold important administrative positions in the Roman provinces. Likewise, ministers at the ancient oriental royal court were (called) slaves. Blending these different contextual factors in the new conceptual space of the kingdom of God, we can now understand how Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' served as a title of authorisation. Referring to himself as 'slave of God' in the proems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians, Paul identifies himself as herald of Christ who is equipped with divine authorisation which makes him independent from human authority.

Context it is

How do we then assess the relationship between Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ (Jesus)' in the proems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians and his use of the same phrase in 1 Cor 7:22? It is tempting to assume a similar meaning for all these four occurrences. The metaphorical conceptualisation is indeed the same in all four places. A person – three times Paul, one time the free Corinthian Christian – is by means of conceptual blending conceptualised as 'slave of Christ,' meaning that he relates to Christ in the way a slave relates to his master. However, the discourses in which this conceptual integration occurred were concerned with different topics. Consequently, the blends were applied to convey a different message. Likewise we understood the intended message of the metaphor to be decisive in the determination of the contributive elements of the situational and the conceptual-cognitive context. After determining 'identity' as the discourse topic in 1 Cor 7:22, we found that the two blends 'the Christian slave is the freed man of the Lord' and the 'the free Corinthian Christian is the slave of Christ' evoke the new conceptual space of the household of Christ. The conceptualisation of the Christian slave as freed man of the Lord, appeared to be a context induced metaphor. Being elevated into the rank of a self-determined subject, the slave retained lasting duties to his patron, but was freely

enabled to participate in the true service of God. According to ancient Judaism, this was only possible for free persons. Being free already, the free Corinthian Christians, modelled on Israel's traditional self-understanding as 'slaves of God,' are conceptualised as 'slaves of Christ.'

When applied to a discourse of authorisation, however, the contextual integration of Paul as the 'slave of Christ' evokes the new conceptual space of the kingdom of God. Paul's application of this blend as self-designation suggests a more conventionalised use of this metaphor than in 1 Cor 7:22. This assumption is supported by the fact that Paul in introducing himself as 'slave of Christ' drew on an existing Jewish tradition of authorisation, which he reworked christologically. The modification of the 'the prophets are slaves of God' blend implied the more concrete 'the prophets are the heralds of God' conceptual integration. In designating himself 'slave of Christ', Paul claims his heraldship for Christ which equips him with divine authorisation and which makes him independent from human authority. Consequently, though the metaphorical phrase 'slave of Christ' is semantically more or less the same in all the four places, its application in different discourse contexts results in different meanings.

Conclusion

The aim of this study is to arrive at a conclusion regarding the relationship between Paul's metaphorical self-designation as 'slave of Christ' in Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1 and Gal 1:10 and his use of the same metaphorical expression in 1 Cor 7:22. After a summary of this study's results I shall briefly reflect on some issues that I could not entirely do justice to within the scope of this study. I will conclude with a short sketch of how the taken approach could be valuable for the broader discussion on Paul's slavery metaphors.

Summary

Recent scholarship has presented a variety of backgrounds for this Pauline expression. Focussing on different aspects, these approaches appeared for a great deal to be complementary. As no satisfying reflection on the metaphorical nature of the phrase 'slave of Christ' has yet been offered,' I chose Zoltán Kövecses' metaphor theory of contextual blending as the methodological starting point for this study. Placing the application of metaphors within communication theory, Kövecses emphasises that a metaphor is always employed by a speaker to convey a message within a particular discourse. A speaker's choice for a specific metaphor is influenced by four different contextual factors: discourse, (social) situation, conceptual-cognitive system and body. Drawing on these four contexts, I systematised the contributions of four recent publications on Paul's slavery metaphors and integrated the elements I considered contributive into a singular interpretive framework.

Dale Martin's argument for the slaves of high aristocrats as a model for Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' proved highly valuable for our understanding of the local situational context of Paul's self-introduction in the proems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians. Concerning the global discourse context of Paul's conceptualisation of the free Corinthian Christian as 'slave of Christ' in 1 Cor 7:22, I followed John Byron's notion of Israel's self-identification as 'slave of God.' His reference to Janet Soskice's considerations on metaphors in religious language helped for our understanding of the global conceptual-cognitive context. Albert Harrill's call for attention to Graeco-Roman literary conventions proved adjuvant for determining the local discourse context of Paul designating himself 'slave of Christ.' Edwin Bryant's notice on the Old Testament prophets provides the tradition-historical background for Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' was considered in the global discourse context for Rom 1:1, Phil 1:1 and Gal 1:10. His suggestion that the phrase 'slave of Christ' should be regarded as a technical term provided another element for our understanding of the conceptual-cognitive context.

Following Kövecses' embedding of metaphors in communication, Paul as the author of his letters was identified as sender. From his characterisation in chapter two a sketch of a Hellenistic diaspora Jew emerged who lived in and interacted with the Roman empire. I considered it unlikely that he himself was a Roman citizen. To determine his social position proved difficult. The adequacy of his Greek and his knowledge of philosophy suggest that he received a decent education of paideia until the third grade, which was mostly found in the upper class. Yet his profession of wandering tent maker seems to suggest a much lower social standing. I identified the social situation – slavery – as the main decisive sub-element of the global situational context. As became clear, slaves in antiquity could be found everywhere. Depending on whose slaves they were and where they were employed, their lives were different. As they had no legal status, the relationship to their masters was always a matter of negotiation. The global discourse context in this context was Israel's self-identification as 'slave of God' and the reference to the Old Testament prophets as 'slaves of God.' Regarding the global conceptual-cognitive context, the most central conceptual metaphor was identified as GOD IS LORD/MASTER. Other important metaphors were RELIGION IS SERVICE TO GOD, ISRAEL IS THE SLAVE OF GOD and PROPHETS ARE HERALDS OF GOD. As was argued, these conceptual metaphors could also be described in terms of blending. As was noticed, metaphors can become conventional. The bodily context did not play a role in this study.

Determining 'identity' as the topic of the discourse of 1 Cor 7:17-24 enabled me to select the elements from the global contexts that most probably influenced Paul in his choice for the metaphors 'freed man of the Lord' and 'slave of Christ' in verse 22. After filtering the elements of the local contexts from commentaries on this pericope, I proposed that Paul conceptualised the Christian Corinthian slaves and the free Corinthian Christians as 'freed men of the Lord' and 'slaves of Christ' within the new conceptual space of the 'household of Christ.' Within this reality, both groups could join in the true worship of God. 'Freed man of the Lord' was defined as a context induced metaphor.

Analysing the prescripts of Romans and Philippians in terms Graeco-Roman letter conventions resulted in understanding the expression 'slave of Christ' to serve as a title of authorisation. A comparison to Jas 1:1, Tit 1:1 and 4Bar 6:17 led to the assumption that Paul in designating himself 'slave of Christ' drew on an existing Jewish tradition of authorisation, which he reworked christologically. This being the case, Paul's use of the metaphor 'slave of Christ' in the proems suggested a more conventionalised understanding. Functioning within a discourse of authorisation, the reference to the Old Testament prophets as 'slaves of God' appeared to provide the global discourse element for the 'slave of Christ' blend in Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1 and Gal 1:10. Eventually, I proposed the kingdom of God as the new conceptual space, evoked by the conceptual integration of Paul as 'slave of Christ.' Within this interpretive frame, Paul serves as the herald of Christ, equipped with divine authorisation and independent from human authority. Due to its application in different discursive contexts, the metaphorical expression 'slave of Christ' thus takes on different meanings.

Reflections

Due to the limited space of this study, I was not able to reflect deeper on the relationship of Israel's self-identification as 'slave of God' or the reference to individuals such as the patriarchs, Moses, David and the prophets with the same designation. A reflection on the prophets' position between God and Israel and their often ungrateful task to remind Israel of its identity as 'slave of God,' would have particularly been beneficial for a better understanding of the global discursive background of Paul's self-designation as 'slave of God.'

Likewise, a thorough reflection on the relationship between Paul's self-designation as 'slave of Christ' and his office of apostle is needed. Interpreting the Paul as introducing himself as herald of Christ in the proems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians suggests a closeness to his office as apostle. In Romans, the reference to Paul's apostleship even follows directly after his self-designation. Yet, the prescripts of Philippians where Timothy shares in the designation of 'slave of Christ' and of 2 Cor where Paul differentiates between himself as apostle and Timothy as brother, at least suggest that 'apostle' was more narrow a category than 'slave of Christ.' Still, in 2 Cor 11:13-15 Paul uses διάκονος (meaning slave/servant like δοῦλος) to refer to pseudo apostles who are Satan's servants, but who disguise themselves as servants of righteousness and as apostles of Christ.

Another interesting aspect to focus on would be the presumably different reception of Paul's use of the metaphors 'freed man of the Lord' and 'slave of Christ.' It is imaginably that even though status may not have been the decisive element Paul focussed on in his choice for these metaphors, his audience might have heard status connotations nevertheless. It was, however, beyond the scope of this study to analyse the Corinthian audience's reception of the metaphors.

Prospects on the broader discussion of Paul's slavery metaphors

This study has shown the advantages of approaching Paul's use of the metaphorical expression 'slave of Christ' using Kövecses' theory of contextual blending. This theory allowed the consideration of the influence of elements from different contexts in Paul's application of this phrase in one interpretive framework. It also helped to distinguish between the occurrence of the phrase in the body of 1 Corinthians and the occurrences in the proems of Romans, Philippians and Galatians. In addition, this study contributes to the broader discussion on Paul's use of slavery metaphors through its rough outline of the global contextual factors which should be assumed to be the same for all his slavery metaphors. The local contextual factors will have to be determined for each metaphor on its own. Moreover, following this study's approach of the Pauline slavery metaphors as contextual blends, will lead to a deeper understanding of the message Paul intended to convey by his choice for these particular metaphors.

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