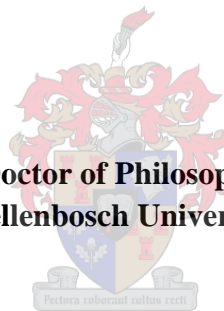# RECONCILIATION IN THE GOSPEL OF LUKE: A SOCIO-HISTORICAL STUDY

by

GODWIN AKPAN ETUKUMANA

Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Theology at Stellenbosch University

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Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third-party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Godwin Akpan Etukumana

19th of June 2016

Summary

This study investigated the concept of reconciliation in the Gospel of Luke by using a socio-historical approach. The interaction of Luke with both the Greco-Roman and the Jewish worlds necessitated that both be studied. The investigation of the concept of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society revealed that it occurred in all aspects of society. Giving a sacrifice, praying, sharing a meal, drinking from the same cup, exchanging a gift, and healings were identified as enactments of reconciliation. Gods and humans acted as mediators of reconciliation, which sought the common good for the empire and restored the wellbeing of everyone.

The Jewish concept of reconciliation encompasses two intersectional expressions: a vertical reconciliation with God and a horizontal reconciliation with other people. The dichotomy between the sacred and the profane created a gulf which separated humanity from God. Rituals such as offerings for atonement, through which the profanity was removed, played an important part in restoring the relationship between God and Israel. In the prophetic tradition listening to the voice of God, as revealed by the prophets, became the means through which Israel could reconcile with God.

In chapter 4 the Greco-Roman and the Old Testament understandings of reconciliation were compared. It was ascertained that actions like prayers, healings, giving sacrifices, sharing meals and exchanges occurred in both. In the Jewish world priests and prophets were mediating agents on behalf of the people, whereas in the Greco-Roman world the mediating agents were primarily the priests. In Greco-Roman society, the gods themselves acted as mediating agents. The motivations for reconciliation were also similar.

Chapter 5 focused on Jesus' *missio reconciliatio* in Luke 1:1-4:13; 4:14-9:50 and 9:51-19:27. It argued that Luke did not use any of the common terms of his time for reconciliation in order to develop an ethic of reconciliation. Luke 15:11-32 was analysed as an example of the teaching of Jesus. This parable reiterated that Luke indeed speaks about reconciliation even though he does not use the common Greek terms for reconciliation. The chapter also focused on Jesus' enactments of reconciliation through the healing of those with leprosy (Luke 5:12-16; 17:11-19).

The final aspect of the Lukan understanding of reconciliation discussed was his narrative of the passion of Jesus (Luke 19:28-24:53). Chapter 6 argued that in the remembrance meal that Jesus carried out with his disciples, the cup he shared was a symbol of his blood. This was an

allusion to the Old Testament practice of reconciliation through blood. The suffering of Jesus in the Passion Narrative depicts Jesus as the fulfilment of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, who was to take the transgression of his people on himself in order to reconcile them with God and to inaugurate the era of reconciliation through suffering.

In terms of the research problem that this study set out to address, it is clear that Luke's Gospel has a theology of reconciliation that is evident in its description of the actions and words of Jesus. For Luke, reconciliation implies the removal of the underlying cause, sin against God, and its effect on humanity. Jesus demonstrated to humanity through his teachings and actions what it means to be reconciled.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie ondersoek die konsep van versoening in die Evangelie volgens Lukas met behulp van 'n sosio-historiese benadering. Die blootstelling van Lukas aan beide die Grieks-Romeinse en Joodse wêreld het genoodsaak dat beide se verstaan van versoening bestudeer word. Die ondersoek na die konsep van versoening in die Grieks-Romeinse samelewing het aan die lig gebring dat dit in alle aspekte van die samelewing gefunksioneer het. Die gee van 'n offer, opsê van 'n gebed, die deel van 'n maaltyd, om uit dieselfde beker te drink, die gee van geskenke asook genesings is as uitdrukkings van versoening geïdentifiseer. Beide gode en mense het as bemiddelaars van versoening opgetree wat die algemene belang van die Romeinse Ryk en die welsyn van almal nagestreef het.

Die Joodse konsep van versoening omvat sowel 'n vertikale versoening met God as 'n horisontale met ander mense. Die teenstelling tussen dit wat as heilig beskou is en dit wat as onheilig beskou is het 'n kloof geword wat die mensdom van God skei. Rituele soos offers vir versoening waardeur dié onreinheid verwyder is, het daarom 'n belangrike rol in die herstel van die verhouding tussen God en Israel gespeel. In die profetiese tradisie het gehoorsaamheid aan die wil van God, soos verkondig deur die profete, die wyse geword waardeur Israel met God kon versoen.

In hoofstuk 4 is die Grieks-Romeinse en die Ou-Testamentiese verstaan van versoening met mekaar vergelyk. Daar is vasgestel dat aksies soos gebede, genesings, die gee van offers, saam eet en die uitruil van middele in beide voorgekom het. In die Joodse wêreld het priesters en profete as bemiddelaars tussen God en mense opgetree, terwyl dit in die Grieks-Romeinse wêreld hoofsaaklik priesters was wat as sodanig opgetree het. In die Grieks-Romeinse samelewing het van die gode self opgetree as bemiddelaars. Die motivering vir versoening was ook soortgelyk in beide kontekste.

Hoofstuk 5 het op Jesus se *missio reconciliatio* in Lukas 1:1-4:13; 4:14-9:50 en 9:51-19:27 gefokus. Dit het aangevoer dat Lukas nie die algemene terme van sy tyd vir versoening gebruik het om 'n etiek van versoening te ontwikkel nie. Lukas 15:11-32 is verder ontleed as 'n voorbeeld van die lering van Jesus oor versoening. Dié gelykenis beklemtoon dat Lukas wel oor versoening geleer het selfs al het hy nie die algemene Griekse terme daarvoor gebruik nie. Die hoofstuk het ook uitvoerig op Jesus se bewerking van versoening deur die genesing van gefokus (Lukas 5:12-16; 17:11-19).

Die finale aspek van Lukas se verstaan van versoening waarop gefokus is, is die lydingsverhaal van Jesus (Lukas 19:28-24:53). In hoofstuk 6 is aangetoon dat in die herinnering maaltyd Jesus met sy dissipels die beker gedeel het as 'n simbool van sy bloed. Laasgenoemde is 'n verwysing na die Ou-Testamentiese praktyk van versoening deur bloed. Die lyding van Jesus dien ook as die vervulling van die Lydende Kneg profesie van Jesaja. Die kneg sou die oortreding van sy volk op hom te neem ten einde hulle met God te versoen.

In terme van die navorsingsprobleem wat hierdie studie wou ondersoek is dit duidelik dat die Lukasevangelie wel 'n teologie van versoening het wat na vore kom in die beskrywing van die dade en woorde van Jesus. Vir Lukas impliseer versoening die verwydering van die onderliggende oorsaak daarvan, wete sonde teen God, asook die uitwerking daarvan op die mensdom. Jesus toon dus wat versoening behels deur sy woorde en dade.

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Special thanks also go to my uncle, Mr A.F. Umoren, for his support. I will not forget to mention Dr David Kajom, Dr and Dr (Mrs) Agbiji, Dr and Dr (Mrs) Chiroma, Prof & Pst (Mrs) A. Ekere, Mrs Lucy Gukas, Elder Lawandi Ishaku, Elder T. Minti, Jospeh George Umana, Rev Istifanus H. Butswat, Dr A. Yisa, Rev I. Okereke, Rev B. Bunu, Rev Eugene,

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the Lord God who provided me with all the needed grace in the course of this study and to the memory of late Mr Ken Macdonald of Bramptom Street Canada.

List of Abbreviations

Alex. fort. = Plutarch: *Fortune or virtue of Alexander*

Ann. = Tacitus: *Annals*

Ant. rom. = Dionysius of Halicarnassus: *The Roman antiquities*

Aug. = Suetonius: *Augustus Caesar*

BWK = Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens

Cat. = Thomas Aquinas: *Catena Aurea*

Const. Ath. Aristotle: *The Constitution of Athens*

EA = Epigraphica Anatolica

EP. = Pliny the Younger: *Epistulae*

EDNT = Exegetical Dictionary of New Testament

Eth. Nic.   = Aristotle: *The Nichomachean ethics*

Hom. = *Origen: Homilies on Leviticus*

His =   Herodotus: *The histories*

Hist = Thucydides: *History of the Peloponnesian war*

Il. = Homer: *Iliad*

JET = Journal of Evangelical Theology

JTS = Journal of Theological Studies

Jug. (*Bellum jugurthinum*) = Sallust: *The war with Jugutha*

Marc. = Plutarch: *Life of Marcellus*

Mem. = Xenophon: *Memorabilia*

Menex. Plato: *Menexenus*

Mor. = Plutarch: *Moralia*

MT = Masoretic Text

NA = *De natura animalium*

NT = New Testament

NTS = New Testament Studies

Od. = Homer: *Odyssey*

Off. = Cicero: *De Officiis*

OT = Old Testament

Res. = Res Gestae Divi Augusti

Resp. = Plato: Republic

Rhet. = Aristotle: Rhetoric

S.a. = Unknown

Sol. = Plutarch: Solon

T. Sim. = Testament of Simeon

TDOT = Theological Ditionary of Old Testament

TDNT = Theological Dictionary of New Testament

Tim. = Plato: *Timaeus*

TWOT = Theological Wordbook of Old Testament

ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Chapter One – Introduction

1.1   Research problem and focus

This study focuses on the concept of reconciliation in the Gospel according to Luke. Cilliers Breytenbach (1986:1) provides a succinct definition of reconciliation as "the process by which alienated people are brought together in concord" and explains that "it is associated with the liberation of man (humanity) from the conflicting political and social forces that determine his life." Breytenbach (2010:172) later states that reconciliation "means a change from enmity to friendship" and that the process results in peace. Breytenbach's definition of the concept of reconciliation will be used as a working definition in this study in order to investigate how it was understood and practised in the Gospel according to Luke. At the end of this study, this definition will be reconsidered in the light of the findings. This is necessary since Breytenbach's definitions are based mainly on his analysis of the undisputed letters of Paul, and not specifically of the Gospel of Luke.

Although the concept of reconciliation in the New Testament has been investigated previously by scholars (see 1.6), Luke's unique understanding thereof has been neglected. A possible reason for this is that the term $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\dot{\eta}$ and its synonyms do not occur in Luke. This absence of such terms in Luke has made the study of his understanding of reconciliation difficult, as it is not clear where he addresses the subject. It is, therefore, not surprising that literature on the study of reconciliation in Luke is scarce. The lack of a clear atonement theology (see section 1.6.2) in Luke's Gospel has also contributed to this situation. Although various themes such as possession (Johnson, 1977), the poor (Seccombe, 1982), persecution (Cunningham, 1997), stewardship and almsgiving (Kim, 1998), meals (Heil, 1999), hospitality (Byrne, 2000), repentance (Nave, 2002) and food (Karris, 2006) have been studied in Luke's Gospel, reconciliation as a theme has not been extensively studied. Furthermore, scholars such as Taylor (1941), Ridderbos (1975) and Marshall (1978a), who have investigated the concept of reconciliation in the New Testament, have all tended to consider reconciliation primarily as a vertical process between God and believers, without considering its horizontal implications for the relationships between believers (Măcelaru, 2012:51-54). Their treatments of the concept of reconciliation thus also lack a practical application thereof for interpersonal relationships.

The point of departure of this study is that, even though the commonly used terms for reconciliation do not occur in Luke's Gospel, the related concepts of forgiveness and reconciliation are both integral parts of its presentation of the actions of Jesus (Karris, 2006:32). Since these two concepts are closely related in Luke, it is important to note that forgiveness is explicitly mentioned several times (e.g. 1:77; 3:3; 5:20, 23; 6:37; 7:47; 12:10; 24:47), but reconciliation is not.[1] This is important because, although Breytenbach's definition of reconciliation presupposes the concept of forgiveness as well (i.e. the change from enmity to friendship), it cannot be assumed that all examples of forgiveness between conflicting parties also result in their reconciliation.[2] References to forgiveness cannot thus be assumed always also to refer to reconciliation. In identifying the pericopae on which to focus in this study, it is therefore important to take note of where Luke's treatment of the theme of forgiveness may also specifically include the concept of reconciliation. The following table indicates the most significant Lukan texts in which forgiveness occurs.

Table 1 – Forgiveness in Luke

5:12-16 (17:11-19)	There is an allusion to forgiveness and reconciliation in these two pericopae that describe the way in which those afflicted by leprosy were treated in the ancient Jewish society.[3]
5:20, 23	The text makes reference only to forgiveness and not to

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[1] The verb ἀφίημι and its cognates occur several times in Luke's Gospel. Luke's use of the term signifies the cancellation of debt and the letting go of one's sin or debt. It also occurs as a noun in the Acts of Apostles (cf. 5:31; 10:43; 13:38; 26:18) (Bash & Bash, 2004:20-30).

[2] Luke's Gospel has many instances of forgiveness that do not result in reconciliation (cf. table 1). The use of ἀφίημι in the passive mood (ἀφέωνται) in Luke 5:20 indicates that the sin of the paralytic man was released (i.e. forgiven). In this case forgiveness speaks of the well-being of the person who is forgiven, since he is also healed from his paralysis. The text, however, does not account for the behaviour of the man thereafter. The emphasis is on the power of Jesus to heal and to forgive sin, and not on how the man was received by his community. There is no reference to rituals and sacrifices and other cultural prescriptions through which he would have been welcomed back into his community. Therefore, we cannot adduce that reconciliation had taken effect in the text.

[3] Comparative analysis of the ancient texts (especially the LXX) shows that sickness often resulted in the social separation of sufferers from other members of their communities. In ancient Israel, those who suffered from leprosy were, for example, separated from other members of society. Their healing would conversely mean their restoration in their community. It was, in their cases, not just a healing that took place, but also the removal of the estrangement between them and their communities. This restoration process was carried out according to prescribed rituals and sacrifices. This restoration process can thus be understood as a form of reconciliation. It is important to note that not all healings were considered to be examples of reconciliation, but specifically the healing of illnesses that were believed to be caused by pollution and defilement, since they had resulted in individuals being ostracised. After being healed and performing the prescribed rituals, the ostracised individuals would be reconciled with their communities and their socio-cultural statuses restored. The prescription given by Lev 14 (LXX) indicates all the rules that most be followed for a leprous person to return to his or her family after the healing process had taken place (Milgrom, 1991:803-900).

	communal reconciliation.
7:36-50	There is a reference to forgiveness in this text. The story does not, however, provide any evidence that the sinful woman who anointed Jesus was accepted back by her people into their community. The pericope will therefore not be considered as a focus text for this study on reconciliation.
15:11-32	The concepts of forgiveness and reconciliation are both evident in this text. The text displays what it means to have a change of heart that leads to forgiveness and reconciliation. It will therefore be considered as one of the key exegetical texts for this study.
19:2-10	Forgiveness and restitution occur in this text, but communal reconciliation is not addressed in the text.
22:19-20; 23:47	Forgiveness is enacted in this text in line with the Old Testament concept of atonement[4].

The table above indicates that Jesus' teaching on forgiveness often either resulted in reconciliation or implied it. **Since the concept of reconciliation in the Gospel of Luke is clearly evident in 5:12-16, 17:11-19 and 15:11-32, as well as within a number of pericopae in the Passion Narrative (22:19-20; 22:37; 23:6-12; 23:27-33; 23:34a; 23:45, 47), these pericopae will be the focus of this study.** Taylor (1941:7), however, has stated that it should be kept in mind that a *clear definition* of reconciliation does not occur in Luke in any discourse, but that it is rather expressed in the ethical *practices* of primitive Christianity evident in Luke. **It is thus also important not only to focus on the specific pericopae identified in which reconciliation can be defined in terms of forgiveness, but also to consider Luke's depiction of the deeds of Jesus which effect and exhibit reconciliation.** In line with this view, Ford (1983:97) has gone so far as to state that the whole ministry of Jesus can be described as a ministry of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Since the publication of Taylor's study more than half a century ago, and that of Ford three decades ago, no comprehensive attempt has, however, been made by scholars to verify

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[4] The Passion Narrative in this study is understood as reflecting the concept of reconciliation in line with the way in which reconciliation was enacted in the Old Testament through atonement achieved by giving an offering to God. (see sections 3.5.3 & 3.5.5).

Taylor's and Ford's claims. Though many shorter studies have been undertaken in this regard (Bash & Bash, 2004:29), no monograph has appeared in recent time that concentrates specifically on Jesus' teaching on the concept of reconciliation in Luke. There is, therefore, a need to update the literature on the concept of reconciliation in regard to Luke's Gospel. **The research problem on which this study focuses is how the concept of reconciliation is understood by the Gospel of Luke.** This study is undertaken on the presupposition that Jesus' teaching on the subject of reconciliation is embedded in his actions or words within the Gospel of Luke and therefore has to be understood in light of the *actions* he is portrayed as doing, and not only in terms of the *words* that he is reported by Luke as having used to express reconciliation in connection with forgiveness. Reconciliation in Luke is, in other words, understood to be evident in both the actions and the words of Jesus as narrated by Luke.

1.2   The nature of the study

This study focuses on the concept of reconciliation within the context of the early first-century world in general and that of the Gospel of Luke in particular.[5] It is thus not a study of Luke's words for reconciliation but of his understanding of the concept (as explained in section 2.6).[6] It involves studying reconciliation in terms of various actions that demonstrate the process of reconciliation. It is thus based on the understanding of the process of reconciliation as an action. Reconciliation as a concept in this study is explained in chapter

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[5] A number of scholars of Luke understand the mission and identity of Jesus as the main theme of Luke's Gospel (Ellis, 1974:10-12). Some see him as a prophet like Moses with the power to perform miracles and to liberate the poor Jews from enslavement by the Empire (Minear, 1979:106-120; Prior, 1995:4-30). Conzelmann (1960:171-172) attests that the titles of Jesus that are found frequently in Luke are "Lord" and "Christ." He further emphasises that Luke prefers "Christ" to the former title, Jesus, because of his belief in the Christ, and that this title strongly influences his opinion of Jesus. Ravens (1995:111) believes that Luke understands Jesus as the Anointed One for whom the Palestinians Jews had been waiting. Ellis (1974:110-112) and Moule ([S.a.]:159-185), however, have argued that the theology of Luke's Gospel is different to that of Acts, since his Gospel deals with the pre-resurrection Lord, whereas Acts focuses on the post-resurrection Jesus. Therefore, they argue that the two documents should be separated from each other in terms of their respective theologies. Ravens (1995:166), however, argues to the contrary that the two documents should be regarded as one (Luke-Acts), since both Luke and Acts use the title "The Anointed One" with the same connotation as in the LXX. His attempt to emphasise the Lukan understanding of Jesus as the Anointed One of God, however, results in him ignoring the main focus of Luke's Gospel. He also fails to acknowledge the fact that the title "The Anointed One" is used by Luke when he is reporting other people's speeches in Luke-Acts. Contrary to Ravens' claim, Luke has not used this title in his personal description of Jesus. This is noteworthy, since Luke is believed by Lukan scholars to be writing to his audience in order to authenticate the person and the work of Jesus for them (Kuhn, 2010:55-59).

[6] What is meant by a "concept" in this context involves the idea of looking at reconciliation in terms of various actions that demonstrate the process of reconciliation. Investigating the process of reconciliation in the ancient world should go beyond a mere definition or verbal sense of using a word-to-action-oriented understanding. Actions that help in restoring the dignity of humanity can be categorised as conceptual processes, since it is impossible to explain them using a singular word.

two. In chapter three the concept of reconciliation is defined within the ambit of the salvific events encapsulated in the OT.

This study is, furthermore, not a study of the historical Jesus, but rather a study of the manner in which Jesus is depicted in Luke's Gospel (in other words, of the "Lukan Jesus"). The Lukan Jesus can be seen as the human par excellence (Voorwinde, 2011:120-122), that is, the one capable of liberating all humanity by forgiving their sins and restoring them to one another and to God (2:32; 4:18). He is also depicted as a human who lived contrary to the popular norms of his time in order to restore human dignity through forgiveness and reconciliation. His actions in Luke's Gospel thus demonstrate practically to humanity what is meant by reconciliation.

1.3   Research questions

As already stated (see section 1.1), the research problem that this study will address is how Luke understands the concept of reconciliation as it is made evident in his presentation of Jesus' teaching on reconciliation through his description in his Gospel of the actions and words of Jesus. The study will specifically address the following questions: has Luke's Gospel a place for a theology of reconciliation, since it does not explicitly refer to it? And, if it has, how does Luke present Jesus' teaching on reconciliation to his community, and what does Luke want his community to know about Jesus' teaching on reconciliation?

1.4   Motivation for the study

A scholarly work is often a result of one's personal experience, as is the case with this study. My interest in reconciliation arose from the realisation I had, growing up in an oil-rich area of the Niger Delta of Nigeria, that my community were excluded from sharing in these riches. I saw my brothers and sisters being treated by others in abusive ways that denigrated their human dignity. I have, therefore, often wondered how the oppressed and their oppressors who had excluded them from sharing in the resources of their land could be reconciled with each other. The way in which this reconciliation could be practised, however, eluded my understanding.

Stated concretely, my question was: how can I express what it means to be reconciled with others, especially to my aged grandmother in the Niger Delta of Nigeria? These questions led me to focus on Luke's presentation of Jesus. My reason for turning to Luke was that, although the Lukan Jesus did not explicitly teach his disciples to deal with ostracised people

in theoretical terms, his actions resulted in him being described as the friend of the sinners. who had reconciled them with God, as in 5:27-32; 7:31-35, 36-50; and 19:1-10 (Martin, 1976:374).

1.5   Aim of the study

This study will use the socio-historical understanding of reconciliation in the first century to investigate the actions and the words of Jesus in selected texts of Luke[7] within the realms of ritual, sacrifice and exchange in order to understand how reconciliation was realised according to the Lukan Jesus. Whereas the Lukan Jesus has been investigated by a number of scholars using socio-cultural, political, economic and other insights, this study will explicitly investigate Jesus' relationship with the ostracised and the prodigals in terms of reconciliation.

1.6   Previous studies

The growing volume of literature on the study of reconciliation[8] attests to the interest of scholarship therein, since it can be regarded as a vital part of human relations (Fitzmyer, 1981:164) with God (Taylor, 1941:70-71; Ladd, 1974:492) and with others (Constantineanu, 2010:183-186). Despite the increase in literature pertaining to the concept of reconciliation in the field of religion and theology, only a few of these studies, however, focus on the New Testament, and scarcely any address the Lukan material on reconciliation.[9] It is noteworthy that the bulk of literature on reconciliation in the New Testament has been on Pauline theology. An example of this is Ralph P. Martin's (1981:3) study which proposed that reconciliation is the heart of Pauline theology (*centrum Paulinum*).[10] Martin's proposal has attracted pro- and counter-arguments[11], which has resulted in an increase in literature on the

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[7] The main emphasis of this study is on Luke's Gospel and not on the Acts of Apostles. This was done in order to limit the scope of this study and because this study wants to focus on reconciliation as expressed in the words and deeds of the Lukan Jesus and not on the post-Easter followers of Jesus as described in Acts. There is, however, a need for a similar study to be carried out on Acts.

[8] Some of the earlier major literature on reconciliation appeared in the middle of the twentieth century after the work of James Denney (1917). Important studies are those of Vincent Taylor (1941), Karl Barth (1956), George E. Ladd (1974), I. Howard Marshall (1978a), Ralph Martin (1981) and J. M. Ford (1983).

[9] The major literature available on the teaching of Jesus on reconciliation is the work of Taylor and Ford. Other literature does not pay close attention to the Lukan community in terms of forgiveness and reconciliation. Rudolf Bultmann in his *Theology of the New Testament 1* (1971), for example, argued that, whereas the teaching on forgiveness can be attributed to Luke, that on reconciliation must be attributed to Paul.

[10] Martin's work was the first monograph to be published on Paul's notion of reconciliation (Porter, 2006:131).

[11] Ernst Käsemann (1971:52-57) has, for example, theorised that the heart of Pauline theology lies rather within the jurisdiction of justification.

Pauline concept of reconciliation.[12] Other important studies on the Pauline understanding of reconciliation are those of James Denney (1917) and more contemporary studies, such as those of Ched Myers and Elaine Enns (2009), Corneliu Constantineanu (2010) and Cilliers Breytenbach (2010). Studies which deal with the concept of reconciliation in Luke-Acts are very limited. In this regard the works of Taylor, Ford and Manus are of the few that actually focus on the concept of reconciliation in Luke.

1.6.1 Vincent Taylor

Vincent Taylor was the first New Testament scholar to assert that the concept of reconciliation is very prominent in Luke. In his work *Forgiveness and reconciliation: A study in New Testament theology* (1941), Taylor uses a redaction-critical approach in analysing the New Testament. Taylor does not only indicate the presence of the concept of reconciliation in Luke, but also acknowledges that the doctrine of reconciliation deserves

> … the most earnest attention by a generation such as our own which, until recently at least, has been inclined to esteem the problems of reconciliation too lightly. Grateful as we must be for the enrichment of the idea of forgiveness under the influence of the spirit and teaching of Jesus, we owe an immeasurable debt to the peculiar emphasis made in the Old Testament and New Testament writings. (Taylor, 1941:23)

Investigating reconciliation in the New Testament, Taylor (1941:21) is of the opinion that it must be approached from the perspective of the cancellation of sin which is contained within the Old Testament atonement motif. In the preface to his monumental work, Taylor (1941:v) poses the question: "Was it possible that a clearer light might be thrown upon atonement by a careful investigation of the New Testament teaching concerning forgiveness and reconciliation…?" In answering this question, Taylor traces reconciliation to the death of Jesus as scripted within the Gospel framework. Taylor divides his investigation into five chapters, which include the themes of forgiveness, justification, reconciliation, fellowship, sanctification and atonement.

In his treatment of forgiveness, Taylor studies a number of the parables of Jesus in Matthew, Mark and Luke. In his investigation of the parable of the Prodigal Son in the Gospel of Luke, Taylor recognises the complexity that lies within the text of this parable, in that Luke refers to the concepts of forgiveness and reconciliation without using the common Greek words

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[12] Stanley Porter (1994, 2006) is one of the scholars who differs from Martin's proposal that the doctrine of reconciliation is the heart of Paul's thought.

which usually express them. The question is thus: why has Luke not used any of these terms? The answer Taylor (1941:18) gives is that:

> The presumption surely is that from the standpoint of New Testament usage it is not an example of forgiveness, it describes reconciliation, and in the New Testament the two are not the same thing… Even here we have a warmer conception of forgiveness than anywhere else in the New Testament, and one which merges into a picture of reconciliation…

Taylor (1941:23) defines forgiveness as the removal of a barrier, whereas reconciliation "signifies full restoration to fellowship." Unfortunately, reconciliation in Luke is not extensively investigated by Taylor. Taylor (1941:70-99) chooses rather to focus on the Pauline theology of reconciliation in the later part of his work. He must, however, be acknowledged for identifying the problem that Luke does not refer explicitly to the concept of reconciliation.

1.6.2 Josephine Massyngberde Ford

About five decades after the publication of Taylor's work, J.M. Ford (1983) published an article, *Reconciliation and forgiveness in Luke's Gospel*, that utilised a narrative approach in order to analyse Luke's understanding of both forgiveness and reconciliation.[13] What makes Ford's work important is that it focuses at length on the issue of reconciliation and forgiveness in Luke. Before approaching her investigation, Ford (1983:80) writes:

> St. Luke's Gospel is remarkable for the degree to which it emphasizes the reconciling and forgiving character of Jesus.[14]

In order to achieve her narrative objective, Ford (1983:80) emphasises how Luke presents Jesus' response to the tax collector and the Samaritans. According to her, Luke has totally revised Mark in a way that distinguishes his writing from that of Mark and Matthew. The

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[13] The article of Ford was published in 1983 and since then no monograph on the topic of reconciliation in Luke has been published. Though some scholars have made reference to it, no in-depth study has been undertaken.

[14] The nomenclature 'Luke-Acts' in this study is used to refer to the Gospel of Luke and Acts, which have both been written by Luke. It does not mean that the study will be conducted on Acts as well. However, since scholars of Luke believe that the same person wrote the two document(s), reference will be made to Acts if it helps to clarify an aspect of Luke, but the focus of this study is on Luke's Gospel. Some Lukan scholars insist that Luke's Gospel and Acts should be treated as one document, since they believe that the two document(s) were written at the same time for the same purpose to the same audience. Charles Talbert (1984) is one of the major proponents of studying Luke-Acts as a single document. In 1979-1983, he chaired a Luke-Acts seminar, the papers of which were published in 1984 in a single volume, *Luke-Acts: New perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*, edited by Talbert himself. The two-volume work that was published in 1986, *The Narrative unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation vol. 1&11*, by Robert C. Tannehill, is a further important work on the unity of Luke-Acts.

purpose of Luke's action is to inform his community that Jesus' ministry is a ministry of reconciliation. To further elaborate on this, Ford situates her study against three different historical backdrops, which include: (1) the expectation of the Jews in regard to "a year of favour and political victory for the Jews and a year of defeat and retribution, often amounting to vengeance, for the Gentiles"; (2) the expectation of a supernatural act of God that would inaugurate the Year of Jubilee, thereby fulfilling the words of Leviticus 25:9-17; (3) the announcement of Jesus in Luke 4:16-18 as the one who had fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah 61. Ford (1941:83) emphasises that "For Luke, therefore, Jesus' ministry begins on a note of reconciliation vis-à-vis the enemy."

According to Ford (1983:83-94), the Lukan Jesus' ministry of reconciliation is evident in his dealings with the tax collector and the Samaritans. Again, much emphasis is placed on the role of atonement in the Lukan narrative, but its function in relation to the ongoing process of reconciliation in Luke is not mentioned by Ford. Unlike other scholars, who question if Luke has an atonement theology, Ford acknowledges that he has one, since the Lukan Jesus uses his body to atone for the sin of his people (Ford, 1983:94-97). Ford's investigation is important, since it deals with the issue of reconciliation in a practical sense, and with both the vertical and horizontal aspects of reconciliation. According to Ford, Luke bases the teachings of Jesus regarding reconciliation on the premise that the disciples of Jesus would emulate their master and apply the same principle to their world. Ford's (1983:97) statement that forgiveness and reconciliation actually encompass the total ministry of Jesus on earth means that the same is expected of his disciples through both their actions and words. Ford's knowledge of the allusions in Luke to the Old Testament is a major strength of her work. However, her work lacks detailed exegesis of the relevant texts which she uses as proof texts.

1.6.3 Chris Ukachukwu Manus

In his fourteen-page article *The universalism of Luke and the motif of reconciliation in Luke 23:6-12*, Chris U. Manus (1987) proposes that, whereas Luke 23:6-12 is of special interest for understanding Luke's concept of reconciliation, the notion of reconciliation actually occurs throughout the Lukan text. Manus differs from scholars such as H.W.A. Meyer, F.F. Bruce, I. Howard Marshall and C. Talbert on the intention of Luke 23:6-12, and he therefore attempts to clarify the meaning of the concept of reconciliation that is found within the Lukan Passion Narrative. Manus places more emphasis on atonement as one of the means of reconciliation in Luke's Gospel than do most scholars. To authenticate his assertion, Manus, using an

African lens, sees the Lukan narrative as a narrative that revolves around the common theme of "reconciling human hostility, especially that between Jew and Gentile" (Manus, 1987:123-124).

Manus (1987:127) believes that the suffering of Jesus and his interaction with the two kings in the course of his passion have significant symbolism which transcends immediate comprehension. Much of the argumentation developed by Manus is an attempt to ascertain the implication of the Lukan Jesus' Passion Narrative within the sphere of the universal reconciliation of humanity that includes both the Gentiles and the Jews. According to him, the concept of reconciliation in this text of Luke is stated

> in such a manner that he creates an eloquent symbolism that responds to his mission theology and notion of the universal significance of the death of Christ. The technique of re-utilization of material from the Gospel goes a long way to mark this passage as one that is purposefully designed to address itself to Gentile interests. It is in this light and aspect of Lucan theology that the consequences of interpreting Lk 23:6-12 has meaning for Christians in Africa today.

In his attempt to contextualise his understanding of Lukan reconciliation, Manus situates it within the African context by further enumerating that the "Lucan vision of the reconciliation of the major cultural religions… provides… a foundation for viewing the religious heritage of Africa as reflecting glamorous rays of Truth which enlightens all men" (Manus, 1987:129). With this thesis, Manus (1987:30) adduces that "the merit of Jesus' passion and death is a gospel – a gospel of reconciliation to all peoples." Manus's analysis and exegesis emphasise that Luke understands the ministry of Jesus as a ministry of reconciliation. But, although Manus is trying to universalise Luke's view of reconciliation, he fails to differentiate Christian religion from African traditional religion. Secondly, Manus does not see Christianity as a means of communicating this reconciliation to the African people, since he believes that Africans already have a consciousness of reconciliation within their traditional religions (Manus, 1987:128-129).

In summary, Taylor, Ford and Manus have created awareness that there are indeed important traces of reconciliation in the Gospel of Luke. More, however, still has to be done in clarifying what Luke's understanding of reconciliation truly is. Therefore, in order to properly examine Jesus' actions and words with regard to reconciliation in Luke, a study

needs to be undertaken that integrates an analysis of Luke's socio-cultural context with a careful exegesis of the relevant Lukan texts.

1.7   Methodology

Scholars have in the past used different methods in order to interpret the content of Luke's Gospel (Green & McKeever, 1994:15-143).[15] Modern Lukan scholars, however, believe that not all methods used in the past are valid, and that a method must be used which Luke within its original social and cultural context in order to understand its meaning.[16] To investigate the concept of reconciliation specifically in Luke's Gospel, this study will therefore utilise a socio-historical methodology (MacDonald, 1988:19; van Staden, 1991:11-23).[17]

The socio-historical study of the New Testament traces its origin to the Chicago School of Theology of the early nineteenth century, which specifically investigated the social and historical teaching of Jesus (Hynes, 1981:12-13).[18] Using the social sciences as a means of investigating the content of the Gospels was, however, later abandoned in favour of form criticism, whose treatment of the final New Testament text separates its content from sociological realities. The cry to go back to the social reality of early Christianity was first raised by Oscar Cullmann in 1925 (MacDonald, 1988:19), and later reiterated in the 1960s by

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[15] Green and McKeever (1994) have provided an overview of the history of interpretation of Luke-Acts till 1984 in their volume *Luke-Acts & New Testament historiography*, published by Baker Books.

[16] The work of a group of biblical scholars known as the Context Group has been influential in the understanding of the historical, social and cultural context of the authors of the New Testament. Two examples of their work are Neyrey, J.H. 1991. *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, which contains important articles, and the edited work of Pilch, J.J. 2001. *Social scientific models for biblical essays by the Context Group in honor of Bruce J. Malina.*

[17] The social sciences helped in creating a sociological awareness in the study of literature and the effect on society of a given text (van Staden, 1991:10-3). In essence, the socio-historical study of a text uses insights from the social setting of the ancient world in order to actualise its goal and objective (van Staden, 1991:13; MacDonald, 1988:20-22). Key individuals in this effort include E.A. Judge (1960), Gerd Theissen (1977), Howard Clark Kee (1980), Wayne A. Meeks (1983), and Richard A. Horsley (1989). Socio-historical hermeneutics was developed because methods such as form and redaction criticism did not offer scholarship a full understanding of the original context of the biblical text. The socio-historical reading of Luke in this study deals with the historical realia of Luke's Gospel in the light of the ancient Greco-Roman and the Jewish worlds.

[18] The work of William J. Hynes contends that socio-historical exegesis had already been familiar in the Chicago School of Theology. In his book *Shirley Jackson Case and the Chicago School,* Hynes adduces that Shirley Jackson Case, one of the forerunners of the School, had in 1914 published one of the classical works on the socio-historical method titled *The evolution of early Christianity: A generic study of first-century Christianity in relation to its religious environment.* Case was not the only scholar in the Chicago School of Theology who attempted to use the social sciences. W. Rauschenbusch wrote his *Social principles of Jesus* (1916) as well. The most succinct historical review on the social scientific studies of both the Old Testament and New Testament is provided by the historian Edwin Yamauchi (1984). However, one cannot ignore the fact that the influence of the German school, especially the Tübingen school, was evident in the Chicago School at that time. In the recent past the Chicago School of Theology still exerted a great influence on New Testament interpretation by the likes of E.C. Colwell and Robert Funk, the founder of the Jesus Seminar. For more on the Chicago School of Theology, see Robert Funk (1976:4-22).

E.A. Judge, who believed that there is no idea that can be satisfactorily explained by the investigation of its philosophical connection without understanding the social situation that gave birth to the idea.[19] In other words, for an investigation to be carried out on any text, the background of such a text has to be examined properly. The same applies to any biblical text, such as the Gospel of Luke.

Although the investigation into the social world of early Christianity began to gain ground among the scholars of the New Testament[20], the call to investigate early Christianity using sociological tools was not heeded until the publications of Wayne Meeks (1972), John Gager (1975) and Gerd Theissen (1977). These three pioneers explored the relationship that existed between the early followers of Jesus and their social setting. Their work was initially criticised by traditional exegetes who believed that the study of the New Testament has no connection to sociology.[21]

Studies that investigate the social world of the New Testament can, according to MacDonald (1988:20), be divided into social history and socio-historical studies.[22] Owing to the nature of the material to be investigated, this study will adopt the socio-historical method, which uses

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[19] Before the publication of Oscar Cullmann, the interest of New Testament scholars in its social context had already been stimulated by Adolf Deissmann (1927:9-17) as far back as 1905. Deissmann attempted to develop a means by which the content of the New Testament could be examined in the light of its social context, on which archaeological discoveries had shed new light on the people of the New Testament world. In his work *Light from the ancient east or the New Testament illustrated by recent discovered text of the Graeco-Roman world*, Deissmann contends that using this method along with the available ancient texts locates interpretation in a specific context.

[20] The use of history as a scientific method of investigation has not raised the same concerns that the use of the sociological method has for understanding the content of the New Testament.

[21] In the words of Robin Scroggs, the sociological investigation of the New Testament world is "methodological docetism" (Scroggs, 1979-1980:165-6). This criticism probably stemmed from the fact that the earlier scholars of sociology used it as a tool against religion. The views of Émile Durkheim (1976), Karl Marx (1982) and Max Weber (1978) on religion caused many New Testament scholars to avoid the use of sociology in studying the content of the New Testament. Durkheim saw religion as a social construct (something that is made by society for its benefit) that would soon fade away as society grew in knowledge, while Marx (1982:131) sees religion as a baton in the hand of the law enforcement officers for the subjugation of the poor. To him, religion is the opium of the people, and Weber (1978:36) believes that the rise of capitalism came into existence as the result of Christians' interaction with society, in the sense that religion creates stratification in any given society. In his book *The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, Weber argues that the present economic situation came about as a result of religion, and therefore calls for "the tendency to doubt the sanctity of the religious tradition…" Scroggs' doubt can thus be understood from the perspective of how controversial religion has been according to sociology in the past.

[22] Both social-history and socio-historical methods investigate the early Christian environment. A social-historical approach is the application of the modern method to the study of the ancient text with presuppositions from the present social context. Luise Schottroff (1995:47) acknowledges that "it is already… in its reflection on the biblical tradition a clear perspective on practical life today" and she further adds that such interpretation is mirrored in that it is based on the social context of the interpreter. On the other hand, socio-historical interpretation uses the social context of the text to verify how such social norms affected the life of the people with whom the text deals.

different theoretical insights from a number of social sciences such as cultural anthropology, sociology, history, economics, and politics in order to understand the meaning of a text. Wayne Meeks' (1983) classical work on Pauline Christianity, *The first urban Christians*, is a good example of the application of social sciences to biblical interpretation. Scholars such as MacDonald (1988), Webb (1991), Asano (2005), and Marshall (2009), who have applied the socio-historical method to New Testament interpretation, have come to the conclusion that this approach helps in placing the content of the New Testament within its social, cultural and religious context (Webb, 1991:26-27).

1.7.1 Sociological exegesis

The utilisation of the social sciences in biblical interpretation is very important, as it reveals the social norms and values embedded within the biblical text. In order to benefit from insights from the social sciences in biblical interpretation, this study will follow the path mapped out by Theissen (1977:3; 1992:36). According to him, the aim of sociological exegesis is to "investigate the relation between the written text and human behaviour" (Theissen, 1992:33).

In his approach to sociological exegesis, Theissen uses the theory of functional analysis to interpret a given text. Theissen (1992:34) further posits that it is important to investigate the New Testament in the light of the sociology of literature, which, according to him, means asking about the intentions and conditions determining the typical social behaviour of the authors, transmitters and addressees of the New Testament. Theissen (1983:29) states that the sociology of literature "studies the conditions and intentions of the text as typical forms of symbolic interaction." This implies that the writing of any given text can be influenced by a tradition typical of the social behaviour of the people who created the text. The question of the *source* of information is therefore pertinent to any sociological exegete (Theissen, 1977:3).

Theissen (1977:3; 1992:36) is of the opinion that in order to interpret the content of the Bible there are three approaches to the sociological interpretation of social realities that can be employed: analytical conclusions, constructive conclusions and conclusions by analogy. The constructive approach to a given text aims at describing the social situation in which the text was created. The constructive approach draws evidence from the evaluation of pre-scientific sociological statements which provide information on the biographical date, origin, property and status of an individual or programme, and behaviour that is associated with the group

(Theissen, 1977:3). A constructive approach to a text is a direct disclosure of its *Sitz im Leben*, with the intention of expressing the situation that is mentioned within the text (MacDonald, 1988:21). It helps provide information about the origin, status of people, societal information of an event, and the organisation and patterns of behaviour of a society (Theissen, 1977:3). Following Theissen's description of the constructive approach, this study will attempt to identify the sociological situation in the Greco-Roman and Old Testament worlds with regard to the need for and practice of reconciliation, which will be helpful in interpreting various words of Jesus which relate to reconciliation in Luke's Gospel. In this case, we need to reconstruct the situation presumed by the text (as explained in section 5.7.2.1), since a text is believed to express the behaviour of its society. For instance, in Luke 17:11-19 we are told that one of the lepers was a Samaritan. This text thereby raises the question of whether it was possible that a Samaritan could form an association with a Jew in the original context referred to by the text. Through a constructive approach, it is possible to detect the social norms and behaviours that existed in its society, which indicate that it was possible for Samaritans and Jews to cooperate if they belonged to the same social group. The use of constructive deduction when reading Luke 17:11-19 raises questions as to the social demarcation that existed between the Samaritans and the Jews. For instance, in the Passion Narrative in Luke 23:27-31, we see that women sympathised with Jesus, and this can help us to reconstruct the scene, since there is no specific information regarding the exact identity of these women. Therefore, we can deduce that the women mentioned in 23:27-31 were Jews and that they may have followed Jesus from the time that he was preaching and performing miracles.[23] The description of the text by Luke, and the response of Jesus therein, further indicate that imminent death awaited the Lukan Jesus. The significance of the actions of these women and the statement of Jesus will therefore be viewed in the context of death in both the Greco-Roman world and the Old Testament to see its connectedness in Luke's Gospel. While information concerning early Christianity is difficult to obtain, a constructive approach can be an effective tool in gathering such information (MacDonald, 1988:21). By using a constructive approach in investigating the concept of reconciliation in Luke, each of the available texts becomes an opening that leads to a deeper understanding of how it was expressed in early Christianity.

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[23] Theissen (1977:7) sees the role of these women as being reciprocal, since they were all benefiting from what Jesus was doing when he was active in his ministry in Jerusalem. The role of the sympathisers in the Gospel narrative becomes crucial when viewing it from the perspective of the suffering and death of the Lukan Jesus.

The analytical approach in turn provides an interpreter with an opportunity to use the content of a text to infer something about the *Sitz im Leben* of a given text which does not express its social situation directly (Theissen, 1977:3). The purpose of analytical conclusions is to draw evidence from the text in order to infer the type of social behaviour or norm that is depicted within the text (Theissen, 1992:60-61). An analytical approach to sociological information provides information about conflict and events between groups in regard to ethics or norms. For example, the stories in many parables of Jesus are believed to have their origins in traditions that were already in existence (Theissen, 1992:36-37). Specifically, although the parable of the Prodigal Son in Luke 15:11-32 does not explicitly mention reconciliation or forgiveness, reading the parable with an analytical approach provides an interpreter with the ability to infer that the actions of both the son and the father in the text speak of the concepts of repentance and reconciliation. One aspect of the usefulness of this analytical approach is its ability to enable the interpreter to read beneath the surface of the text and thereby infer its possible meaning and function in the context of the community from which the text emanated. Another example of this is found in Luke 17:11-19, where Luke does not explicitly refer to the hatred between the Jews and Samaritans, but the text rather emphasises their identities, which alerts an interpreter to the ethical discrepancy between the Jews and the Samaritan in the parable. This study will focus on the pre-scientific sociological domain (the contexts that existed in parallel with Luke's gospel) in order to understand some of the social situations in Luke, especially in the situations that influenced the behaviour of the lepers in Luke 5:11-16 and 17:12-19.

The comparative approach involves comparing primitive Christian sources with contemporary parallels that are similar in content but different in origin. MacDonald (1988:22) adds that such sources "can be employed to gain understanding of the early Christian movement, either by contrasting it with various aspects of the surrounding culture or by looking for similarities between early Christianity and movements and groups of other times and places." Understanding Luke through the application of the comparative method primarily involves identifying the sources of Luke's text. In this instance two different sources of documents have been suggested by scholars. Luke is believed to be a non-Jewish author (see section 5.1.1) who writes to a non-Jewish audience (Esler, 1987:44-45; Theissen, 2001:85-95). As a proselyte, his non-Jewish religious background might have given him the opportunity to use sources and shape them to suit his audience. This means that Luke drew from the immediate environment of his Greco-Roman context in order to enable his

community to understand his message within their religious and socio-cultural context. At the time Luke wrote his material,[24] the Greco-Roman culture was already an established culture among different people, and this influenced Luke. Another possible source from which Luke drew his insight is the Jewish religion, or the Old Testament. This was possibly as a result of the fact that the origin of Christianity can be traced back to the Jewish religious world, and that Luke as a proselyte would have preferred to use available sources from the source of his faith and its religious practices (Brown, 1997:226).

Identifying and comparing the sources of Luke's Gospel using Theissen's comparative approach enables an interpreter to compare different sources at the same time (Theissen, 1992:44). For instance, there is ample evidence that the concept of reconciliation occurred in both Jewish and Greco-Roman religious ritual practices (Porter, 1994:60-62). Analysing the concept of reconciliation in Luke in comparison with these two sources will thus provide important insight into how Luke understands the concept differently from how it was understood in the Old Testament (LXX) Jewish context and that of the Greco-Roman world. The religious practices of this concept will also be examined *pari passu* in this study, since religion was an integral part of both the Jewish and the Greco-Roman worlds. Since it can be argued that Luke's Gospel engages with both worlds, it is necessary to analyse both of them in order to understand how reconciliation functioned therein.

1.7.2 Socio-historical interpretation

Theissen's sociological exegesis, while very insightful, is not without its problems. For instance, if the sociological method is not carefully employed there is a real danger of reductionism influencing the study (MacDonald, 1988:22-23; van Staden, 1991:178). Reductionism in this case implies looking at an issue from a narrow perspective, resulting in one being unable to see it from a different perspective and framework (Kim, 2012:118). In order for this study to avoid reductionism it will adopt as far as possible the position of Aune (2010) on the historical-critical method as a scientific way of testing reality.[25] Such a combination of different methods, which in the case of this study is the combination of

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[24] See section 5.1.1 for discussion on the authorship, the structure, the recipients and the dating of Luke.

[25] Martin Hengel is an example of exegetes who used the historical-critical method in investigating the content of the New Testament. In his work *Acts and the history of the earliest Christianity*, Hengel (1979:57) states that "The historical method which is appropriate here requires extreme care, guarded intensity, responsibility, and reverence toward the truth."

sociological exegesis (as explained above) and the historical-critical method (as explained below), will help in providing a balanced insight.

The utilisation of the historical-critical method along with a sociological approach will guard against the latter being used in an anachronistic manner in that the sociological dimension of reconciliation in Luke will be investigated in accordance with its historical setting (cf. deSilva, 2000:18-19) by also using a historical-critical approach. This thesis will thus not just study the Gospel of Luke according to a specific sociological theory or model. In examining the historical setting of a text by using a historical-critical method as well it will attempt to take into consideration a number of aspects of a given text which prevents the present of being read into a text (Barton, 2007:179). Insights gained through the historical-critical method, for example, deal with the authorial intention, issues that prompted the existence of the text, and the situation of the text (Aune, 2010:105-108). In the words of Cranford (2002:149), the historical critical method

> has to do with the history implicit within the New Testament text itself. The New Testament interpreter has to take the bits of historical reference within the text, add to them the data available from other contemporary sources, and then attempt to reconstruct a history as a background to facilitate better understanding of the text itself.

Historical criticism provides a means by which the concept of reconciliation in Luke can be reconstructed to the extent to which the material on reconciliation that resides within the Lukan text, as well as the available sources that are believed to be major sources for Luke, allows. Tolar (2002:21-37) asserts that for the historical-critical method to be used by an interpreter of a given text, the grammatical context of the text, the author, the original listener, the speaker, the written source, its society and relationship to the text, and its geography and topography have to be taken into consideration. For a clear interpretation of the text and its authenticity, it is necessary to look at how some of these texts were interpreted over many centuries by the church. The historical-critical method also involves interpreting a concept in a given text by the interpreter of the text.[26] In other words, for a given concept to be understood in a given text, the words and deeds described therein need to be taken into consideration. One of the functions of the historical method is to interpret a given text

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[26] Paul Ricoeur's four criteria of the concept of the meaning of action in a given text, which he mentions as: the fixation of action, the autonomization of action, relevance and importance and human action as an "open work" are important in the understanding concept of forgiveness and reconciliation in Luke. The reason is that a given text is believed not to speak only in words but also in actions (Ricoeur, 1991:153).

holistically by examining the actions and the words concurrently as they are embedded within the text.

This study will combine sociological and historical-critical methods to derive insights and formulate a socio-historical approach to Luke, as described below.[27] It is believed that the combination of sociological and historical-critical methods will enable a well-balanced investigation and fruitful hermeneutical reflection (MacDonald, 1988:23). As mentioned earlier (see section 1.7), scholars such as MacDonald (1988), Webb (1991), Asano (2005) and Marshall (2009) have found socio-historical interpretation useful in its application to the interpretation of the New Testament text. Having given an explanation of the socio-historical method as it will be applied in this study, the focus will now shift to how to apply this method to Luke's teaching on the action of Jesus in connection with reconciliation in his Gospel (see section 1.7.2.1 below). Investigating the concept of reconciliation in the ancient world is very important, as it provides insights into the way and manner in which the ancient world effected reconciliation. Reading the ancient religious text using the perspective of sociology might shed light on its social importance within the ancient world.

With this in mind, this study will first examine the concept of reconciliation within the contexts of the Greco-Roman world (chapter 2) and of the Old Testament (chapter 3) so as to determine how the concept was understood. The place of the divine in initiating reconciliation and its social and religious settings will be given priority, since in the ancient world the notion of reconciliation functioned mainly within the sphere of religion (see section 2.3.1). The tendency was that in the ancient world the sacred precinct was respected above all and that its defilement was regarded as an unholy action which called for the expulsion of whoever had caused such defilement. The sacred precinct in this study refers to those places or spaces, whether in the form of houses, trees, mountains or rivers, which were believed to be occupied by the divine being. Such places or spaces were given special reverence by humans. This implies that there was a separation between the holy and unholy that always led to conflict between the holy and unholy domains (see section 2.3.1). The socio-historical investigation into the use of war, ritual, sacrifice, and other social norms and behaviours, as described within ancient Greco-Roman and Jewish texts, provides information through which

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[27] Jonathan Marshall employs the socio-historical method in studying the concept of benefaction and patronage in Luke and the method has proven to be worthwhile. However, this study will not rigidly adopt the way in which Marshall uses his methodology since the present study is dealing with a different concept from that of Marshall (2009).

one can understand this concept in the ancient world, since humanity was not always isolated from conflict. Comparison of the Greco-Roman world and the Jewish world also becomes necessary in order to understand the concept within the context of the Gospel of Luke, since different cultures practised reconciliation differently.

1.7.2.1 The socio-historical reading of Luke's understanding of reconciliation

This section provides an outline of the chapters. In order to analyse Luke's teaching on the concept of reconciliation, chapter one of this study has provided the background to the study, the statement of the research problem and focus, the aim thereof, and the theoretical framework and methodology that will be used.

The Gospel of Luke was written to the Gentiles using the Greek language. Although the language of Luke is Greek, the religion in which Luke was expressing to his audience was similar to that of the Jews (Casey 1991:152-156). In other words, Luke, as a Gentile, used a Gentile language to present his proselytised Jewish religion[28] to the Gentile nations so that the Gentiles would understand the nature of Christianity within their own context (see section 3.1 for a further elaboration on this point). The Gentile-Judeo background to Luke's Gospel prompts Theissen (2001:88) to assert that "In Rome we find the peculiar assembly of Judaeo-Christianity and Pauline Gentile Christianity, which is so characteristic of the two Lukan works." It means that no one can effectively understand the Gospel of Luke without first considering Greco-Roman society and the Jewish religion.

As a result of insights obtained from the socio-historical method, chapter two of this work will study literary texts within the context of the Greco-Roman society in order to understand how the concept of reconciliation was practised at that time. This study prefers the nomenclature "Greco-Roman", since it is believed that the Gospel of Luke was written during the time in which Roman and Greek cultures were hybridised. As a result, there was overlapping of culture, which makes it impossible to separate the Greek culture from that of the Romans. Hence Greco-Roman is adopted as a result of the mixture of Greek and Roman cultures.[29] This study will thus draw on insights gained from the ancient Greco-Roman

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[28] That Luke was a Gentile with a good knowledge of the Old Testament (the LXX version) implies that he was possibly a proselyte (Esler, 1987:30-33).

[29] Mark A. Chancey (2005:18-19) has provided an explicit explanation of the interpretation of the meaning of the hybridisation of both the Greek and Roman social and cultural norms to form Greco-Roman culture in his work *Greco-Roman culture and the Galilee of Jesus.*

environment. This will enable the interpreter to know whether or not the concept of the Lukan reconciliation is in agreement with what was obtainable in the Greco-Roman context. David Konstan (2010:1-19) advocates that the understanding of forgiveness and reconciliation in the ancient world is not consonant with what the modern world calls reconciliation. This chapter will therefore in addition use a socio-historical approach in order to carefully survey some of the basic phenomena in the ancient Greco-Roman world, such as war and the method of achieving peace. These insights drawn from the ancient Greco-Roman world will yield an understanding of how this society practised reconciliation, and this will make it possible to investigate the Gospel of Luke.

Just as in chapter two, chapter three will base its findings on a survey of the ancient Jewish concept of reconciliation, with special reference to the LXX. The Old Testament rituals and sacrifices in the priestly material that have a bearing on reconciliation will be given priority. This chapter will also survey the preaching of the Old Testament prophets and its implication for understanding the concept of reconciliation in the Old Testament.[30]

In chapter four, the results of surveying the use of the concept of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman and the Old Testament contexts will be analysed. This analysis will show whether or not there is any similarity between them. The results obtained will then be used to investigate and examine the concepts in Luke's Gospel, and thereby to ascertain whether Luke shares the same beliefs found in the Greco-Roman and the Old Testament contexts.

Chapter five of the study will focus on how the Gospel of Luke understands the concept of reconciliation in the pericopae that deal with the healing of the leper(s), Samaritans, and the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:19-32). The task here is to use the socio-historical method to investigate these pericopae to see how Luke depicts the teaching of Jesus on reconciliation in them. Ford (1983:93) has, for example, stated that the healing of the leper(s) by Jesus in Luke is a clear example of Jesus practising forgiveness and reconciliation. Similarly, Craddock (1990:1021) more than a century ago pointed out that the social context of 5:11-15 is all about ostracism, and that for Jesus to heal the leper and send him back to a priest meant that the man had been received back to the community of people. Lenski (1961:289) acknowledges that the healed man was restored first to his people and second to

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[30] The use of the Old Testament (LXX) and Jewish religion are used interchangeably in this study. The use of the LXX is very important, since many scholars are of opinion that the New Testament writers, and Luke not excepted, used the Septuagint version of the Old Testament in their works (Fitzmyer, 1981:295–313; Pao & Schnabel, 2007:515-516).

"his religious prerogatives in the Temple worship." Geldenhuys (1979:185-186) adds that the miracle of the healing demonstrates the healing power of Jesus as a great physician who has power to cure the incurable leprosy, which was regarded as the result of [or judgement for] a great sin in Israel. Fitzmyer (1985:574-575) follows the same line of argument, while Green (1997:234-238) indicates that the command for the man to show himself first to the priest was given so that the priest might inspect and restore him back to his people based on the Mosaic material in Leviticus 13-14.

Ford (1983:88-94) further posits that the way in which Luke deals with the Samaritans in his text indicates that Jesus' teaching on forgiveness and reconciliation was in contrast to the Jews' social behaviour towards Samaritans. These two groups were enemies, but from the context of the Lukan narrative it appears that Luke has a different perspective toward the Samaritans.[31] This singular assertion calls for the examination of this pericope to see how Luke interprets Jesus' teaching in the text.

Rick Strelan (2008:109) conceives that the concept of reconciliation permeated the entire Gospel of Luke through its numerous references to meals. Meal scenes clearly play an important part in the Gospel and receive different interpretations by Luke. One such meal scene is that of the Passover in 22:19-20, which is believed to be an archetype of the Mosaic Passover meal in Exodus.[32] This study will therefore focus on the careful exegesis of the text to see how Luke reconstructs the concept of reconciliation through this meal scene.

The concept of reconciliation in the Old Testament (LXX) is often linked to ritual and sacrifice, which encapsulate the whole history of salvation (Käsemann, 1971:59), it is necessary to investigate the role of the death of the Lukan Jesus within Luke and assess whether it is possible to reconstruct the process of atonement embedded in the concept of reconciliation within the Lukan Passion Narrative. This will be the focus of chapter six of this study. In chapter seven the results of chapters two and three will be analysed in line with chapters four, five and six of this study in order to bring it to a conclusion.

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[31] Zannoni (2002:68) believes that the Samaritans were the most ostracised people at the time of Luke, but that the Lukan Jesus had a different attitude towards them. The story in the parable of the Good Samaritan is believed by many scholars to be peculiar to Lukan community.

[32] The Lukan remembrance meal provides an avenue through which the Lukan community remembers the gestures and the words of Jesus. It is believed to signify the very presence of Jesus in their midst (Johnson, 1999:132). This meal is an archetype of the Passover meal in Exodus 12, which Moses gave to the people of Israel as a sign of their deliverance from bondage in Egypt. The Lukan remembrance meal shows the deliverance of the Lukan community from the bondage of sin and sickness to the new life that is found in Jesus' blood on the cross of Calvary.

Chapter Two - The concept of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter (section 1.7), it was argued in line with Deissmann (1927) that the socio-historical milieu of a text can help in identifying the context of the original author and his or her intention. Theissen (1977), in explaining his use of sociological exegesis, proposes that for the content of any ancient document to be understood there has to be a comparison of its literary content in terms of its composition with that of its immediate environment. This criterion is important for the examination and investigation of the concept of reconciliation in the context of the Greco-Roman world. For the concept of reconciliation to be properly understood in Luke, it therefore needs to be viewed in the light of Luke's immediate environment, the Greco-Roman society as it can be reconstructed from archaeological and literary evidence. An important way of doing this is to investigate the inscriptions from the Greco-Roman world uncovered by archaeologists, as proposed by E.A. Judge (1967)[33], and to carefully examine the writings on reconciliation of various authors in the Greco-Roman society. The volume of extant literature from the ancient Greco-Roman world is, however, vast; therefore this section begins with a survey of secondary literature that has studied the concept of literature in the Greco-Roman world. In order to identify relevant texts from the Greco-Roman world, contact was made with two of the leading scholars of reconciliation in the ancient word, Prof David Konstan (Brown University) and Prof Cilliers Breytenbach (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), who both provided invaluable suggestions in this regard. The ancient text discussed by the secondary literature and suggested by these scholars where studied and translated by the author to assess if they did indeed contribute to an understanding of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world.

Several studies have been done on reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world using different methods and approaches[34], which have revealed different ways in which the act of

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[33] In line with Adolf Deissmann (1927), E.A. Judge believes that for a proper understanding of the writing of the ancient world it has to be understood in terms of its context, and therefore evidence from archaeology needs to be carefully considered.

[34] I. Howard Marshall (1978a) in his studies of the meaning of reconciliation with reference to both its secular and theological usage developed several hypotheses in dealing with the concept in the New Testament with reference to the Greco-Roman context. Stanley Porter (1994) builds on the modus operandi of Marshall's work, but his study of reconciliation is largely philological in nature, in that he focuses on the secular and theological usage of terms for reconciliation. David Konstan (2006; 2010) is more conceptual in his approach to the issue of

reconciliation was accomplished. Stanley Porter (1994:23) believes that the ancient Greek usage of *καταλλάσσω* (*διαλλάσσω*)[35] indicates that it was used in the exchanging of goods and in the context "of eliminating hostility and creating friendship (i.e. exchanging enmity for friendship)." The same observation is made by Breytenbach (2010:172-176), who states that friendship and the removal of hostility were paramount in the ancient Greco-Roman idea of reconciliation. David Konstan (2010:59) believes that the ancient Greco-Roman understanding of reconciliation differed from that of the present world. It was in this environment that Christianity originated, and there is no doubt that Christianity imitated and adopted the language and culture of its immediate environment in order to advance its growth as a movement. This is true since Christianity did not originate in a vacuum but in an environment that was culturally, socially, religiously and politically active, and Christianity interacted with this first-century Gentile context (Klauck, 2000:5). In this regard, Kwame Bediako (1992:16) points out that "if Christians of Greco-Roman culture were to achieve any real measure of valid and settled identity, they needed to come to terms with the various facets of that culture from which they themselves had emerged."

This chapter will therefore investigate the different ways in which the Greco-Roman world expressed the concept of reconciliation in their religious, cultic, social and political spheres. The argument here is that religion was enshrined in all aspects of human activities in antiquity, unlike in today's modern Western world, which separates religion from some human activities (as mentioned in section 1.7.1). In Greco-Roman society the three entities of religion, politics and society were integrated.[36] The distinction is made here for the purpose

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reconciliation in ancient Greco-Roman society Cilliers Breytenbach (2010) provides several action that led to the process of reconciliation in the ancient world.

[35] Stanley E. Porter (1994:12-19) observes that the word *καταλλάσσω* is a compound of *ἀλλάσσώ*, which in classical Greek can be used to denote "the sense of changing shape, colour or appearance, bartering, and exchanging one state or condition for another." The ancient Greek word that was known in the Greco-Roman world for "reconciliation of friendship" before the advent of Hellenism and Christianity was *διαλλάσσω*. *Καταλλάσσώ*, meaning reconciliation, gained currency in the Hellenistic period and in early Christianity.

[36] It is important to note that religion is inextricably linked to all social and human facets in the Greco-Roman world. The distinction between religion and the secular was unknown to the inhabitants of the Greco-Roman world. From the Homeric era to the time of Plato, and up to the period of Augustus Caesar, religion had been a vehicle for maintaining decorum in society. It seems that the distinction between religion and the secular is a modern construct, even though it might not be wrong to assert that the idea originated from the time of Homer, since Homer in his writing took time to differentiate between the holy and unholy, the gods and humans. But Homeric literature does not categorise and separate religion from secular society. His notion is rather that religion is the ultimate principle that cannot be separated from any human endeavours and action. No wonder Plato (*Laws* 10) advises that humanity should not endeavour to practise a private religion, since he believes that it would eventually lead to religious acrimony, or what may be termed as the 'secularisation of god.' In this study the prominence of religion is emphasised throughout as something that cannot be separated from humanity

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of clarity and analysis, but it was not possible in the ancient Greco-Roman world to separate them from each other.

2.2 The need for reconciliation in Greco-Roman society

The social, cultural and political atmosphere of Greco-Roman society was generally tense, with a high incidence of violence which characterised all aspects of human life. This violence was linked to the central cultural values of honour and shame in the ancient Greco-Roman world, since attempts to increase a person's acquired honour often lead to confrontations (see sections 2.3.2.1 and 4.3.3.). Challenging others for honour was believed, however, to be an acceptable way of life (Finney, 2012:17-19).

Besides the competition for honour there were also other causes for hostility and estrangement which necessitated ways in which to achieve reconciliation. Examples of these are war, disease and banishment. The purpose of this chapter is not to give a detailed exposition of war, disease and social practices such as banishment and intimidation in the Greco-Roman period, but to highlight the necessity for reconciliation amidst the various problems encountered in the Greco-Roman world.

2.2.1 War

J. Lawrence Angel (1946:493-498) attests that the Greeks used war as a display of their growth as a civilisation. Before the fifth century BCE, almost all the Greek states had experienced war in one form or another. It was a means of survival and expansion, as well as an integral part of the culture of the people (Chaniotis, 2005:1-6). High honours were accorded to the men who participated in war. Raaflaub (2007:9) describes war in this situation as being "endemic." War was so significant that it was "prominent in the literature of classical antiquity" and therefore "it was a fact of life" in the Greco-Roman world (Hornblower, 2007:22).[37] The writings of many Greco-Roman historians attest to the common belief that ancient Greco-Roman society adopted war as a means of expanding their territories. For example, Thucydides (*Hist*. 6.24.3), the ancient historian, describes the intention behind the Athenians' warfare as *pothos*, which aimed at conquering the "unseen

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or what can be called the ultimate practice (*ultimus operis*) of humanity (Bilski, 2009:31-70; Fraenkel, 2012:5-11).

[37] Michele A. Riva, Vittorio A. Sironi, Daniela Fano and Giancarlo Cesana (2011:55), who studied the Greco-Roman healthworkers' system, for example, came to the conclusion that physicians were attached to soldiers in the Greco-Roman world because of the importance awarded to war.

world" of their time.[38] The historian Herodotus (*Hellenica*, 6.56) attests that one of the privileges given to a king in the Greco-Roman empire was the right to declare war with any nation and conquer and subject them. This dream of the ancient Greeks of expanding their dominion over others later found its fulfilment in the conquests of Alexander the Great.

Homer, one of the first and most successful poets of the ancient Greco-Roman world, influenced a great number of readers in the Greco-Roman world through his writings. It is therefore important to note that Homeric philosophy respects and sees warfare as a path to success even though the Greek epics also consistently referred to the tragedy of war. Homer highlights the intricacies of wars in human society and the place of war in divine plans for the Greeks and Romans. In line with this, Plutarch (*Alex. Fort.* 1.391), attesting to the heroic success of Alexander the Great, believed that the weapon Alexander used in conquering the world did not come from his father but from his teacher and the works of Homer, since the success of Alexander the Great as a warrior was in line with Homer's heroic philosophy of war. War was furthermore seen as an instrument of justice that the ancient Greco-Roman used in achieving various purposes. From the popular dictum attributed to Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander, who says that "we make war that we may live in peace,"[39] it is apparent that war was used as a mechanism for social, religious and political control in the Greco-Roman world.

Xenophon, on the other hand, used his works to give a description of the reality of war in ancient times. Both Thucydides and Xenophon note that sacrifices were made to Zeus before the Greeks embarked on war; if by change the sacrifice would not be acceptable to the gods, such an expedition had to be cancelled. Prayers were also offered by pious soldiers to various gods for protection and victory in war (Krentz, 2007:157-158), since the gods were themselves involved in the activities of war. For instance, Athena (Minerva) was the god responsible for politics, war and industry, while Ares (Mars) was sole patron of war (Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 663; Jeffers, 1999:92-93). Janus was the god of the door and, owing to the emphasis that was laid on religion as a state affair, the door of Janus was kept open

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[38] The "unseen world" in the context of this study is the world that the Greco-Romans were yet to explore. It was believed among the Greco-Romans that warfare was one of the ways in which they could conquer the world. Alexander the Great was regarded as someone who implemented the agenda of conquering the unseen world through waging various wars (Thucydides, *Hist.* 6.24.3; Herodotus, *Hellenica* 6.56).

[39] The statement is attributed to Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* 1177b5-6), who explicitly and implicitly regarded war as an instrument of peace and reconciliation. This apparently indicates one of the intentions for waging war during the time of Aristotle. War in this context is not just for conquering people and land, but for sustaining society through forcing people to obey the law of the land by living in peace with one another.

when Rome was at war and shut when it was at peace (Plutarch, *Numa* 19.5-6, 20.1; Jeffers, 1999:95).[40] This relation between waging war and the temple in Rome attests to the fact that wars influenced all areas of human life in the Greco-Roman word.

The willingness to wage war did not end with the early Greco-Roman world. It continued in the late fouth century BCE within the Republic and *Principate*. The essence of these wars, according to Adrian Goldsworthy (2007:80-83), was not only to conquer territories and lands but also to subject people to the order of the empire. War was seen as the power of the Roman people (*Imperium Populi Romani*) over their enemies (Goldsworthy, 2007:82). The Romans did not, however, just glorify war. They were well aware of the terrible destruction it could bring. In the words of Sallust in "The war with Jugutha" (*Jug.* 41.8-9):

> The people were burdened with military service and poverty. The generals divided the spoils of wars with a few friends. Meanwhile the parents or little children of the soldiers, if they had a powerful neighbour, were driven from their homes. Thus by the side of power, greed rose, unlimited and unrestrained, violated and devastated everything, respected nothing, and held nothing sacred, until it finally brought to its own downfall.

Sallust (*Jug.* 42.4), in his observation concerning Greco-Roman warfare, adds that "the nobles of the Greco-Roman world then abused their victory to gratify their selfish passions."

Ancient authors such as Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch and Titus Livius (Livy) and modern scholars such as Chaniotis and Raaflaub generally agree that Greco-Roman society was preoccupied by war. Not only was it preoccupied by war, but its expansion was negotiated through the process of waging many wars in which the military might was used as an instrument of coercion by the stronger party to force the weaker one to accept his authority in order for peace and coexistence to be possible (Breytenbach, 1990:67). However, reconciliation in the true sense of word, cannot be found in the ancient world as something achieved through war. Conquest and coercion do not result in the removal of enmity between enemies. They instead often increase it. There was, therefore, no lasting peace in the Greco-Roman world in spite of the waging of many wars (Konstan, 2006:202).

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[40] Plutarch (*Numa* 20.2) notes that the longest times in the history of Rome that the temple gate was closed were during the reigns of the legendary king Numa and of Augustus Caesar the Great.

2.2.2 Diseases

While wars were waged in several lands in the ancient period, disease had a devastating effect on the populace as well. The terms disease (νόσος) and illness (νούσου) have been fiercely debated among scholars. The first term is regarded as a bodily malfunction that needs a specialist to cure it, whereas the latter needs a magician or an exorcist to heal it (Crossan, 2003:300-302). Disease is a common phenomenon that affects all of humanity. Xenophon (*Mem.* 4.31-32) writes that Socrates regarded disease as evil, since it brings discomfort to humanity. The sacred disease (ἱερῆ νούσος), epilepsy, was attributed to the divine in antiquity (Sorensen, 2002:95-97).[41] Plato (*Tim*. 81c-e) believed that diseases brought humanity to an unexpected and unstoppable death. The death of Alexander the Great, for example, came as a result of contracting a sickness that his doctors were not able to cure. The devastating effect of disease during this period is evident in Suetonius (*Aug.* 98.5), who writes that even Augustus Caesar the Great died of a disease that his physician was not able to cure. Not all diseases were physical in nature; as Lucretius points out in one of his poems, *De natura rerum* (459-525), mental illness was prevalent during his time. Diseases were sometimes attributed to the occupation of the sufferer (Plutarch, *Marc*. 29.9; Juvenal, *Satire*, 6.397, 10.130-132).

Some diseases and afflictions, such as leprosy and being demon-possessed, resulted in the affected persons being separated from their people, thereby necessitating their restoration in their communities when they had been healed. This restoration of the healed can be understood as a form of reconciliation. In this regard Rostad (2006:15-16) acknowledges that one of the reasons reconciliation inscriptions were raised in the ancient Greco-Roman world was for the *delicant* to acknowledge the healing power of the divine who had restored their lives (see section 2.4.1). However, there is no surviving description from the Greco-Roman world of how afflicted people were treated that led them to erect a reconciliation inscription.[42]

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[41] Eric Sorensen (2002:81-82) believes that the sacred disease was a disease that had gone beyond the power of magicians, purifiers and impostors who claimed to have acquired piety and access to the divine power which enabled them to heal all manner of diseases. When such healing practitioners could not effect the healing of a disease they tactically called it "the sacred disease," which implies that the disease had defied human healing. Hippocrates is believed to have criticised the belief that the sacred disease was caused by either ἀγαθὸς δαί or δυσμενέες δαίμονες.

[42] Unlike the Old Testament, where the healing of leprosy was seen as an example of reconciliation, this does not appear to be the case in the Greco-Roman world.

2.2.3 Exile and banishment

The two instruments of political expulsion, exile and banishment, were used by elite and non-elite alike in the Greco-Roman world to regulate the system of governance within a *polis*.

Exile, as an institutionalised practice, functioned as a way of exercising power for the elite world. Augustus Caesar, for example, was well known as one who could use the exile of opponents to his own advantage (Suetonius, *Aug.* 24.1). Sara Forsdyke (2005), who studied how exile was used as an expulsion device in Greco-Roman cities, acknowledges that it was also often used on religious grounds with a political inclination. The expulsion of people in the Greco-Roman world, which resulted in their exile from the political sphere, also occurred in the religious sphere as those who were considered to be polluted (ἀγηλατέω) were often driven out from the different religious precincts, as they were seen to be polluting them (Forsdyke, 2005:11, 30-34).

Whereas exile was used by the elite to sideline their political opponents, banishment was utilised by the commoners to curtail the political excesses of their leaders.[43] The technical way in which a fraudulent leader, or someone who exercised excessive power, was banished from the *polis* was through ostracism ὀστρακισμός).[44] For instance, Tarquinius, the Roman monarch, was said to have been banished from his throne and sent to a foreign land (Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 1.3). Ostracism as a political instrument was also used by the common people of Athens to banish a political figure who had misappropriated his political privilege (Jones, 2008:85-86). Hazel Shepard (1885:93) has indicated that Themistocles was ostracised by his people when they found him to be unprincipled in his conduct of the affairs of the *polis*. The Council of Areogagus*,* which comprised the aristocratic personae of Athens, was responsible for controlling the affairs of the citizens of Athens until the coming of Pericles. It was at the time of Pericles that the Council of Areogagus witnessed a reform that empowered all the citizens of Athens to have an equal right to be elected onto the council regardless of their status in society. After Pericles' reform, the council comprised both the rich and the

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[43] Luke 6:22 supports the notion that these social measures were prevalent during the time of the New Testament.

[44] The word ὀστρακισμός is derived from ὄστρακον, which literally means "piece of pottery", which was a voter's card for the Athenians. Anyone whose name was written on the piece of pottery by the common people of the *polis* was to be ostracised from the Greek *polis* for ten years.

poor people of Athens.[45] They were the ones who managed the affairs of the *polis* politically. The council comprised one thousand members organised into about fifty subgroups. It was in this council that the citizens exercised their right to ostracise any leaders who refused to perform their tasks to the satisfaction of all the citizens of Athens.

The leaders who were sent away from their land and those who were incarcerated were seen as being people "without polis" (Forsdyke, 2005:9-12), since they were not allowed to participate in any decision of the *polis* owing to their being outside the community of people. Ostracism was enacted by the people but sanctioned by the gods as an instrument of social expulsion (Sophocles, *Oedipus the King* 118). Many inscriptions found in Asia Minor attest to this assertion, while evidence from archaeological findings has proven that the ostracon (ὄστρακον) was a well-known mechanism of ostracism (Baker, 2013:37).[46]

It appears, however, that the instruments of exile and ostracism in Greco-Roman society did not achieve the peace desired by the people. Authors such as Plutarch stated that exile and banishment instead had a destabilising effect on the Greco-Roman *poleis* (Forsdyke, 2005:14). This might be why Alexander the Great in 324 BCE promulgated a law ordering the return of all the exiles to their cities.

2.2.4 Conclusion

This section gave a brief survey of Greco-Roman society and the reasons it may have needed a process of reconciliation, other than on account of the ordinary conflict that arose between individuals. The conflict between individual was, however, a lesser concern for ancient authors. Their concern was how to deal with issues that were affecting the entire citizenry. It was realised that war did not lead to true peace. Furthermore, since diseases were common, people needed to be healed and cured of these diseases. When a healing occurred it called for celebration and thanksgiving. Exile and ostracism, as practised by the Greco-Romans, also did not result in a harmonious society. Thus there was still a need to achieve a peaceful life through reconciliation with one another. The yearning for reconciliation in Greco-Roman society is made clear by the chorus in one of the plays of Aeschylus (*Eumenides* 976-977):

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[45] Luke in Acts mentions that Paul had an argument with the members of this council while he was in Athens (Acts. 17:22-34). The Council of Areogagus took its name from the mount of Areogagus, or the Mars Hill, that stood between Pnyx and Acropolis in Athens (Shepard, 1885:98).

[46] The plural form of ostracon is ostraca. It was used as a voting card for the expulsion of leaders from their position (Baker, 2013:37, 49).

I pray that discord, greedy for evil, may never clamour in this city, and may the dust not drink the black blood of its people and through passion cause ruinous murder for vengeance to the destruction of the state. But may they return joy for joy in a spirit of common love, and may they hate with one mind; for this is the cure of many an evil in the world.

The subsequent section will deal with how attempts were made to achieve this longed-for reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world.

2.3   Dimensions of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world

In the previous section (2.2) the emphasis was on the reasons that prompted the inhabitants of the Greco-Roman world to long for reconciliation. It was shown that this was a world in which people and nations were torn apart as a result of engaging in unending wars. War was not the only phenomenon which destroyed the lives of people; diseases of different kinds also caused hardship for them.[47] The application of social practices such as exile and ostracism did not result in the peace the people expected.

This section deals with different dimensions of the concept of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society. Discerning their understanding of the concept of reconciliation is difficult due to the rarity of the term in the extant material from this period. However, actions that defined *καταλλάσσω* and the concept of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world appear to have been adequately understood by all in the ancient world in the course of their interactions with one another. The ancient Greeks and Romans were known for using both actions and words to communicate what they understood by reconciliation. Sometimes demonstrations of it through actions therefore express the meaning of the concept of reconciliation better than its verbal expression. For example, in Homeric literature receiving a cup from one's enemies was a sign of assuaging their anger since it was believed that one could not drink with one's enemies from one cup (Homer, *Iliad*. 1.584-600). Based on this action, Stephen Halliwell (2008:60) emphasises that the action of drinking together signalled reconciliation, since those who had once been enemies were now able to drink together from the same cup.[48] Establishing this helps us to examine the concept of reconciliation by focusing on different

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[47] Interpreting healing as reconciliation in the light of the ancient Greco-Roman world has direct bearing on the primary causative agent of disease. Sickness was often seen in antiquity as a divine judgement on the sufferer. The appropriation of healing through the process of atonement by a priest in the sanctuary was an indication that the sick person had offended the god. Atonement, therefore, became the only way through which the sufferer could be forgiven and healed of his disease (Chaniotis, 2004:1-43).

[48] Plutarch in his *De Genio Socratis* emphasises the importance of actions in human expression and conduct and how such actions are controlled by education and training (Riley, 1977:257-261-).

actions as a means of expressing reconciliation. In this regard Charles L. Griswold (2003:103) is correct when he asserts that even though Plato does not use the word "reconciliation" in his writing he nevertheless spent his whole lifetime dealing with the concept of reconciliation. Similarly, Griswold (2003:103), in comparing the post-Christian understanding of reconciliation with that of Plato, adduced that:

> While Plato does not make reconciliation with imperfection explicitly thematic in the way that post Christian thinkers such as Hegel do—no Platonic dialogue is devoted to an analysis of it—the longing for (re)institution of wholeness or unity or harmony is undeniably a major theme both in Plato's political philosophy and in his accounts of love between individuals. Reconciliation at both levels is possible where the world or individual is lovable.

Plato and his contemporaries were believed to express their ideas using actions, and such actions were intended to express their meaning to the listeners, whether individuals or communities. If this is true of Plato, then the actions which expressed reconciliation were more important to Plato than the words for reconciliation itself. This section of the study will, therefore, begin by examining different dimensions of reconciliation believed to apply to the period in question. However, the section does not intend to make use of a semantic study of words for reconciliation, but rather will attempt to examine some of the actions which expressed reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman world. It will consider reconciliation in three major spheres (the religious, social and political) based on the understanding that the whole life of the people of the Greco-Roman world was situated within them.

2.3.1 Religion and reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world

One of the spheres in which reconciliation was practised in the Greco-Roman society was the religious. Plato regards this religious sphere as a sacred one wherein the gods had the right to determine the affairs of the *polis*. For example, in his treatise on religion, Plato (*Laws* 10) regards religion as the custodian of morality and places it within the domain of the sacred. It was, however, also an important instrument of change in his time.

The emphasis on religious values meant that every citizen had to worship publicly rather than in private places or shrines (Saunders, 1972:30; Parker, 2011:58-59). This might have been intended to guard against the individualisation of religion. This is supported by James S. Jeffers (1999:96-100), who alleges that the Greco-Roman elites, who engaged in private cults, were made to see the need and the advantages of the public worship over and above the

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private. This enabled Plato in his treatise to present a proposal that granted power to the public Greek religion over and above private religion.[49]

Trevor J. Saunders argues that Plato makes three statements in favour of religion: (1) that the gods exist, (2) that they care for human welfare, and (3) that they can be reached by humanity through prayer. These three articles formed the bedrock for religion's supremacy and were taken as the *sine qua non* of Greek society. The implication of this is that reconciliation would be linked to the domain of religion. In other words, there would be no reconciliation if the gods were excluded from the act.

The Greeks were proud of their religion and culture because they believed that it placed them in an advantageous position over and above other people, as is reflected in the famous words of Thales and Socrates, who in their prayer gave thanks to the gods for three things: "That I was born a human not an animal, a man not a woman, and a Greek not a barbarian!" (quoted in Gruen, 2006:295). This prayer of Socrates and Thales indicates that religion determined Greek identity.[50]

Religion was an integral part of the lives of people in antiquity. The roles played by religion in antiquity prompted Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) to describe this ancient religiosity as a *polis religion.* The term "polis religion" rests on the premise that everyday human behaviour was determined by religion and that it was the duty of the community (*polis*) to regulate religious and public spaces (Parker, 2011:57-59). People based their way of life on their religion. Healing, prosperity, good governance and the well-being of the people were all informed by religion. Everything was within the gods' jurisdiction, and they (the gods) dispensed it to whomever they willed. Regarding gods as healers, Sara A. Brill (2006:9-10), who holds Plato's view on healing in great esteem, believes that medical doctors in the ancient Greco-Roman world assisted the god Asclepius (*Ασκληπιός*) in order to effect the healing process that he had already begun. Asclepius, the god of healing, earned his popularity as a result of the influence he exerted on the Greco-Roman world (Mikalson, 2006:211).

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[49] Julia Kindt (2009:10-12) built on the earlier thesis of Sourvinou-Inwood (1990), who first coined the phrase "polis religion" as an interpretative model for "Greek religion." She sees the *polis* as a well-structured organisation within the ancient Greek cultic corpus. Kindt (2012: 2-5) traces the origin of the theory of the Greek *polis* back to the influence on the sociology of religion of Émile Durkheim, who saw religion as a social construct.

[50] Luke's assertion in the Acts of the Apostles shows that the Greco-Roman people of his time were religious as is clear from the different names they gave to their gods (Acts 17:22-25).

Brill (2006:20) states that the duty of the physicians was to help in 'reconciling' or 'integrating' the body of a sick person. Examining the concept of reconciliation from this Platonic perspective helps provide insight into the way the concept was understood in the ancient Greco-Roman world. For instance, the analogy of sickness as the disintegration of the body and healing as the integration of the body speaks volumes on how Plato interpreted reconciliation. Using the Platonic analogy, it is apparent that reconciliation was seen as a process through which different body parts are combined to form a single, functioning body. This integration of body parts to function as a harmonious whole is what we can call healing. In other words, healing is an analogy for reconciliation in Plato.

Usually when the concept of reconciliation is mentioned in the religious arena, it indicates that human beings had defiled a religious space by their attitudes and severed their relationships with the gods and with one another. Lack of reverence and unholy behaviour towards the gods and the holy precinct often resulted in the punishment of the transgressors. Inscriptions from the Greco-Roman world attest to the fact that many people received punishment for their lack of reverence for a god. In the same way, others were blessed for honouring the gods (Kloppenborg & Ascough, 2011:263-266).[51] Thus both punishment and blessing were justified in terms of reverence to the gods. Punishment was the result when one offended or sinned against a god (Rostad, 2006:28).[52] The implication of this is that any action that caused disharmony between gods and humans would result in the punishment of, or a curse upon, the offender. This suggests that the offender was socially, religiously and politically incapacitated as a human. If sickness was in certain instances regarded as a punishment from the gods due to the disobedience of a person, to heal the person of his or her sickness would imply that the person had been reconciled with the gods. Conversely, to restore people to their normal social, religious and political statuses called for reconciliation with the gods, since it was generally believed that the gods were the custodians of human affairs. Anyone who defiled the religious public space was either ostracised or banned completely from the community of people (Dillon, 1997:115).[53] Defilement of the holy precinct could result in the defaulter's rights and privileges being denied; sometimes it even led to them being stripped of their dignity. Religion thus played an important role in alerting

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[51] According to John S. Kloppenborg and Richard S. Ascough (2011:265-266), the inscription found in Attica reads: "May the god be merciful to those who serve (the god) with a simple soul…. Any who is a busybody or is interferes with the property of the god will incur sin against Mēn Tyrannos which he certainly cannot expiate."

[52] See Luke 13:1-5.

[53] For details see Dillon (1997:113-127).

the people to the need for repentance, acceptance, harmony and reconciliation. Aslak Rostad (2006:16) in this regard observes that the role of mediation during the process of reconciliation was often done by a priest.

The consensus among scholars such as Hölderlin, Porter, Konstan and Harrison is that one of the first writings that deals with the concepts of forgiveness and reconciliation in the Greco-Roman society is that of Sophocles from the fifth century BCE. The play of Sophocles (*Ajax* 120-122) describes the tragedy that befell Ajax. After Ajax in the story discovered that the gods had rejected him, he decided to commit suicide so as *to reconcile* himself with the gods through *ritual cleansing* (Porter, 1994:23-24).[54] R.B. Harrison (2014:120) alleges that Ajax was a victim who received "the fire from heaven" and that the only way that he could justify this action of the gods was for him to depart from the realm of the living to the world of the dead. In the words of Harrison (2014:119-120), in this play of Sophocles

> the hero is seen as a mortal who exposes himself to the divine power and seeks union with it at the cost of his own life, in order that a wider reconciliation of God and man may take place.

From this we can adduce that the taking of one's life was considered to be a means of atoning for one's sin in order to reconcile oneself with the gods. In this case, it is clear that the ancient idea of suicide differs drastically from that of the modern world, where it is often considered to be a shameful act. In the Greco-Roman world suicide was instead understood as one of the means through which individuals could keep their honour. To die by committing suicide was even considered to be an honourable venture by some in the Greco-Roman world (Eckstein, 1995:42-44). Sophocles' dramatic play further attests that underlying the suicide there was the idea of the exchange of a gift in the form of his sacrifice as a means to effect reconciliation in the religious sphere. The work of Sophocles thus reveals that reconciliation with the gods was thought to be attainable through ritual actions, sacrifices and the exchange of gifts.

In the ancient Greco-Roman world, one's actions were very important where the issue of forgiveness and reconciliation was involved. As suggested in the discussion of suicide above, reconciliation was understood differently than in the modern world. An example of this

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[54] Although the question as to whether he repented of his sin is a matter of debate since he killed himself because he failed in his murderous plan against Odysseus and then Achaean leaders (Konstan, 2010:65), the important point is that Ajax thought that the only way he could ask for forgiveness was to commit suicide and by so doing perhaps achieve reconciliation by giving his body as an offering for reconciliation.

difference is that it was difficult for the Greco-Roman people to "discern an inward change of character as a condition for reconciliation with a wrongdoer" (Konstan, 2010:11).[55] The sincerity of reconciliation was rather expressed in an action that was carried out by the person involved. One can thus deduce why the term reconciliation was rarely discussed in written text. Instead it was used to depict action, especially that on the dramatic stage in the Greco-Roman world.[56] In the play of Sophocles, Ajax, after realising that his action was considered wrong by the gods, uttered three words that refer to the process of reconciliation before leaving the stage: purification (ἀγνίσας), animosity (ἐχθρός), and love (φιλήσων) (Porter, 1994:23). The meaning of the words soliloquised by Ajax is a matter of debate among classicists and theologians. It is apparent from the work of Sophocles that the words were familiar to ancient writers, which suggests that the usage of the terms may have been common in ancient Greek society.

In line 655 of the play, Ajax exits the stage and promises that he will purge himself of his sin. The use of ἀγνίσας implies that the Greeks during the time of Sophocles believed that one could be reconciled with the gods through the process of atonement by ritual purification. The latter involved the process of taking a bath with seawater for the purification of sin. This process of taking a bath with seawater for purification of sin is believed to have been known in the ancient Greek world (Kamerbeek, 1953:136-137, citing Homer, *Iliad*. 1.314).[57] W.B. Stanford (1963:148-149) observes that the other two words expressed by Ajax in the play, animosity (ἐχθρός) and love (φιλήσων), cannot go together in his world and therefore warranted the death of Ajax. Gardiner (1987:51) comments in this regard that the action of Ajax (his suicide) in the play earned him more honour after his death than he had enjoyed during his life.

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[55] Cynthia P. Gardiner's (1987) view is, however, that the gesture that Ajax displayed at his death was to acknowledge that his physical action was as a result of his inward conviction. This could be true, but the important fact is that until he undertook an action reconciliation was not effected. Reconciliation was thus more than a mere inward conviction.

[56] As far back as the mid-forties, Edward E. Cincoski (1946) formulated his thesis that the Greek tragedy aimed at giving reverence to the gods. Tragedy was regarded as a means through which the Greeks offered worship to Dionysus, who was regarded as the deity of vegetation, agriculture and wine. Dramatics thrilled the mind of the Greeks and provoked their thought on the interpretation of the embedded action. The meaning of every move in a play was interpreted based on the meaning of the action it portrayed (Cincoski, 1946:12-16). This is evident in Aristotle (*Poet* 1448a 1:35), who says that "drama presents people as doing things." This is to illustrate how important action was to the ancient world.

[57] Atonement for one's sin was a long-standing practice in the ancient world, beginning from the biblical time and continuing until the Greco-Roman period. It was a common practice that was believed to effect forgiveness and reconciliation in ancient Israel. For the details of the Old Testament concept of reconciliation, see chapter three of this study.

The play of Sophocles provides a glimpse of how important the concept of religious reconciliation was to the people of the Greco-Roman world; though the words for reconciliation are not well articulated in the play, the concept permeates the scene discussed. It suggests that reconciliation was important if one wanted to live in peace with the gods. It also indicates that the gods were actors (players) actively involved in the process of reconciliation.

2.3.1.1 Sacred space and divine boundaries

The sacred precinct occupies a particular space and has clear boundaries in every society, and this was also true of Greco-Roman society.[58] Sacred spaces, or what John Pedley (2005:1-15) calls "sanctuaries," were to be found in every city and town in the Greco-Roman world, and this was an indication of the level of religiosity of the ancient world. How people interacted with these spaces was very important for their relationship with the gods. Plato (*Laws* 10.884-885a), for example, regards any action done to negatively affect the sacred objects and properties as a grievous deed, especially when it defiles the sense of divinity (*sensus divinitatis*) or the sacred.[59] Plato not only calls it a grievous sin, but also moves to mobilise the Athenians to promulgate laws against the offenders of the gods' holy precincts (*Laws* 10.885b, 907e). Andocides (*On the Mysteries* 78) also mentions different sacred precincts where the offenders were tried. The use of the holy precincts in deciding cases could be based on the fact that the gods were seen as the dispensers of justice and initiators of reconciliation.[60] The word commonly used to refer to the sacred space, "temple" or "sanctuary", is τέμενος, which is believed to derive from the verb τεμνω, which means "to cut," "to separate" or "to divide" (Rostad, 2006:14). On the one hand, the sacred precinct is a designated area that brings punishment, disease and death should one transgress against it. On

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[58] The term "sacred" in this context is not used based on the modern sociological idea which sees the domain of the sacred as *opium of the people*, as Marxism wants us believe, or *social construct*, as Weber puts it, but it was a domain that intrinsically demonstrated the experience of the worshipper with the sacred. This domain creates a relationship between two unequal beings, the divine and human, and between the worshipper and the worshipped, and therefore enabled communication to be established between the worshipper and the object of worship.

[59] In the ancient world the knowledge of God was believed to be intuitive in humans created the awareness of the highest being in humans. The idea of *sensus divinitatis* (sense of divinity) is first traced to Cicero and later promoted by John Calvin (Helm, 1998:95-99).

[60] Andocides in his writings sees the holy precincts as being the places where judicial events take place in many Greek *poleis*. Events or the nature of the offence determined the type of council that would handle the case and the temple where the case would be heard. For instance, Andocides mentions the gathering ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ, in the precincts of the temple of Apollo Delphinius, where they heard the cases of the homicide of an unknown person or a person with a criminal record, whose death had been caused by an inanimate instrument of object (*On the Mysteries* 78).

the other hand, blessing, peace and reconciliation are provided to anyone who reveres and acknowledges its sacredness and power. In other words, a sacred precinct could provide both blessings and curses. Such places were believed to be spaces that separated human beings from the divine; therefore all the codes of conduct regarding the sacred space had to be duly observed. A sacred precinct was also a place where humans were protected from danger (Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 190, 508-509). In lines 508 and 509, Aeschylus says that the Danaids, when invited by Pelasgus, refused to leave the sanctuary, since it was their belief that their protection could be guaranteed only in the presence of the sacred.[61]

The sanctuaries were especially places of worship where ritual actions were carried out and human entities protected. The ritual actions take the form of sacrifices, the offering of gifts, or the rendering of a prayer of intercession, petition or thanksgivings to the gods. These sacred precincts were governed by their own material of conduct concerning how the worshippers ought to conduct themselves (Pilla, 2009:91-92).[62] Once these codes of conduct were transgressed by a worshipper, it became an offence against the religious space and the person had to face the consequences that accrued with such a transgression. A divine boundary existed in every religious space which specified what was required in order to maintain what Mary Douglas (1966:35) calls the "moral code." Expulsion ($\dot{\alpha}\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ "to drive out") from the *polis* (as is explained in section 2.2.3) may be the final outcome of polluting the sacred space and the crossing of the divine boundary (Forsdyke, 2005:12-13). It is thus clear that the religious space of the ancient Greco-Roman world aimed at sanctioning what was acceptable and unacceptable within the community (Rostad, 2006:13). Both the Greek and Roman religions, for example, functioned as the arbiters of human behaviour. Acceptable behaviour was acknowledged by them, whereas unacceptable behaviour was frowned on and the offender punished.

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[61] Lines 508-509 of the *Suppliants* read: "But it is not a sanctuary. Anyone can step onto that ground. How could I be safe there?" The fear of the speaker stepping from the divine ground, where protection is secured, to the profane ground, where divine protection is not guaranteed, is expressed by the suppliants in the wording of the song. The two domains, the sacred and the profane, were different entities that ran parallel to each other. The depiction of the song of Aeschylus is a clear indication of how the ancient Greco-Romans regarded the two precincts during their time.[62] The first letter to Timothy mentions the proper code of conduct in the house of God (1 Tim. 3:15). This code might also have been applicable to different places of worship in the time of the New Testament.[63] Inscriptions found in the Greco-Roman world attest to the sacerdotal function which the priest played in Greco-Roman *polis* (Edelstein & Edelstein, 1945:77-78).

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The code of conduct for how to act in the sacred precinct might be written or unwritten, but all the worshippers were familiar with it. As a result, the observation of Rostad (2006:48) becomes crucially important that:

> Acceptance of this moral code was a prerequisite for partaking in religious activity, something so vital to ancient societies that exclusion from this activity was synonymous with exclusion from society. Exclusion from sacred space meant that it was impossible to take part in the ritual that defined the unity of the society. The individual or group denied access to or voluntarily shunning the sacrificial ritual was also shut out of society.

Crossing a divine boundary was a serious offence synonymous with pollution, and signalled that the person had sinned against god and the holy precinct. When one transgressed or sinned, one sinned against the gods, and one's relationship with the gods was marred (Plato, *Laws* 10.885b). Plato in his warning to the Athenians in relation to the gods and to the *polis* advises that no one should do away with other people's property or commit any other form of violence, as all of them amount to evil. This, however, severed one's relationship with the gods and called for the appropriate punishment for the offender. This punishment could take on different forms. Rostad (2006:17), for example, emphasises that when someone died a violent death in Greco-Roman society it could be seen as his or her punishment from the gods. Though Plato believed that sin was inevitable, he also thought that there was always room for repentance thereafter (*Laws* 10.885d).

The manners in which the Greeks approached the gods for reconciliation are not readily apparent to modern scholarship, since most of their written documents do not state clearly how they approached the process of reconciliation. The problem is increased by Plato (*Laws* 10.885b), who emphasises that the gods cannot be influenced by sacrifice that is offered with ill motives and intentions. Plato in his *Laws* also offers no clarification as to the way in which reconciliation ought to be carried out between humans and the gods within the *polis*. None of his contemporaries offer a solution in regard to this question, apart from the instance in the play of Sophocles mentioned previously (see section 2.3.1). However, it can be inferred that people carried out the process of reconciliation through sacrifices and supplications. The way Plato (*Laws* 10.885b) puts forward his argument shows that many Athenians used these channels in licentious ways to transgress, believing that the gods could be appeased through their sacrifices and the offering of prayers. However, the concern of Plato is that the sacrifice has to be offered wholeheartedly and not in hypocrisy. But the role of what Plato (*Laws*

10.910d) calls "the Guardians of the Law" ($\nu o\mu o\phi\acute{u}\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$) is not clearly stipulated in regard to their function in the process of reconciliation between individuals and the gods. According to Plato, the Guardians had within their jurisdiction the power to exert punishment on behalf of the gods. It was therefore possible that they also had the power to enact reconciliation between the offender and the gods. It can also be assumed that due to his sacerdotal function[63] the priest aided in the course of reconciling humans to gods through sacrifices and other ritual offerings. In this regard, archaeology provides proof that the priests of the temple were responsible for the collection of the offering from the offender in order to enact reconciliation between the offender and the gods (BWK_{33}). Angelos Chaniotis (2004:38) adds that the priest decided on the amount of money and materials necessary for the atonement to take place. The amount of money and materials were not the only things expected of the sinner for the atonement. Certain actions were expected of the sinner as well.

Recent studies of ancient Greco-Roman inscriptions have revealed that there were many cases where people were banished from their community. Some of these people were also accepted back as a result of amnesty that led to reconciliation. Those who benefitted from such acts of reconciliation raised stelae, described by Aslak Rostad (2006) as "reconciliation inscription[s]."[64] Regarding these inscriptions, Rostad (2006:13) in his thesis asserts:

> There can be no doubt that these inscriptions represent a form of religious expression not found anywhere else than in certain parts of Asia Minor for a limited period of history (ca. AD 80 – 260). But the fact that the texts are formulated in an unusual way does not prove that the beliefs and notions they express are completely alien to the ancient religious landscape and do not overlap with religious practices we find in cults which usually fall under the traditional category 'Greek religion'.

Many of these inscriptions were set up to express the importance of reconciliation granted by the gods to the offenders through their society. Reconciliation to them seemed to be an instrument of unity, which was expressed in all the aspects of their lives.[65]

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[63] Inscriptions found in the Greco-Roman world attest to the sacerdotal function which the priest played in Greco-Roman *polis* (Edelstein & Edelstein, 1945:77-78).

[64] Details of the reconciliation inscriptions as one way of expressing reconciliation in the Greco-Roman society will be the focus of section 2.4 of this study.

[65] The implication of the assertion here is that the Greeks were religious and their affairs were ordered and determined by the gods. The different names assigned to the Greco-Roman gods were based on their functions to the worshippers. The same formulae are found in the Old Testament texts where the name of God is attributed to him based on his functions to the people at different times and spaces. The use of names for gods in the

2.3.1.2 The purity material and divine retribution

The sacred precinct in the ancient Greco-Roman world was a domain devoid of any pollution. The coherence of ancient Greco-Roman society was seen as the result of the interaction of the profane with the sacred, the human with the divine. The "purity material" was used to distinguish between sacred space and humanity. It speaks of what is acceptable and not acceptable within a confined space and time (deSilva, 2000:24-30). As observed earlier (in section 2.3.1), the breaking of the purity code results in the pollution of the divine space, which may in turn result in a penalty for the transgressor. The codes are defended by the sacred through human instrumentality so as to prevent "these lines from being crossed by unwelcome forces" (deSilva, 2000:243).

Whenever the purity material was transgressed, divine retribution occurred and humanity had to face the consequences of their action. The divine retribution took the form of punishment and epidemics when it involved the whole community.[66] The purpose of the purity material was to determine the actions that were consonant with the purity material. The holiness material governed all of society. Whoever was found breaking it was punished, as is attested by Rostad (2006:16):

> It is not surprising that a society regarded some actions as unacceptable and that those who committed them had to face a response or punishment. Nor is it surprising that gods were imagined to punish those who violated the boundaries they were believed to have created; this is a notion attested in most religions of the ancient world.

Banishment or ostracism was a major component of punishing someone who crossed the boundaries that the society believed to have been established by the gods (see section 2.2.3). Social relations were curtailed with anybody that society had ostracised as a result of their breaking the code of conduct set up by the divine. This punishment became an antecedent of divine retribution. There are, however, instances in antiquity where someone who had

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Greco-Roman world is based on the ancient usage and does neglect that fact the the gods could be male or female in the Greco-Roman world. The usage in study this study will follow the same manner in which such god was known in antiquity.

[66] Josephus (*Antiquities*, 19.342-352) attests to what came upon King Agrippa after he decided to cross the divine boundary and defy the purity code through his action. His death came as a result of divine retribution. Though the people mourned and put on sackcloth on his behalf for him to receive healing, there is nowhere in the extant sources any notion that he was forgiven and restored by God. Instead, it is simply stated that he died. The attestation of Josephus on the death of King Agrippa indicates that the people were mindful of transgressing the purity code and thereby receiving the divine punishment. The work of Josephus will be dealt with in chapter three.

transgressed the purity material, and who had received divine punishment, was later reconciled with God and his people. Cultic reconciliation was common in the Greco-Roman society, as is clear from the need of many to raise monuments inscribed with attestations to reconciliation (Rostad, 2006:186-189).

2.3.1.3 Ritual purification and divine reconciliation

Émile Durkheim (2008:37-39) in his sociology of religion distinguishes between two domains: "the profane" and "the sacred." The profane and the sacred are opposites. In essence, the sacred and the profane, or unholy, have nothing in common, and any association between the two results in what Mary Douglas (1966:7) calls "dirt", which directly contaminates or pollutes the sacred. The two are meant to be opposites as long they remain in the world. Comparatively, the sacred seems superior to the profane in the order of hierarchy (Durkheim, 2008:38) and is to be "protected from defilement" (Douglas, 1966:7). The same notion was found among Greco-Romans who regarded impurity ($\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$) as synonymous to "the neglect of a religious duty…" (Chaniotis, 2004:2).

The separation of the two domains was crucial in Greco-Roman society, as from their perspective they could not mix. As discussed earlier, the intermixture of the profane and sacred would always result in intense pollution of the higher authority, the sacred. The sacred was understood to be the custodian of justice, with the priests acting as judges on behalf of the sacred or the gods. In this case, the priest would signal the people that someone had transgressed against the gods and recommend an appropriate punishment, which the people would help to implement. This implementation of justice was done by the secular part of society (Chaniotis, 2004:38).

Ritual purification seems to be one of the ways by which a sinner was able to reconcile with the gods from the perspective of Greco-Roman writings on purification. Chaniotis (2012:124) believes that the Greeks depended on rituals for purification. Ritual purification became something that played an important role in the entire society, since all who committed sins or defiled themselves in any way were expected to undergo purification. Ritual purification was so important that no one was, for example, allowed to enter the temple of Asclepius without undergoing a cleansing:

> Sacred regulations adopted the idea of spiritual impurity after a substantial delay. The earliest cult regulation attesting to it is an inscription written in the entrance of Asklepios' temple in Epidauros, probably around 340 BCE: "When you enter the temple which smells of incense,

you have to be pure. Purity means to think piously." The text presents itself as an exegesis ("purity means…"), giving an innovative definition of purity which focuses on the mental attitude of the worshipper, not the purity of the body. (Chaniotis, 2012:128-129)

Ritual purification does not signify only the physical washing of the body. It also symbolises the washing of the mind. The Greco-Roman religious world was characterised by the belief that the mind was the seat of pollution even when there was no physical contact with unclean things or objects. They were made to understand that pollution was an inward action that manifested in outward performance.

The anger of the gods was always directed at the inhabitants of a society whenever pollution was found among them. As a result, there was also a call for reconciliation for such a calamity in order that punishment of the land might be averted. This interpretation regarding the place of impurity in human society in the ancient world is evident in Chaniotis (2012:129), who claims that "the ancient perception of disease as the result of a crime and the requirement of repentance for a cure may explain why the sanctuary of a healing god showed such a strong interest in the purity of the mind." Repentance played a crucial role in averting calamity and effecting reconciliation. As Chaniotis points out, disease or illness was tied to the notion that anyone who suffered from it had transgressed a sacred precinct, and the only way such a person could be healed was by means of repentance. Repentance in this context invariably brought succour and reconciliation to the sufferer. Sometimes public confession of sin was necessary for repentance and reconciliation to be enacted (Chaniotis, 2012:130).

The dialogue between King Oedipus and Creon in the play of Sophocles impinges on the fact that pollution demeans human relations with the sacred. The play indicates that Creon was sent by King Oedipus on a mission to the Delphic Oracle to ask on behalf of the king why the people of Thebes were suffering. The dialogue between Creon and King Oedipus in the play is as follows:

> **OEDIPUS:**   What do you mean? What have you said so far leaves me uncertain whether to trust or fear.

> **CREON:**   If you will hear my news before these others I am ready to speak, or else to go within.

> **OEDIPUS:**   Speak it to all; the grief I bear, I bear it more for these than for my own heart.

> **CREON:** I will tell you, then, what I heard from the God. King Phoebus in plain words commanded us to drive out a pollution from our land, pollution grown ingrained within the land; drive it out, said the God, not cherish it, till it's past cure.
>
> **OEDIPUS:** What is the rite of purification? How shall it be done?
>
> **CREON:** By banishing a man, or expiation of blood by blood, since it is murder guilt which holds our city in this destroying storm. (Sophocles, *Oedipus the king* 95-120)

The belief that calamity comes upon any individual or society as a result of the anger of the gods is indicated in the manner in which Oedipus responded to the statement from the oracle (Arieti & Wilson, 2003:6-7). The response is an indication that signals that the gods are the only ones who can forgive the sins of the people based on their response. The statement from the oracle spoken through Creon as human agent prompted an immediate response from Oedipus the king in the form of the question "What is the rite of purification?" This question does not disparage the cultic belief in the rite of reconciliation; rather, it holds to the importance of this rite in the cultic reconciliation process.

Noel Robertson (2010) further identifies many inscriptions that attest to the way in which the Greeks and the Romans carried out their rite of reconciliation whenever there was an accusation of pollution. One of the ways was to tithe part of their belongings as a sacrifice or an offering to the god, as in doing so the worshipper's standing with the god would be reinstated. Such offerings were offered in a specified place, and most bear the imprimatur of the god to that show that the offering or sacrifice was sanctioned by the god (Robertson, 2010:261-284).

Divine reconciliation in its appropriation envisages a means through which the sacred sporadically needs a satisfaction from humans in order to maintain a steady relationship with them. The play of Sophocles indicates three important rites of purification that the people of Thebes had to undertake to enable divine reconciliation to take effect. Here their offence entails the pollution of the sacred by the spilling of the blood of the king, which brought calamity on the entire people of Thebes. To appease the god of his anger, an expiation must therefore be performed by them. Ritual purification and divine forgiveness and reconciliation are thus *pari passu* (Chaniotis, 2009:117-122). Rostad (2006:183-188) observes that stones and rock confirm the assertion that the people of the Greco-Roman society recognised that the gods always amend their relationship with them through the process of reconciliation. Cultic reconciliation was a non-negotiable act in Greco-Roman society.

2.3.2 The social dimension of reconciliation

The social level of reconciliation is measured by focusing on how humans interact with one another in a given society. When considering the place of social sciences in the Greco-Roman world, it is important to do so with the utmost caution. It is important to emphasise that the term sociology, or social science, was not familiar in the ancient world as we know it today. However, social interaction within the primitive society constituted the way in which their societal operation was fine-tuned according to the norms that emanated from within their social settings. These norms and rules prescribed how people were to interact with one another in society. The social setting or *Sitz im Leben* in which people functioned in terms of negotiating the process of social reconciliation is, furthermore, very important in understanding the way they interacted in their society.

2.3.2.1 Honour and shame[67]

The study of social interaction in the ancient world using honour and shame culture has gained a lot of ground in recent time, starting with the work of David Daube in 1956, followed by the groundbreaking article of Julian Pitt-Rivers in 1966. Since their publications, the understanding of the place of honour and shame culture in ancient Greco-Roman society has enriched the fields of theology, classics, anthropology, sociology and linguistics.

Honour and shame is a modern apparatus used in reading the script of the ancient world so as to determine how decisions were made based on the way they reacted to the honour and shame culture of their time. It enables people to be categorised depending on their social standing in society. In this context, the honour and shame culture determined the "fit" and "unfit", or the "suited" and "unsuited" people in the Greco-Roman world (as earlier indicated in section 2.2). It was a society that preferred honour instead of shame, and whatever was needed for one to preserve one's honour was worth doing and even dying for. For instance, in Homer (*Il*, 6.206-610) much attention was paid to one's background as being a formidable tool in respect of honour and shame, as is evident in the statement of Glaucus, who boasts:

> But Hippolochus begat me and of him do I declare that I am sprung; and he sent me to Troy and strictly charged me ever to be bravest and pre-eminent above all, and not bring shame upon the race of my fathers, that were far the noblest in Ephyre and in wide Lycia. This is the lineage and the blood whereof I avow me sprung.

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[67] In section 2.2 of this study it was indicated that the culture of honour and shame was one of the major causes of violence in the ancient Greco-Roman world.

The boasting of Glaucus of his noblest background warrants Robert Jewett (2003:552) to conclude that in the Greco-Roman society honour was a competition in all aspects of human life, education, oratory, politics, poetry, music, athletics and war. It is as result of this that Pitt-Rivers (1966:33) observes that in antiquity in order for one to acquire honour one had to see "deception involving a lie as perfectly legitimate and honourable behaviour." Pitt-Rivers' observation implies that a lie was easily told among the Greeks and Romans when it increased their honour.

The honour and shame culture in antiquity was structured according to their ethnography, which was based on the framework of religion. The religious belief in the Greco-Roman world was viewed by Émile Durkheim as a domain that separated the sacred from the profane, the holy from the unholy. This dualistic tendency stemmed out of the religious dichotomy of the sacred and the profane, holy and unholy, evil and good, light and darkness, heaven and earth, hell and paradise, and so on. This dualistic idea, which was a spillover from the religious ideology, affected the entire human ethnography ranging from the social to the political arena. As a result, people began to think in terms of respect and disrespect, rich and poor, leader and follower, great person and small person, honour and shame.

Mark T. Finney (2012:17) calls this dualistic category of the antiquity the "binary concept" of the ancient world and adds that the Homeric literary works are "replete with idealized impressions of the hero, the one who lives, acts, and even dies within the social constraints of honour." Honour was what "great" people strived for, and whatever would bring dishonour was abhorred. It was contrary to αἰδῶς, which the ancient Greco-Romans regarded as impious.[68] Honour and shame determined and deciphered the societal response to issues. The two words are in opposition to each other when viewed from the perspective of Greco-Roman society. The idea that τιμή is good, -ἀγαθός, reverberated in the mind of every person and prompted them to seek honour at all cost. The two words "honour" and "shame" contrast the use of αἰσχρός (*Il*. 2.119-122. 298) and ἐλεγχής (*Il*. 4.242, 24, 5.787, 8.288) when applied to a

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[68] Homer is credited as being one of the first writers in the ancient Greek world to make use of the word αἰδῶς frequently in his writings (Cairns, 1993:47-146; Finney, 2012:17-37). Many instances show that the word delineates the shameful and embarrassing attitude of a person; for instance, in the *Iliad* (7.39) Hector says, "They feel shame to refuse, but fear to accept" (αἴδεσθεν μὲν ἀνήνασθαι δεῖσαν δ᾽ ὑποδέχθαι), and Telemachus, when talking of his mother, adduces that "I feel aidōs to pursue her against her will from the house under compulsion" (Homer, *Od*. 20.323-324). In studying the concept of honour and shame, the works of N.R.E. Fisher (1992) and Douglas L. Cairns (1993) are important sources that deal with the motif of honour and shame in Greco-Roman society.

person or community.[69] τιμή and αἰσχρός were in opposition and usually resulted in conflict when used side by side. How to face a shameful situation made the Greco-Romans to aspire for honour even in the face of death (Finney, 2012:20-21). Whenever conflicting situations arose between the two words, people always chose sociological, religiously, psychological and politically for honour. Whatever enabled them to retain honour was what everyone would choose. Reconciliation thus came about only when there was honour to be shared by both parties, whereas conflict arose when either party was denied honour.

The quest for honour and the avoidance of shame became deciding factors that determined the ways in which reconciliation could take place so as to preserve the honour of both parties. The antithesis that existed between the honour and shame culture in the Greco-Roman world depicted how society operated.[70]

Herodotus, the historian, in his works relates how the Greeks withstood their rivals because of their ethos of honour and shame. The battle of Thermopylae, according to Herodotus (7.201-229), speaks well of the heroic ethos of the Spartan soldiers who decided to perish with honour. The inscription written[71] in their honour delineates the place of honour and shame in the ancient Greco-Roman world. Herodotus further asserts that the people of the Greek *poleis* decided to reconcile for the common good in order to fight their enemy, the Persians, at the battle of Thermopylae in 480 BCE.

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[69] The context here speaks of disgrace and dishonour. The concept of honour and shame speaks volumes in the Odyssey (11.433), where Clytemnestra is said to set a bad or ugly precedent for female folk. The two words have a link to whatever is not good or acceptable to society, something that borders on disgrace or disfigurement meted out on someone as a result of one's action. When soldiers were defeated in battle, they were said to bring dishonour and shame to their community (Cairns, 1993:68-71).

[70] Polybius (2.47.3-6-52.1) notes a situation that called for the reconciliation of two generals for the purpose of making sure they defeated their enemies and retained their honour. Arthur M. Eckstein (1995:92-93) sees the action of Aratus, who deceived Antigonus, as being worthily motivated, since Aratus was reconciled in order to protect his honour and the honour of his people. According to Eckstein, the judgement of Polybius is that reconciliation is possible no matter how it is being carried out as, long as it is meant to protect the honour of the commonwealth or an individual. Polybius is one of the most political writers of the ancient Greco-Roman world, and his stance in the area of honour and shame is worth studying. For instance, in regard to the wars that Philip Macedon started against the Persians and the succeeding subsequent conquests of his son Alexander the Great, Polybius (3.6.1-7.1-3) says that such wars had brought the Greco-Roman world more honour than any human endeavours in the history of the Greeks. The reason for this was that Philip and his son Alexander had brought honour to the Greeks by conquering and expanding the territories of their world.

[71] According to Herodotus (7.228.2), the epitaph reads: ὦ ξεῖν᾽, ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι. An opinion here is that the fostering and sustenance of democracy in the modern world can be traced to the heroic death of these three hundred Spartans at Thermopylae. Their heroic death brought about the reconciliation of the Greek states, which later spread their influence up to the coast of India.

Honour and shame culture most often entails specific acts, or general behaviour, toward others. It may at times reflect their social significance or status in society. Thus for many reasons the honour and shame culture was of great value in the ancient Greco-Roman world, "where individual honour was a value universally accepted" (Fisher, 1992:1-3). Honour and shame as socio-cultural norms demand that the people either increase their honour through positive behaviour or reduce it by their negative behaviour. Acts of dealing with a fellow human in terms of quelling conflict made one great and honourable in the ancient world. In the writing of the ancient world, several honorific titles that were given to great men and women were tied to their ability to reconcile warring parties.

Retaining one's honour by using all means available to bring peace was a symbol of greatness, something that people yearned and strived to achieve by all means. While a modern person sees war as a crime against humanity, the ancient Greeks used it as an ethos that could strengthen the unity of the people by subjugating their enemies. They therefore derived certain benefits from war, as is made clear by Polybius, who said "that no man of sound mind goes to war merely for the sake of crushing an adversary that is, what counts are the practical advantages to be gained from such acts" (Eckstein, 1995:57).

The quest for reconciliation in the honour and shame culture of the Greco-Roman world became "an absolute prerequisite for the resolution of conflict and the restoration of salubrious human relationship" (Gort, 2002:124). Many in the ancient world, in order to achieve this noble task, resorted to using the sword as a means of "reconciliation," as has been rightly observed by Jerald D. Gort (2002:124), who notes that:

> … though the use of the sword may sometimes be necessary to restore justice, even a 'just war' is incapable on its own of resolving conflict and begetting reconciliation. In Greek *and Roman* mythology Ares, *or Mars,* the god of war, is called reconciler, but the only reconciliation he brings about is the tragic unification of the contenders in the realm of death. (emphasis mine)

This process of using the sword as a means of "reconciliation" brought honour to the victor and shame to the vanquished, but did not cause the expected reconciliation. Though an honour and shame culture pervaded the ancient world, there was also a notion that reconciliation could be accomplished in antiquity through the use of a peacemaking process, but those who used their positions for achieving reconciliation were honoured as

peacemakers. For instance, in the later antiquity Augustus Caesar was one of those who knew the value of peacemaking through reconciliation, as he attests in his *Res gestae* (*Res* 3.1).

From the Homeric point of view, the honour and shame culture brings conflict and war, but conflict itself in ancient antiquity was one of the ways in which hostile parties were brought together as one entity (that is, reconciled with each other). The question that Athena asked Zeus concerning the antithesis of war in the ancient world led Edward Keazirian (2009:67) to believe that:

> In Athena's question to Zeus the antithesis of war is not peace as a retrospective ideal from a bygone era, as noted… in the *Iliad*, but a prospective reconciliation of the two hostile parties. Peace is thus the cessation of hostilities, the calm that follows the conflict, whether that conflict be resolved through the total destruction of the enemy… Athena's question also underscores a foundational premise in the heroic literature that the gods ultimately determine human affairs. War and peace, life and death, even exploits of the great heroes were all subject to the Fates and the determinations of the gods. So then the implied question is whether Zeus will allow the plan for Odysseus to unfold as designed, or intervene for some reason to change the course of events.[72]

The sporadic display of a heroic ethos as social norm in antiquity, guided by the principle of seeking honour, warranted the Greco-Romans' use of violence as a means of reconciliation.

While the Homeric epic is characterised by a sense of honour, that of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus in contrast is replete with a sense of shame in the human community as a means through which the common good can be achieved. In other words, while Homeric literature cherishes honour as a means of attaining greatness and recognition, Epictetus states that shame "αἰδὼς is a type of judgment of appropriateness that guides the actions and reactions of the Stoic in training and enables her to make progress" (Kamfekar, 1998:136). The sense of αἰδὼς (shame) in humans, according to Epictetus, helps humanity to act moderately in order to bring good judgement to any given situation (Johnson, 2014:21). This is evident

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[72] The quotation is in response to the question that Athena asked Zeus in *Odyssey* 24.472-486: But Athena spoke to Zeus, son of Cronos, saying: "Father of us all, thou son of Cronos, high above all lords, tell to me that ask thee what purpose thy mind now hides within thee. Wilt thou yet further bring to pass evil war and the dread din of battle, or wilt thou establish friendship betwixt the twain?" Then Zeus, the cloud-gatherer, answered her, and said: "My child, why dost thou ask and question me of this? Didst thou not thyself devise this plan, that verily Odysseus should take vengeance on these men at his coming? Do as thou wilt, but I will tell thee what is fitting. Now that goodly Odysseus has taken vengeance on the wooers, let them swear a solemn oath, and let him be king all his days, and let us on our part bring about a forgetting of the slaying of their sons and brothers; and let them love one another as before, and let wealth and peace abound."

from the work of Brian Johnson (2014:21), who concurs that Epictetus believes that "our capacity for shame supports our ability to obey nature. To play our human part we must therefore uphold our sense of shame."

Honour and shame were inextricable social devices that the ancient world relied on for the articulation of relationships in their society. Many who undertook reconciliation might have done so in order to claim their honour, while some did it so as to avoid shame and guilt.

2.3.2.2 Friendship and kinship

Friendship and kinship play a crucial role in negotiating reconciliation in the ancient world. In Homeric literature, friendship is labelled as the social dynamic that helped in promoting and effecting reconciliation. It was a means of activating love, peace, unity and reconciliation. The epic language for friendship, as described by Homer in his ancient texts, *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, is φίλος, which means "loving" or "dear". It could also be used to designate family, countrymen, and relations (Konstan, 1996:7). The usage thereof delineates the function of the word in terms of its social interconnectedness within its social setting in the ancient world. In Homer (*Od.* 24.476-486), Odysseus was advised to seek reconciliation through friendship and to break with enmity. Socrates in his speech to Menexenus implores that the only way reconciliation can take place within the Greek *poleis* is through friendship with one another (Plato, *Menex.* 243e).

Friendship and kinship were thus two inseparable ties that helped people in the Greco-Roman world to break enmity and seek reconciliation with one another. For instance, Athens is believed to have achieved peace and tranquillity not through the use of its weapon on its enemy (Persia), nor through diplomatic advocacy with its neighbour, Sparta, but by the application of reconciliation through friendship that was based upon kinship (Keazirian, 2009:95). Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1.5.16) affirms that a true friend will do everything he believes is to the advantage of the other person, and he will not think to withhold any good from people. Indeed, a good friend seeks to be at peace with everyone around him; thus friendship[73] and kinship were social modi operandi of reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman world. Friends were easily reconciled when they had been estranged, whereas enemies were believed not to reconcile even in death (Konstan, 1996:80-85).

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[73] Konstan (1996:82-90) mentions the ways in which friendship was initiated in the ancient world, which includes growing up together, friendship by blood relation, friendship by affection and friendship by patronage. These four categories of friendship were very important in forging their relationship together.

2.3.3 Political reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world

The literature of the ancient Greco-Roman society has alerted classicists, theologians, philologists, historians and philosophers to the importance the concept of reconciliation had in daily political affairs. Plato (*Resp.* 2.375b-376c) in his *Republic* stresses that an ideal state has to be violent to strangers but more peaceful to its citizens. This was one of the reasons why the Greeks saw reconciliation as the ultimate vehicle of democracy for the survival of the *polis*.

Ancient Greco-Roman historians and sociologists like Konstan, Rostad and Huang often consider the year 403 BCE as a great year of reconciliation in ancient Greek political and religious history. The reconciliation of democrats and oligarchs, which brought peace to the Athenian democracy, took place in this year. It was an essential move that brought about an unprecedented union between the democrats and the oligarchs, and the promise of peace was stimulated through this union. Andocides (*On the mysteries* 73) alleges that after the defeat of Athens at the battle of Aegospotami in September 405, Patrocleides issued a decree to pardon those who had been sent into exile, compelling them to return to Athens. The decision of the Athenians to live in peace with one another strengthened their unification within the Athenian *polis*, which enabled the citizens to live and walk freely in the *polis*.

Athenian reconciliation was based on the principle that exile, ostracism and conflict demeaned human dignity. They therefore capitalised on the possible benefits that could be derived from the principle of reconciliation in order to forgive and restore the offenders of the Athenians to their full rights as citizens of Athens. The dynamics of reconciliation testify to an environment where wrongdoing and marginalisation can be rectified by forgiveness and acceptance (Andocides, *On the mysteries* 76, 81; Plutarch, *Sol.* 19).[74] The offenders were given full rights and their property was restored to them after reconciliation had been achieved. There was no further discrimination against them, and their offences were remembered no more by the citizens of Athens. Being restored as the citizens of Athens, they exercised their full rights as citizens and experienced their potentiality as humans within the *polis*. Greco-Roman political reconciliation aimed at creating respect and mutual understanding between its citizens. Power was taken from the hands of the oligarchs and given to the poor and the common people.

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[74] See also Aristotle, *Const. Ath.* 8.4.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Antiquity of Rome*, published about 7 BCE, gives another succinct example of reconciliation in the political sphere of Greco-Roman society. Dionysius says that King Tarquinius, after the people of Rome discovered that he did not meet their expectation, decided to ostracise him. This resulted in his being banished to a foreign land (*Ant. rom*. 5.3.1). The exiled king was not satisfied with his situation in the foreign land and therefore decided to send ambassadors to Rome in order to plead for his reconciliation with the people of Rome (*Ant. rom.* 5.3.3-5.4.1). The ambassadors went to Rome to inform the senate that they should give a fair hearing to the banished king, as well as restore his property to him, but although the senate refused to give permission for his return it allowed his property to be restored to him (*Ant. rom.* 5.5.3-5, 5.6.1-2). The fact that the curiae voted in favour of the restoration of the property of the exiled king shows that, although there was a move towards reconciliation between the two parties, amnesty was an antecedent to reconciliation. The way in which Aristotle in his Athenian politics described how the Athenians carried out reconciliation through amnesty also shows that amnesty provided a way through which reconciliation could be achieved and that the conditions for achieving this were mentioned in the terms of the amnesty which had been agreed on beforehand. This indicates the importance of amnesty in the restoration of shattered relationships in the ancient world (see Aristotle, *Const. Ath*. 40.2.5-11). Details of amnesty as a means of reconciliation in antiquity will therefore be dealt with in the next section.

2.3.3.1 Reconciliation through amnesty

One of the ways by which the Greeks carried out the process of political reconciliation was through amnesty (ἀμνηστία), which involves forgiving and restoring the offenders with the offended.[75] The term amnesty is used synonymously to reconciliation and antithetically to revenge (μνησικακεῖν) by the Greeks. Huang (2008:32), commenting on the Athenians' amnesty, emphasises that the people of Athens "instead of avenging the brutality of the oligarchs who had killed one thousand and five hundred citizens in a few months of their reign, granted amnesty for their crime." The people who were granted amnesty received their full rights as citizens of Athens. This means that not only were the people reconciled, but their benefits were restored to them also. This illustrates the meaning of reconciliation: an act

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[75] Aristotle in his explanation believes that there are some exceptions to the role of amnesty, especially when it involved the premeditated murder of a human in the *polis* (Huang, 2008:29-35; Keazirian, 2009:104-105).

that restores the dignity of someone.[76] The action taken by the members of this polis in resolving the crisis and settlement speaks volumes on their willingness to restore the offenders using a conservative approach to reconciliation.

The ancient writers used actions to describe the concept of reconciliation, especially in the political arena, which was represented as a public domain where decisions that would affect the affairs of the people were discussed. One of the aims of this reconciliation was for the people to live in unity without any dissention or discrimination within the *polis*. Andocides (*c*. 440-390 BCE) (*On the mysteries* 1.140) praises the Athenians for this reconciliation:

> There is yet another thing worth your consideration, gentlemen. At the moment the whole of Greece thinks that you (Athenians) have shown the greatest generosity and wisdom in devoting yourselves, not to revenge, but to the preservation of your city and the reuniting of its citizens. Many before now have suffered no less than we; but it is very rightly recognized that the peaceable settlement of differences requires generosity and self-control. Now it is acknowledged on all sides, by friend and foe alike, that you possess those gifts. So do not change your ways: do not hasten to rob Athens of the glory which she has gained thereby, or allow it to be supposed that you authorized your decree more by chance than by intention.[77]

Amnesty was used as one way to promote the concord of the state and the peace of the people. Unity was vital, and the ancient Greco-Romans at this time had taken their fate into their hands, uniting together as one people and one nation by forgetting about the past deeds of offenders and giving them amnesty.

While something can be articulated by both action and words, Plutarch believed that action is preferable when dealing with issues pertaining to the unity of the people. Plutarch (*Pyth. Orac.* 21 or *Mor*. 5.400f-401a) says that Heraclitus was asked to explain the meaning of the term to the people of his time. Instead of explaining it using words, Heraclitus preferred to speak to his people through his actions and exited the stage (Kirk, 1954:61). The importance of ἀμνηστία in the process of reconciliation is also expressed by Scilurus the king of the

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[76] Nicole Loraux in his book *The divided city: On memory and forgetting in ancient Athens* paints a picture of amnesty and its importance in rectifying broken relationship in the ancient world. Juin-Lung Huang's (2008) thesis has provided a clear study on amnesty as a means through which reconciliation was carried out in the antiquity by exploring the importance of reconciliation in the political environment of the ancient Greek state.

[77] In the use of uniting in the phrase σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὁμόνοιαν… (salvation of the city and concord of…) in the statement of Andocides to the Athenians the use of ὁμόνοιαν shows that the people had a common union or concord which was literally enacted with an oath in the presence of the god Zeus (*Il*. 3.299f; 4.159f).

Scythians, who stated that reconciliation is the ultimate ingredient in harmony and unity (Plutarch, *On talkativeness* 17).

2.3.3.2 Reconciliation through the rhetoric of the common good

Greco-Roman society would do everything possible for the purpose of *το συμφέρον*. The rhetoric of "common good," *το συμφέρον* emphasises the communality, instead of individualism, of people in a society. In other words, the principle of the common good stood against individualism by emphasising a communal ethos.

Plato (*Laws* 903d), for example, emphasised to the Athenians that the creator of the universe had created and enshrined it with a governing principle that everything has a common origin, and that they should work to achieve the common good (Chang, 2013:81-86). Communality and individuality are therefore opposites, according to the Platonic school of communal ethos. This school, along with other philosophers, sophists, poets and dramatists of the ancient world, thus attempted to discern how to live peacefully as humans in the *polis* with the minimum of an individualistic ethos. Great emphasis was placed on the principle of communal formation, which implied coming together as one people. The political ethos of the Greco-Roman world was based on this view that commonality was an important factor for the formation and coherence of the city-state. Cicero (*Off.* 3.52) adduces that:

> it is your duty to consider the interests of your fellow-men and to serve society; you were brought into the world under these conditions and have these inborn principles which you are in duty bound to obey and follow, that your interest shall be the interest of the community and conversely that the interest of the community shall be your interest as well.

It was as a result of the inherent quality of the common good, which was embedded in ancient society, that humanity had to work for the best interests of one another. Achieving the common goal therefore became the dynamic that society depended upon.

A conflict society, however, does not imbibe a communal ethos. Rather, such a society relies on warfare and similar principles, such as strife, that demean the dignity of humanity. The argument here is that the writings of the Greco-Roman society attest to the idea that reconciliation could be achieved through the propagation of the rhetoric of a communal ethos for the common good of the people where the unity of a society had been destroyed by individualistic tendencies. The common ethos that the ancient philosophers pursued would neutralise the imbalance between the upper and the lower class, and between conflicting and

warring parties in the *polis*. This was possible when two opposing parties agreed to live together and share the interests of one another through the process of reconciliation (Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.3.19).

Referring to the ancient idea of common good, Kei Eun Chang (2013:87) summarises that

> Συμφέρού whose ethical idea is best expressed in the body metaphor, is a connective embracing and enforcing the divided parts under the common value. It is not meant to serve only the needs of the ruling class. According to the second-century C.E. inscription, a proconsul of Asia rebukes the bakers who was striking in Ephesus and accuses them of failing to seek "the advantage of the city" (το τή τόλει συμφέρον).

The Greco-Roman ethos of seeking the common good for the *polis* emphasised and promoted the political ethos that endorsed the equality of all its citizens in its constitution. It was a warrant to the wholeness of the community, which in essence allowed a political equilibrium to be established within the city-state, and which gave the people a sense of oneness. The political fulcrum of antiquity rested on the ideal of το συμφέρον, which emphasised doing good for all people, irrespective of the person involved. The advice of Demosthenes, "it is necessary that you bring about harmony among yourself for the common good of the state" (*Ep.* 1.5, cited in Chang, 2013:88), underscores the role of the common good in creating harmony (ἀρμονία) in society. Conversely, putting personal interest (το ἰδιᾳ συμφέρον) over the interests of the masses was regarded by the rhetoricians as the major cause of conflict and war in society (Chang, 2013:89). Chang's (2013:89) analysis of the impact of rhetoric in resolving conflict in the Greco-Roman world reveals that rhetoricians the likes of Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1.2.3, 1.3.1-3) and Quintilian (*Inst.* 3.4.12-15), employed both judicial and deliberative rhetoric in calling the people to reconciliation within the *polis*. The rhetoric of the common good was thus one of their tools used in conveying the message of reconciliation through the harmonious living with one another.

2.3.4 Conclusion

It is clear from reading through the works of Homer, Sophocles and the other ancient authors in the Greco-Roman society that situations arose in which reconciliation could be viewed from different perspectives in terms of its functionality in ancient Greco-Roman society. Reconciliation was practised using different methods and actions in Greco-Roman society. To close the gap that existed between the gods and humanity as a result of human frailty, Greco-Roman society proposed that through the offering of sacrifice and prayer to the gods

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they could be appeased. The purpose of doing this was to appease the anger of the gods and to bring the people back into the presence of a god for fellowship and worship.

The political domain witnessed reconciliation through amnesty and the principle of seeking the common good of all within the *polis*. Amnesty, according to Ralph F. Gallucci (2010:91), was viewed as "a mutual agreement by which contending parties, in order to promote reconciliation and prevent further fighting, pledged to restore political and civil rights to all citizens and forgo any retribution for actions undertaken during previous strife or war." It was regarded as one of the practices used in the Greco-Roman world to provide forgiveness and reconciliation to those who were found guilty of disobeying the rules and norms of their society. The goal of reconciliation was the harmonisation and stabilisation of the ancient world in all its facets – religious, social and political.

The part played by actions in the process of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman society invariably exceeded the use of words, since action was believed by the ancient Greeks and Romans to have more potency in communicating realities than words had. Common good as a rhetorical device aimed at promoting and abolishing the boundary between the poor and the rich, the sick and the healthy, the lower class and the upper class by creating harmony among the people. It intended to curb individualism[78], which was believed to be a causal factor in strife, fighting, dishonesty and behaviour that warred against the society, whereas the advocacy of the common good was seen to bring harmony, forgiveness, peace and reconciliation.

2.4 Insight from archaeology into the Greco-Roman concept of reconciliation

Archaeology has provided modern scholarship with much information regarding the ancient world and their beliefs, practices, religion and culture.[79] It is thus to be hoped that if the concept of reconciliation had been a common practice in Greco-Roman society there will be some archaeological evidence for it. This section will therefore attempt to make use of

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[78] Epictetus (55-135 CE) is a good example of the rhetoricians who believed that seeking the common interest of society stabilises and promotes peaceful coexistence and harmony, whereas personal interest is the major cause of war and fighting within the *polis*. Epictetus (quoted in Chang, 2013:89) states that "It is my interest (συμφέρει μοι) to have a farm, it is my interest (συμφέρει μοι) to have cloak. It is my interest (συμφέρει μοι). It is my interest (συμφέρει μοι) also to steal it from a bath. This is the source of wars (πόλεμοι), sedition (στάσεις), tyrannies, plots."

[79] The publications of Stephen Colvin (2004), Judith A. Corbelli (2006), J. Rasmus Brandt and Jon W. Iddeng (2012), and Patrician A. Baker (2013) are all examples of the exploration of Greco-Roman culture using archaeology.

archaeological findings, specifically by looking at inscriptions from the Greco-Roman world, to see how these can shed light on the Greco-Roman concept of reconciliation and the way in which it was practised at that time.

2.4.1 The concept of reconciliation in inscriptions from the Greco-Roman world

The study of ancient Greco-Roman inscriptions by Franz S. Steinleitner in 1913, followed by the work of Georg Petzl in 1978, has alerted scholarship to the culture and the beliefs of the ancient Greco-Romans regarding reconciliation. Investigations into these stelae show that the dedicants were religious and that they raised them to the gods in honour of their abilities to reveal, punish and heal the people concerned. Stelae were sometimes presented as a thanksgiving offering to the gods for what they had done for them as a family or as a community. More and more of these inscriptions are being unearthed today in Asia Minor, and these may provide a further window onto the religious culture of the ancient world. As a result of these discoveries, several theories and definitions have been put forward by scholars in order to explain the meaning of the inscriptions found.

Fixing the nomenclature for the various inscriptions found in the Greco-Roman world has been a contentious point for classicists, theologians and archaeologists since the discovery of these inscriptions. The title of Steinleitner's work explicitly shows that he believes those inscriptions to be confession inscriptions, since he uses *Die Beicht* ("confession" in German) as a means of delineating the type of inscriptions on which his work focus. The same formula is followed by Petzl (1994), who calls these inscriptions "*die Beichtinschriften*," which means "confession inscriptions." Angelos Chaniotis considers these inscriptions to be "confession inscriptions" or "propitiation inscriptions" because of their content and the reason which called for their erection. Scholars like Schnabel (2003), Malay and Sayar (2004), as was well as Konstan (2010), also agree that "confession inscription" is a suitable nomenclature for these inscriptions. Rostad (2006:13), however, has rejected the term "confession inscription," stating that the inscriptions contain "stories of unacceptable action" and therefore should be called "reconciliation inscriptions."[80] Categorising all the inscriptions found in the ancient

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[80] Rostad (2002:146-147) argues that the inscriptions should not be called *Beichtinschriften* but *Suhneinschriften*. Due to his of the content of the inscriptions as well as the situation, and the context that led to the erection of the stele believe that the inscription contains the acknowledgment of guilt, the public confession of the sin by the dedicant through the erection of the stele, and finally speaks of the religious rite required of the dedicant (Rostad, 2002:150). Rostad therefore dissents from the opinions of Steinleitner and Petzl and asserts that the inscriptions should not be called confession inscriptions ("*Beichtinschriften*") but rather reconciliation

Greco-Roman world as "confession", "propitiatory" or "reconciliation" inscriptions would, however, be a mistake, since not all of them served the same purpose, and it is their purpose and content that should determine the nomenclature used for them.

What is clear is that these inscriptions played an important role in the religiosity of the Greco-Roman world, and their origin has been traced back to the early first century CE. Georg Petzl and Hasan Malay (1987:459-460) maintain that the inscriptions delineate that someone has offended a god and asked for forgiveness from the god by expiation or propitiation through human agency. Describing these inscriptions, they adduce:

> A person is stricken with misfortune and somehow finds out, or is informed by the god or the god's messenger, that the cause is a sin, some offense which he or she has committed. To be released from his adversity, the sinner must do away with the offense against the god, must propitiate him; and the only way to do this is by erecting a stele inscribed with a confession of the wrongdoing. Many of these stelae conclude by calling on the reader to acknowledge the power of the god and not to slight him.

Similarly, Rostad (2006:14) describes these inscriptions in terms of their content because the cultic regulations

> Tell stories of people who have failed to observe the religious behavioural code and must face the consequences of their actions, the cultic regulations give insight in which actions were regarded as unacceptable in cultic contexts, why they were regarded as unacceptable and which sanctions a perpetrator would face.

Although the inscriptions thus do not contain the word "confession" or "reconciliation", expressions derived from various stelae implicitly explain sin, confession and reconciliation in their conceptual form, as in Luke 7:36-50.[81] The language of these stelae signifies that the people who erected them were seeking forgiveness and reconciliation from the gods, and since their requests were granted had decided to raise stelae as proof of the forgiveness and reconciliation received through a healing or good health. Some of these inscriptions also tell the tales of people who were "cut off" as a result of their religious transgressions and

inscriptions ("*Suhneinschriften*"). As of 2002, about 138 inscriptions have been found which refer to the issue of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world, some of which were not available to Petzl and Rostad when they conducted their research.

[81] Luke in his Gospel also refers to instances where people acknowledged and sent their appreciation to God for healing them and forgiving their sin. A typical example of this is the case of the woman in 7:32-50. Giving thanks to God was thus an important part of religiosity in the ancient Greco-Roman world.

consequently had suffered sickness or calamity, or even died. It thus appears that in light of their content and the *Sitz im Leben* in which the dedicant raised the inscriptions, the stelae were a means by which the suppliants or offerors believed that the gods would forgive them. For instance, BWK$_{108}$ explains that punishment came on people as result of human transgression. The inscription reads thus:

> C. Antonius Apellas from Blaundos, having been punished by the god often and many times because, although he had been called, he did not want to come and be present at the mystery.[82]

The first line of inscription shows that the dedicant has committed an offence ($\dot{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\dot{\iota}\alpha$)) and therefore acknowledged the punishment and the power of the god. The use of $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\dot{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ strengthens the idea that the dedicant is hesitant to participate in the mystery of god owing to him or her being punished by the god. The importance of this inscription for this study is that it enables one to understand the innate longing for a god's mercy and for reconciliation with this god, as well the community who met to worship the god. Rostad's (2002:150) argument is furthermore that the raising of this inscription by the dedicant signified that the necessary reconciliation was achieved.

2.4.2 Reasons for creating the reconciliation inscriptions

As indicated earlier (see section 2.4.1), there are several reasons that prompted worshippers to raise reconciliation inscriptions to the gods who arbitrated their affairs. The language of the inscriptions often speaks of the cause that led a human agent to raise a stone to a god. Some of these reasons will be looked into carefully in order to draw insights from this ancient practice. Two major reasons will be investigated, which are votive and oath resolution (also referred to as the interceptive reason).

2.4.2.1 Votive reason

The contents of many of these inscriptions explain the intentions and inner reasons that prompted believers to raise their stelae at the temple dedicated to a god. Votive ($\dot{\alpha}\nu\dot{\alpha}\theta\eta\mu\alpha$)[83]

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[82] The inscription is believed to come from Lydia in Asia Minor, or its nearby area. See http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/confession-inscription-involving-mysteries-i-ii-ce/=BWK+108

[83] Luke seems to be the only author who makes use of this word in his writing in reference to the Jerusalem temple, which was beautified with different kinds offerings, when he says: *Καί τινων λεγόντων περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὅτι λίθοις καλοῖς καὶ ἀναθήμασιν κεκόσμηται εἶπεν·* (Lk. 21:5). The use of *ἀναθήμασιν* means that the temple was decorated with different votive offerings presented by the worshippers and the dedicants.

here implies an offering that fulfils one's vow to a god. Greco-Roman society was a religious society wherein the people depended upon the gods for their existence and sustenance. Votive always involved a problem (e.g. a contest in the case of athletics), victory over the problem, and finally an appreciation (an offering or sacrifice) (Rouse, 1976:175-177). In the context of reconciliation, votive offerings evoke the idea that an offering was given to a god in response to either a healing or of having one's sin forgiven, or as praise offered to a god by a pious worshipper (Rostad, 2002:159). When the wrongdoers carried out their offering along with their confession, it was expected that forgiveness would be granted to the offeror, and that this in turn would result in restoring the status of the person before the god who had been offended. In other words, he or she would be reconciled with the god. Many inscriptions examined indicate that the tablet was raised after a person had obtained relief or victory, or when the god did something miraculous to someone, as indicated in the inscription below:

> Διεί ἐγ Διδύμων Δρυῶν·
> Μηνφίλα ʼΑσκλητπάδου
> κολασθεῖ ὑτὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
> εὔξατο πίνακα· ἐχρὸνουλκησε
> και οὐκ απεδωκε·
> συνευξαμένης ἐπεζήτησε ὁ οεος
> στήλλην ἥν ἀπέδωκε εὐχαπιῶ
> τοῦσατ τῶ θεῶ· ἑτους σπζʹ μη,νὸς.
> Δαισίου λˇ

> To Zeus from Twin Oaks. When Menophila daughter of Asklepiades was punished by the god, she promised (to offer) a votive tablet. But she wasted time and did not fulfil (her promise). As her sister [Iulia] had joined in (Menophila's) prayer, the god requested her (to set up) a stele which she now offers giving her thanks to the god. In the year 287, on the thirtieth day of the month Daisios. (Malay & Sayar, 2004:183)[84]

The inscription shows that a certain Iudia and her sister went to the shrine of Zeus and requested the healing of her sister who had a diseased right leg, and promised that if the healing were effected by the god she would hang up a votive tablet on the shrine.

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[84] The catalogue number of the inscription was not identified at the time of this study (Malay & Sayar, 2004:183-184). According the authors of the article, the inscription was found in a private collection in Istanbul. The dimensions = 91×47.5×5, L 1.5; it is dated to about 287Sulla = 202/3 CE. The inscription had a human leg inserted into it before the actual inscription in Greek.

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Unfortunately, after the healing had been effected, she delayed in fulfilling her promise to hang up the tablet, and the god called on her to raise a stele instead of a votive tablet ($\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\xi$) "with the representation of the leg and the record of the recovery and the sin they committed" (Malay & Sayar, 2004:184). The offering of thanks to the god ($\epsilon\grave{\upsilon}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tauo\hat{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha$) by Iudia is an indication that her sister was in good health and still alive.

This inscription can be said to be votive since it involved an earlier promise made, healing and forgiveness/reconciliation, as well as thanksgiving by the dedicant on behalf of her sister. In light of the work of Rouse (1976:222), it seems as if votive offerings in the Greco-Roman world were raised for many reasons, which include contest, victory and sacrifice. Here the contest or challenge of Iudia had been her sister's sickness, which might render her impotent in many ways. Impotent implies exclusion from the communal gathering and even sacred places due to her illness. Secondly, the victory over the sickness was achieved in the form of healing. Finally, there was perhaps a sacrifice which Iudia carried out on behalf of her sister alongside the stele she raised in the temple of Zeus. The stele thus speaks of the restoration of the two sisters' fellowship with the god and their community through this singular action. It is thus an indication that forgiveness had been granted and reconciliation had been carried out.[85]

2.4.2.2 Oath resolution

Reconciliation inscriptions in many instances show how an oath was resolved between two people who had entered into an agreement through the making of an oath in the ancient Greco-Roman world. The aim of these inscriptions was to define the reason for the oath and the means through which such an oath could be broken by the parties who were involved in the oath. Here a god stands as mediator or reconciler ($\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$) between the two people, or a group of people, who had bound themselves by an oath. Reconciliation inscriptions thus attest to the idea that people raised a stele in appreciation to a god for standing in the gap in the course of the resolution of their oath. Sometimes in the course of resolving an oath, a priest or priestess could act as a reconciler ($\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$), according to Marijana Ricl (2003:81-82), who believes that the priests and the priestesses acted as mediators between the gods and the dedicants. An example of this sort of inscription is found in BWK[58] that speaks

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[85] There is evidence that this was a general practice that was carried out in Greco-Roman shrines. Many inscriptions were discovered with *votive leg* in many shrines. Sometime the temple was built by the dedicator; Archias, for example, built the temple at Pergamus after his miraculous healing. The offering was said to be of the same sex as that of the dedicator, except when the offering was on behalf of another person (Rouse, 1976:222-224).

of the resolution of an oath between two parties. The translation of the stele, which is based on the work of Rostad (2002:162), reads thus:

> To resolve the oaths taken in the name of Axiottenos, the person who resolves the oaths will pay 175 denars. He will from this be given the prize (of the stele?), that he asked for, if this is correctly written down so that he can raise the stele. The person who resolves a skeptron will pay 175 denars to the temple, and the skeptron is correctly resolved ... the gods resolve in accordance with their decision.

The oath is attached to a specific amount to be paid before such oath would be broken. Raising the inscription signalled that the oath was duly resolved through paying the stipulated amount of money. Resolving this oath signified that the curse intended for the dedicant and his or her family had been destroyed after the necessary ritual cleansing and purification had been performed in the shrine of the cult in which the oath had been made (Rostad, 2002:20). This is significant since, according to Rostad (2002:161), one of the most important aspects of reconciliation "is the resolving of oath ($\lambda\acute{v}\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\tau\grave{o}\nu$ $\acute{o}\rho\kappa o\nu$), which releases the perjurer and his household from the curse."

A curse was regarded in the ancient world as an omen which should not hastily be imposed on any individual or community. Curses as religious phenomena reflect the tragic side of ancient religious practice and were resorted to only if the offender incited the anger of someone. Hermes, Demeter, Persephone, Hades, Earth and other mysterious demons were often invoked whenever a curse was to be placed on someone (Rouse, 1976:336-338). It was only in a sacred precinct or place that such a curse could be broken and the person on whom the spell was placed upon set free from it. The implication is that only the gods were capable of lifting a curse on a cursed person or a family and community. Whenever a curse was placed on a person, the person would not have much to do with his or her community, since he or she would not be allowed to interact with others except if the curse were broken and the spell removed by a special sacrifice. Exclusion was often the lot of accursed individual(s).

The giving of a sacrifice was a ritual cleansing and purification that signalled the acceptance of the cursed person back in his or her community. The intention of the act of removing a curse or spell by ritual cleansing and purification was to reconcile the offender with the community in the *polis*. The resolution of the estrangement, or the renouncement of an oath in antiquity, thus often resulted in what was understood as reconciliation in the ancient world (Chang, 2013:87-102). Therefore, the reconciled person had to give thanks to god

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($\epsilon\dot{v}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tauo\hat{v}\sigma\alpha$) for the relief from the curse that was placed on him or her by giving a special offering in a shrine.

2.4.3 Conclusion

In this section evidence for the Greco-Roman concept of reconciliation was investigated by looking at archaeological findings which reveal that a number of inscriptions emphasise the importance of reconciliation in this society. It was discovered that one could be excluded from a community because of illness and sin, but that the intervention of a god brought relief that enabled the offender to be accepted back into his or her community. In appreciation for what the god had done, the healed person who was also reconciled with his or her community often raised an inscription in the holy precinct of a temple as a public spectacle of the god's faithfulness. Inscriptions found within some of these shrines are thus a testimony that reconciliation was part of the ancient Greco-Roman society. The findings also reiterate to present scholarship that although the ancient Greco-Romans did not always refer directly to reconciliation in their writings it was something that they practised. Their understanding of the process of reconciliation was holistic, since it affected both the spiritual and the physical aspects of humanity as described in the inscriptions uncovered. Reconciliation was also attested to be a process that had both human and spiritual dimensions, as is portrayed by the various inscriptions found in the ancient Greco-Roman world. The gods, for example, also intervened on behalf of individual(s) between the accursed and the one who pronounced the curse. This intervention of the god was done through the mediating power of the priest as human agent in the holy precinct.

2.5. Example of writings on reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world

In the previous section (see section 2.3) the concept of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman society was discussed in terms of the different dimensions (religious, social and political) in which it occurred. Giving consideration to writings from the same period will further help in shedding light on the assertion that Greco-Roman society practised reconciliation through actions and therefore did not consider it necessary to use the term "reconciliation" itself. Plutarch (*Mor*. 5.400f-401a) once said that the wise of the ancient Greeks and Romans preferred speaking through actions or signs instead of through words. Consequently, this section will consider two of the most influential people in the Greco-Roman society and early Christianity – Augustus Caesar and Paul the Apostle. The reason for this focus is that Augustus Caesar, on one hand, is considered a model of an emperor and king; and Paul. on

the other hand, is considered a highly influential figure in the history of the Christian church. Their positions can be assumed to have availed them ample opportunity to be involved in different aspects of reconciliation in the ancient world. This examination of some of their writings will thus help in shedding light on the different metaphors and allusions that directly or indirectly explained the concept of reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman world.

2.5.1 Augustus Caesar: *Res gestae*

Plutarch in his writing sees Augustus Caesar as the epitome of reconciliation. Plutarch (*Mor.* 207b), for example, writes that

> After the capture of Alexandria, the people of the city were expecting to be treated with the most frightful severity, but when he had mounted the tribune and had directed Areius of Alexandria to take a place beside him, he declared that he spared the city, first because of its greatness and beauty, secondly because of its founder, Alexander, and thirdly because of Areius his own friend.

Greco-Roman inscriptions and numismatic evidence also attest to the greatness of Octavius Augustus Caesar because he birthed an era of peace and reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world. or what classicists, philosophers and theologians termed the Pax Romana, during which every Roman citizen ostensibly experienced peace. This peace was linked to his ability to reconcile people. Tacitus, the Roman senator and historian, for example, writes that one of the most important achievements of the Divine Augustus was his ability to make peace through reconciliation (*Ann.* 1.10).

In terms of reconciliation Augustus himself asserts in his popular *Res gestae* ("Achievements") that one of his achievements during his time as emperor was to act as an arbitrator for many people and families and thus restore peace and unity within the empire (*Res.* 25.1-2)[86]. His charismatic and optimistic style of leadership drew the attention of many kings, and he was able to make peace with all of them (*Res.* 32.1-3). Augustus also declares that he was a member of the priestly colleges and that in his collegiate he was privileged to hold more than two priestly offices (which was a rarity in his day). Augustus alone is also said to have served in seven of these offices, of which the last one, *fetiales*, is believed to

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[86] *Res gestae* contains the achievements of Augustus, and it is believed by many scholars to be his own personal writing that was meant to be read at his funeral. It was one of the four documents that Divine Augustus entrusted into the hands of the Vestal Virgins for safekeeping (Suetonius *Aug.* 101.1-4; Galinsky, 1996:10-11; Eder, 2005:13-14). This document was first found inscribed on a wall in Rome.

have had a direct bearing on the issue of peace and reconciliation (*Res*. 7:2). This was a cult in Rome that was responsible for either declaring war or seeking peace with the opposition. That he controlled the *fetiales* cult identifies Augustus as someone who played a key role regarding peace and reconciliation during his time. Suetonius (*Aug*. 31.2-3) confirms that it was Augustus's duty to make sure that debts were cancelled, that he gave no enemies chance to accuse anybody, and that he made sure that the people of the lowest rank (the poor) received fair judgement in court. No wonder that at his dismissal from the mortal world Augustus Caesar could implore the Romans that

Ἐπεί δὲ πάνυ καλῶς πέπαισταί δότε κρότον

Καὶ πάντες ἐμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προτέμψατε

Since well I've played my part, all clap your hands

And from the stage dismiss me with applause. (Suetonius, *Aug*. 99.1)

Looking at the achievements of the Divine Augustus in the area of reconciliation, peace and security, E.A. Judge (2008:210-222), however, states that Augustus forgot to mention the part that warfare played in his achievements; instead, he elaborates more on political themes such as peace, security and reconciliation. It is thus an open question to what extent Augustus truly reconciled people, as they had no real choice in setting aside their differences. As was mentioned in the previous section (see section 2.2.1), Greco-Romans used warfare as a means of achieving reconciliation, either by subduing the opposition through warfare, or by seeking reconciliation by forcing the opposition to make peace. "We make war so that we can live in peace," says Aristotle (*Eth. nic.* 1177b5–6). There is no doubt that Augustus in trying to establish an era of peace and reconciliation at times used warfare as an instrument. Tacitus (*Ann*. 1.10) also mentioned that the Greco-Roman kings and emperors used other means in achieving friendship, peace and reconciliation, which perhaps made Tacitus 'cynical' about friendship through flattery.

2.5.2 Paul of Tarsus: The letter to Philemon

Paul's letters are believed by many scholars of ancient history, classics and the New Testament to be similar to most Greco-Roman letters in their form (Dunn, 1996:309). As a Greco-Roman citizen, Paul was also able to apply the same principles that were known to his society in dealing with reconciliation in his time.

The letter of Philemon is believed to be an undisputed letter of Paul which he sent to Philemon, who was a church leader in Colossae, pleading with him to accept his runaway slave back to his home.[87] The letter is thus an example of an extant ancient Greco-Roman letter on the concept of reconciliation.[88] The extant letters of Pliny the Younger to Sabinianus (*Ep*. 9.21 and 9.24) are other examples of how letters of reconciliation were written during the first century CE. Joseph Fitzmyer sees similarities between the letter of Paul to Philemon and that of Pliny to Sabinianus. Fitzmyer (2000:20-23) argues that the three letters are based on the ancient principle of *amicus domini* (friend of the master), the position that availed both Paul and Pliny to intervene respectively on behalf of Onesimus and Sabinianus's slave.[89] It is worthy of note that one of the features that differentiate the letters of Paul from other Greco-Roman letter is commendation. Efrain Agosto (2003:110-127) argues that Paul's letters were different from other Greco-Roman's letters on the ground of patronage. According to Agosto, whereas ancient Greco-Roman letters derived their commendation from its human patrons, in that of Paul its patron was God.

Stanley K. Stowers (1986:153-156) categorises the letter of Paul to Philemon as one of the examples of letters of "mediation" in the ancient Greco-Roman society. Mediation in the context of Stowers' thesis explicates that "one person makes a request to another person on behalf of a third party" (1986:153). Paul in this letter thus mediated on behalf of Onesimus, a runaway slave of Philemon, as a friend of the latter. In the letter Paul speaks to Philemon of forgiveness and reconciliation, but the term reconciliation is not mentioned anywhere in the epistle.[90] Some scholars of the New Testament, for example Drysdale (1900:57), Baugh (2002:513), Elliot (2006:51-52), Kreitzer & Jarick (2008:26-60) and few others, have acknowledged that the purpose of the letter of Paul to Philemon was to effect reconciliation

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[87] The reason not all the documents of the New Testament have been included is that this study does not attempt to study all references to reconciliation in the New Testament. The letter of Paul to Philemon is included only to provide an example of how letters in the Greco-Roman world addressed the topic of forgiveness and reconciliation.

[88] Deissmann (1927:216-219) in his *Light from the east* compares several letters that have a resemblance to that of Paul to Philemon and concludes that the treatment of runaway slaves was a problem to the early Christian community.

[89] But N.T. Wright seems to contradict Fitzmyer by stating that Pliny and Paul had nothing in common and that their letters also show no resemblance to each other. His argument is based on the notion that the authors were of different social status and perhaps wrote in different settings with dissimilar motives (Wright, 2013:3-5). Wright views the letter of Paul to Philemon as an example of what was expected within the Messiah's community and that it challenged the acceptance of slavery in the Greco-Roman world.

[90] It is worthy of note that many commentaries on Philemon from the nineteenth to the twentieth century have been studied in order to see how the concept of reconciliation is expressed in them; surprisingly, only a few of these authors seemed to connect the issue in the text with reconciliation.

between Philemon and Onesimus. In line with this view, Wright (2013:13) interprets the letter as reflecting a theology of mutual reconciliation, which "points beyond the small horizons of this letter to the layer of worldview upon which Paul draws elsewhere."

Thus this letter can be called *Paul's letter of reconciliation*, since it attempted to reconcile a runaway slave with his master.[91] The interest in using the letter in this study is not to delve into the many arguments as to the reason why Onesimus decided to run to Paul in order to effect reconciliation between him and his master, Philemon, but to show the possibility of the reconciliatory effect of this epistle. Since the possible cause of the conflict between Philemon and Onesimus cannot be reconstructed by present scholarship, it is impossible to know with accuracy what brought about their conflict. The reason behind this letter, according to Edward Keazirian (2009:183-184), is that:

> In the letter Paul's attempt to reconcile Philemon and his errant slave as brothers in Christ, lest Philemon punish him in accordance with the laws of the empire that would have allowed, though not necessarily required, capital punishment for the slave. More than just preserving the life of Onesimus, however, Paul desires to see a transformation in Philemon's attitude toward Onesimus, perhaps even to the point of granting him freedom or dispatching him to be with Paul on a more permanent basis.[92]

In terms of the theme of reconciliation, this epistle seems to be self-expressive in communicating to its audience in a manner which was well understood in its own context, especially when viewed in the light of ancient letters of reconciliation such as the extant letters of Pliny the Younger. Paul begins the letter with a greeting directed to Philemon, his household and the church in his house (1-3). He appeals to Philemon on behalf of Onesimus, whom he calls his son (ἐμοῦ τέκνου) who, Paul further explains, was begotten in his chains (ὃν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου). This statement signifies that Paul met Onesimus while in prison. The appeal of the apostle to Philemon using πρεσβύτης indicates Paul's authority

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[91] There is a similarity between Paul's letter to Philemon asking him to accept his slave, Onesimus, back and that of Augustus Caesar (*Res.* 25.1). The only difference between Paul and Augustus Caesar is that, whereas Paul advocates the cancellation of Onesimus's debt, Augustus Caesar implored the masters of the slaves to give them the appropriate punishment for their actions and deeds. However, both Augustus and Paul advocate reconciliation between masters and their slaves.

[92] N.T. Wright (1986:170) sees that the method that Paul used in the reconciling Onesimus and Philemon was that both of them might find their reconciliation in Paul. However, both Onesimus and Philemon were to have a common ground by fellowshipping with one another as brothers in Christ. Paul ultimate desire was either for Philemon to allow Onesimus to live with him, or he (Philemon) treats Onesimus not as a slave but a brother in Christ.

within the ambit of Christianity, which he uses here to effect reconciliation.[93] The use of the term in Paul also indicates that his old age had offered to him an opportunity to negotiate reconciliation between estranged parties. Paul furthermore qualifies his relationship with Onesimus as a father-son relationship, which again depicts him as someone with the authority to intervene in their relationship (10-11).[94] Paul, however, knows that reconciliation involves satisfaction, propitiation and expiation, and therefore implores Philemon to forgive whatever transgression Onesimus might have committed against him. If this were not possible, he was to charge it to his account ($\tau o \hat{v} \tau o \ \dot{\epsilon} \mu o \grave{\iota} \ \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \acute{o} \gamma \alpha$ [17-19]).[95] This statement prompts Wright (2013:20) to assert that

> Paul's apostolic ministry reaches one of the high points as he stands there with arms outstretched embracing Philemon with one and Onesimus with the other. That is what the ministry of reconciliation looks like. The cross itself, though not mentioned explicitly in Philemon, emerges here, embodied in the ministry of the imprisoned apostle, as the theological substructure of the pastoral appeal.

Verse 18 supports the idea that reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world sometimes demanded recompense from the offender. Paul's understanding of this modus operandi vis-à-vis reconciliation informs Philemon that if it is needed for the reconciliation to take effect, and if by change Onesimus cannot offer it to satisfy him, he should forgive him and charge it to his own account. The idea of appeasement, which was consonant with the Greco-Roman notion of reconciliation, is thus used without disparagement by Paul in this context. Viewing the letter through a socio-historical lens thus helps one gain insight into one of the various approaches to reconciliation that were available when Paul wrote his letter.

2.6 Enacting reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world

The previous section having examined different aspects that have a direct bearing on how to understand the concept of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society, this section will deal with

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[93] Following Deissmann's (1927:374) understanding of the word in the context of the Greco-Roman world of Paul's time, the term is used for any person with authority. Deissmann explains that the term was used substantively "in the Greek East for the Emperor's Legate."

[94] Scholars have diverging opinions on the part that Onesimus played in this reconciliation process. Peter Lampe, B.M. Rapske, S. Scott Bartchy and Neil Elliot are of the opinion that Onesimus decided to run to Paul in order for him to use his influence as an apostle to speak to his master, Philemon. Whatever may have caused Paul to send this letter to Philemon, the fact remains that Paul, through his influence as a patron in the Lord to Philemon, initiated reconciliation between the slave and his master (Elliot, 2006:51).

[95] The use of an imperative in the text perhaps shows how desperate Paul was to effect reconciliation between Onesimus and his master. The phrase can be literally translated: "charge it to my account." The textual variant in Byzantine Text reads: "$\tau o \hat{v} \tau o \ \dot{\epsilon} \mu o \grave{\iota} \ \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \acute{o} \gamma \epsilon \iota$."

the actions that help in providing insight into the concept of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world. The objective in examining it is to show that actions, and not words, were important when reconciliation was sought in antiquity. These actions, though they might not always be recognised as attempting reconciliation, actually depict the very process of reconciliation itself. Such actions had to be appropriate within their specific socio-historical contexts in order to be effective in enacting reconciliation. Proper examination of these actions within their original socio-historical contexts will thus shed light on this concept in the Greco-Roman society.

2.6.1 Healing

One of the major problems in the ancient world was that of disease, as was mentioned in section 2.2.2 of this study. Diseases and sickness were sometimes regarded as punishment from the gods and, as such, they could hinder human relationships with one another (Sigerist, 1941:1-26).[96] They also led to the social exclusion of the afflicted. As a result of this social stigmatisation and exclusion of the sick, healing was sought by people who did not want to die or remain separated from their people (Aelius Aristides, *Heracles* 40.11). All diseases were understood to be curable in the Greco-Roman world, with many testifying of their deliverance from them because of the powerful hand of Poseidon and Heracles.

The power of Heracles was believed to have been manifested in almost all human situations in order to deliver people from death and danger (Aelius Aristides, *Heracles,* 40:12).[97] Ovid (43 BCE-17 CE), in his *Metamorphoses*, says that when diseases broke out in Rome the senate decreed that Asclepius should be asked to help in healing the people within the empire and not to terminate the lives of the people of Rome (*Metamorphoses* 15.622.745). It was the custom of Greco-Roman people to separate the sick people, especially slaves, from the healthy ones. The sick were sent to a shrine of Asclepius in order to be healed by the god. Asclepius was a popular god within the empire, since he possessed the secret of human existence through his power to effect healing. Since sickness or ill-health was regarded as something that led to perpetual "disability or disablement" and caused many people, especially the poor, to become useless, Asclepius was revered because he unrelentingly took care of the poor and slaves when sickness affected them (Edelstein & Edelstein, 1945:174-

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[96] The Stoics believed that incurable sickness was enough to cause one to commit suicide, and without health nothing was of good use. Many other ancient philosophers and orators also believed that nothing could be compared to good health (Sigerist, 1941:55-60).

[97] See also P. Aelius Aristides. 1981. *The complete works*, Translated Charles A. Behr. Leiden: Brill. 240-241.

176). Inscriptions from Asia Minor are characterised by the way in which the suppliants presented their thanksgivings to Asclepius, who had healed and restored their health.

In antiquity, special indignation was directed against sick people as incapacitated elements of the society, since they were regarded as weak and incapable of fulfilling their societal functions. For people to be counted worthy, they had to be healthy and able to fulfil their function in society. Sickness was furthermore seen as punishment from the gods and, as such, anyone who suffered from sickness was seen as someone who had committed a sin against a god and therefore deserved the consequences of his or her sin.

Separation from healthy people was one of the methods that the Greco-Romans used in attempting to effect the healing of the sick persons. James Sands Elliott (1971:4-5) attests that the people who were separated from their homes were loitering at the shrines of Asclepius until their health were restored before they went back to their homes.[98] Being healed thus enabled them to be reconciled with their families. The following example of experiencing reconciliation through the healing of a sick person occurs in the work of Plutarch (*Pompey* 57.1-2), who says that

> After this Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples,—but recovered from it, and on the advice of Praxagoras the Neapolitans offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for his preservation… No place could contain those who came to greet him from all quarters, but roads and villages and ports were filled with sacrificing and feasting throngs. Many also with garlands on their heads and lighted torches in their hands welcomed and escorted him on his way, pelting him with flowers, so that his progress and return to Rome was a most beautiful and splendid sight.

Although being healed was not synonymous with reconciliation, it could result in reconciliation being enacted within the socio-historical world of ancient Rome and Greece.

2.6.2 Ritual
Ritual played a significant role in the reconciliation enacted between the gods and humans and between humans themselves. It played a unique role in the daily events of any

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[98] Sleeping in the sanctuary of Asclepius was said to hasten the healing process in the sick. Many inscriptions from Asia Minor attest that the people were healed upon sleeping in the shrines (Asclepeia). In fact, sleeping in the shrines brought healing that was a means of reconciling suppliants back to their family. Many barren women whose marriages were near to collapsing were restored after giving birth to children. For instance, "Andromache of Epeirus, for the sake of offspring. She slept in the Temple and saw a dream. It seemed to her that a handsome boy uncovered her, after that the god touched her with his hand, whereupon a son was born to Andromache from Arybbas" (Edelstein & Edelstein, 1945:235).

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community, since their duties to god, state and one another were all tied to the process of ritualization. In any religious society, it is often difficult to perform a credible action or duty without being involved in a ritual (τελετουργία). Ritual, Tom Driver (1991:99-187) claims, offers the ultimate moments in places and times such as in a shrine or state house, or at a wedding, funeral feast, or any ceremony. Lisa Schirch (2005:17) adds that rituals use symbolic actions to communicate a forming or transforming message in a unique social space. Any action that is used for the purpose of effecting a social, cultural, religious, or political communication of a set of beliefs or principle can be said to be a ritual.

The religious, social and political life of Greco-Roman society was nurtured by rituals. Whether in transgressing a sacred precinct or in the socio-political affairs of the *polis*, ritual actions had to be performed. Rituals were performed to make sure that the action that necessitated it was driven by the inmost part of human understanding so as to fortify the meaning thereof. It can be termed a "prescribed formal behaviour for occasions not given to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in a mystical being or power" (Turner, 1967:19). People were conditioned to believe that actions performed in reverence to the supernatural had a bearing on their duty as humans. For instance, the Athenians respected the place of ritual in the political sphere when they decided to seal the amnesty given to oligarchs by taking an oath. Xenophon (in Huang, 2008:96) says that "oaths were sworn that there should be an amnesty for all that had happened in the past, and to this day both parties live together as fellow citizens." After driving away the tyrant king Tarquinius, the Roman people had to take a special oath never again to allow a tyrant to rule over them (Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 5.1.1-3). These are clear examples that indicate the place of rituals in the political domain of the ancient world. It is thus to be expected that rituals would also be part of any process of reconciliation. As discussed previously (in section 2.4.1), inscriptions in the Greco-Roman world have shown that many people who were involved in the process of reconciliation did so through some sort of ritual. The inscriptions themselves might not be a means of reconciliation, as proposed by Rostad (2006:15). Konstan, for example, emphasises that stelae might not have had much to do with the process of reconciliation; rather, he argues, reconciliation was achieved not by raising the inscription but "by admitting the transgression and performing rituals of propitiation" (Konstan, 2010:89). Such rituals could take the form of prayer, fasting, confession, sleeping (as in Asclepeia), washing or libation. In order to accomplish reconciliation with a god, a ritual had to be carried out. The nature of the sin committed determined the type of ritual action that had to be performed. It could take the

form of propitiation, ransom, expiation, and sometimes death, as in the case of Ajax in the play of Sophocles. When an action aims at resolving the problem between two people, factions or parties, such a ritual can be understood as a reconciliation ritual,[99] since it was meant to mend a broken relationship.

Konstan (2010:13-14) believes that supplication as ritual played a crucial role in the act of forgiveness and reconciliation in the classical world. Citing F.S. Naiden (2006:29-169), Konstan puts forward his argument by acknowledging that the classical world had a four-step supplication ritual that effected reconciliation. The steps are as follows: (1) a suppliant approached the supplicand;[100] (2) verbal touching would be exercised by the suppliant, as in *Od*. 6.141-8;[101] (3) the suppliant would now put forward his or her petition with an argument that would convince the supplicand; and (4) the last stage is for the supplicand either to accept or refuse it. Plato (*Menex*. 244a-b) adds that, apart from sacrifice and prayer in the course of reconciliation, memory rituals play an unmatched role in reconciliation by taking people's minds back to the past for future reconciliation to be tenable.

Civil rituals were also applicable in effecting forgiveness and reconciliation. The civil ritual in this context refers, for example, to the pact the Athenians signed in 403 BCE that led to the forgiveness of the oligarchs who betrayed the Athenians by their attitude to the people. Thus Robin Osborne (2010:405) is correct when he observes that the Athenians' life comprised "a never-ending sequence of rituals." Many scholars are in accord with him that the Greco-Roman concept of ritual emphasises that the lives of the people were regulated by ritual actions in which they participated as a matter of routine. Their political lifestyles and decisions were all shaped by a ritual calendar (Osborne, 2010:406-408).

For Plato to acknowledge that the Athenians' reconciliation was made possible through a ritual process is very insightful, and that the Athenians employed it for their unity underlines the value which the ancient Greco-Romans attached to ritual. The way in which these ritual

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[99] David Konstan (2010:164), in agreement with Mill (2003:81) and Aristotle, believes that apology is a ritual because it involves humiliation of one person before another. It shows an act of humiliation, and therefore such a ritual should be termed a *humiliation ritual*.

[100] A supplicand is a person or thing to which the suppliant is directing his or her supplication; it could be a god, altar or a sacred precinct. For more on supplicand see Konstan (2010:13-14).

[101] Verbal touching in this context means using memory as though the actual action were being carried out by the suppliant. It delineates the theory that words could be more powerful than actions. Touching the supplicand at this point of supplication may be taken as an acute insult to his or her personality and perhaps lead to the cancelation of the process of reconciliation (Konstan, 2010:13).

actions were performed in the religious, social and political spheres thus informs present scholarship that ritual was used as one of the means to effect reconciliation.

2.6.3 The sharing of a meal

Meals ($\delta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\pi\nu\sigma\nu$)[102] are believed by many scholars to play a dynamic role, not only in religious settings, but also in social and political environs. Generally meals consisted of both the $\delta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\pi\nu\sigma\nu$ and $\sigma\nu\mu\pi\acute{o}\sigma\iota\sigma\nu$, in other words, the eating and drinking sections or party (Finney, 2012:168). Meals came to be a way of life in the Greco-Roman world from 200 BCE, with the formulation of customs that were observed by the people (Smith, 1992:652-653). It was one of the rituals used in this socio-historical context, and had diverse connotations attached to it depending on the context and place in which the meal occurred. The etiquette at the table thus depended upon the nature of the meal and the purpose thereof (Plato, *Laws* 2.671c; Xenophon, *Sym*. 2.1). The purpose of initiating a meal determined the meaning and value that would be attached to the meal even before the meal, which helped in defining those who qualified to participate at the table.

Eating together was an ancient sign for friendship and at the same time a means of cementing relationships. The Greco-Roman meal was thus characterised by etiquette and ritual symbols that aimed at creating fellowship between different people (Smith, 1992:653). Its importance can scarcely be overemphasised, as it

> … played a significant role in Greco-Roman society. Meals in the ancient world created social boundaries and bonding. The boundaries defined by the social code of the meal depicted an endorsement and ritualization of the boundaries that existed in society. The process of dining together helped in cementing the social network that existed before they gathered. (Etukumana, 2012:80)

A shared meal was thus not a place for factionalism to arise, but rather a place of love where unity was accorded its rightful position. It was a means of congregating people who had decided to eat together and share their opinions on the polity of the day. W.A. Meeks

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[102] Paul in his letter to Corinthians (1 Cor. 10:19-22) mentions two tables: the table of the Lord ($\tau\rho\alpha\pi\acute{e}\zeta\eta\varsigma$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\upsilon$) and the table of demons ($\tau\rho\alpha\pi\acute{e}\zeta\eta\varsigma$ $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\sigma\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$). This contrast is an indication that meals in the Greco-Roman world were probably eaten in the sacred precincts. It could have a connection with the Homeric sacrificial banquet (*Il.* 7.321; *Od.* 3. 439-463, 14.418-436, 20.280; 293). Smith (1992:653) believes that the Greco-Roman sacred meal, especially when it was eaten within the holy precincts, carried some instructions to the people: "do not carry away". In the same vein, Plato (*Laws* 2.653d) adds that the participants were "made whole again" because they wined and dined with the gods.

(1983:31) states that meals offer "the chance for people who had no chance to participate in the politics of the city itself to feel important in their own miniature republics." Hal Taussig (2009:33-35) alleges that the emergence of the culture of association in the ancient world cannot be separated from that of the Greco-Roman meal. Their gathering together was for the purpose of sharing a meal. In the case of a community meal, the social exchange and experience gained by the people in the community at all levels, whether at home, theatre or gymnasium, were institutionalised during their communal meal (Klinghardt, 2012:10).

The need to maintain good relationships in the Greco-Roman world thus called for people to see a meal as a conveyor, as well as custodian, of such relationships. Meals were, furthermore, regarded as unique places where breaches between people were repaired in the ancient world. A meal was thus a social institution that helped the process of reconciliation between people in the Greco-Roman world. The significance and importance of meals in the Greco-Roman world as a means by which conflicting enemies could reconcile themselves is evident in Plutarch (*Antony* 32.3-5). C.B.R. Pelling (1988:205) describes this scene of a meal as "another powerful scene at sea," which depicts a typical meal of reconciliation. The meeting at Cape Misenum in this meal scene was instrumental in the reconciliation of Antony, Caesar and Sextus Pompey, since they had reached an agreement to give up anger against one another (Pelling, 1988:204). The negotiation and agreement preceded the $\delta\epsilon\hat{\imath}\pi\nu o\nu$ according to Plutarch in this context. This means that the $\delta\epsilon\hat{\imath}\pi\nu o\nu$ was used as a means of sealing the agreement among the three of them. This meal scene thus depicts the usage of a meal in fostering unity, since it was difficult for enemies to share the same meal.

Rostad (2006:286) believes that meals were also part of the negotiation process for propitiation when one sinned against a god in the ancient Greco-Roman world. Meals were thus not only a part of the reconciliation process between people but also between them and a god. If this can be proved to be correct, it would imply that eating a meal together was part of an action or a reconciliation rite that had to be done for reconciliation to take effect. This assertion is confirmed in one of the reconciliation inscriptions found in Asia Minor, which Rostad (2006:286) labels as BWK[6] in appendix B of his dissertation. It is read as follows:

> Polion (dedicates this stele) to Zeus Oreites and Mên Axiottenos, who rules Perkos (or: Perkon) as a king. When (the circumstances) were hidden from me, and I overstepped the border without permission, the gods punished him (= me). In the year 323, on the 30th of the month Dystros. He removed (the transgression) with a triad consisting of a mole, a sparrow

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and a tuna. He also gave the means of atonement that by habit is due to the gods when the stele was raised: a modius of wheat and one *prokhos* of wine. As a meal to the priests he gave 1½ (?) *kypros* of wheat, 1½ (?) *prokhos* of wine, peas and salt. And I have propitiated the gods for the sake of my grand-children and the descendants of my descendants.

Exclusion from a communal meal meant that an individual had offended a god and had thus transgressed a divine boundary, as specified earlier (see 2.3.1.1). Such an individual or a group of people had to create their own marginal community separate from the existing community, which was not allowed to take part in the discussions of the affairs of the *polis* or state. Conversely, one's acceptance at the communal meal was thus an indicator that the person has been reconciled with the community and that his or her sins had been forgiven by the gods and their human agent (Burkert, 1985:301-304).

2.6.4 The exchange of gifts

Greco-Roman literature from Homer to Plutarch attests to the exchange of gifts as a means of assuaging anger and creating an atmosphere for reconciliation with one another. For one to reconcile with the gods in the ancient world there was a need to create an enabling environment through the giving of a gift. Appeasement was important if reconciliation was to be accomplished between two parties and between the gods and humans. The oldest example of this is found in the work of Homer (*Il.* 9.121-156), in which Agamemnon wanted to offer gifts to Achilles. The offer was so great that it extends to forty lines in the *Iliad*. The quantity of the offer prompted Hector to say that "no mortal could scorn any longer these gifts that you offer to Achilles, the king" (Homer, *Iliad.* 164-165). The aim of the offer was to convince Achilles to reconcile with him and fight in "the battle against the Trojans to avenge the death of his friend Patroclus" (Konstan, 2010:60).[103] Unfortunately, Achilles rejected the gifts of his friend Agamemnon even when Agamemnon sent the ambassadors Odysseus, Ajax and Phoenix, and even his daughter. Achilles thus refused reconciliation. The reason for his refusal was that Achilles had said that Agamemnon had taken away his honour and reviled him before the Achaeans "as though I were some alien that had no rights" (*Il.* 9.646-648). Achilles' anger arose because he believed that Agamemnon treated him as a ἀτίμητον

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[103] The work of David Konstan is acknowledged for its great insights on the exchange of gifts in Homeric literature and its application to the concept of forgiveness and reconciliation in the ancient world. For further details see Joe P. Christensen (2007:416-428); Bruce Heiden (2008:128-158); Martin Mueller (2009:48-50) and David F. Elmer (2013.67-79).

μετανάστην (*Il.* 9.648), which means having no regard to his person or "a dishonoured outsider or outcast" (Rabel, 1997:132) or "vagabond without honour" (Konstan, 2010:61).

The reason for Achilles' refusal to accept Agamemnon's offer is beyond the scope of this study, but what is worthy to note is that Homer has shed light on the way ancient Greco-Romans effected forgiveness and reconciliation through the exchange of gifts.

Plutarch, for example, sees the exchange of gifts as one of the ways in which Greco-Romans promoted cooperation among themselves. Pompey was given a wife by Sulla to make peace with him (Plutarch, *Pompey* 9.1-3). The same assessment is made of the marriage between Mark Antony and Augustus Caesar's sister Octavia. Many scholars of ancient history are of the opinion that such a marriage was politically motivated, as it intended to create political stability and serve the sublime political aspirations[104] of two factions. A gift of a sister to someone's enemy or friend in marriage was highly valued as a means of influencing them to seek reconciliation in Greco-Roman society. Such an arranged marriage was a powerful means to peacefully coexist in their society. The same might have applied to the marriage between Mark Antony and Octavia, a sister to Augustus, as N.S. Gill (online)[105] states that

> Part of the reconciliation between Antony and Octavian (following the mutiny) was the marriage between Antony and Octavian's sister Octavia. They married in 40 B.C. and Octavia bore their first child the following year. She acted as peacemaker between Octavian and Antony, trying to persuade each to accommodate the other. When Antony went east to fight the Parthians, Octavia moved to Rome, where she looked after Antony's brood (and continued to do so even after divorce).

Joyce E. Salisbury (2001:253-254) emphasises that "marriage ties were central to forging political alliances" and reconciliation in the ancient world. This marriage became a political ladder that aided Augustus in his rise to the topmost position in the empire (Foss, 1996:42; Alston, 2014:85-87). Apart from the political domain of the ancient world, where the exchange of gifts was used for interpersonal forgiveness and reconciliation, it is also believed that other spheres of the ancient society had applied the same process in seeking forgiveness and reconciliation that led to unity and a peaceful coexistence within society.

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[104] Luke 23:6-12 makes reference to the reconciliation between Herod and Pilate using Jesus as their basis for their reconciliation and friendship.

[105] N.S. Gill's opinion is that the marriage between Mark Antony and Octavia was motivated by Roman political class.

Regarding the use of marriage as a means of reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman world, Plutarch (*Antony* 30.3) writes that after the death of Fulvia, the first wife of Antony, "Therefore there was even more opportunity for a reconciliation with Caesar." The only way this reconciliation could be carried out was for Caesar to offer Octavia to Antony in marriage. This marriage was believed to be a hinge on which the unity of Rome would depend, as Plutarch (*Antony* 31.2-3) writes:

> Everyone tried to bring about this marriage. For they hoped that Octavia, who, besides her great beauty had intelligence of dignity, when united to Antony and beloved by him, as such a woman naturally must be, would restore harmony and be their complete salvation.[106] Accordingly, when both men agreed, they went up to Rome and celebrated Octavia's marriage, although the law did not permit a woman to marry before her husband had been dead ten months. In this case, however, the senate passed a decree remitting the restriction in time.[107]

Holt Parker (1998:159-160) captures this idea of Plutarch that women were used as a means of reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman when he says:

> The exchange of women is part of the founding legend of Rome. Livy's tale of the rape of the Sabine women illustrates the positive side of this mediation. Torn from their natal families by rape, they become, by their love and loyalty to their new husbands, the medium of exchange and reconciliation between men and families.

2.7 Agents of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society

It has been argued in this study that reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman society was done through different means and that healings, meals, and the exchange of gifts were possible actions through which the people expressed their understanding of reconciliation. However, for this to take effect there must be agents of reconciliation. These persons were agents or mediators because they, or a god, was expected to perform the message that would

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[106] The use of $\sigma\omega\tau\nu\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu \ldots \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota} \ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\kappa\rho\alpha\rho\grave{\iota}$ 'salvation and harmony' shows that there was a conflict that needed to be settled in Rome through the solemnisation of this marriage.

[107] The Pontificate law of Roman permits a dead person to be mourned for ten months. During this period of mourning, a widow was not permitted to marry another man until the expiration of the ten months mourning period stipulated by the Numa law. But it seems as if this law was not applicable to men, who lost their wives (Plutarch, *Num.* 12.1-2). Plutarch (*Antony*, 31.1-2) has alerted us to the fact that the husband of Octavia, Caius Marcellus, died not long before the wife of Mark Antony, Fluvia. Thus, by the Numan law, Octavia should have stayed in her mourning house and mourn her dead husband for at least ten months before considering another marriage. But the situation was reversed by abrogation of the law by the senate. This was to enable the marriage between Mark Antony and Octavia to be consummated within a shortest space of time.

accomplish the process of reconciliation. These mediators of the message of reconciliation can be categorised into two groups: divine and human agents.

2.7.1 Divine agents

Homer's hero Odysseus would have been punished for his killings and revenge mission he carried out on humanity were it not for the intervention of Athena, who intervened and made the Ithacans forget about his sins, thereby restoring the era of peace (Homer, *Od.* 24.597). This scene of Homer depicts an example where a god made reconciliation possible between two warring parties. The gods in the Greco-Roman society were the divine agents that Zeus sent to carry different messages to humanity (Nuffelen, 2011:191-199).[108] Different names were given to the gods in the ancient Greco-Roman world simply to explicate and depict their function as divine agents to humanity. For instance, Asclepius was the god responsible for healing and therefore carried the message of reconciliation of the people through healing to humanity. Many inscriptions and writings from the Greco-Roman world have attested to the understanding the Greco-Romans had of Asclepius, the god of healing, as the messenger of the gods who came to effect healing in their lives. Claudius Aelianus (*NA.* 10.49)[109] in his writing attributed to Asclepius, as a son of Apollo, concerning the duty to effect healing in human beings, says:

> … not only did he (Apollo) know himself how to save but also was the father of Asclepius, the saviour and the adversary of diseases.

If healing had brought about unity or reconciliation between humans and the gods, one could say that reconciliation had been effected through the healing by Asclepius.

Another example is the god Demeter, who controlled agriculture. It is believed that during the harvest everybody would gather to celebrate their new produce, and since the gathering comprised different people from different *poleis*, such gatherings strengthened their unity as one people. It was a moment of truce, rest and feasting that enabled both the rich and the poor to share fellowship together by destroying their existing disagreement. In other words, the cause of divisions among the citizens was eliminated through the gathering of the citizens every year. This gathering helped to create a rostrum at which anger was further removed

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[108] Peter van Nuffelen (2011:191-199) contends that Zeus was the highest of all the gods and thus had the power to control all other gods and that he appointed Hermes to be his counsellor. Other gods were his messengers.

[109] Cited in Edelstein & Edelstein, 1945:265.

from the people. Robertson sees such gatherings as examples of reconciliation and further argues that such a gathering led to the historic reconciliation that took place in 403 BCE. Noel Robertson (2010:11) emphasises that when the Greeks wanted to sacrifice to Zeus they would first have sacrificed to Hesiod in his temple, since "his cult was a means of reconciliation…"

The positions attained by the gods allowed them to function as agents of reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman society. The various functions fulfilled by these gods enabled them to serve humanity as agents that brought the message of forgiveness and reconciliation.

In classical religion and mythology, this often occurred when lesser beings were believed to intervene in the lives of human beings in order to bring resolution or restoration to their problems. The divine beings as patrons in the Greco-Roman world embodied the idea of the gods as messengers to humanity. The nature of the message was based on the nature of the god who carried the message. Julian (*Or*. 7.220a), in a few lines attributed to Heracles summarises the function of divine agents to humanity as:

> ὃν ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐισττήσας αὐτῷ φύλακα τὴν θεὸν ταύτην, ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου προέμενος αὐτοῦ, τῷ κοσμῳ σωτῆρα ἐφύτυεσεν, εἶτ᾽ἐπανήγαγε διὰ τοῦ κεραυνίου πυρὸς πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὑπὸ τῷ θείῳ συνθήματι τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς ἥκειν παρ᾽ ἑαυτὸν τῷ παιδὶ κελεύσας. ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐμοί τε καὶ ὑμῖν ἵλεως Ἡρακλῆς εἴη.

> For him did mighty Zeus, with the aid of Athene goddess of forethought, beget to be the saviour of the world, and appointed as his guardian this goddess whom he had brought forth whole from the whole of himself; and later on he called him to his side through the flame of a thunderbolt, thus biddizng his son to come to him by the divine signal of the ethereal rays of light. Now when we meditate on this, may Heracles be gracious to you and me![110]

David E. Aune (1990:9) argues that the term *σωτήρ* in the context of Julian's *Orations* refers to the action of a divine agent like Heracles as being an "ideal king and philosopher, a supreme benefactor for his people…" For Julian to acknowledge Heracles, one of the gods in his time, as *τῷ κοσμῳ σωτῆρα* implicitly defines the place of the gods as divine agents to humanity. The gods were thus regarded as supernatural agents capable of bringing the

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[110] Translation: adopted from the Wilmer Cave's translation of the Orations of Julian.

message of salvation, forgiveness of sin, healing and reconciliation to humanity, and therefore humanity depended upon them for their wellbeing.[111]

2.7.2 Human agents

Human beings were also the conveyors of the message of reconciliation in the ancient world. The Homeric literature has a number of examples of humans who carried the message of reconciliation to humans. They could act on behalf of the gods as priests or on behalf of humans as ambassadors. The trio, Phoenix, Ajax and Odysseus, whom Agamemnon sent to Achilles in order to effect reconciliation between two of them were, for example, understood as being emissaries (*Il.* 9.162-170).[112]

The role of the priests in reconciliation was also very significant in ancient Greco-Roman society, since they were seen as intermediaries between the cult and worshippers. The priest's responsibility was to present the offerings in whatsoever form to the gods. They were the guardians of the religious tradition and its institutions, which Plato (*Laws* 10.910d) calls "the Guardians of the law" (νομοφύλακες) (the function of the priest as the guardians of the religious institution was dealt with in section 2.3.1.1.).

2.8 Indicators of the practice of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society

To measure whether in actual practice there was reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman seems difficult, but the socio-historical study of the concept of reconciliation undertaken above has helped us identify some of the indices that point to the process of reconciliation.

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[111] The gods played multifunctional roles; for example, Asclepius in the temple of Apollo functioned as a "healer" and a "saviour" (Wendy, 1999:16).

[112] The work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (70-76 BCE?) also clearly depicts the place of human agents in the process of reconciliation who, in this context, might be referred to as being envoys, emissaries or messengers, in other words, carriers of the message of reconciliation. King Tarquinius, the last absolute monarch of Rome, was voted out of his throne and was sent into banishment along with his children (*Ant. rom.* 5.3.1). Upon his eviction from the throne, it was difficult for the senate to replace him, and they decided to elect two people, Brutus and Collatinus, who took an oath that they would not use absolute power to replace the banished monarch and that they would direct the affairs of the Roman people with equity (Chang, 2013:101). On making an effort to restore his monarchical power, the banished monarch sent an envoy, pleading that he had done nothing deserving banishment and that the Romans should give him the opportunity to receive a fair trial. According to Dionysius, his request was opposed by Brutus, but the envoy pleaded that his property should be restored to him based on common justice. Yet Brutus still resisted the request. Conversely, Collatinus upheld the second request on the ground that it was King Tarquinius who had sinned against the people of Rome, and not his property, and that his property should therefore be restored to him (*Ant. rom.* 5.5.4). When the case got to the people of Rome, they decided in support of Collatinus and the senate did not have any choice but to do the will of the people by granting his request based on justice (τό δικαριον) and not expediency (συμφέροντος). Through his reconciliatory agent, the envoy, "justice prevailed over expediency" (τα δίκαια προ τῶν συμφερόντων) (Chang, 2013:101).

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Reading Plutarch (*Alex. fort.* 1.393), for example, alerts one to how Alexander combined his teacher's philosophy of war and Homer's ideology in his campaign to conquer the world. Plutarch (*Alex. fort.* 1.416), in justifying the action of Alexander the Great, says that he was fighting to achieving a specific goal: peace for humanity. The character of Alexander the Great, whom Plutarch portrays as a warrior, was thus fighting a just war, because he wanted to reconcile humanity into one nation where unity, peace and harmony would reign. Similarly, *Res gestae* also speaks of Augustus using wars to attain the era of Pax Romana in the empire, when he says, "I raised an army, with which I successfully championed the liberty of the republic when it was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction" (*Res.* 1.1, 3.1-3). After using war to attain reconciliation, Augustus (*Res* 13) writes that

> It was the will of our ancestors that the gateway of Janus Quirinus should be shut when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people; from the foundation of the city down to birth, tradition records that it was shut twice, but while I was the leading citizen the senate resolved that it should be shut for three occasions.

The peace of the empire was understood by the Romans as the peace of all the people of the Greco-Roman world. Even the gods of the empire were at peace with its people during the reign of Augustus, since he was able to eliminate war and violence in the empire (*Res.* 34.1). In his *Res gestae*, Augustus mentions the prosperity of the empire due to the peaceful coexistence and harmony of people in the world. These were achieved through reconciling and restoring to them whatever belongings of the people had unduly been taken from them (*Res.* 29.1-2). Where harmony, prosperity, and peace was evident in the Greco-Roman world they may also be taken as evidence that reconciliation was truly practiced. Augustus Caesar's *Res gestae* could thus be taken as one of the ancient writings that speaks of reconciliation as a means of attaining peace.

It should, however, be kept in mind that Caesar's *Res gestae* serves as a writing that was to safeguard his reputation for future generations and that it therefore interprets his achievements in a positive manner. Furthermore, the peace he inaugurated was based more on the military might of Rome, which forced people to submit, than on a process whereby reconciliation was enacted between equal parties. It is thus questionable whether the Pax Romana can be understood as evidence for the practice of reconciliation in the Roman world even if it was presented in this way by Roman authors.

2.9   Conclusion

In this chapter, the examination of the nature of the Greco-Roman society using socio-historical lenses was undertaken. It revealed that Greco-Roman society valued reconciliation and that it used different social devices to achieve it. It was argued that reconciliation was enshrined in different actions in which the people were involved. People's relationships to a god through prayer and sacrifice were all regarded as humanity seeking to relate to the ultimate reality through religious reconciliation. Social reconciliation came to bear when it dealt with the relationships that affected one another in their social world, whereas political reconciliation was visible within the political domain of Greco-Roman society. The nature of Greco-Roman reconciliation was studied through evidence from different inscriptions. From these inscriptions we were able to deduce that actions were used as expressions of reconciliation. Giving an offering or sacrifice, praying, sharing a meal and drinking from the same cup, exchanging a gift (e.g. through marriage) and healing were some of the actions that led to reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman world.

In addition to the inscriptions, two documents were examined to see how reconciliation was accomplished. Both the *Res gestae* of Augustus Caesar and the letter of Paul to Philemon were taken as examples of writings which revealed that reconciliation was valued as an action even though the concept itself was not analysed extensively. Those actions through which reconciliation was achieved in the Greco-Roman world were furthermore examined in the course of this study. Actions such as healings, rituals, the eating of a meal together, and the exchange of gifts were identified as practices that led to reconciliation when used as communal rituals. Gods and humans were acting as agents in the Greco-Roman world to convey the message of reconciliation to those who needed reconciliation to be effected in their lives and relationships.

The argument in this chapter has been that the concept of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society can best be understood in the actions that portrayed it and not only in words used to refer to it. Thus reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world was embedded in the day-to-day actions of people. For example, the exchange of a cup was one of the actions in the ancient Greco-Roman world that informed both the giver and the receiver that reconciliation was about to take place (see section 2.3). Reconciliation was, furthermore, seen as that which brought the common good to the empire and could restore the wellbeing of everyone in society. Sometimes what the empire conceived as reconciliation was, however, different from what the ordinary person in the street of Athens or Rome perceived as reconciliation. Not all

manifestations of peace were the result of reconciliation. They could instead be the result of an all-powerful empire that tolerated no opposition or disunity.

Chapter Three - The concept of reconciliation in the Old Testament

3.1 Introduction

The focus of the preceding chapter was on understanding the concept of reconciliation within the socio-historical context of Greco-Roman society. The reason for this focus was that the Gospel of Luke originated in this context. This chapter will focus on the concept of reconciliation within the Old Testament (LXX).[113] This focus is necessary, since Luke was believed to have had an intricate knowledge of the Old Testament (Jervell, 2004:5-6; Strelan, 2008:117-144), since it is possible that he was a proselyte to Judaism before becoming a follower of Christ. This would have exposed him to Jewish religion and thereby introduced him to its concepts and ideas, which may have in turn have influenced his writings. This chapter, as the title implies, will deal with the concept of reconciliation as it is embedded in the Old Testament. Its intention is to ascertain whether or not Luke derived his understanding of the concept of reconciliation from the Old Testament.

The Jewish concept of reconciliation underlies much of the writings of the Old Testament (LXX). The Hebrew word for "reconciliation" is, however, hard to pinpoint in the Old Testament, although actions that enact the concept are numerous (Stuhlmacher, 1979:44-48; Beale, 1989:579-581).[114] The Jewish concept of reconciliation encompasses two intersectional expressions: reconciliation with God and with humans. The emphasis underlying these two expressions is that the process of reconciliation made it possible for humanity to relate with God and each other. In other words, the whole *Heilsgeschichte*[115] is

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[113] The Gentile origin of Luke is debated among biblical scholars. For instance, Jacob Jervell (2004) and Rick Strelan (2008) are of the opinion that Luke was a Jew. Strelan (2008:117-144) sees Luke not as a mere Jew, but specifically as a Jew with a priestly office. Contrary to the opinion of Jervell and Strelan, Robert H. Stein (1992), Joel B. Green (1997), J.J. Van Oosterzee (2007) and Frederick W. Schmidt (2009) hold that Luke was a Gentile and not a Jew and that he was a proselyte. It is on the basis of this theory that Luke was a proselyte that the idea originated that he had perhaps made use of the Greek translation of the Old Testament (the LXX).

[114] Peter Stuhlmacher (1979:44-47) in his *Das Evangelium der Verhöhnung in Christus* puts forward an argument that the concept of reconciliation in the New Testament has its origin in the Old Testament. He furthermore argues that the fulfilment of the Old Testament is in Christ Jesus. He writes: "Altes und Neues Testament gehören von Jesus her geschichitlich wesenhaft zusammen und bilden gemeinsam den kanon der Kirche. In Jesus Christus hat dieser Kanon sein theologisches Kriterium" (Stuhlmacher, 1979:48). G.K. Beale (1989:579-581), after a careful analysis of Paul's concept of reconciliation in both 1 Corinthians and Ephesians, concurs with Stuhlmacher that the Pauline "idea of reconciliation is the fulfilment of the Old Testament promises of Israel's restoration," an idea that "develops naturally out of the Damascus" experience of Christ.

[115]*Heilsgeschichte* is used within the context of faith in contrast to *Weltgeschichte*, which places history within the secular sphere. For details on this see Robert Karl Gnuse (1989), Childs (1993) and Matthew L. Becker (2004).

to be understood in light of the concept of reconciliation.[116] In line with this argument, Marcel V. Măcelaru (2012:51-53) argues that the covenant was an expression of the relationship between God and his people and that this relationship was seen as being vertical, while human-to-human relationships constituted the horizontal dimension. He further accentuates that reconciliation thus comprised both vertical and horizontal processes in the Old Testament. Both these two relationships will therefore be investigated in this chapter.

3.2 The sacred and the profane dichotomy in the Old Testament

Jewish reconciliation was ritualized in order to help the people of Israel to enact it within their community. In order to gain the full benefit of the prescribed ritual actions, the sacred was separated from the profane (the holy from the unholy). The only intersection of the profane with the sacred was in rituals such as atonement, ransom and restitution, in which the profane was purified in order to restore the sacredness of the sacred. This was an event that had both theological and sociological benefits. The Old Testament's understanding of reconciliation thus makes sense only when viewed from the perspective of the separation of the sacred from the profane in Judaism. Mircea Eliade (1959:20) draws the attention of scholars of religion and sacred texts to Exod 3:5, where Moses was told to remove his shoes, for he was standing on holy ground. This provides Eliade with a theoretical environment for seeing a clear demarcation between the 'sacred place' and the 'other place'.[117] This demarcation influenced Israel's understanding of God in that the dichotomy helped in shaping the religious and social life of the Jewish people. The concept of the sacred and the profane thus has an important role whenever the religion of the Old Testament is discussed.

E.W. Hengstenberg (2008:1179) argues that the concept of the sacred and the profane in the Old Testament originated from the fall of humankind. It separates the unholy from the holy, the human from the divine, dirty from pure. Mircea Eliade sees an unhealthy or chaotic cosmological world aligned with profanity, or what may be called the "other world," which is highly engaged with the unholy, a domain that is characterised by the separation from the

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[116] Dov S. Zakheim (2007:497-531) states that peace, reconciliation and coexistence were neglected in the halakhic literature. Peace and reconciliation were also always accomplished in relation to the individual or community of Jews, but not with outsiders.

[117] Mircea Eliade draws his insight from the earlier work of Rudolf Otto, who first conceived and theorised that holiness is an intricate characteristic of religion and that it lacks the element of *das Schmutzig* (defilement), since it has all the embodiment of what is *heilig* (holy) (Otto, 1936:5-7).

divine presence and his holy precinct (Elaide, 1959:28-30). As Hanna Liss (2006:207) puts it, "The status of impurity is the opposite of the status of purity" in the Old Testament.

The existence of this dualism called for specific actions that humans had to perform so as to place them at the level of the immortal (Scruton, 2011:115), since religious humanity desires to live in the sacred cosmos (Eliade, 1959:64). The religious, social and political expression of Israel was shaped by this dichotomy. Timothy M. Willis (2009:186) alleges that the concept later created boundaries between a holy person and an unholy person, and between holy food and unholy food. It was a common belief that if the sacred things were allowed to be held by an unqualified person this may result in the "sacrilegious and wiping away off the aura" (Scruton, 2011:118). Scruton (2011:121) further summarises thus:

> We cannot encompass our experience of good and evil, of duty and fulfilment, if we do not describe our world as one in which the distinctions between pure and impure, the sacred and the profane, the pious and the impious are real and motivating. And maybe it is enough to show that that is so.

The tension created by the sacred and the profane dichotomy was meant to inform humanity of their need for the sacred. In the case of ancient Israel, the system inculcated the idea of human emptiness and a sense of being constantly in need of the sacred.

3.2.1 Mediation between the sacred and the profane in the Old Testament

The Old Testament writings testify to the concept of mediation between the sacred and the profane. Walter Brueggemann (2008) alleges that mediation defines the social and the religion relations between κύριος ὁ θεός (YHWH) and Israel.[118] Their relation could be facilitated or mediated only by a "third party", or intermediary, who acted as an agent for communication between the two parties (Kuemmerlin-McLean, 1990:562-563). The third party in the context of reconciliation in the Old Testament could be an object, or be a human or spiritual being. The object in this context could be a sacrificial animal or altar: anything that connects humans to the divine for a relationship to be established. The author of the

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[118] Mediation was a vital force in cementing relations between different parties. Werner H. Schmidt (1983:182) contends that in the ancient near east mediation was the jurisdiction of a king. The king was seen as the representative of a god on earth. A king therefore exercised authority over his people, and his decision was regarded as divine and therefore final. Kings in the ancient Near East were heads of both religion and the state. They were initiators and conveyors of the relationship between the earth and the spiritual world (Schmidt, 1983:69). Looking through this socio-historical understanding of the concept of the mediation creates an opportunity for Schmidt to assert that Moses learned the art of mediation from Egypt and that this helped him to mediate between God and the amphictyonic Israel's confederacy after his encounter with YHWH in Exod 24:1-2, 9-11 at Mount Sinai (Schmidt, 1983:43-69). Moses was thus standing in the gap between YHWH (the sacred) and frail humanity to mediate the process of reconciliation.

Pentateuch places emphasis on mediation as a process through which humanity can relate with the divine. Mediation as a process is necessary in this discussion, since it provides a platform through which humanity and divine can negotiate for the process of reconciliation (Newsom, 2014:208).

Moses acted as a typical example of a mediator in the Old Testament. He was regarded as ὁ παῖς κυρίου (the servant of the Lord),[119] and so was his brother, Aaron, and any subsequent prophets who came after him (Josh 1:13; 9:24). In all the cultic rituals carried out in Israel, the mediators were acting as intermediaries in the process of reconciliation between humanity and God. The holiness material and its prescription afforded the priestly community, especially the Aaronic lineage, social and religious privileges in this mediation process.

In the prophetic literature, the prophets of YHWH were regarded as the mediators, since they stood between YHWH and Israel in the process of reconciliation. The prophets, as a result of their mediation between the people and God, were regarded as the servants of YHWH. Their duty was therefore to stand in the gap between God and the human community, or between the holy and unholy.[120]

The final reconciliation between God and his people, according to the prophetic literature, was to be carried out by the messianic figure. The author of the book of Isaiah regards this mediator as the deliverer (ὁ ῥυόμενος) who will eventually take iniquity (ἀσεβείας) away from Jacob and reconcile the children of Jacob with God (Isa 59:20-21). The Isaianic prophetic expectation rests on this hope that one day YHWH (κύριος ὁ θεός LXX) will bring to the household of Israel a prophet like Moses, who will reconcile the hearts of the children of Israel back to God (von Rad, 2001:262).

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[119] עבד-יהוה (the servant of YHWH) is a designated title for Moses as a mediator between Israel and YHWH in Josh 9:24.

[120] Warren W. Wiersbe (2002) does not subscribe to prophetic mediation in the Old Testament and contends that there was nothing like mediation in the Old Testament, since the prophets were not able to stand in the gap for the people. Wiersbe does not seem to attach any importance to the prophetic office in his argument. For instance, the intercessory mechanism employed by the Old Testament prophets in the course of ministering to the people was enough for them to be termed mediators. Almost all the prophets of the Old Testament were mediating on behalf of their people (Num 21:7; Deut 9:10). The employment of mediation in the Servant of YHWH's song in Isaiah (42:1-43:12) depicts a prophetic persona like Moses. The idea of mediation embedded in Isaiah's Servant song is more global in nature and function than that of Deuteronomy (von Rad, 2001:250-262). This function of the expected prophet of Isaiah does not deny the existence of the mediation office of the prophet in the Old Testament but rather intends to fulfil it.

Beyond the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, the apocalyptic and the apocryphal writings are also saturated with expectation of a redemptive figure (mediator) like Moses who would restore their relationship with God. Thus mediation played an unchallenged and vital role in the process of reconciliation in Israel, because it was a means through which the worshipper could reach the object of worship. As Carol A. Newsom (2014:208) notes, the mediating figure is a general phenomenon in ancient Israel's religion and apocalyptic literature, since it provides "a rhetoric space for the negotiation of the identity/difference of human and divine beings." God sometimes initiated the process of mediation and reconciled himself to the people, as argued by Breytenbach (2010:177), who notes that the author of 2 Macc 1:5 sees God as the one who heard their prayer and reconciled the children of Israel to himself.

3.3 Conclusion

When humanity's relationship with the divine was severed, this separation resulted in a break between the divine and humanity, the sacred and the profane, and the holy and unholy. In order to bridge the gap between the sacred and the profane, Israel performed ritual actions. This ritualization became a vehicle through which the profaned humanity could approach the sacred for reconciliation to be effected. This process started the journey of human reconciliation to God and to one another in the Old Testament. It was also observed that sickness, such as leprosy, usually called for ritual purification when a sufferer was indicated to have been healed, before the actual sacrifice was made on his or her behalf.

3.4 Reconciliation and ritual in the purity material

The dichotomy between the sacred and the profane had created a barrier which separated humanity from God, as explored in section 3.2. Eliade (1959:10-15) therefore argues that the only way a profane human could approach the presence of the holy was by means of ritual purification. For a discourse on reconciliation to be established in the Old Testament, it is thus necessary to understand the role that ritual played in drawing people to the sacred in order to enact reconciliation.

A ritual can be in the form of an expression, symbol or action that enables the performer to have a sense of the sacred. Frank H. Gorman (1990:25) believes that symbols are instruments of communication in rituals. These symbols can be translated into both social and religious

meanings that convey to the participant a sense of the divine. Ritual could also be regarded as any activity that has a symbolic meaning attached to it (Gane, 2005:6).[121] In this case, ritual action becomes a way through which human transgressions can be forgiven by God in the Old Testament.[122] This was intended to qualify ancient Israel as religious people as they were engaged in ritual, and it was through these rituals that they underwent "rebirth to the sacred world" (Eliade, 1959:197). Ritualization has both religious and social implications when viewed from different perspectives. Consequently, ritual became the only way through which the unholy could ascend to the realm of the holy. The ritual realm determined the way humanity had to approach the sacred in order to attract benefits from the divine.

All the purity materials and rituals enshrined in the Old Testament were not meant to deter humanity from God, but they were intended to check and control the sanctity of the holy and to prevent it from being profaned by the unholy. In order to protect the sanctity of the sacred, commandments were given to humanity. James W. Watts (2003:92-94), in comparing the biblical genre of ritualization with that of the ancient Near East, contends that the biblical concept differs from that of the ancient Near Eastern ritual performance. Watts further accentuates that prescribed rituals were unknown in Ugaritic, Akkadian and other ancient sources. While the prescribed ritual was unknown to other ancient Near Eastern nations, the

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[121] Contrary to other experts on ritual studies and its history who see ritual action having meaning attached to its actions, Victor Turner (1967), Catherine M. Bell (1992:69-117; 1997:61-90) and Roy Gane (2005:3-6) see ritual actions as lacking any inherent meanings attached to them, following the argument of Frits Staal (1979:2-22) that ritual actions are meaningless. This assertion seems to be contrary to the meaning of ritual itself, since every part of ritualization portrays a specific meaning. If ritual actions do not have meaning attached to them, there would have been formulae attached to them prescribing the actions to be undertaken for a specific purpose or function. Ritual actions thus do appear to have inherent or formularised meanings, and if one fails to conform to the already laid down principle one has to face the consequence of that action. The inherent meaning of a ritual was not to be revealed to outsiders or bystanders, since it was a secret (Turner, 1967:28-45). Being kept secret did not imply that it had no meaning for outsiders, as Hans H. Penne (1985:1-16) has argued that rituals have meaning even when their performers may not be aware thereof.

[122] Frank H. Gorman sees all approaches of the Old Testament people to YHWH as rituals, without any distinction. He sees animal sacrifice as well as meal offering as rituals that the participants had to undergo. Interpretations such as that of Gorman are by their nature anthropological, if not Marxist and Durkheimian, in that they do not consider the importance of religion for humanity. Asserting that interpreting the ritual actions in the Old Testament solely as ways of restoring order does not place the meaning of ritual in the Old Testament in its right perspective, and overlooks the religious and communal benefits that those ritual actions generate. Gary A. Anderson (1987:12-13) rightly observes that the modern understanding of ritual itself is a means of devaluing religious ritual and its effects on its participants. David Janzen (2004:13) sees a ritual as something that moves beyond a mere anthropological level to a different level that helps in creating a good relationship with one another in society. Bryan D. Bibb (2009:45-69) sees the ritualization events in Israel as being bequeathed with political inclinations that raised Moses and his brother over and above the rest of the people. Thus ritualization was to the ancient people a game of power. The interpretation of ritual only in terms of its social ethos and dynamics does injustice to the purpose thereof. It therefore must be seen in its socio-historical context of the time and space in which it was carried out.

opposite was true of Israel. The reason for this is that in Israel it was meant to engage the audience in the precise manner that God expected of them as his people (Watts, 2003:97).[123]

The people were not only allowed to have a sense of belonging through ritual actions, but the sacred objects and precincts were also set aside by the prescribed rituals. Initiation into a specific cultic office was a means through which an individual could have access to the holy precinct and the sacred objects. These sacred objects were not allowed to be touched by uninitiated persons, as this might lead to the destruction of their auras and to their defilement, '*das Schmutzig*' (Scruton, 2011:118-119). Thus ritual action was a means through which humans and objects were sanctified or purified for the use of the sacred. Perhaps one can say of a ritual that it is a process that raises an original object or human to the level of the sacred. The Priestly material contains rituals to ensure the ritual purity of a person, which the priests had to perform for themselves before the main sacrifice took place (Klawans, 2001:134-136). Jonathan Klawans (2001:137) observes that juxtaposition exists between Old Testament ritual purity and sacrifice, and therefore concludes that ritual purity was done *outside* the sanctuary, whereas the sacrifice was carried out *in* the sanctuary.[124]

For instance, Leviticus 13-14[125] stipulates a ritual action as well as a sacrifice that someone who suffered from leprosy had to carry out for such a person to be reincorporated into the community of people of God after being healed.[126] Leprosy in ancient Israel was seen as a desecrating disease, and someone who suffered from it "was seen as one who had come into contact with 'the realm of death'" (Gorman, 1990:232). Once lepers were healed, their purification was called for. The first action to be carried out on healed lepers was intended to ensure their ritual purity, and took place outside the sanctuary. This ritual was performed to enable individuals who suffered such a sickness to come close to the sanctuary for a period

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[123] Albright (1940:85-112) contends that Israel and other Near Eastern nations were different from each other in the sense that the God of Israel was worshipped as the only God by Israel. He was also the only one who prescribed religious actions to Israel, whereas their neighbours were polytheistic and therefore subscribed to different ritual actions according to the edicts of each of their gods. He therefore concludes that there was a drastic difference between the worship of God by Israel and their neighbours' worship of their gods.

[124] John H. Hayes' (1998:6) categorisation of rituals places rituals within three designated domains: (1) ritual initiation, (2) ritual maintenance, and (3) rituals of restoration and reintegration of order within the framework of a given society. Based on his assertion, the Israelite ritual action in Leviticus falls within this third category.

[125] This text will receive special attention in the course of this study, since it has direct bearing on what we earlier proposed, namely, that actions were used to define the meaning of reconciliation in the ancient world, including the ancient Jewish world and its community.

[126] Luke in a healing episode concerning Jesus refers to this existing ancient Jewish belief; see Luke 5:12-16.

that would allow them to be observed before the actual sacrifice was done. Here the ritual stands as proto-sacrifice in the case of someone who suffered from leprosy.

3.5 Sacrifice and the concept of reconciliation in the Old Testament

For humanity to maintain the already created rapport between itself and the sacred (section 3.3), sacrifice became an indispensable act. The term "sacrifice" may be encapsulated within the framework of ritual dynamics. But the argument here is that in the Old Testament sacrifice was an action that was specifically intended to maintain the relationship created through a process of ritualization. Sacrifice was a specific offering which YHWH commanded the Israelites to make for a specific function. It was an action meant for a certain purpose at a specific time (Milgrom, 1991:253-254; Klawans, 2000:15-16). While rituals helped the participants to draw near to God, sacrifices renewed and smoothed the participants' relationships with God. Max Wiener (1962:95) declares "that sacrifice is a means of communion between God and man; it accordingly is also a means of reconciliation." The so-called *Priesterschrift* contains both ritual texts and legislation (Levine, 2003:17).[127] All the encoded ritual texts and their legislation in the Old Testament were meant to reconcile the strayed Jewish people with God. It means that the concepts of sacrifice and reconciliation are inextricably linked in the Old Testament; trying to separate one from the other renders both meaningless. The priests were involved in many sacrificial processes (Lev 1:9, 13; 4:10, 26; 27:11; Num 6:17; 15:25; Deut 18:3 LXX).

Although sacrifices played a vital role in the process of reconciliation in the Old Testament, there are many instances where the process occurred without any sacrifice being given. The case of Joseph and his brothers in Gen 50:15-21 invokes the concept of reconciliation in Old Testament without any sacrifice being given (Fitzgerald, 2001:249). Here the brothers of Joseph acknowledged their sin against Joseph through the messenger (Gen 50:16-17) and thereafter went to Joseph and pleaded with him for forgiveness (50:18). Joseph in return forgave his brothers and promised not to hold anything against them (Fitzgerald, 2001:249). This is one of the few places human-to-human reconciliation is apparent in the Old

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[127] Kohl (1995:11-20) upholds the view that the Priestly Code in Leviticus 1-17 is far older in terms of its source material and more reliable since it originated from the oral tradition of its time, while the Holiness Code (18-24) is believed to have emerged later in the cultic life of the Jews. The same polemic is addressed by Milgrom (2003:24-25) by affirming that P (1-16) and H (17-27) are the major components of Leviticus, but "that H is the redactor of P."

Testament, and it could be that sacrifices were given only when reconciliation between humans and God was involved.

3.5.1 Sacrifice and its justification in the Old Testament

The place of sacrifice ($\theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$) in the Old Testament is very crucial, since it strengthened the religious and social relationship between God and his people, Israel. Earlier in this study, it was argued (section 3.5) that all the sacrifices stipulated for the people of the Old Testament were meant for the renewal of their relationship with God. The legislation concerning sacrifice and other regulations for the sanctuaries of Israel in the Old Testament are found in Exodus 25 through Numbers 10 (Preuss, 1996:210). William K. Gilders (2004) sees the Old Testament sacrifice as something that involves an exchange of one thing for another of higher value. The intent of this section is to understand the dynamic of sacrifice in both its theological and sociological domains.[128] Sacrifice in the context of this study is seen as a means through which individuals in Israel experienced the presence of the divine, which transformed the social and political life of Israel. Sacrifices in Israel were formulated within a tapestry that when unfolded displayed the different actions through which YHWH reconciled fallen humanity with himself and with one another.

The LXX references to $\theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ have as their equivalent in Hebrew זֶבַח (sacrifice) and מִנְחָה (offering) קָרְבָּן[129] and this implies that there were socio-cultural and cultic reasons that warranted the participants' offer of sacrifices. By implication, sacrifices had a dual function in Israel: they were a means of worship and a means of communion within Israel's cultic domain. In Israel, a sacrifice is any offering given directly or indirectly to God for the purpose of thanksgiving, fellowship or atonement. In Hebrew thought the word centres around the word *kipper,* which in both the Assyrian and Babylonian parallels means "to wipe away" (Eichrodt, 1961:162). In its noun form, *kupper* simply means "ransom price," as in Lev 17:11. As indicated in the preceding paragraph, sacrifice is always attached to a sacred domain. As we have seen, biblical sacrifice connotes the means by which the covenant people could approach their God and reestablish their commitment to him. While sacrifice is emphasised in the Old Testament, God's relationship with his people was never established by sacrifice but rather by election which was confirmed with a covenant ($\delta\iota\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$) between

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[128] This study argues against the assertion of David Janzen (2004:88-89) that sacrifice is a means through which a group communicates to itself. Our contention is that sacrifice does not end with the human community, but also belongs to the divine domain, and that sacrifice enables humanity to communicate with the divine.

[129] The Hebrew word קָרְבָּן is usually translated as $\delta\hat{\omega}\rho o\nu$ (gift) in the LXX as in Ps 44:13.

God and his people, Israel. Sacrifice was thus the means through which this established relationship was facilitated and maintained.

The need for sacrifice is emphasised in the context of ἡ διαθήκη that God cut with the house of Israel (Behm, *TDNT* 11:183). Baruch A. Levine (2003:13) believes that the purpose for which the cultic sacrifice was instituted in Israel was to outlaw other altars in the land.[130] The idea of sacrifice in Israel is embodied in its cult and the cultic centres. When reference is made to *cultus* or *cult* in relation to the Old Testament, it implies the activities of ancient Israel in their relationship to God as the most holy God (Muyo, 2001:123). Several sacrifices that were carried out informed the participants of the sovereignty of God over their lives and enabled them to be covered with the presence of the divine. Cultic worship in Israel was done at a fixed place and time. It constituted those acts that the people of Israel performed outwardly so as to express their religious affirmation to God as the only true God (de Vaux, 1961:271).

Prior to the period of Abraham, people offered sacrifices (Kawashima, 2010:60-69;[131] Hemphill, 2004:51-52), but many scholars believe that the sacrifices that were given in the later cultus originated with Abraham, as he was asked by God to offer his son at Mount Moriah (Gen 22:2), which later became a Jewish cultic centre (Hendel, 2013:232-236). In the sacrificial corpus, Gen 22 portrays the principle of vicariousness, which indicates that one life takes the place of another. It was a phenomenon that the patriarchs of ancient Israel were highly involved in prior to the Mosaic period. Abraham sacrificed in many holy sites; Isaac and Jacob built their different altars and sacrificed to their God. Cultic sacrifice aimed at informing the ancient people of the -constant presence of God in their midst. Places like Shechem, Shiloh, Gilgal and Jerusalem later became popular in the cultic life of the people of

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[130] Julius Wellhausen (2002:36-37) theorises that Lev 17 contains the inauguration and centralisation of Israel's religious or cultic life so as to remove the other worship centres that were not associated with YHWH. According to Wellhausen, other cultic centres were declared by the author of Lev 17 to be illegitimate. The centralisation of the sacrifice in Lev 17 seems to have impacted the people socially, religiously and politically. It did not bring about only the cultic centralisation, as postulated by Wellhausen, but also the social and political unification of the people. The socio-historical context of Lev 17:5 appears to be even more social and economic than religious, since it permitted the priests to partake of the meat on which their existence depended.

[131] Kawashima portrays Noah's sacrifice as the first ritual sacrifice in the Old Testament and the first sacrifice that differentiated a clean animal from an unclean animal. Kawashima (2010:68-69) further adduces that the separation of clean and unclean animals enabled Noah to make use of a clean animal in his sacrifice. John H. Sailhamer (2009:592-596) agrees that Noah made a distinction between clean and unclean animals, but adds that this distinction enabled his offering to be categorised as a burnt offering, which in essence was the first sin offering in the Old Testament. The effectiveness of the sacrifice of Noah is clear, as it altered the curse that *Elohim* had placed on the earth as a result of the sin of humanity.

Israel and played significant roles in their socio-religious life (Muyo, 2001:125-126). The altar (τό θυσιαστήριον) was the central point on which the sacrifice was made even before the institutionalised worship of God was inaugurated. Both the altar and the sacrifice were important objects that depended on each other in the Old Testament sacrificial corpus. The altar was represented by different objects, depending on the place and time. For instance, Abraham used stones to represent an altar. The same practice can be seen in the lives of Isaac and Jacob. Moses' experience in Exod 3:5 shows that an altar could be anything as long as the presence of God was attracted to the place.

The so-called Priestly material gives an elaboration of the different sacrifices and the specifications for how Israel were to carry them out as they worshipped their God. The essence of these coded laws was to enable the people to come to God and lay down their sin before him through these sacrifices (Levine, 2003:17). It was a means of seeing God as the one who both initiated the relationship and caused reconciliation to be effected between him and his people (Num 5:24-26; 10:33-35 LXX).

The Holiness material in the book of Leviticus consists of chapters 17-27 (Marx, 2003:104). Whereas chapters 1-16 focus on the Priestly material, Leviticus 11-16 specifically focuses on the role of the priesthood in reconciling the afflicted Israelite by means of purification rituals or rites (Liss, 2006:201). The priests were to see that they cared for the afflicted people of Israelite and maintained the sanctuary of the Lord by keeping it holy (Levine, 2003:21-23). Sacrifice was thus a means of integrating an individual into the social and religious community of the household of Israel.

3.5.2 Sacrifices as enacting reconciliation in the Old Testament

In this section the relationship between reconciliation and sacrifice in the Old Testament will be considered. The relationship between sacrifices and reconciliation is important, since scholars like Merrill F. Unger (1988:1445) consider that the sacrifices that the people of the Old Testament made were intended to facilitate reconciliation. Sacrifices were given so that, for example, the sins of the household of Israel might be covered by God, thus effecting reconciliation between him and his people, Israel. The prescribed materials (whether so-called Priestly or Holiness) were given to help God's reconciliation with his people. These actions, ranging from atonement to ransom, were intended to restore the house of Israel's relationship with God and with one another. Some of these actions and their relationship to the Old Testament will be explained in the subsequent sections.

The concept of reconciliation in the Old Testament is complicated and multidimensional. The Torah attests to the fact that reconciliation with God was possible during Moses' era through the many sacrifices that Israel carried out.[132] In like manner, God was interested in reconciling the whole house of Israel to himself (Walton, Matthews, & Chavalas, 2000:123). Both God and Israel thus sought reconciliation. The Hebrew word *kapar* (כפר) in its verbal form can be translated to mean "to reconcile" or "to expiate", as in the LXX usage of ἐξιλάσεται (ἐξιλασμός) in Lev 16:6-17 and 17:11 (see also Exod 30:10, etc.: "to propitiate", "to cover" or "to make an atonement"), which in other words refers to reconciliation or atonement or appeasement. Underlying these meanings is the sense of an *exchange*, since something has been offered in the place of another, as in Lev 27:10 (LXX). In the sacrificial corpus, the life of the animal offered was ἄλλαγμα, "a replacement", "a substitute" or "an exchange" for the life of the offeror. A careful observation indicates that the term has several connotations in Old Testament sacrifices and their cult (Bilich, Bonfiglio & Carlson, 2000:105). The KJV infrequently translates the Hebrew *kpr* to mean reconciliation (כפר in Hebrew means "to cover"). The meaning of the word is, however, strongly debated by scholars (Hamilton, 2005:272-274).[133] It is translated as "atonement" 76 times and as "reconciliation" seven times by the KJV (Baker, 1980:342). These two words, "atonement" and "reconciliation", are used interchangeably in the English language (Baker 1980:353-354).

Kpr is first found in Gen 6:14, where God gives Noah instructions to "cover it inside and out with pitch" (RSV). The KJV translates, "Pitch it within and without with pitch" (Pierce, 2008:77). The LXX uses ἀσφαλτώσεις, which is derived from ἄσφαλτος, which signifies "to cover with tar both inside and outside."[134] *Kpr* is a verb in the Priestly material, which explains what only the sacrifice of an animal could exert on humans by covering their sin. By derivation, it shows the extent of the covering (Pierce, 2008:78-86). *Kpr* indicates that

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[132] Timothy M. Pierce (2008:85-87) attests to the fact that the word "reconciliation" in the Old Testament is a synonym for atonement, purification and forgiveness.

[133] Victor P. Hamilton (2005:260) contests that the use of *kapar* in Leviticus indicates its function within the text in which the word occurs. He adduces that the word occurs both in the sacrificial section (1-7) and the purity-impurity section (11-15). Hamilton in tracing the usage of the word, differentiates between 'sin' and 'impurity' and asserts that the words are not synonymous to each other. Therefore, in the context of Leviticus the word is used both for forgiveness (as in 4.20, 26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10, 13,16,18,26, with exception of 5:6), and clean (as in12:7, 8; 14.18, 19, 20, 21,29,31,53, 15.30). The use of the passive voice applied when the word is used during the giving of a sacrifice and active when it is used in the context of impurity. A person who was involved in purity rituals was always said to "be clean" (12:7, 8; 14:20,53) and not "be cleansed." The argument of Hamilton is helpful in delineating the different between sacrifice and ritual, sin and impurity in the context of Old Testament ritual and sacrifice.

[134] The word ἄσφαλτος is a hapax legomenon in the LXX (Chamberlain, 2011:27).

whatever that was covered was temporal. The ineffectiveness of these animals' blood to cover sin permanently warranted the inauguration of *Yom Kippur* (ἡμέρα ἐξιλασμοῦ LXX) by Moses according to Leviticus 16 (see also Lev 23:26-32) as a duty to the household of Israel. Another Hebrew word that is translated as reconciliation is *chata*, which is translated as περὶ ἁμαπτία in Lev 4:14; 6:19; 19:22 (LXX). Περὶ ἁμαπτίας occurs whenever a sin offering is required for sacrifice in the LXX. When *chata* occurs in the piel form it signifies a *sin offering.*

The ancient Near Eastern states such as Babylon practised a similar ritual before Israel. The word *kapar* also basically means the same as *kuppuru* in Babylonian incantations and ritual texts. The word means "to cleanse in a cultic way", which is the act of performing an incantation by a priest for the purpose of restoring a sick individual to health. According to B. Lang, Babylonians also carried out the practice during their New Year festivals in order to purify their houses, temples, cities and other important places. This cultic practice was done in accordance with the special instruction issued from the temple priest. The purpose of such instructions was to warn the people before the coming event. The main contrast with the practice of Israel is that the Babylonian cultic text does not postulate the idea of a sin offering or a guilt offering, but rather "wiping off something" (Pierce, 2008:77). Again, the *kuppuru* in the Babylonian ritual had nothing to do with the sacrificial cult and the use of blood did not play a part in their sacrificial system. However, it has been observed that both ritual systems portray a historical relationship between the Babylonian *kuppuru* and the Hebrew *kapar* or *kippar* (Lang, *TDOT* 7:289-290). The reason for this assertion is that both nations carried out their ritual on a specified date at a given time of the year. It was thus an annual event that reminded the people of the specified time of a certain festival. Both nations also employed the services of priests as mediators between God and the people.

The usage of the term *kapar* (as earlier mentioned in this study) changes depending upon the context in which it is found. For instance, the verb *kipper* (piel) can take a direct object and mean "forgive", as in *ye kapper 'awon* (יכפר עון) "he forgives the iniquity" (ἱλάσεται ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν [Ps 77:38 LXX]). Sometimes it occurs when a purification process is mentioned, as in Lev 16:33 (LXX) καὶ ἐξιλάσεται τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ ἁγίου "and he shall propitiate for the holy of holy." The underlying idea in this context is that God is the one who forgives his people. The amalgamation of the concepts of reconciliation in Hebrew, the Babylonian language and the Greek of the Septuagint therefore paints a picture of bringing

again into unity, harmony or agreement anything that has been alienated. According to Unger (1988:1445), reconciliation in Old Testament is "the restoration to friendship and fellowship after estrangement." Reconciliation can be seen as "the resolution of interpersonal conflict" (Lang, *TDOT* 7:296). This understanding makes it possible for the concept of reconciliation to stretch across several domains of actions such as ransom, restitution sacrifice, and atonement among others. Several sacrifices in the Old Testament were also intended to make sure that reconciliation was properly negotiated. Both the non-Priestly material and the Priestly material lay strong emphasis on the issue of reconciliation. The Priestly and non-Priestly materials emphasise the mercy of God through many actions in order to enable humans to live in peace with him and with one another. This emphasis leads Merrill Unger (1988:1445) to argue that the Old Testament speaks of nothing but reconciliation.

The Priestly Documents divulged instructions to the priest which enabled them to engage in carrying out atonement for the sin of the people of Israel. Offenders had liberty to go to a priest with a stipulated animal so as to make atonement for themselves in order to effect reconciliation between themselves and God. This instruction is explicitly coded in Lev 19:22: "The priest shall also make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering before the LORD for his sin which he has committed, and the sin which he has committed will be forgiven" (NASB).

The purpose of sacrifice or atonement as a means of reconciliation was to avert the anger of God and to cement the relationship with one another in society. This is in contrast to the non-Priestly material.[135] The Priestly Document depicts the priest acting as mediator by removing guilt and enacting reconciliation through sacrifice. The Priestly source also describes the place in which the reconciliation has to take place: "before Yahweh," in the temple. The text also underscores why the atonement was being made (Wessels, 2005:309-310). In order to effect proper reconciliation between humans, and between humans and God, many sacrificial actions had to be carried out. Such actions ranged from ransom to atonement, which annually culminated on *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement).

It has been noted by many scholars such as Julius Wellhausen, Martin Noth, John Goldingay and G. Kline that reconciliation can never be elucidated without knowledge of the other concepts of the Israelites' sacrificial systems and corpus (Wessels, 2005:309-311). A critical

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[135] Numbers 17:11 (17:26 LXX) and 25:11:13 are special cases.

examination of the Old Testament concept of *kapar*, or reconciliation, has revealed that the term is applied differently in both the Priestly and non-Priestly texts. The non-Priestly text emphasises the type of relationship that exists between humans or between two groups. The emphasis in non-Priestly texts is that whenever such conflict or tension arose this conflict must be settled or neutralised through the process of reconciliation by atonement. This would enable the original relationship to be restored. When the two groups concerned are humans, one may speak of "averting the anger" or "appeasing the face." One of the instances of this is found in Gen 32:20 (32:21 LXX), where Jacob is said to appease his brother, Esau.[136] The process of reconciliation or atonement could be initiated by an individual or by God. However, the involvement of the deity in the matter is not clearly stated in the documents. It is also pertinent to note that the non-Priestly texts also assume that there were occasions where reconciliation was not possible and the offender had to brought to book by the sword (Deut 32:43; Isa 22:14).

3.5.3 The enactment of reconciliation through offerings

In the Old Testament reconciliation occurs in many instances where offerings were presented to God. Offerings in the Old Testament were meant not only to express one's appreciation to God for a bountiful harvest. The offerings given also functioned as a mediating substance between God and the people. Giving an offering in the Old Testament was not, however, undertaken just to appease the anger of God. It also strengthened the social relationship between the people of Israel, since it often occurred in communal settings. The animals that were used for sacrifices were also consumed by the people, thereby providing food for the poor.

J.H. Kurtz (1998:274-277) has indicated that there were many different offerings that were prescribed by the Old Testament corpus (especially in Leviticus) to the household of Israel. Some of these offerings specifically relate to reconciliation with God. The first of this kind was called the *olah* (ὁλοκαύτωμα "whole burnt offering") in the LXX. It is associated with the phrase τὸ θυσιαστήριον ὁλοκαύτωμα (Exod 1:3 LXX) whenever it occurs. Kenneth G. Hanna (2014:124) states that in all its occurrences in the LXX the context in which it is used entails

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[136] Frank Crüsemann (1995:67-77) queries whether reconciliation had actually taken place between the two brothers, since after their encounter both went in separate directions. The context also depicts a common phenomenon in the ancient world, whereby a person used reconciliation as an opportunity to achieve his or her purpose. in that Jacob succeeded in escaping the wrath of his estranged brother Esau. Thomas L. Thompson (2011:193-200), however, has argued that there was actual reconciliation between Esau and Jacob and that this episode serves as an allegory for the relationship between their descendants.

death. This type of offering could be made of a bull (Lev 1:3-5), a sheep, a goat (Lev 1:10), or a bird (Lev 1:14).[137] The offeror was expected to lay his hands upon the sacrificial animal, which symbolised that his guilt has been transferred to the victim. Thereafter the animal was slaughtered on the north side of the altar. The priest took the blood and presented it before the Lord by sprinkling it around the altar. The sacrifice therefore acted as a means of effecting reconciliation, since the sin of the offeror had been covered, enabling relationship with God to be restored. The body of the sacrificial victim was then laid on the altar and burnt completely (especially those selected parts that were meant for the Lord) as a pleasing odour before the Lord (Girdlestone, 2001:188)

Olah as a means of reconciliation is first seen in the Mosaic material's administrative description and prescription to the entire nation of Israel immediately after their exodus from Egypt. It is one of the most frequent offerings in the Old Testament. The prescription of the Mosaic law concerning this *olah* is that it was required to be burnt on a daily basis – morning and evening. Some translations render it as "whole burnt offering." while some see it as "continued burnt offering" (Exod 29:38-42). It was mandated that the *olah* be offered every day during the Feast of the Passover, the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Num 28:11-14) and the Feast of Weeks (Num 28:19-24). Almost all the Mosaic purification rites demanded burnt offerings, *olah* (Vine, 1985:169). Marty E. Stevens (2010:116) writes that it was an offering that informed humans that their broken relationship with their deity needed to be restored. The part *olah* plays in the cultic corpus in Israel cannot be overemphasised. Since it precedes all other offerings in the cultic offering procedures, it functions as a means of purifying and surrendering the totality of oneself to YHWH. Thereafter, other reconciliation offerings may likely follow in order to complete the process of reconciliation.

The next important offering in the Mosaic cult is the *asham* (guilt offering, offence; gift of restitution, or gift of atonement). According to Douglas Moo (2008:125), it embodies "compensatory payment", while William J. Dumbrell (2002:43-44) believes it to be a means of reparation in the Mosaic law. *Asham* in Hebrew refers to a gift an offender offers to God

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[137] עלה is translated in the LXX as ὁλοκαύτωμα, which portrays it as wholly burnt offering before YHWH. It was regarded as a token of love and thanksgiving before God (Girdlestone, 2001:191). The burnt offering was one of the five offering that Moses prescribed to the house of Israel in the first half of Leviticus 1-16. Instructions for how to undertake these offerings were given in the texts that bear the name of the sacrifice, for instance, the burnt offering (6:2-6); the cereal offering (6:7-16); the purification offering (6:17-23); the reparation offering (7:1-7); and the wellbeing offering (7:11-21). These instructions were to be carried out by the priest on behalf of the people of Israel (Balentine, 2002:8).

so as to help atone for his or her sin. Many biblical scholars (such as Milgrom, Goldingay, Noth, Moo, etc.) see *asham* as the most reconciliatory offering in the Mosaic corpus. This is because of its usage in different reconciliation rites. Its allusion to restitution or repayment is very important in the Priestly material:

> Then he shall confess his sins which he has committed, and he shall make restitution in full for his wrong and add to it one-fifth of it, and give it to him whom he has wronged. But if the man has no relative to whom restitution may be made for the wrong, the restitution which is made for the wrong must go to the LORD for the priest, besides the ram of atonement, by which atonement is made for him. (Num 5:7-8 NASB)[138]

A careful exegesis of the text above pinpoints that it is supplementary to the Leviticus material. It is expected that for proper reconciliation to be made between two parties restitution must be carried out by one of the parties. It implies that the repayment must be made to the one who has been wronged by the offender, for, according to the Mosaic law, without it the reconciliation process would be invalid (Milgrom, 1976:7).

In the Mosaic reconciliation procedure, both the *olah* and *asham* offerings played vital roles. Both were part of Israel's reconciliatory procedure. They aided in appeasing the wronged, thereby averting the anger of God from the people. The Mosaic material[139] depicts the *olam* and *asham* as measures and norms that must be met by every citizen in the land so as to exert and enforce reconciliation as a way of life. The usage of different kinds of offerings in the Mosaic material for reconciliation was based on the construction of a *religio-socio* relation that was able to amend the relationship of the people with God and with one another within the amphictyonic confederacy of Israel. This has again shown that reconciliation in the Old Testament was a matter of actions and not just words.

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[138] The compensatory effect of אשם probably enabled it to be regarded as a means of restitution in the Torah. The idea underlying this offering in the Old Testament is that sin was the robbery of YHWH that needed to be compensated for through giving an אשם (Kurtz, 1998:191-192). Jacob Milgrom (1976:7-8) alleges that the translation of אשם as "guilt offering" is erroneous "because it focuses on man's sinful condition and not upon its punitive consequence." Whatever the case may be, the fact is that sin had been compensated for in order for the process of *asham* and reconciliation to be effected.

[139] The use of the term "Mosaic code" in this study is intended to emphasise the role ascribed to Moses in the development of the cultic, social and the political life of Israel. Its use is not a claim that they were actually written by Moses but rather serves to emphasise that the claim that they were written by Moses was made by Jewish writers. The unknown author of *The Assumption of Moses*, for example, states that Moses gave Joshua, son of Nun, his writing to preserve to the children of Israel (*Ass. Moses*, 1:16-17).

3.5.4 Reconciliation as ransom

Some translations (especially KJV) of the Old Testament use the words "reconciliation" (*kapar*) and "ransom" (*koper*) interchangeably. Paying close attention to the use of both words, one can, however, adduce their semantics differences. Ransom must, for example, be carried out before reconciliation can be effected, which means that reconciliation is dependent on it.

The LXX often uses $\lambda\acute{v}\tau\rho o\nu$ ("ransom") to refer to the price of release that one has to pay (Exod 30:12; Lev 19:20; 25:24-52; Num 3:12-51). Louw and Nida see the use of $\lambda\acute{v}\tau\rho o\nu$ as a means through which deliverance is possible. Whenever ransom is required and it is not performed, it nullified every effort of reconciliation. Its usage in the LXX also indicates that there were situations in which giving a $\lambda\acute{v}\tau\rho o\nu$ was not required or possible and that in such cases the offender had to pay with his or her life (Num 35:31-32). Consequently, R.L. Harris believes *kapar* cannot be understood unless one first grasps the meaning of *koper*. This implies that it is misleading to translate the two words interchangeably. Based on this conception, R.L. Harris defines *koper* as a term that "clearly illustrates the theology of reconciliation in the Old Testament" (Harris, *TWOT* 1:453).

The Levitical texts in connection with ransom state that the life of the sacrificial victim was exchanged for the life of the worshipper.[140] Ransom as a means of reconciliation paved the way for one to redeem (פדה) something with a price or a value (ערך) (Milgrom, 1976:50). If this interpretation is correct, it implies that ransom was an important part of the process of reconciliation.[141] The sacrifice of the animal in the book of Leviticus was a solemn action that expressed that the life of an innocent animal was exchanged or given for the life of the guilty (Harris, 1980:453). The innocent animal that took the place of the guilty life signified that the offender had been reconciled to God and to his or her community, since the slaughtered animal had taken the punishment that should have been a human's. This sacrificial act was a symbol that YHWH used to express his mercy to his people, Israel. Its purpose was to

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[140] There are examples where it does not appear as if the person who was the ransom had to die. Brevard S. Childs (1993:505), in enumerating the leadership function of Moses in the ancient Israel's religion, says that Moses was a ransom for the children of Israel (Exod 32:30ff). Ransom can thus also be understood in a metaphorical sense.

[141] John Goldingay (2009:454) sees ransom at work in the midst of taking someone's life as a compensation for another life in Leviticus. This sounds similar to the notion of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society through death, for example in the work of Sophocles where Ajax decided to commit suicide in order to reconcile himself with the gods through his death (Sophocles, *Ajax* 120-122). For more on this see section 2.3.1 of this study.

reconcile humans with each other and also humanity with God.[142] Reconciliation in this case was not that which was pleasing to humanity, but that which was pleasing in the sight of God since, according to the Mosaic material (Exod 30:12, 16), the giving of a ransom averted the anger of God.

3.5.5 The concept of reconciliation through atonement

In Israel atonement was a religious and the ethical process that the Mosaic material demanded from every Israelite. Blood was important in this process of atonement or expiation, so that Moses in Lev 17:11 (LXX) is reported as saying,

> ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐστιν καὶ ἐγὼ δέδωκα αὐτὸ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν τὸ γὰρ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξιλάσεται

> For the life of every flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you on the altar for expiation (atonement) for your souls; for the blood is an atoning sacrifice for life (soul).[143]

Blood seems to have played a positive role in Israel regarding the ritual sacrifice of atonement.[144] The ritual significance of 'to atone' and 'to cover' on *the altar* implicitly brought a religious overtone in connection with atonement (Lev 17:11). The law that has a direct connection with atonement is found in Leviticus 16 and 17. The content of these chapters has important implications for defining the concept of Jewish reconciliation. Leviticus 16 contains an elaborate description of the doctrine of atonement in the Old Testament by substitution, which can be described as the "*sine qua non* of biblical atonement" (Childs, 1993:506), while the emphasis in 17:11 is on the effectiveness of the blood as a means of being an atoning sacrifice on behalf of the sin of the people of Israel.

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[142] As previously mentioned, the Mosaic code reveals instances in which YHWH commanded that ransom should not be made for the offender. A man who is guilty of murder or bloodshed, for example, is to be killed, since such a person does not deserve a ransom (Num 35:30-33 LXX). This, however, is against the view of John Goldingay (2009:454), who asserts that there was a ransom even when a killing of another person was involved in the Old Testament.

[143] Translation by author.

[144] Contrary to the opinion of many scholars, Jacob Milgrom (1971:149-156) alleges that the blood that was brought before the altar in the holy precinct was "to expiate" for the dead animal, since taking the life of an animal for food by humans was regarded as murder in Israel. Therefore, in order to set the Israelites free from the guilt of the blood of the animal it was brought before the altar of the Lord for the expiation to take place. The traditional understanding that the blood of the slain animal was used as means of "pardoning" or "covering" the sin of the people of Israel, however, seems to be a more plausible interpretation (Nicole, 2004:36-37).

3.5.5.1 The Day of Atonement (*Yom ha-Kippurim*)

The intention of this section is to understand how people in the Old Testament enacted reconciliation in their religious rituals and actions on the Day of Atonement.

The phrase *Yom ha-Kippurim* (Ἐμερα Ἐξιλασμοῦ, Day of Atonement, *der große Versöhnungstag*) is very important in the Old Testament.[145] It refers to an event during which all the people of Israel were expected to assemble every year to atone for their sin as a people through the process of substitution. The Leviticus material describes it as a day on which all the sins of the people of Israel were covered. Frank T. DeCanio (2003:170-171) defines *Yom Kippur*

> as the supreme act of national atonement for sin. It took place on the 10th day of the seventh month, Tishri, and fasting was commended from the evening of the 9th day until the evening of the 10th day, in keeping with the unusual sanctify of the day. On this day an atonement was effected for the people, the priesthood, and for the sanctuary itself because it dwelled with them in the midst of their uncleanness. (Lev 16:16)

According to Lang (*TDOT* 7:296), the Day of Atonement comprised three different rituals (Leviticus 16) which combined to make a whole: (1) the atonement for the high priest and his people, (2) the cleansing of τὸ ἱλαστήριον or *kapporeth*, and (3) the laying of hands on the scapegoat for and on behalf of the people of Israel. The explanations of each of these events, and how they affected Israel's reconciliation process, are both necessary for this study. It is furthermore important to note that the Day of Atonement had a vertical (or heavenly) and a horizontal focus since it was able to connect the entire household of Israel to God and each other.

3.5.5.1.1 The atonement for the high priest and his family

The Hebrew word *kipper* (*kpr*) is translated in the LXX as ἐξιλάσκομαι (Büchsel, *TDNT* 111:319-323). The high priest was expected to move from his home a week prior to the Day of Atonement, take a bath and set aside his regular high priestly attire, and dress himself in holy white linen before bringing a young bullock as a sin offering for himself and for his house. All other priests were to take their places alongside the congregation of the household of Israel, on behalf of whom the atonement was to be carried out (Lev 16:17).

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[145] Michael B. Hundley (2011:159-172) designates the Day of Atonement as a "Clearing Day" which functioned, according to him, to clear the mundane and impurities from the altar and the sanctuary of YHWH so as to allow an uninterrupted connection between YHWH and the household of Israel.

The sin offering had to be slaughtered and its blood carried by the high priest to the Holy of Holies along with "a censor of incense, so that the cloud of incense might fill the room and cover the ark" (DeCanio, 2003:171) so as to prevent him being killed. The high priest would then take the blood of the sin offering and sprinkle it upon the ἱλαστήριον (mercy seat or place of atonement). The sprinkling of the ἱλαστήριον seven times enacted the symbolic cleansing of the Holy of Holies, which was believed to have been defiled by the sinful people of Israel who surrounded dwelt in its presence (DeCanio, 2003:171; Nihan, 2007:45-49). The atonement on behalf of the high priest and his people was completed by burning the fat portions of the sacrificial animal (Lev 16:24-26). Having completed atonement for himself, the high priest then returned to the court of the sanctuary.

The high priest in the Holy of Holies was believed to represent his people, Israel. Wearing a white garment meant that God was seeing the people of Israel through the appearance of the high priest (Wenham, 1979:230-231).[146] The *kapporeth* or ἱλαστήριον, which is translated "mercy seat" or "piece of atonement" or "place or object of propitiation", is found about 27 times in the LXX[147] and always refers to the golden cover of the sacred chest in the inner shrine of the tabernacle of the temple (Harris, 1980:453). This was the place where God promised to meet with the people (Numbers 7-9). The place (the seat or throne) signifies the real presence of YHWH in cultic worship and reconciliation. The blood was sprinkled on the kapporeth to signify that God had received the sacrifice. According to Vine (1985:10) "the *kapporeth* was the central point at which Israel, through its high priest could come into the presence of God."

3.5.5.1.2. The cleansing of the altar by sprinkling

The beginning of the process of reconciliation starts with the sprinkling of the blood of the slain animal on the *kapporeth*. Leviticus underscores the fact that the blood of one of the secured goats had to be sprinkled on the altar of the Lord, just as he did with the blood of the

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[146] Gordon J. Wenham sees the simple white garment of Aaron on the Day of Atonement as presenting him as a slave to God and his people compared to his kingly attire of priesthood that he was used to. Wenham thus does not see any other symbolism attached to the white garment worn by Aaron during the occasion except that the white garment seemed to signal that he had stripped off all his splendour and honour and glory as a priest as a sign of his exaltation of Yahweh as the only King of kings. This analogy respects the role of God as the inaugurator of the Yom Kippur, but it fails to reveal why Aaron as a priest was given the simple plain white garment to put on. Reuven Hammer (2005:191), a conservative Jew, argues that the white garment of Aaron represents the purity of the occasion. The same significance is expressed by Clyde M. Woods and Justin Rogers (2006:102).

[147] The translators of the Old Testament render the noun (*kapporeth* [MT] or ἱλαστήριον [LXX]) in various ways: "mercy seat" (KJV, RSV); "Throne of mercy" (JB); and "throne" (Willis, 2009:142-149).

bull. This was an act of cleansing the altar in the temple of the Lord. It was believed that the presence of a sinner affected the altar, causing it to be contaminated by sin. Therefore, proper atonement had to be done on behalf of the people. The altar of sacrifice had to be καθαρίζει "cleansed" from all ἀκαθαρσιῶν ("impurities") (Lev 16:18-19). Biblical scholars see this sanctification of the altar by the high priest from different perspectives. Lang (*TDOT* 7:297), for example, further indicates that the Levitical material enshrines three different ceremonial rites in the *Yom Kippur*. The first offering of the atonement was for the high priest and his family; the second for the cleansing of the altar and the sacrifice of the blood of the goat for the communal sins of the people of Israel; and the last, the scapegoat (*azazel*), was for the expiation of the sins of the entire house of Israel (Lang, *TDOT* 7:298). In contrast to this understanding of *Yom Kippur*, other scholars believe that the cleansing and the hallowing of the sanctuary developed later in the cultic life of Israel after they had come back from exile (Nihan, 2007:50); in other words, that the tradition was reconstructed by the so-called Deuteronomist Theologian (DT).[148]

3.5.5.1.3 The release of the *azazel* for communal sins

After taking the goat on which the lot fell and killing it, its blood was sprinkled on the altar. The high priest then took the second goat, known as *azazel* (ὁ χίμαρος LXX), and after confessing the sins of the nation of Israel it was released into solitude[149] (τὴν ἔρημον Lev 16:21 LXX).[150] Both the first and the second goats (Lev 16:5) were to serve as sin offerings (חטאת) to the Lord (Nihan, 2007:352). The scapegoat (עזאזל) was presented (יעמד) before YHWH alive (חי),[151] which may be translated "to make expiation with it," "to serve for the sin", "to transfer sin to it" or "to perform rites of expiation beside it" (Lang, *TDOT* 7:297).

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[148] Wellhausen (2002) apportions the writing of P to the returnees of the exile that was led by Ezra. The actual writing of the P document, according to Wellhausen was carried out by Ezra.

[149] The use of εἰς with the accusative in LXX defines the nature of the place into which the ὁ χίμαρος was released (εἰς τὴν ἔρημον).

[150] The term *azazel* has being given many meanings and interpretations by different scholars from Origen to the present. Origen sees it as "exchange" (*Hom.* 9.2-3) and as "demon" (Milgrom, 1020-1021). Mary Douglas (2003:121-122) ascribes the meaning of the word in English language to the translation of Tyndale in 1530, "meaning the goat that is not sacrificed or the goat that *escapes* from being killed as a sacrificial victim." Therefore, she refers to the *azazel* as the "go-away goat" or "the lucky goat." This meaning according to Douglas has both religious and secular connotations. Judith M. Blair (2008:16-20) sees it as "destruction." Whatever meaning is attached to the scapegoat, its function in the Priestly Code was to remove the sins of the people, thereby separating the profane from the sacred, the unholy from the holy. It enabled the interaction of the people with their God through the mediatorship of Moses and Aaron.

[151] The LXX renders it as: αὐτὸν ζῶντα ἔναντι κυρίου, which acknowledges the transferring of the entire sins of the household of Israel to לעזאזל without taking its life (Gilchrest, 2013:38).

Eric Gilchrest (2013:36-37) states that the ritual banishment of the scapegoat seems to have an ontological effect on the community. It also reflects the principle of separation between the sacred and the profane in Israel's cultic corpus. In other words, there is no interconnectedness between the holy and the profane or between sin and righteousness. The inability for the profane and the sacred to coexist called for their separation, whereby one paves the way for the other. The banishment of sin became a means through which the sins of the people of Israel were taken away, thereby allowing reconciliation to be enacted between God and the confederacy of Israel.

The actual role of the scapegoat, however, poses problems for Old Testament scholars. It is regarded by many scholars as a concept borrowed from the surrounding ancient Near East cultic corpus. Wellhausen and his School of Criticism, for example, conclude that many sacrificial systems of the Priestly materials are "essentially of Canaanitish origin" (Vos, 1975:161). The underlying principle of the ritual was very important as far as the Old Testament sacrificial materials were concerned, especially in the way it was used as part of the reconciliatory rituals in Israel's amphictyonic corpus.

The need for the scapegoat as a means of sacrifice has caused many scholars to wonder as to the effectiveness of the blood of the bull and goat, with which the high priest had entered the Holy of Holies. By implication there should be no need for any other sacrifice on the Day of Atonement if they had removed the impurity caused by sin. The efficacy of the scapegoat compared to the blood of the slaughtered animal has also been subjected to scholarly scrutiny, which has queried whether there was any interconnectedness between the two. Eric Gilchrest (2013:42) alleges that the ritual of substitution was interlocked with the motif of the scapegoat used by Moses on behalf of Israel during the process of atonement. Geerhardus Vos (1975:163), after a careful exegesis of the text, concludes that the Hebrew word for the laying on of hands literally means "the leaning on," which presupposes the scapegoat on which to lean. According to him, that the scapegoat has done what the slain goat could not do. The scapegoat therefore symbolises the removing of sin from the people and thus "formed with the other goat in reality one sacrificial object." In support of his view, Vos (1975:163) further explains:

> The distribution of suffering death and of dismissal into a remote place simply serving the purpose of clearer expression, in visible form, of the removal of sin after expiation had been made, something which the ordinary sacrificial animal could not well express, since it died in

the process of expiation. We are certainly warranted, when here the hands convey sin, and where the same ceremony occurs in ordinary sacrifice, in drawing the conclusion that on every such occasion sins are transferred.

The two-in-one ritual process hallows the Day of Atonement above every other day for biblical Israel. During it every Jew joined with the high priest in the spirit of oneness in making sure that sin was removed from the people and reconciliation with YHWH achieved. By the processes of expiation, propitiation and ransom, the people of Israel stood justified before YHWH. God now regarded them as pure as the white linen that was worn by the high priest who mediated in his presence on behalf of the household of Israel. YHWH had reconciled his people to himself, and their sins were taken away. Hence reconciliation became possible, since the actions needed to procure it had been implemented through the process of atonement. God in his mercy had decided to use the blood of the animal in the place of human blood (Origen, *Hom*. 9:3-8).

Careful exegesis of Lev 17:11 emphasises the importance of blood which was used "to cover" (*kapher*) sin. The "covering" (*kapar*) in the text is different from its non-religious usage. Milgrom (1983:97) points out that the verse indicates "that human life is in jeopardy unless the stipulated ritual is carried out" on their behalf.[152] God was "carrying out" on behalf of humanity, since no mortal could ever "cover" the face of God.[153] The analogy of God's covenant with Abraham is well suited to help one understand the underlining concept. The first covenant God entered into with Abraham was quite different from the ancient Near East covenant. Here the author of Genesis emphasises that God decided to pass through the aisle of the slain animal to show that he cannot fail in his covenant terms (Gen 15:8-18; Couch, 2000:142-147). The same concept is defined by the Levitical material. The altar on which the blood was sprinkled was the dwelling presence of YHWH. The vicariousness of the Leviticus atonement and reconciliation process is fulfilled by the act of the mercy when God covers his face and refrains from looking at sinful humanity. As Geerhardus Vos (1975:167) puts it: "if

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[152] Milgrom's interpretation of the verse expresses a contrary opinion to the already established normative interpretation carried out by some of the Old Testament scholars, such as Wenham (1979:61-62), who preceded him. His assertion is that shedding the blood of an innocent animal is enough for sin that calls for ritual action. Milgrom's explanation is that the blood of the animal is not for sin but for the presentation on the altar that the act of killing of the animal would not amount to sin on the part of Aaron and his descendants. Thus the blood of animal in this context is used for "non-expiatory" purposes (Milgrom, 1983:99-102).

[153] While Genesis paints Jacob as covering the face of Esau, his offended brother (Gen 32:20 LXX), and there are other instances in the Old Testament where human beings were seen to have covered the face of another, the Levitical author believes that the priestly *kapar* goes beyond human manipulation and that the process is an expression of God's mercy to his people.

the normal relation is to be restored it is the prerogative of God to resolve this and to put His resolve into operation."

The theological interpretation of the scapegoat is significant for understanding the process of reconciliation. It conveys the idea that the author of Leviticus is trying to emphasise that sin is in essence the separation from the sacred. This interpretation goes in tandem with the meaning of the function of the *azazel* within the sacrificial corpus. The author of Leviticus believes that sin is separation from both God and humans, an act that in other words has both a religious and sociological effect. God is not pleased with sin, and therefore sin has no place in the presence of God. Despite this, the Priestly author elucidates that the scapegoat had taken the place of humans and had granted liberation to the sinner, the sick person and the weary. The removal of the sin of the people of Israel by the *azazel* meant that it had taken the solitude that was supposedly meant for a sinful humanity far away from them. The scapegoat had accepted without choice to be separated from both humanity and God so that sinful humanity might be reconciled with their God and live forever in his presence. Atonement as the covering of sin thus found its clearest explanation through the rituals of the slain animal and *azazel*. The animal that was slain implied the covering of sin, while the *azazel* signified that the sins of the people had been taken away or removed from them through the process of substitution (Gilchrest, 2013:36). The synthesis of the blood sacrifice of the slain animals, the sprinkling of its blood upon the altar, and the laying of hands on it and confessing all the sins of Israel embody the peculiarity and efficacy of the *Yom Kippur* as the day of reconciliation of the household of Israel.

3.5.6 Conclusion

The place of atonement in that action of YHWH of reconciling the household of Israel was very important in the cultic sphere, since it was a means through which God related to His people. Looking through the Old Testament, the Priestly legislation provides grounds for understanding how atonement helped in drawing the people to God and to one another for reconciliation to take place. According to it, sacrifice functioned as a means of expiation, restitution and restoration in the Levitical legislation. Offerings so made were intended to "draw near" the worshippers to their God, YHWH, for fellowship and reconciliation. They invited the people into a political, social and religious union with God and with one another. Reconciliation was thus concretised in the ritual actions of the people of Israel and their religious, social and political life.

3.6 The concept of reconciliation in Leviticus 13-14

People who suffered from leprosy[154] were not allowed access to any of the communal privileges granted to other normal Israelites. This raises questions as to their place in the reconciliation of God's people in the Mosaic material and legislation in reference to *Yom Kippur*, when some were excluded from the event. The Priestly legislation, however, devotes a whole chapter to the treatment of lepers. The nature of leprosy prompts Kurtz (1998:342-343) to say that it was the only disease that the Priestly material focuses on at length. According to it, cured lepers had to go through two rituals, or sacrificial processes, before they could be reconciled or restored to their community. In recent time, Judith Romney Wegner (2003:451-465) has alerted scholars to the "exclusivist" practice that was prevalent in the Leviticus material. Such exclusivism, according to her, was carried out with regard to women and those who suffered disease from leprosy (צרעת).[155] For the sake of purity, they were not allowed access to the Divine Presence (לפני יהוה). Wegner (2003:454) further enunciates the need for the phrase פני יהוה, which occurs only in the Priestly sacrificial cult, and which had a direct impact on the people who were certified impure at that time.

Due to the way the lepers, or those who suffered from צרעת (λέπρα),[156] were treated in the Priestly material, or what may be commonly called the Mosaic code, Leviticus 13-14 provides grounds for giving adequate attention to the content of the text that illustrates how

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[154] The interest of this work is not to undertake a detailed study of the *tsāraʿat* (*lepra*), but rather to discern how the affected persons were reconciled to the community after their healing.

[155] Many scholars such as Milgrom (1991), Wegner (2003) and Baden & Moss (2011) still hold to the opinion that leprosy came upon people as a result of their sin. This doctrinal viewpoint was regarded as the impetus for excluding those suffering from the disease from the community of the people of Israel. K. van der Toorn (1985:72), in his explanation, states that the ancient Jewish people attributed any skin disease to sin and considered it to be punishment of the sufferer by God. It was thus seen as the most dreaded disease of the ancient world. The old Babylonians also believed that the person who suffered from the disease had been rejected by god. Consequently, the people had to banish the sick person from the community (van der Toorn, 1985:73). It has often been debated by many scholars that the term צרעת has no equivalent in the English language. John Wilkinson (1978) has given an extensive semantic definition of leprosy; he adduces that the problem in translating it can be traced back to the first translators of the LXX, who used the word λέπρα for צרעת in Hebrew language. See also John J. Pilch (2000a:129-134). The conclusion of Woods and Rogers (2006:91) regarding the nature of the disease that can be called leprosy in Leviticus or in P's context is regarded as very important. Woods and Roger (2006:91) believe that *tsāraʿat* (*lepra*) is a generic name for all skin diseases, of which leprosy is only one.

[156] The first mention of leprosy is in Exod 4:6-7, where Moses had a conversation with God, while its explanation outside P is found in Num 12:10-12. This context depicts Miriam being attacked by the disease for her insubordination to Moses and for querying the authority of Moses over the rest of the people. As a result of the disease coming on Miriam, Aaron cried out and said: "Oh, my lord, do not punish us because we have done foolishly and have sinned. Let her not be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he comes out of his mother's womb." The explanation here shows that the disease had the capacity to change one's skin colour to be like that of a stillborn baby who had been softened in its mother's womb many days before delivery (Shellberg, 2012:89-92).

the estranged people with diverse maladies were reconciled with God and their community. This will promote an understanding of the concept of reconciliation that was earlier proposed in this study.

Due to the exclusivist attitude with which the disease and the sufferer were regarded, the so-called Priestly material sets out a place for the proper diagnosis of any appearance of a skin disease on any human being in the Jewish community. Paying attention to it in Priestly material reveals that it was regarded as a serious disease in the early Jewish communities and even thereafter. Joel S. Baden and Candida R. Moss (2011:645) state that the Priestly material's author does not attribute the cause of the disease to sin. According to them, it was regarded as a normal sickness based on the grounds that P does not tell its audience the cause of the disease.[157] The Priestly material attests that for sufferers of the sickness to be accepted back into the community after the purported healing they had to undergo ritual purification and give a sacrifice (Kurtz, 1998:432). The Priestly material somehow mystifies the disease and creates religious and social boundaries, or a "social demarcation" (Douglas, 1995:240), between the sufferer and the people. This social boundary had a direct bearing on the disease and whoever was found to have suffered from it in the ancient Jewish community.

To live outside the camp was a general prescription for anyone who was found to suffer from leprosy (13:45). The person was not only barred from the camp, but also from the presence of YHWH and the sanctuary (Woods & Rogers, 2006:93-94). Suffering from the disease, in other words, resulted in a person being regarded as dead, since he or she was believed to have nothing to contribute to the community except pollution (van der Toorn, 1985:75; Milgrom, 1991:819; Kurtz, 1998:432). The diagnosis of lepers is clearly explained in 13:27-30, which states that if they were confirmed to suffer from leprosy it would result in their exclusion from the camp and the alteration of their identities (Gerstenberger, 1996:166-167). The whole of Leviticus 13-14 deals with different skin diseases and the detailed description of the

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[157] The interpretation of Baden & Moss (2011:644), based on the Chronicler or the Deuteronomistic Theologian with regard to the way they conceived these diseases during the monarchical period, seems contrary to the Deuteronomistic interpretation of the Priestly law. Baden cites 2 Kgs 15:5 as support that the cause of the sickness was not attributed to sin, but was seen as mere ill health. This seems contrary to the use of the phrase YHWH "smote" (KJV, RSV), "struck" (NABS, NAS), נגע יהוה ἥψατο κύριος (LXX). The usage of the phrase is an indication that there was something that went wrong in the life of the king before he could be ἥψατο by the Lord. The same notion is alluded to in 2 Chr 26:19-21, where Baden and Moss accuse the Chronicler of reworking it and ascribe Azariah's leprosy to "cultic sin". But K. van der Toorn (1985:74-75) has a contrary view on this text, believing that the instantaneous spread of the disease on the skin of the king signalled that the author of the book of Kings believed that it was the sin of the king that caused the disease.

disease and the procedures that the priests must follow in order to arrive at a conclusion, whether the sickness is leprosy or other skin disease, and how to cleanse the person who has been cured.

Leprosy's origin in the Bible is associated with God's punishment, as in the case of Miriam (Milgrom, 1991:821). The priests were instructed first to examine the affected area for swellings, itching and eruptions. Further tests had to be carried out on the person based on the primary observations before a conclusion could be drawn on the nature of the sickness (13:2). The secondary diagnostic tests are spelled out in 13:29-37 in order to confirm the nature of the infection. The secondary diagnostic test looked for symptoms such as a continuous change either in the colour of the skin or of the hair, an extension of the initial red spot on the skin, more infiltration or penetration of the skin, and ulceration of the skin (Shellberg, 2012:36). The combination of these two tests was able to prove whether or not the infection was leprosy. If it happened to be leprosy, the infected person would be pronounced unclean and separated from the communal participation of the sanctuary. There is no indication that the priests effected the healing of the leper. They only sanctioned the removal of anyone found infected with the disease. Neither the healing of the leper in the Priestly material nor the means of healing is specified.

Chapter 14 of Leviticus specifically deals with how to receive a person who was initially declared unclean and later healed from the sickness into the community. It contains what Gordon J. Wenham (1979:27) calls "a recapitulation of the process by which Israel had been made holy" by YHWH. The statement of Wenham stems from the fact that the cleansing of the leper involved both the ritual and sacrificial reconstruction of the reception and maintenance of Israel as the people of YHWH.[158] In this context, ritual action and sacrifice combined to make a person clean and able to associate with others in society. Gorman (1997:84) has acknowledged that for one to be accepted back into the community of YHWH and the household of Israel two cleansing processes had to be carried out. The first one was a ritual action which, in this case, was the rite of passage normally performed by the priest outside the camp of the meeting (Milgrom, 1991:827-848). This happened when the person who suffered from the disease had been introduced to the priest to be freed of the sickness

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[158] It was earlier argued (see section 3.3) that a ritual is always a first step of entering into a relationship with the sacred. The purpose of sacrifice in the cultic realm is to maintain the relationship that had been created as the result of ritual purification. The argument here is consonant with that of Gordon Wenham, namely that the leper cleansing in Lev 14 is a symbolic expression of YHWH's relationship with the nation of Israel.

(14:2). Performing the ritual outside the camp of the meeting on the one hand signified the contagious nature of the sickness and on the other hand aimed at the "integration of the healed leper" into the camp by means of exorcism (Destro & Pesce, 2006:70-71). It was carried out before any other sacrifice (Leviticus 1-9), as explained in section 3.3. The purpose of the ritual was to move the person away from the realm of death to the camp, where he or she could be prepared for a sacrifice of inclusion (Gorman, 1997:85).

Milgrom (1991:843) further alleges that this tradition of excluding anyone who suffered from leprosy from their camp or meeting persisted till the later period in the history of Israel. For instance, Milgrom attests that it was a custom within the Qumran community that the person suffering the disease was to stay outside the tent of meeting for seven days. The common belief was that the person was not yet clean until after seven days. The ritual purification of lepers in this context was similar to that of those who had contact with a dead body. This implied that the person had been welcomed back from the land of the dead to the land of the living.

The second purification rite was an actual sacrifice that aimed at verifying and authenticating that the person had actually been healed of the disease (Lev 14:10-32). The sacrifice in Lev 14:10-32 encompasses all the Levitical sacrifices for the house of Israel (Destro & Pesce, 2006:76-77). The way in which the Hebrew word *kipper* in piel form means "to atone" or "to cover" (Lev 14:19) and its translation in LXX provokes much thought. The Hebrew word *kipper* is translated as καθαριζομένου, which is derived from καθαρίζω. The use of καθαρίζω indicates that the disease was not just something that affected the body. It also attracted impurities along with physical symptoms. This is what prompted the writer to use the phrase ἐξιλάσεται ὁ ἱερεὺς περὶ τοῦ ἀκαθάρτου to designate the procedure and the contagious nature of λέπρα. The purpose of this sacrifice was to restore the person to life within the community and fellowship with one another (Gorman, 1997:87; Kurtz, 1998:435). The processes of ritual cleansing and sacrifice were necessary in order for one to be fully restored to his community. Scholars have different opinions as to the actual meaning and significance of the sacrifice that was offered for the restoration of the leprous in ancient Israel's religion. Kurtz (1998:436-437) holds that the offering's description in 14:10-32 signifies a true offering, since it involves all aspects that characterised Old Testament sacrifice. Milgrom (1991:253-280), in his description, sees the offering as what was needed to purge the impurities that had accumulated in the holy *sancta*. The reason for this was so that the affected person could be

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reintegrated and reconciled into the community of God and his people. This was what necessitated the action, such as *καθαριζομένου* in the LXX (*kipper* in Hebrew), which had sociological, political, economic and cultic connotations that provided the healed person with the capacity to function within his or her community as a human.

3.6.1 Conclusion

Leviticus 13-14 clearly indicates the place of ritual and sacrifice in reconciling healed lepers with God and their community. The *Sitz im Leben* in this context provides a medium through which the meaning of reconciliation was conveyed in the *λέπρα* text in the Old Testament. Leprosy caused an impurity that affected the whole community whenever it was present. Therefore, the effectiveness of the concept of reconciliation was found to have both social and religious implications for the healed person and the entire community. Through the ritual and sacrifice prescribed in the context of the Mosaic material, the individual's right and dignity were restored, granting access to God and humanity.

3.7 The concept of reconciliation as rhetoric in prophetic literature

The prophetic era in the Jewish religion seemed to have launched a radical approach to the already-established religious, social and political norms of ancient Israel. It was a movement that developed alongside the monarchical era (Efird, 1982:142). The introduction of prophetism into the religious arena of Israel categorically demeaned, if not abrogated, the customised way of doing things as stipulated in the Priestly and Holiness materials. Even in the era of prophetism in Israel, sin was still a problem, and it was known to the prophets that sin had the potency to separate humanity from God. The rhetoric preaching of the prophets therefore focused on how to reconcile sinful humanity to God for the purpose of fellowship and communion. This prophetic rhetoric focused on holiness and righteousness instead of ritualization. The emphasis in the prophetic rhetoric was not on the efficacy of ritualization as a means of purging human sin but on the power of the word of God. Giving unalloyed attention to the voice of God characterised the prophetic message of the time (Noth, 1981:6). Repentance based on the prophetic rhetoric thus became analogous to the priestly rituals for reconciliation.[159] For the sake of clarity, reconciliation in the prophetic literature in the Old

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[159] The debate regarding the beginning of prophetism in Israel has not yet reached a consensus. A survey of the origin of prophetism and its rhetorical school using socio-historical indicators points to Samuel as its founder in Israel (Albright, 1969:151-160), while the Deuteronomistic School (Deut 18:15-19) apportions the order of the prophetic office to Moses, who acted as prototype and model to all the prophets in Israel (Childs, 1993:168-170). Other scholars ascribe the beginning of prophetism to the Elohistic material in the book of Genesis.

Testament in this section will be divided into two categories, the pre-exilic and postexilic periods, in order to survey the period. Space does not permit the study of the individual prophetic books, and they will thus be studied together in order to glean collective insights.

3.7.1 Concept of reconciliation in Deuteronomistic History

Brueggemann (1994:83) infers that the so-called Deuteronomistic History[160] emphasises that righteousness and repentance led to deliverance. His use of the term "Deuteronomistic History" is based on the classic work of Martin Noth, first published as *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* in 1943. In turn, Martin Noth's (1981:4-5) emphasis on Deuteronomistic History is based on the complexity of the history of Israel's salvation and its reinterpretation of the contents of the historical books (Joshua - Kings). Noth contends that the aim of the Deuteronomistic History was to reinterpret the contents of the book of Deuteronomy, which the people had rejected. According to Noth, this rejection by the people of the Book of the Law resulted in their punishment. Based on Noth's assessment, the Deuteronomistic Historian believes that God placed Israel to be the light to the other nations because of their initial exposure to him (God). But, instead of Israel becoming the beacon of hope to other nations, their moral decline led them to be taught by other nations surrounding them.

The indictment of David by the prophet Nathan is in tandem with the rule of the king issued by Moses according to the Deuteronomistic History. By implication, from the viewpoint of the Mosaic material (Num 35:30-35; Deut 17:14-20), David deserved death. But due to

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William Albright (1969:158-166) contends that the meaning of the word should be based on its functionality rather than its generic meaning. The interpretation of the meaning of prophetism based on its functional and generic sense has, however, also generated a lot of polemics regarding the beginning of prophetism in Israel. The scholars who are tracing the origin of prophetism in terms of its generic meaning believe that such a category should be a standard for measuring the origin of prophetism in Israel. As a result, they claim that the Elohistic prophet possesses and performs all the functions that accrue to the later prophets in Israel's history (Wilson, 1987:87-99).

[160] The work of Noth upholds the unity of Deuteronomy - 2 Kings and its diversity, which by way of hermeneutics helps in the interpretation of its contents, but worthy of note is the fact that the so-called Deuteronomistic Historian or Theologian is a modern construct which contributes nothing to the authentication of the Old Testament as the *ipsissima verba Deo*. As a result, Martin Noth's view in recent times has received criticism from different quarters, especially concerning his dating and the number of redactor(s) that he believes handled the editorial work of the book. For the ongoing debate on the dating and redaction of Deuteronomistic History, see Yaira Amit (1999a), Yaira Amit (199b), Steven L. McKenzie (2000), Thomas Römer (2005), and Raymond F. Person, Jr (2010).

David's penitent act,[161] the mercy of YHWH prevailed over judgement, with the result that he granted to David forgiveness of his sin. Psalm 51 attests to the premise that repentance of one's sin leads to God's forgiveness and reconciliation with God, which can affect one's relationship with other human beings.[162] The emphasis on repentance and forgiveness of sin played a key role in Ps 51, as is carefully acknowledged by D.J. Human (2005:131):

> From gratitude to God's act of salvation, the psalmist offers his sacrifice of thanksgiving, which is accompanied by a broken spirit and a contrite heart. With this humiliation and sorrow, the roots of which are firmly anchored in God's grace, loving kindness and mercy, the process of reconciliation between the psalmist and God achieves a special depth.

David's sin is identical to sin against the divine and humanity, which amounted to crossing the divine and social space (2 Samuel 11-12). David's sexual relationship with Uriah's wife, Beersheba, was unexpected of a king of his calibre in Israel. It was not only an action against Uriah personally as Beersheba's husband. It also transgressed the Mosaic material (Lev 20:10; Deut 22:22). His sin, therefore, could be categorised as an injustice against God and humanity, or as a social relationship that had a direct impact on the sacred space (Wessels, 2005:313).

The investigation into the meaning of righteousness and its cognates in the Old Testament implies that it means being in total submission to the will of God in one's circumstance (Gossai, 1993:49-55). In other words, one's reaction in any situation determines the degree of one's righteousness. The concept of צדק creates a relationship between God and His people, Israel.

3.7.2 The concept of reconciliation in the pre-exilic prophets

The socio-historical reading of the prophetic documents predominately focuses on YHWH's relationship with his people, Israel (Wessels, 2005:312). The writings of the prophets from the period of Samuel to the time of exile and thereafter focused on this relationship.[163] The

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[161] Josephus (*Ant*. 6.143) remarks that Samuel's plea for Saul's forgiveness was based on not sacrifice but on the forgiveness of sin as a possible means of reconciliation. The refusal of Samuel's plea by YHWH was also not due to the inefficacy of Samuel's prayer, but the stubbornness of Saul's heart.

[162] Psalm 51 is often regarded as one of the Psalms within the second collection of Davidic Psalms (Psalms 51-72), which is made up of lamentations (Psalms 51-64), and thanksgiving (Psalms 65-68), while the last of this collection (Psalms 69-72) features a mixtures of different themes (Human, 2005:120).

[163] A prophet goes beyond what Robert P. Carroll (1996:43-50) in his thesis describes as a "poet" whose duty was to work against "the social and religious life of the king and the temple, sacrifice and prayer, worship and values…" Carroll's criticism of the prophetic movement in Israel using the modern apparatus of Marxism and

aim of the prophets' rhetoric was to persuade the people to place their trust in God the redeemer of Israel (יהוה גאל ישראל) (Isa 49:7).[164]

The beginning of the prophetic movement with the coming of Samuel on the scene had an unprecedented effect on Jewish socio-cultural, religious and political life. Implicitly, the aim of such a movement was to alter history and change the thinking pattern of the people of God, as is carefully observed by William F. Albright (1969:165-166):

> The destruction of Shiloh and the decimation of its priests were the most convincing possible proof of the men of Samuel's time that God was angry at the religious leaders of Israel and their ritualized form of Mosaic tradition.

Recurring themes in the prophetic rhetoric from Samuel to Amos, Isaiah and other prophets were obedience and love to YHWH, and not ritual, as a means of reconciliation to God (Albright, 1969:164-165). The rhetorical nuance was formulated within the framework of the covenant in reference to the obedience and love of God. The content of the prophetic preaching also aimed at criticising the ritual processes which the people relied upon instead of God (Amos 5:21-24; Hos 5:15-6:6). The rejection of the terms of the covenant (the voice of God, ($\phi\omega\nu\acute{\eta}$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ου) invariably delineated the rejection of YHWH from the amphictyonic confederation of Israel (1 Sam 15:23). This in turn gave rise to what Walter Brueggemann (1994:23) calls the "paganization of Israel", that is, situations where there was no openness in the hearts of the people toward YHWH as their God. The expression $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\circ\varsigma$ $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}$ $o\grave{\upsilon}$ $\theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\circ\hat{\upsilon}$ $\mathring{\eta}$ $\acute{o}\lambda o\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ (Hos 6:6 LXX; "I desire mercy and not sacrifice and the knowledge of God instead of burnt offerings") therefore characterises the message of the prophets (Hyatt, 1969:208-210).[165]

Weberian seems to reduce the essence of the movement to just that of a social entertainer whose contribution to the societal life amounted to nothing but critique of the social and religious order. This view has been severely criticised as baseless and unwarranted by many Old Testament scholars (see Thomas W. Overholt, 1996; Barstad, 1996:106-126).

[164]The text in the LXX reads $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\circ\varsigma$ $\acute{o}$ $\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\sigma\epsilon$ $\acute{o}$ $\theta\epsilon\grave{o}\varsigma$ $I\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$, which can be translated as "the LORD your redeemer, the God of Israel."

[165] Regarding this, Josephus (*Ant.* 6.92-93) writes: "God gave such great signals by thunder and lightning, and the descent of hail, as attested the truth of all that the prophet (Samuel) had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed they had sinned, and had fallen into that sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, ... to render God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offenses whereby they had affronted him and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them these their sins ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\tau\grave{o}\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\grave{o}\nu$ $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\nu\hat{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\grave{\iota}$ $\tau o\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\nu$ $\alpha\grave{\upsilon}\tau o\hat{\iota}\varsigma$). However, he advised them to be righteous ($\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}o\varsigma$), and to be good ($\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$), and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also to remember the

The prophetic reinterpretation of the law had a direct bearing on the religious, social and political spheres of Israel as a nation (Brueggemann, 1994:22-23). By drawing the attention of the people to ritual memory, the prophets reinterpreted the efficacy of the law on the grounds of being obedient to YHWH as a means for the forgiveness of sin and the renewal of their relationship with God. This is apparent in the word of Samuel to the embattled king Saul in 1 Sam 15:22 (LXX):

$$\mathit{ἰδοὺ\ ἀκοὴ\ ὑπὲρ\ θυσίαν\ ἀγαθὴ\ καὶ\ ἡ\ ἐπακρόασις\ ὑπὲρ\ στέαρ\ κριῶν}$$

See, obedience is better than sacrifices and listening than a fat ram.

The preaching of the prophets was based on obedience to the law rather than on the giving of a sacrifice.[166] Sacrifice to God became an addendum to Israel and their quest for reconciliation with God, which shifted into their social and political life. For instance, the termination of the lineage of Eli from the order of the priesthood and the dismissal of Saul from kingship support the notion that ritual action was no longer enticing people to God so as to cement his relationship with the household of Israel. As noted earlier, obedience to the יהוה קול (φωνή κυρίου) was a non-negotiable recurring theme that runs through the earlier prophetic movement beginning from the time of Samuel to the period of Isaiah and beyond (Albright, 1969:165).[167] Samuel (1 Sam 12:15) preached to Israel that if they would not listen to the קול יהוה the same punishment that befell their fathers would befall them.

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strange signs God had shown them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king."

[166] According to Josephus (*Ant.* 6.141-143), the absence of obedience on the side of Saul was what cost him his crown. In other words, Saul's sin was against the 'prescribed' *herem* in the Deuteronomistic code (13:16-18; see also Josh 6:18; 10:33), which defines how the spoils of war should be handled by any Jewish community (Sokolow, 2007:135).

[167] The actual meaning of "the voice of YHWH" has generated much debate as to when the word of the prophet became the voice of God. Gerald von Rad (1967:33-34) understands prophecy as coming directly from God and embodying his commandment to humanity. Prophecy was the word of God that came to the prophets unannounced. Max Weber (1967:105) holds that the oracles were understood by the true prophets to be the word of God (דבר אלהים λόγος κυρίου), since they were speaking the mind of God to the people. There was, however, a distinction made between the voice (word) of God and that of a human. Whenever God spoke in Israel the listeners were obliged to hear and understand that the Lord was speaking to them. The experience of young Samuel (1 Sam 3:2-14) is one of the indications that the human voice was distinguished from the voice of God (Edwards, 1988:1102). However, there were clear differences between the false prophet and the true prophet of YHWH (Weber, 1967:105-111). The prophets were believed to be the custodians of the law, and they also undertook to see to it that it was well interpreted and applied. Malchow (1996:45-47) argues that the prophets were perhaps the source of justice and equity in Deuteronomy. His view is based on the idea that the Torah was not written down during the era of prophetic preaching, but that it existed in the form of oral tradition and took the form of a written document only after the prophets.

It could be argued that change in the cultic scene in Israel was a continuum that traced its origin from the time of Samuel, who refused to acknowledge the central Levitical cultic ritual. The observation of Albright (1969:86-167) seems correct when he says that Samuel destroyed the Levitical ritual cult and replaced it with obedience to the voice of God, which in most cases manifested in righteous actions. Richard D. Nelson (2000:179-193) asserts that the Deuteronomist in his attempt to overthrow the Levitical priesthood recategorised the office of the priests and that of Levites and their functionalities in the amphictyonic cultic corpus of Israel. Nelson (2000: 180-185) argues that the oracle of 1 Sam 2:27-36 was a *coup d'état* against Eli's house, since it succeeded in eliminating his house and their involvement in Israel's cultic socio-political economy. The Levitical sacrifice was thereafter a peripheral nuance in Israel's prophetic rhetoric (Nelson, 2000:193). The oracle had cemented the place of obedience, instead of the giving of a sacrifice, in providing forgiveness and reconciliation to the household of Israel. The place of righteousness and repentance as means of reconciliation in prophetic preaching from the era of Samuel to that of the eighth-century prophets was non-negotiable within Israel's prophetic cultic corpus.

The social reality of eighth-century Israel was a prosperity which was vulnerable to the sin of idolatry and social injustice (Premnath, 2003:99-138). More offerings and sacrifices were offered due to the nation's prosperity, but the more these offerings and sacrifices were offered the more vulnerable to sin the people became. The emptiness of these offerings prompted the eighth-century prophets to be more sceptical and sarcastic about the place of sacrifice and offering as means of reconciliation to God. For instance, Amos (3:4-5) "sarcastically urges the people to sin by offering sacrifice…" (Barton, 2012:10), and Hos 9:13 emphasises that the offering of Israel was not acceptable to God (Premnath, 2003:135). The offerings of the people, according to the prophetic rhetoric, were invalidated by God. Not only were their offerings rejected, but they were regarded as abominations to God, since the people refused to hear the words of the prophet.

The reconciliation of the people of Israel to YHWH and to one another had moved from the Levitical priesthood ritual to the radical prophetic rhetoric of obedience and repentance. Repentance and hope for the righteous enshrined itself as a theme in the prophetic tradition (Lalleman-de Winkel, 2000:235-236). This prophetic rhetoric of repentance emphasises the chances of the righteous being saved over and above the unrighteous and places him or her in a more tenable position of being reconciled to God. The emphasis on repentance ($\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\alpha$) enabled the righteous, צדק ($\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$, to have unreserved access to the salvation of God

(Gossai, 1993:23).[168] As a result, Hemchand Gossai remarks that the theme of righteousness in the preaching of the prophets became a lens through which one could see the reconciliatory power of God. YHWH is described as a צדק (*saddîq*) in all his dealings with the household of Israel, and his works of faithfulness and reconciliation are meant for those who are righteous (Goldingay, 2006:119-121). The efficacy of one's righteousness was tied to both religious and social aspects.

The forgiveness of sin in Isaiah, Amos, Hosea, and other eighth-century prophets is different from that of the Priestly stipulation of atonement and its reconciliatory effect. The prophetic nuance is constructed on the confession of sin, repentance, and righteousness (Gowan, 1998:60-63; von Rad, 2001:64).[169] Isaiah 6:1-6 professes that forgiveness of sin and reconciliation lie within the ambit of one's repentance and not on the basis of ritual atonement. The same is reiterated by all the classical prophets of eighth-century Israel, who unrelentingly aimed at redirecting and restructuring the mind of the people from the ritual sacrifice, which the prophets believed to be a peripheral demand of YHWH. The external cultic ritual and its cognates as a demand for unity and reconciliation did not have their usual position within the pre-exilic prophetic corpus (Bright, 2000:338-310).

Mark Gray (2010:159-177) has drawn the attention of scholars to another rhetoric of reconciliation that is evident within the prophetic discourse. This rhetoric followed a different trajectory. Its focus ultimately was on the principle of social justice that invited the people to see the reason for practising social justice in order to be in right relationship with God and his people. Social injustice and other vices destroyed the unity of the people, and therefore repentance meant that one had to practise justice and be reconciled to God and his people. This rhetoric was evident in the preaching of the prophet Isaiah and his contemporaries when

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[168] The Hebrew concept of צדק and its different layers in terms of its meaning and its cognate in LXX, δίκαριος, have caused much debate in the study of the Old Testament. However, Hemchand Gossai (1993) has offered a more detailed treatment and insight into different usages in both the MT and the LXX. John Goldingay is of the opinion that there is no equivalent for צדק in European languages and that this makes it impossible to give the exact rendering or meaning of it has in Hebrew language. It portrays the relationship of YHWH with his people in the context of fellowship (Goldingay, 2006:120).

[169] The prophets who prophesied prior to the deportation and exile of the Northern Kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians are prophets such as Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Nahum, Zephaniah and Habakkuk. Sometimes Jeremiah is added to this category. Jonah prophesied before this period, but his prophecy is depicted as being focused on a non-Israelite city, Nineveh (Jonah 1:1). The repentance of the Assyrian city of Nineveh, which led the destruction of Samaria, the key city in the Northern Kingdom of Israel, could have been intended to illustrate that YHWH wanted to teach Israel the necessity of repentance and its effectiveness in the process of reconciliation. If a nation that was not a member of the amphictyonic confederacy of Israel could repent at the voice of YHWH, then YHWH had a cogent case against the household of Israel if they did not do the same (Waggoner, 2009:12-51).

dealing with the process of reconciliation.[170] Its importance in the prophetic rhetoric is evident from the way Amos (5:5, 21-24), Isaiah (58:1-10) and Micah (3:1-3) emphasise seeking justice as an unequivocal way to seeking God (Gray, 2006:38-41). Justice was denied to the poor by the rich (Amos 8:4-5; Isa 10:1-2; Mic 6:10-11; Hos 12:7-8). The prophetic rhetoric on social justice envisaged repentance and, if it was not forthcoming, punishment. Punishment for injustice and sin against YHWH thus became an important theme in the Old Testament. However, Isaiah 40-66 ignited the hope for the future reconciliation of YHWH with Israel, since it is concerned with presenting the restoration of the people. This restoration of the people signalled their reconciliation with God. The prophet further elucidates that this restoration (reconciliation) would result in an era of peace and prosperity for Israel as a nation (Constantineanu, 2010:77-210). The pronouncement of the favour of the Lord upon Judah and Jerusalem, instead of doom, signalled that the sin of the people of God had been purged and paid for. Their new dawn was about to draw near, when all the exiles would triumphantly march to Zion (Isa 40:1-11), led by God himself (Eloff, 2002:6-22). This would be the fulfilment of the Isaianic vision of when God's mercy was expected to triumph over sin, thereby inaugurating a new age of the forgiveness of sin and reconciliation with God.

3.7.3 The concept of reconciliation in the writings of the exilic and postexilic prophets

The concept of proclaiming the voice of YHWH did not stop with the pre-exilic prophetic movement. It continued with the exilic and postexilic prophetic movement in Israel.[171] The prophet Jeremiah, who is regarded as both a pre-exilic and exilic prophet, upheld the radicality of his predecessors by emphasising the voice of God over the priesthood's ritual acts (Jer 6:20; 7:21-23). The prophets who prophesied during this period upheld the tradition of the prophetic rhetoric of repentance, forgiveness and hope as analogical themes for God's reconciliation in their prophetic careers. It became obvious to the prophets that the people of Israel were not willing to repent and turn to God, and this led to another radical change in their message. Exile as a means through which YHWH would purge the sin of the people

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[170] Amos was the first prophet to preach against the prevalent social injustice that existed in Israel during the reign of Jeroboam II. He prophesied between 760-750 BCE in the Northern Kingdom. His counterpart in the South was Azariah (Malchow, 1996:31-49).

[171] Jeremiah and Ezekiel witnessed the exile, and both of them prophesied during this period. Jeremiah started his prophecy before the exile took place. Jeremiah and Ezekiel were both priests; however, they preferred prophetism over priesthood.

became more pronounced. Inward cleansing as a means of forgiveness, reconciliation and unity therefore characterises the rhetoric of these prophets (Jer 4:3-4, 14; Ezek 18:1ff). The refusal to hear the voice of God through his prophet, however, meant that the people had to be prepared to face the consequences of their action. Their rebellion against God had resulted in their punishment at the hand of foreigners (Jer 17:22-26; Ezek 12:1-6). Punishment became a reward for the sin of Israel against God. As a result, the danger of going into exile was imminent and clear to the prophets.

The prophets attempted in vain to prevent the impending judgement of God upon the people. Hetty Lalleman-de Winkel (2000:211-212) contends that one of the roles of the pre-exilic and exilic prophets was that of intercession on behalf of the people.[172] This ministry was the last option for the prophets seeking mercy (ἔλεος) from God for the people of Israel. Jeremiah is considered the greatest intercessor in the history of Israel's prophetic tradition (Lalleman-de Winkel, 2000:211). Prophetic intercession was the means through which God's judgement could have been averted (Jer 14:11). It was, however, necessary that the sin of the people of Israel be purged and atoned for, and the only way through which God could purge the sin of the people was by sending them into exile, as indicated earlier.

The destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586 BCE and the captivity of the people of Judah were a watershed in the Jewish history. During the exile the prophetic message changed from that of judgement to one of hope. Comfort and restoration served as images of God's forgiveness and reconciliation of his people during their exile. The return of the exiles to the land of Judah also became the hallmark of God's forgiveness and reconciliation (Jer 27:22; 30:17-18; Ezek 4:5-6). Re-gathering as a metaphor for God's forgiveness and reconciliation, the origin of which can be traced back to the exilic and postexilic prophetic movements (Fuller, 2006:13-14), became a recurring theme in the rhetoric of the postexilic prophets, whose duty was to remind the people of God's promise of restoration (Dan 9:2). The message of restoration and hope for the exiles that was earlier preached by Haggai and Zachariah met its partial fulfilment with the appearance of Ezra and Nehemiah (Fuller, 2006:15-16). It was partial, since it did not accomplish the fulfilment of the final reconciliation of the people of Israel to God. The return of the exiles from Babylon was part of the plan of God to fulfil his promise of reconciliation of the people to himself.

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[172] The role of intercession as a means through which God reconciled the estranged people is well known in the work of Philo (*Rewards* 165-166). It was a prophetic role whose origin started in Genesis with the intercession of Abraham on behalf of Lot.

An examination of the postexilic prophetic books, especially Haggai and Zechariah, reveals the expectation of the achievement of total reconciliation by YHWH with the household of Israel. Haggai and Zachariah are filled with images of a figure who would bring the fulfilment of Israel's reconciliation to God and provide the basis for the socio-cultural engagement of Israel as a single people. The apocalypse of Daniel and Zechariah share this great expectation of the messianic restoration of Israel, which in essence implies the final reconciliation of Israel. The process that would help purge the sin of Israel was the inauguration of a new covenant. The New Covenant's ($\delta\iota\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ LXX) aim was to eradicate sin in the lives of the people. It also provided the people with a future hope that God would eventually inaugurate the era of the final reconciliation through a special process that would enable the people to obey him (Jer 31:31-34; Dan 9:24; Zech 12:6-14-13:9). This event was to be carried out by the גאל (*Goel*) at the final restoration (Isa 59:20).

3.7.4 Conclusion

It was observed that Samuel and the pre-exilic prophets were presented by the Old Testament as not being interested in proclaiming the Leviticus materials and its rituals as a means of forgiveness and reconciliation of the household of Israel to YHWH. Their message was based on the reinterpretation of the Mosaic material, and not on adhering to the priesthood rituals. For them, obedience to God was the way to secure God's mercy. While the prophetic rhetoric did not condemn the priesthood rituals, their ability to enact the forgiveness of sin and reconciliation to God and to the community was questioned. Listening to the voice of God became the only means through which salvation could be attained. The later prophets after Samuel kept emphasising that repentance and the practice of social justice could save the people from the punishment of God, rather than Leviticus' rituals. Though the prophets believed that the punishment of Israel was a result of the sins of the people, in the same vein, they regarded it as a means through which God would reconcile Israel to himself.

The prophets who came after the pre-exilic prophets still upheld the principle of the word of God as the only reasonable means of reconciliation. The restoration of the people from exile became an analogous term for reconciliation to those who were in exile. However, the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem did not achieve the expected reconciliation. The writers of the books of Ezekiel, Daniel and Zechariah therefore looked forward to the time when reconciliation would be visible in the coming of the Messiah (גאל) at the dawn of the new age.

3.8 Reconciliation during the Hellenistic Period

The Hellenistic period was a difficult time for the Jews, especially during the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. During this period a number of writings appeared within Judaism that reflected on the concept of reconciliation. Porter (1994:38), who has studied the usage of the term *καταλλάσσω* and its cognates in Hellenistic writings, alleges that its usage had both theological and non-theological implications. In order to examine the concept of reconciliation appropriately during the Hellenistic period, this section will be divided into three categories based on the different types of documents found during this period.

3.8.1 The concept of reconciliation in Jewish apocalyptic literature

John Collins (2014:2) sees apocalyptic literature as

> a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another supernatural world.

Apocalyptic literature goes beyond the mundane political society to seek a better world than the present one, where God will rule as a king (Cook, 2003:22), a world which only the people who lived according to the rules of their religious origin would be allowed to inhabit. Some of the Old Testament prophetic books are believed to have some sense of apocalypticism in that they contain messages that were addressed to their contemporaries while the authors concealed their identities and instead ascribed their authorship to known figures in the history of Israel through the use of the device of pseudonymity (Schmidt, 1983:259-262). While this is a succinct observation of the apocalyptic writing of the later period, earlier Jewish apocalyptic literature bears the names of its supposed author. For instance, the apocalypses of Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai and Zechariah are believed to get their names from their authors, who were all seen as prophets in Israel (Schmidt, 1983:260-262).

Marius Nel (2005), Veronika Bachmann (2011) and Carol A. Newsom (2014) in recent times have pointed out that Jewish apocalyptic writing wrestles with the issue of the reinterpretation of the Mosaic law. By doing this they authenticate the keeping of the law as an assured means of escaping from danger (Bachmann, 2011:5-8). For instance, the author of the Book of the Watchers (1-36) emphasises the Mosaic material and therefore articulates and

reiterates that keeping the law is a means of reconciliation (Nel, 2005:197-199).[173] This emphasis depends on the premise of interpreting the law of Moses as an effective means through which forgiveness and reconciliation could be realised with the estranged people in exile. The imminent intervention of the divine in human history characterises another aspect of apocalyptic literature (Cook, 2003:25).

The book of First Enoch is believed to have been modelled after the book of Deuteronomy (33:1-2) or after the Sinaitic blessing of the people of Israel (Black & VanderKam, 1985:13). Bachmann (2011:6) sees a reference to the law in it as a means through which blessings would be granted to the righteous. Blessings would be granted to the righteous when the wicked are removed from the earth (1:1). The righteous shall, however, not perish with the reprobate (10:17). The Book of the Parable (37-71) presents a contrast to the Watchers (Cook, 2003:20) and deals with the intervention of the Son of Man on behalf of the righteous (46:1-6). The author still emphasises the place of righteousness in God's plan for restoration and reconciliation. Salvation and reconciliation in the Book of Enoch are limited to the righteous ones who through knowledge of the Torah were able to distinguish between good and evil in their time (Nel, 2005:198).

The apocalypse of Daniel, which was written during the exile, deals with the same theme as that of the prophets who preached before the people went into exile. Though it has been attested to deal with comic realities and conflicts, the end would eventually come when the righteous one will destroy his enemies and bring to the fore the era of peace and reconciliation in the world (Dan 8-11). Daniel's apocalypse does not demean the place of the righteous person, but upholds, along with the other ancient prophets, that the righteous are the

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[173] The author of the Book of the Watchers believes that Enoch kept the law of God and that it was credited to him as righteousness. The first section of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (1-36), also known as the Book of the Watchers, describes how the angelic beings transgressed against the law of God and his cosmic order, and the consequences they faced. The Book of Enoch is a collection of traditions concerning Enoch. It is believed to have been written about the fourth century BCE (Nel, 2005:197-198). The consequences that came upon those who transgressed the divine space and boundaries are well stipulated in the book. The role Enoch, as a righteous person, played in bringing divine judgement upon those who sinned against God is expressed in the book (1 Enoch 1:1-2). Several interpretations have been given by many scholars as to the meaning of the context of the Book of Watchers in relation to the Mosaic law. In other words, its relation to the Torah is not clear (Bachmann, 2011:4-5). Apart from the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36), the other sections that make up First Enoch's tradition include: the Book of Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71, also called the Similitudes of Enoch), the Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72–82, also called the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries or Book of Luminaries), the Book of Dream Visions (1 Enoch 83–90, also called the Book of Dreams) and the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–108). Many scholars believe that the whole tradition was not composed in the same period (Knibb, 2008:17-44).

assured beneficiaries of divine reconciliation at the end (Dan 12:12-13). The emphasis on obedience to the Torah as way of righteousness is essential in Daniel (Nel, 2005:200).

3.8.2 The concept of reconciliation in Jewish apocryphal literature

A socio-historical study of 2 Maccabees shows that the book presupposes the historical situation the Jewish people faced from the time Antiochus IV Epiphanes ascended to the throne of the Seleucid Empire in 175 till his death in 164 BCE (Metzger, 1957:139-150; Schwartz, 2010:1599). The purpose of the book is to inform its audience of the implication of sin in the life of the people of Israel during the period in review. It was apparent that the sin of the people had led to their punishment at the hand of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The writer uses the history of the Jews in attesting that what befell the Jewish people was the outcome of their refusal to learn from history (2 Maccabees 1-50). The author of 2 Maccabees remarks that the anger of God was upon the people because of their sin (2 Macc 1:5; 5:18-20; 7:33). However, he upholds that the prayer offered on behalf of the people could be a catalyst for reconciling the people anew to God (2 Macc 1:5; 8:29).[174] Reconciliation and victory of Israel over their enemies would come through the repentance of the people of Israel, as the author writes in 2 Macc 6:12-17:

> Now I urge those who read this book not to be depressed by such calamities, but to recognize that these punishments ($\tau\grave{\alpha}\varsigma\ \tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$) were designed not to destroy ($\check{o}\lambda\epsilon\theta\rho o\nu$) but to discipline ($\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$) our people. In fact, not to let the impious alone for long, but to punish them immediately, is a sign of great kindness. For in the case of the other nations the Lord waits patiently to punish them until they have reached the full measure ($\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\sigma\iota\nu$) of their sins ($\dot{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\hat{\omega}\nu$); but he does not deal in this way with us, in order that he may not take vengeance on us afterward when our sins have reached their height. Therefore, he never withdraws his mercy from us. Though he disciplines ($\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\nu}\omega\nu$) us with calamities, he does not forsake his own people. Let what we have said serve as a reminder; we must go on briefly with the story.

The author of 2 Maccabees intended to retell the history of their ancestors to his community to argue that repentance is the key factor to achieve reconciliation between God and the

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[174] The authorship of the 2 Maccabees is controversial. The name Jason of Cyrene (2:19-23) has been linked with the person mentioned in the First book of Maccabees (1 Macc 8:17), but the actual person who bore the name has not been identified by scholars. This prompted Metzger (1957:140) to conclude that whoever the author of the book might be, "The unknown Epitomist was no doubt an Alexandrian Jew in full agreement with the aims and spirit of Jason." George W.E. Nickelsburg (1981:118) ascribes the work to Jason of Cyrene, but surmises that it was later abridged and epitomised by an unknown person.

Jewish people. His belief is that τὰς τιμωρίας παιδεύων and συμφορᾶς are tools in the hand of God to draw the people back to himself. Its purpose was thus to serve as a reminder (ὑπομνήσεως) that the estranged people had to be reconciled to God. To strengthen his premise, the author of the book states that if one were to die without reconciling with God it would be disastrous for him or her. The hope of bodily resurrection seems to have developed in the thinking of the Jewish people at the time and necessitated the collection (ἀνδρολογίαν) that is mentioned in 2 Macc 12:43-45.[175] Soldiers who were found with an amulet in their hands were believed by Judas Maccabeus and his men to have died as a result of contravening the Mosaic law (Sanchez, 1994:137-139). The sum of money collected was therefore meant for a sin offering (ἁμαρτίας θυσία) on behalf these dead soldiers.

The ideology that underlies the text of the 2 Maccabees is that repentance inevitably brings mercy and reconciliation, but that sin brings punishment to people (Metzger, 1965:274). The rhetoric of the book coheres with that of the prophets and other writers in Judaism in stressing that obedience to the law of YHWH results in blessings (3:1-3, 39; 5:5:18). The narrative aspect of the book describes how human behaviour shaped events in history (Nickelsburg, 1981:119). The author of Maccabees views the punishment that befell the Jewish people as an event that is interwoven with their behaviour towards God and one another (7:32). He also believes that repentance procured forgiveness and reconciliation.[176]

3.8.3 The concept of reconciliation in non-theological writings

The use of the concept of reconciliation in the Hellenistic world, especially in the work of Philo and Josephus, has a close resemblance to its use in Greco-Roman works (Runia, 2012:59-60). Their literary and conceptual portrayals thereof, in effect, do not differ from those of the classical writers (Porter, 1994:38). The place of God in initiating reconciliation is also not left untreated. God is seen as the ultimate force in the process of reconciliation. This same notion is evident in the literature of ancient Greco-Roman writers.

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[175] The author of the book of 2 Maccabees in the passage of 2 Mac 12:43-45 states that the sum of two thousand pieces of silver was sent to Jerusalem for a sin-offering. Whereupon he made reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin. It is only in this book that the issue of reconciliation was raised in the entire LXX.

[176] In a similar manner, Ben Sirach sees sin as amounting to punishment when he says: "Have you sinned, my son? Do so no more (μὴ προσθῇς μηκέτι), but pray about your former sins. Flee from sin as from a snake; for if you approach sin, it will bite you. Its teeth are lion's teeth, and destroy the souls of men. All lawlessness is like a two-edged sword; there is no healing for its wound (τῇ πληγῇ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἴασις)."

The arguments above of Porter and Runia in regard to Philo and Josephus's works and their resemblance to Greek ideas might be correct, but reading through the work of Philo and Josephus shows that their work, though written in Greek, has more Jewish characteristics than Greek ones. The works of these two authors are similar to those of other writers in Judaism. This is because their works aimed as reiterating to the Jews the importance of righteousness in dealing with God. Both Philo and Josephus developed a high level of understanding of sin as the cause of humanity frailty, while repentance ($\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu o\iota\alpha$) was a means of reconciliation.

The issue of reconciliation carries much weight in the work of Philo and Josephus, but with a high degree of Greco-Roman import. Norman H. Young (1997:236) alleges that Philo believed that the process of Israel's reconciliation was made possible for three main reasons, namely: the kindness and the mercy of God, the piety of the patriarchs, and the improvement in the moral conduct of Israel. While Philo understands the reconciliation of Israel on the basis of the mercy of God, the holiness of the fathers, and the moral commitment of the present Jews, he also looks forward to the fullness of reconciliation when the enemies of God's people would be destroyed and rewarded for their inhumanity to humanity (*Rewards* 166-171). The final reconciliation of the people of Israel was expected to occur with the restoration of the Jews back to their land (Philo, *Rewards* 171). The same concept was put forward by the prophets from the era of Isaiah to the time of the Zechariah. The mediation of Israel's reconciliation to God was to be done solely by YHWH.

There are, however, instances in the works of both Philo and Josephus where two parties were reconciled after their estrangement in which one of the parties takes the initiative. Philo, for example, sees wrongdoing as an action that breaks a relationship and therefore requires that the offender takes the initiative in bringing about reconciliation to the offended party (Mbabazi, 2013:105-107). The notion that was applicable in this case is the Mosaic motif of *asham,* where the offender was instructed to offer a sacrifice as restitution for the sin committed.

Just as amnesty played an important role in Greco-Roman reconciliation, Philo (*Joseph* 237) states that Joseph forgave and was reconciled to his brothers through amnesty. By granting them amnesty, Joseph refused to allow the past to influence his future relationship with his brothers (Philo, *Joseph* 262-263). Joseph's granting of amnesty to his brothers delineates where forgiveness leads to reconciliation (Young, 1997:238).

Josephus's (*War* 1.498-511) description of the nature of reconciliation in Hellenistic society has initiated many debates as to the nature of the reconciliation in his works. Insights from the Greco-Roman nature of reconciliation can be taken to shed light on Josephus's text. For instance, the reconciliation that Archelaus mediated between Alexander and his father, Herod, is not without self-interest, which was an acceptable Greco-Roman motive for seeking reconciliation. Josephus (*War* 1.502-506) says that the reason why Archelaus deemed it necessary to reconcile Alexander with his father was to save his son in-law from the hand of his father. The mediation of Archelaus in this reconciliation process achieved two noble results based on Josephus' assessment: in the first place, the life of Alexander was spared by his father, thereby safeguarding the marriage of his daughter to the king's son. Secondly, his political relationship with the king's family was strengthened, which increased his political nobility (Josephus, *War* 1.511).

Josephus also sees repentance as analogous to reconciliation (Mbabazi, 2013:114), and therefore advises that repentance is necessary for reconciliation. Regarding this, Josephus (*War* 5.415-416) writes:

> However, there is a place left for your preservation, if you be willing to accept it; and God is easily reconciled to those who confess their faults, and repent of them (ἐξομολογουμένοις καὶ μετανοοῦσιν). O hard hearted wretches as you are! cast away all your arms, and take pity on your country already going to ruin; return from your wicked ways (ἐπιστράφητε), and have regard to the excellency of that city which you are going to betray, to that excellent temple with the donations of so many countries in it.

Josephus thus sees the confession (ὁμολογία) of sin, repentance (μετάνοια) and turning away from wicked ways as assured ways of receiving God's reconciliation. The view of Josephus does not differ from that of the prophets, who viewed sin as the major cause of Israel's calamity. Both the ancient Jewish prophets and the Hellenistic writers uphold the place of repentance in securing God's forgiveness and reconciliation. Reconciliation in this context implies restorative and redemptive deeds, which had been the yearning of the people since the idea arose that sin was the source of their scattering. Repentance, therefore, will bring reconciliation in the form of the re-gathering of the people. The re-gathering that the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* believes in will be made possible through the coming of the great High Priest-King (God and man), who will bring salvation and reconciliation both to Israel and the Gentiles (*T. Sim.* 7.1-2). N.T. Wright (1992:320)

summarises this by observing that "The main task of the Messiah over and over again is the liberation of Israel, and her reinstatement as the true people of the creator god."

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter examined the concept of reconciliation in the Old Testament. The profanity of the sacred called for the process of reconciliation in the Old Testament, which was carried out by the process of mediation as indicated (see section 3.2.1). It was also indicated that for the process of reconciliation to be effected, actions that were encapsulated within the ambit of sacrifice were required from humanity by God. The same notion was spread throughout the whole of the Old Testament.

The examination of the Jewish concept of reconciliation in the Hellenistic era indicated that the same nuance that was evident in the Mosaic material was evident in the period in question. The reinterpretation of the law as a means of reconciliation was evident in the writings of the Hellenistic period. The writers of this period also believed that sin against God and humanity resulted in punishment, but that repentance and the turning away from sin would always result in forgiveness and reconciliation.

Though much of the writings of this period have a Greco-Roman influence, their embedded ideology reflects its Jewish nature. For example, the idea that for reconciliation to be effected in any human community, mediation has to be carried out by a mediator whose duty was to act as a bridge between two estranged parties (Exod 24:1-2, 9-11; Num 21:7; Deut 9:10). The same notion is also evident in the works of Philo (*Rewards* 166-171) and Josephus (*War* 1.498-511). Hence the people's expectation and hope was that one day the people of Israel would be reconciled to YHWH through the act of mediation of a human figure like Moses (*T. Sim.* 7:1-2). This expectation was to find its fulfilment at the coming of the Messiah, the one who will destroy estrangement between God and humanity and bring in the era of reconciliation.

Chapter Four - The concept of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world and the Old Testament

4.1 Introduction

In chapter two the Greco-Roman concept of reconciliation was surveyed. Of the abundant extant literature of the Greco-Roman world, a selection was examined in order to see whether the concept of reconciliation was expressed as an action in these documents. A similar survey was carried out on the Old Testament in chapter three, which revealed that the concept of reconciliation was expressed through different actions which people carried out on a daily basis within the temple or a holy precinct. This chapter will compare the results of chapters two and three in order to see whether both the Greco-Roman texts surveyed and the Old Testament in their descriptions of reconciliation have anything in common. This will enable a comparison to be made with the Gospel of Luke in order to ascertain if his concept of reconciliation was similar to that found in the ancient Greco-Roman and Jewish worlds.

4.1.1 The enactment of reconciliation with God

One of the aims of this study (see section 1.5) is to understand how the process of reconciliation was enacted in antiquity. From investigations in chapter two and chapter three, it was discovered that actions played a vital role in enactment of the process of reconciliation in antiquity. Hence the purpose of this chapter is to bring together the actions that led to reconciliation in the ancient world in order to compare them. The importance of actions in reference to reconciliation prompted Fitzmyer to point out that the word "reconciliation" does not have an equivalent in the Old Testament corpus. Käsemann (1971:61) has in terms of the New Testament argued that the topic of reconciliation should embrace the biblical principles of salvation, since there is no single notion of the concept of reconciliation in the New Testament, and therefore no single word can express the idea of reconciliation therein. Thus, according to him, reconciliation should be treated as a process that is based on the history of salvation (Käsemann, 1971:61).[177] This implies that no treatment of reconciliation can be helpful without reference to the doctrine of sin and its effect in the Old Testament.

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[177] Käsemann (1971:61-65) asserts that reconciliation should not be seen as an isolated term, but must rather be viewed in light of the whole Christian salvific experience. Käsemann's problem is, however, that he denies that the pre-Passion narrative work of Jesus is an integral part of this reconciliation process. This makes it difficult for one to explain what the meaning of reconciliation actually is for Käsemann and how Christians can imitate Jesus in his practice of reconciliation.

According to Fitzmyer (1981:162), the idea of reconciliation derived from the Old Testament is rooted in an understanding of sin as the transgression of the divine laws. Furthermore, sin is understood as affecting human relationships with the divine and with one another in a given community. The Old Testament thus made provision for sin to be dealt with in a manner which strengthened the divine and human relationship within Israel's confederacy. Reconciliation was in other words understood as making peace with God and with one another. As stated by Fitzmyer (1981:164), reconciliation is "a restoring of humanity to the statue of friendship with God and fellowmen." Reconciliation with God in other words led to a change in behaviour which affected the lives of others. It changed a relationship from being hostile to a more civil one (Breytenbach, 1990:66).

In order to further grasp the meaning of the concept of reconciliation in both the Greco-Roman world and the Old Testament, it is important to understand the place of the sacred and the profane therein. It was observed that the ancient world believed that defilement[178] was one of the causes of the estrangement between humanity and God that called for a process of reconciliation (see sections 2.3.1 and 3.2). Defilement led sin to be understood as pollution in antiquity (Klawans, 2000:29-30), which had direct consequences for human relationships with God and with one another (see sections 2.3.1.1 and 3.2). Ritual defilement led to exclusion (Klawans, 2000:21-29). Defilement and pollution could also be caused by sicknesses such as leprosy (Johnston, 2004:502-503). For defilement and pollution to be dealt with, the sacrificial system was therefore inaugurated in ancient Israel (LaSor, Hubbard & Bush, 1996:96-97) in order to restore a person's relationship with God as well as with his or her community (see section 3.6). Reconciliation was therefore practised with different nuances which can only be explained based on the contexts in which such nuances occur. Placing the concept of reconciliation within the sphere of defilement and pollution, for example, enables its theological and sociological effects to become apparent.[179]

It is important for this study that reconciliation should be understood in practical terms and not only as an abstract concept. The practical manner in which reconciliation can be achieved must therefore be demonstrated as well. Using socio-historical hermeneutics, this study will

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[178] The ancient world was conscious of the presence of the sacred as a holy, while sin was seen as being profane (Durkheim, 2008:38-39).
[179] For the sociological implication of sin, see Christine Firer Hinze (2009:444).

therefore attempt to discern the basic principles which guided the process of reconciliation in antiquity, both in the Greco-Roman world and in the Old Testament.

4.2 Enactments of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world and in the Old Testament

The study of Greco-Roman and Jewish religions' treatment of forgiveness and reconciliation attempted to identify the key components that underpinned their understanding of the process of reconciliation. These were the components which by their presence in a process indicated that forgiveness and reconciliation had taken place (Mbabazi, 2013:70-71). For instance, in the Old Testament when forgiveness and reconciliation were enacted, a ritual and a sacrifice were necessary to effect the act (Leviticus 13-14).

The notion of a god offering humanity ways of carrying out forgiveness and reconciliation was common in the ancient world, as is clear in the work of Isaac K. Mbabazi (2013). Mbabazi uses several examples to support his point, one of which is the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*c*. 60-7 BCE). According to Mbabazi (2013:70-71), Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Antiquities of Rome* declares that the tension between Marcius and the people of Rome could have been brought to an end if both parties had decided to follow the customs of the gods in dealing with forgiveness and reconciliation. Dionysius (*Ant. rom*. 8.50.3-4) writes that Valeria emphatically admonished Marcius with the already-known customs of their society, believing that Marcius would listen and let go of his hostility, when she (Valeria) declared:

> For the gods themselves, who in the first place instituted and delivered to us these customs, are disposed to forgive offenses (ἁμαρτήμασι) of men and are easily reconciled (εὐδιάλλακτοι); and many have there been until now who, though greatly sinning (ἐξαμαρτόντες) against them, have appeased (ἐξιλάσαντο) their anger by prayers (εὐχαῖς) and sacrifices (θυσίαις). Unless you think it fitting, Marcius, that the anger of the gods should be mortal, but that of men immortal! You will be doing, then, what is just and becoming both to yourself and to your country if you forgive her offenses; see that she is repentant (μετανοούσῃ) and be able to be reconciled (διαλλαττομένῃ) ….

Isaac K. Mbabazi (2013:70) comments on this text that:

> … forgiving is viewed as a means of avoiding incurring the indignation of the deities, who are said to have in the first place delivered to human beings the customs that consist of

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> seeking forgiveness and reconciliation by means of prayers and sacrifices, among other things. What is relevant ... *in this text* is the imitation of deities. (italics mine)

From the perspective of the ancient Jewish religion as well as of the Greco-Roman religions, the divine has provided humanity with customs that made it possible for reconciliation to be carried out between humans and God. Chapters two and three, which focused on the Greco-Roman world and the Old Testament respectively, revealed some of the customs through which reconciliation was carried out within their contexts. Examples of these customs and actions are *prayer* and *sacrifices* (Mbabazi, 2013:70-71) and *exchange* that led to the *elimination of hostility* (Porter, 1994:13). Furthermore, both chapters revealed the following concerning the concept of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world and in the Old Testament: (1) that the concept of reconciliation in both the Greco-Roman world and the Jewish world was incorporated within ritual processes (see sections 2.6.2 and 3.3); (2) that sacrifice was one of the means through which the people appeased divine beings (sections 2.3.1 and 3.5); (3) that sometimes an *exchange* was done by the people so as to appease the anger of the offended, who could be either the gods or humans; and (4) that in order to achieve the process of reconciliation, the ancient world sometimes applied the practice of *rhetoric* (see section 2.3.3.2).

4.2.1 Rituals

In sections 2.3.1.3 and 3.3 it was acknowledged that one of the ways of reproving an offender so as to effect reconciliation in the ancient world was through the process of ritualization. In this regard, Breytenbach (2010:176) notes that "the notion of reconciliation is used to describe the actions of a deity or the relationship between gods. They are then depicted in terms of human action." These human actions towards the divine beings can be described as rituals. Rituals, therefore, play an essential role whenever reconciliation is mentioned in the religious spheres of the Greco-Roman world (see sections 2.3.1.3 and 3.3). Examples of rituals linked to reconciliation in the ancient world are the giving of a sacrifice or exchange, the sharing of a meal, prayer, and incantation (see sections 2.6.3 and 3.3). In this regard Rostad (2006:20) notes that inscriptions found in ancient Greco-Roman society speak in favour of ritual as a vehicle through which reconciliation was effected between offender and offended.[180] In ancient Jewish religion, reconciliation similarly involved different actions in

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[180] In expanding on his thesis, Rostad (2006:20-21) argues that ancient Greco-Romans describe rituals as "πιττάκιον διδόναι and its purpose is to force an offender to seek reconciliation."

the form of rituals, sacrifices, offerings and prophetic rhetoric (see section 3.7). Though reconciliation is not mentioned by name in all of these rituals, they served as means of reconciliation in order to facilitate and maintain social order within certain socio-cultural and cultic domains. While Rostad acknowledges the importance of rituals as a means of reconciliation specifically in ancient Greco-Roman society,[181] the same could be said of ancient Jewish society.

The case of lepers being forced to undergo ritual processes for cleansing, as indicated in the Priestly material (cf. Leviticus 13-14 LXX), before their "re-admission" into their community, is a typical example (see section 3.3). In other words, the cleansing ritual was done to remove the purported uncleanliness from those who suffered from such a disease so that they could be reconciled with their community. The case of Miriam, the sister of Moses, is a clear example in this regard (Num 12:14-16).

Another example of a ritual involved in reconciliation is confession. According to Rostad, confession as ritual is necessary in cementing the process of reconciliation in the sense that it provided a means through which forgiveness could be sought through repentance (Rostad, 2006:21). The same idea is found in ancient Jewish religion, where confession was important in initiating reconciliation, since the confessor was able to acknowledge his or her transgression. For instance, the confession of David to YHWH before Nathan as mediator (Psalm 51 [50 LXX]) is a clear indication of the efficacy of confession in reconciliation (see section 3.7.2). Confession as a ritual could take the form of a prayer either to a mediator or to God for the purpose of forgiving sin and reconciling the erring party through his or her repentance. Such a confession or prayer could possibly indicate that repentance has taken place and that the sin of the erring party was forgiven (see section 2.4.1).

4.2.2 Sacrifices

In the words of Royden Keith Yerkes (2010:4), sacrifice "had no secular significance whatever, but strictly described religious rites and things." He further remarks that sacrifice had the same characteristics in Jewish and Greco-Roman civilizations. It was what the worshippers offered to their gods. Its importance to religion is an indescribable aspect of

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[181] Rostad, who studied the Greco-Roman's reconciliation inscriptions, comes to the same conclusion shared by Eugene N. Lane (1978) that rituals in antiquity were a sign of divine intervention in human conflict. The rituals for reconciliation in the ancient world comprise many processes, depending on the society and place where they were to be performed. However, the key components of these rituals are sacrifice (expiatory and propitiatory), confession, offering and prayer, among others.

"human culture" (Yerkes, 2010:7). Cooke and Macy (2005:111) argue that sacrifice served as a means through which people in the ancient world were reconciled with God and with one another. While sacrifices were very important in ancient religions, not all sacrifices offered had a reconciliatory and propitiatory effect. For example, some were given as thanksgiving for bringing good fortune, a healing, or answered prayers. Other sacrifices did, however, have a role in reconciliation. The Homeric narratives, for example, contain examples where sacrifices were used as a means through which reconciliation in ancient Greece was achieved. In one of the scenes in the *Iliad*, Homer relates the story of how the Greeks invaded Troy and took as booty the daughter of the priest of Apollo, who was then taken over by Agamemnon. Her father, the priest of Apollo, appealed to the Greeks, saying that if they returned his daughter, Chryseis, he would pray to Apollo that they may have a victory against Troy; but if not, that Apollo would bring recompense upon the Greeks. As a result of the refusal of Chryses's request by Agamemnon, Chryses prayed this prayer to Apollo, according to Homer (*Il.* 1.37-42):

> Hear me, you of the silver bow, Who have under your protection Chryses and sacred Cilla,
>
> And who rule mightily over Tenedos, Sminthens,
>
> If ever I roofed over a pleasing shrine for you,
>
> Or if ever I burned to you fat thigh pieces of bulls or goats,
>
> Fulfil for me this wish: Let the Danaan pay for my tears by your arrows.

The prayer of Chryses was answered by Apollo, and a plague was sent to torment the Greek forces (Homer, *Il* 1.43-53). In contemplating the cause of their calamity, Calchas the seer was consulted, and he discovered that the plague was the work of Apollo as an answer to the supplication of the priest (Homer, *Il* 1.68-94). After a prolonged debate, Agamemnon decided to return the daughter of Chryses to her father through the emissary of the Greeks, headed by Odysseus (Yerkes, 2010:51). Immediately when the priest saw his daughter, he prayed to Apollo, and he averted the plague and offered the sacrifice to Apollo with songs and libation, and the god was pleased when he heard them from afar. In the words of Homer (*Il* 1.472-474):

> So the whole day long the son of the Achaeans sought to appease the god with song, singing beautiful paean, hymning the god who works from afar: and his heart was glad as he heard.

This is one example from the Greco-Roman world where sacrifice was used as a means of reconciliation. Homer details that it was the actions of the Greeks in the text that appeased the god, Apollo. The use of this phrase *θεὸν ἱλάκοντο* in the text is very important in

authenticating the effect of sacrifice in the process of reconciliation. The major function of sacrifice here is to remove the existing hostility, thereby restoring their relationship. Through the sacrifice, the children of Achaean became reconciled, thereby averting the impending hostility between the gods and the people.

The admonition of Valeria to Marcius concerning the customs of the gods, that the gods have given to humans sacrifice (θυσία) as means of reconciliation (Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 8.50.4), underlines the importance of sacrifices for the relationship between the sacred and the humans (Breytenbach, 2010:176). The same notion about sacrifice as a means of appeasing the anger of God is found in Genesis (8:20-22 LXX), where Noah is said to have offered a sacrifice and that the sacrifice was well pleasing to God, resulting in him averting his anger against humanity. The ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας ("pleasing aroma" [NIV]; "pleasing odour" [RSV]) of the sacrifice changed the situation. In the words of Sylvain Romerowski (2006:22), "it speaks of the wrath by which God reacts to sin and which needs to be appeased by atoning sacrifices." The phrase in the text is used to describe the power a sacrifice has to change a sinful situation to a holy one and to translate profanity to sacredness. Josephus (*Ant.* 1.99) concurs that it was the supplication of Noah which prompted God to change his mind about punishing humanity.

As mentioned above, not all sacrifices in the Old Testament functioned as means of reconciliation or to appease the anger of God. The giving of a sacrifice for sin was, however, intended to avert the anger of God against sinful humanity (Leviticus 14 LXX). Another example is the Day of Atonement, *Yom Kippur* (ἡμέρα ἐξιλασμου), which was set aside for the people of Israel to be reconciled with God and with one another once a year, as is mentioned in Leviticus 16 and 23 (LXX) (see section 3.5.5.1).[182]

The examples given above, drawn from a variety of texts from different contexts and periods, provide some evidence that sacrifices played an important role in the ancient religious domain in dealing with the issue of reconciliation between humanity and the gods. Space does not allow the extensive study of all these instances both in the Greco-Roman and the Jewish religious settings, but it is clear that giving a sacrifice was one of the major elements in the process of reconciliation in antiquity.

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[182] It was argued in section 3.5.5.1 that the ἡμέρα ἐξιλασμου was not just meant for repairing their relationships with God, but was also meant for repairing their relationships with one another. The *Yom Kippur* thus had both vertical and horizontal implications to the people of the Old Testament (Friedmann, 2012:86-110).

4.2.3 Sharing meals

It was indicated above that the sharing of meals (δεῖπνον) in the ancient world was one of the means through which unity and friendship was established. Sharing a meal had both socio-cultural and cultic importance, as Cooke and Macy (2005:111) state:

> Perhaps the most common ritual of reconciliation is the sharing of a meal. Worldwide, to eat together is a symbol of union among people; and if these people had previously been at odds and perhaps harming one another, the shared meal clearly says that they regret this and wish the alienation to cease.

The notion in the Greco-Roman world of sharing a meal with one's former enemy was analysed in section 2.6.3 as specifically signifying reconciliation. It was argued, on the basis of the writings of Plutarch (*Anthony* 32.3-5), that sharing a meal with a former enemy had the capacity to remove the estrangement and hostility towards one another by embracing peace. Meals could thus pacify anger and bring hostility to an end. In terms of the Greco-Roman world, meals were therefore symbolic acts of fellowship (Smith, 1992:653). It was also argued that the Homeric literary epic also envisaged feasting and drinking as representing a sign of reconciliation, especially in instances where a cup was offered to someone's enemy (see section 2.3). This indicated that the process of reconciliation had been initiated and the two former estranged friends had decided to be reconciled (Homer, *Il* 584-600). Rostad (2006:286) furthermore postulates that many inscriptions in the Greco-Roman world indicate that meals were shared in shrines, and therefore interprets that such inscriptions were meant to show that reconciliation had been made through atonement in a cultic context.

In the Old Testament context, Cooke and Macy (2005:111) have also identified the sharing of a meal in ancient Israel as one of the rituals that effected reconciliation in Israel. Though there is no specific text in the Old Testament that indicates that there was a convention of sharing a meal as a sign of reconciliation, it is possible to infer that people did share meals after ritual processes in Israel. Eating in the Old Testament was, after all, a means through which people were joined together, as observed by Gillian Feeley-Harnik (1981:72).

4.2.4 Exchanges

In terms of the cultic sphere, exchange and sacrifice are pairs in that one would hardly offer a sacrifice without giving something in exchange. According to the *Corpus Hellenisticum*, καταλλάσσω relates to terms such as ἱλάσκομαι, δικαιόω, ἀπολυτρόω when used in a theological sense, and to ἀλλάσσώ, διαλλάσσω, συναλλάσσω and διαλύω when used in a non-

theological sense (Porter, 1994:15).[183] Reconciliation with its cultic connotation implies the idea of exchanging something for another thing. It could mean exchanging one's life for another's. Sacrifice is thus one of the ways in which an exchange is made in the religious arena. Whenever an object is used as a means of sacrifice, it means that that object has been exchanged for the life of the one offering the sacrifice. For instance, in ancient Israel the animals that were offered on the altar were believed to take the place of the people of Israel (de Vaux, 1961:271). The punishment that was meant for the people was placed on the animal, and this made the sacrificial animal serve as an exchange for the lives of the children of Israel in the Old Testament (Eichrodt, 1961:162). These animals were blameless, yet they were sacrificed on behalf of the people or individuals (see section 3.5). In Greco-Roman society, exchange was also seen as a means of reconciliation. In section 2.3.1, it was indicated using the play *Ajax* of Sophocles that an exchange of one's life in the form of committing suicide was one the ways in which an offender appeased the anger of the gods (Sophocles, *Ajax* 850-865).[184]

Exchange was furthermore a practice that was rooted in the principle of reciprocity, as is observed by Rostad (2006:173):

> If the gods are treated in the correct manner, they will bestow benefits on their worshippers in return. If, on the other hand, the gods are treated with disrespect they will punish the transgressor. The principle is quite simple: it is a religion of giving and taking. Goods and benefits are exchanged between two parties, i.e. gods and men, with one of the parties, the gods, having higher status and more power than the other party, the men. The weaker party addresses the stronger party in order to gain certain benefits which are granted provided that the stronger party receives something in return. It is a religious system based on reciprocity, but where one party will always have the upper hand.

Furthermore, exchange as a means of effecting reconciliation in a religious setting is evident in both Greco-Roman and Old Testament texts. Exchange was rooted in an understanding of

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[183] Breytenbach (1989; 1990 & 2010) and Porter (1994 & 2006) independently agree that reconciliation is more than a singular word and is rather encapsulated by a number of ideas that convey its ideas.

[184] Ajax left the camp (Sophocles, *Ajax* 690) so as to be "reconciled himself to the gods by abstaining from anger" θεοῖσιν ὡς καταλλαχθῆ χόλου (Sophocles, *Ajax* 744; Breytenbach, 2010:176). The desire of Ajax was fulfilled when he finally committed suicide so as to purge himself of sin and be reconciled to the gods, as he says (Sophocles, *Ajax*. 850-865): "O Death, Death, come now and lay your eyes on me! And yet I will meet you also in that other world and there address you. But you, beam of the present bright day, I salute you and the Sun in his chariot for the last time and never again. O light! O sacred soil of my own Salamis, firm seat of my father's hearth! O famous Athens, and your race kindred to mine! And you, springs and rivers of this land—and you plains of Troy I salute you also—farewell, you who have nurtured me! This is the last word that Ajax speaks to you. The rest he will tell to the shades in Hades."

impurity (μίασμα). The degree of pollution determined the nature of the exchange to be provided to the god. The term μίασμα occurs seven times in the LXX (Lev 7:18; Jer 39:34; Ezek 33:31; Jdt 9:2, 4; 13:16). All these occurrences indicate pollution or defilement. It was thus possible for the Greeks and the Jews to quantify the extent of one's offence (Rostad, 2006:75-76). It was also possible to differentiate μίασμα from ἄγος, which Rostad (2006:76) sees as defilement. Ἄγος is the defiant crossing of the sacred and divine precinct by the profane, which could cause contamination and defile the presence of the divine or the sacred. In this case, the animal to be exchanged must be burnt entirely, with no part of it eaten as a meal (Rostad, 2006:77).[185] In much of the religious corpus, both in the Old Testament and the Greco-Roman writings, the animal is always an object of exchange for reconciliation.

Breytenbach (2010:172) observes that reconciliation could also mean "the exchange of goods between individuals." Even in the political domain, exchange was an action which played a crucial part in effecting reconciliation. Plutarch (*Pompey* 9.1-3) provides a succinct example of a situation in which an exchange enacted reconciliation in a political sense. The argument in this section is that the process of reconciliation was impossible to achieve without the principle of reciprocity being applied in the course of reconciliation (i.e. reconciliation is given in return for something). This is evident both in Greco-Roman and Jewish religiosity. Though the process of exchange was encapsulated in sacrifice both in the Greco-Roman world and the Old Testament, the different objects which an individual or a group of people used for their various sacrifices served as exchanges. In the Old Testament it was animals (sometimes even live animals, as in the case of the *azazel*) or wheat and maize flour; whereas in the Greco-Roman world animals, cups, and women given as brides were used as means of reconciliation. These gifts, whether offerings or sacrifices, were also used as means through which the anger of the gods was appeased. Therefore, they were all objects of exchange for the lives of those sacrificing.

4.2.5 Amnesty

In section 2.3.3.1 it was discussed that one of the ways through which ancient Greco-Romans enacted reconciliation was through the granting of amnesty (ἀμνηστία), which resulted in the

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[185] Josephus (*Ant*. 7.208, 9.226) uses the adjective of ἄγος (ἐναγη) "in agos" to define someone who was found defiled or impure. Such a person was driven out from the community (ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐναγῆ καὶ ἐπάρατον ἐξιέναι…). No exchange of any kind could suffice to bring back the person. Such was the highest order of pollution.

forgiveness and restoration of an offender. It was also observed that the Old Testament also applied the concept of amnesty in dealing with the problem of estrangement (see section 3.8.3).

4.3 Motivations for seeking reconciliation

Breytenbach (1986:1) postulates that reconciliation is a "process by which alienated people are brought together in concord." He adds that "reconciliation is associated with the liberation of man from the conflicting political and social forces that determine his life." A number of different motivations for seeking reconciliation (e.g. to make peace or to atone for sin) can be identified, according to Breytenbach (2010:12-13). It is therefore important to note some of the reasons that called for the process of reconciliation in the ancient world.

4.3.1 The elimination of hostility

According to Breytenbach (1990:65), reconciliation in the ancient world was, especially for the Greco-Romans, "making peace between enemies." It was one of the political instruments that the ancient Greco-Roman kings and people utilised in order to make peace when "individuals, kings, cities and nations waged war against another" (Breytenbach, 1990:67).

For the sake of the elimination of hostility, the superior had the mandate to impose reconciliation on an inferior. Kings, for example, had within their monarchical power the authority to impose reconciliation on their subject. Whatever tools the superior power deemed fit for reconciliation to be achieved were furthermore at their disposal, as Breytenbach (1990:67) states:

> There are various examples in the Corpus Hellenisticum where the stronger party ends the war by imposing the conditions of the peace treaty on the weaker side. Katallassō refers to the termination of the hostilities, katallagai the new peace relation between the former enemies. The relation between the parties has been changed, not the parties themselves. Usually katallagē "reconciliation" meant that the fighting parties forgive each other and that amnesty is granted.

Such imposition of reconciliation by a superior person or power is evident in the work of Dio Cassius (*c*. 155-235 CE) (*Rom. hist*. 4.17.12), who admonishes the poor to accept their mistreatment by the rich since what was good for the rich was seen as being good for all people. This is an example where a weaker person was either forced or persuaded to give up anger against his superior (Porter, 1994:52). War was another of the ways through which the

powerful in the ancient world achieved peace, thereby averting hostility within their domain. In this regard, Gerardo Zampaglione (1973:17-18) states that the attainment of peace became possible through several wars, especially the ones spearheaded by Philip 11 of Macedon and his son, Alexander the Great. This was in line with one of the beliefs of Aristotle, namely, that war could be used as a means to achieve peace. It is, however, questionable whether reconciliation can be enforced on a weaker party by a stronger one, or whether the use of force does not rather suppress the hostility between them. What would be considered to be reconciliation from the perspective of the stronger party would thus be seen in a different light by the weaker one.

In ancient Israel, peace was considered to be the outcome of the process of reconciliation through different actions which started with the inauguration of *διαθήκη* with the people of Israel. Furthermore, the total wellbeing of the people of Israel was intimately linked to their relationship with YHWH. The result was that in the ritual processes sacrifices were intended to appease the hostility that existed between YHWH and his people, thereby establishing peace with them. Several wars in which the nation of Israel was involved were intended to ensure that the people lived in peace with God and with one another.[186] This is evident in the invocation of YHWH's blessings by the high priest on the Israelites in Num 6:24-26 (LXX):

> *Εὐλογήσαι σε κύριος καὶ φυλάξαι σε ἐπιφάναι κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ ἐλεήσαι σε ἐπάραι κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ δῴη σοι εἰρήν*

> YHWH bless you and keep you. YHWH make His presence to shine upon you and have mercy on you. YHWH lift His face upon and give you peace.

This invocation is for the blessing of God which will bring about the wellbeing of the people of Israel after the sacrifice had been offered. This invocation reflects the idea of *shalom* in Israel's religion, which was understood as meaning that YHWH had removed the hostility that had existed between him and his people. It would in turn result in a similar relationship between people. The ritual actions that the people carried out in the Old Testament were thus intended to eliminate this hostility and to create a meaningful relationship between God and humans, and between humans and each other and the environment.

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[186] There are several instances in the OT where God commanded the people of Israel to fight so as to enable his anger to subside (Num 10:9; 31:1-54). YHWH is known as *κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῳ* "Yahweh is a warrior; Yahweh is his name" (Exo 15:3 NJB). War and peace were inseparable in the OT (Deut 20:1-21)

4.3.2 Seeking the common good

Seeking the common good for all the members of the *polis* was another means through which reconciliation was achieved in the Greco-Roman world. Rhetoric was used to achieve reconciliation and as a means of persuading people to strive for the common good of the *polis*. The use of rhetoric as a means of initiating reconciliation was discussed in sections 2.3.3.2 and 3.7. The Greco-Romans used rhetoric as a persuasive force for reconciliation. The idea of *τo συμφέρον* (common good) was the starting point of this persuasion. Both individuals and communities were persuaded by the rhetoricians to seek the interest of one another for the purpose of achieving the common good of all, which eventually led to their reconciliation and peaceful coexistence (Plato, *Laws* 903d; Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1.2.3, 1.3.1-3; Cicero, *Off*. 3.52). The people were also persuaded to consider the interest of the *polis* over and above their private "individual interest" (*τo ἰδιᾳ συμφέρον*). Therefore, whatever caused conflict was quelled through the use of the rhetoric of *τo συμφέρον* as against *τo ἰδιᾳ συμφέρον*. By persuading people to seek the interest of all, they were able to resolve conflict by giving up anger and embracing forgiveness and reconciliation for the common good. More specifically, forgiving others for the sake of the *polis* was emphasised by the Greco-Romans. People were advised to let go of anger for the sake of the *polis*. One such example is the amnesty granted by the Athenians to the oligarchs who had enslaved the Athenians for many years. In this case the reason for them providing amnesty was the interest of the *polis*.

In the Old Testament the use of rhetoric is evident in the preaching of the prophets. Here obedience to the law of YHWH is often emphasised by the prophets, who acted as the representatives of God within the amphictyonic confederacy of Israel (see section 3.7). The people were called by the prophets to listen to the voice of God (*φωνή κυρίου*) and repent of their sins (see section 3.7). The duty of the prophets, as mentioned by Josephus (*Ant*. 6.93), was to "beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them their sins" (*παρακαλέσειν τὸν θεὸν συγγνῶναι περὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς*), while the people responded with repentance and the confession of their sins. The prophetic pronouncement was one of the essential components of this rhetoric, since the prophet was the representative of God and their pronouncement could bring either forgiveness and reconciliation, or destruction, to the people. Through these actions the prophets were able to reconcile the people to God and to one another within their society. The people had to be righteous (*δικαίος*) and good (*ἀγαθός*) to God and to one another according to the preaching of the prophets. In the Old Testament the rhetoric of the

common good was thus linked to obeying the voice of God, as is emphasised in the introductory part of the book of Isaiah (1:19 LXX): *καὶ ἐὰν θέλητε καὶ εἰσακούσητέ μου τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε* "and if you are willing and listen to me, you will eat the good of the land".

4.3.3 Restoring honour

As was mentioned in section 2.3.2.1, the pivotal role of honour in Greco-Roman culture motivated many to use any means to maintain it. Several examples were given as to the place of honour and shame in the process of reconciliation. One of the conclusions that was drawn in this aspect was that many people who sought reconciliation did so in order to retain their honour.

In the Old Testament, the name of YHWH was more important than any other name in Israel. In order for God to retain the honour due to his name, he decided to provide a means through which humanity could honour him. It was argued that the essence of the covenant was to make sure the people of the Old Testament lived in the manner in which God wanted them to live (see section 3.5.1). Defiling the name of God was an offence punishable by death (Exod 20:7 LXX). Saul's loss of the throne, and his death, were, for example, a result of the fact that he refused to honour the name of the Lord, as was instructed in the terms of the covenant (1 Sam 15:22-23 LXX) (see section 3.7.3). Reconciling with God thus necessitated respecting the commands and rituals which characterised the covenant that God had made with Israel.

4.4 Agents of reconciliation

It has become clear in the course of this study that both God/gods and human agents were involved in the process of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman and the Jewish contexts. In both contexts the gods/God and humans often functioned as mediators who facilitated the process of reconciliation between human beings and the gods/God. The purpose of the mediator was to facilitate reconciliation between the offenders and the offended (see section 2.7 and 3.2.1). Several instances (for example as in Num 21:7; Deut 9:10; Josh 1:13; 9:24) were identified where human agents were used as mediators in the process of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world. Such agents were known as ambassadors, the Guardians of the Laws, and priests. These nomenclatures were used to explicate their role and function for a given assignment and time in the Greco-Roman world (see section 2.7.2). The gods also acted in this manner by mediating on behalf of human beings. One of the examples given is the role

played by Asclepius in bringing healing to sick people by mediating between the people and Apollo (Claudius Aelianus, *An.* 10.49). Julian in his orations also describes the function of Heracles as the divine agent to humanity. Julian (*Or.* 7.220a) says that Heracles, with the aid of Zeus and the goddess Athena, was sent to the world as the saviour of humanity.

Mediation in the Old Testament was carried out by both the prophets and the priests. They were the chosen people, who acted as the representative of God and at the same time presented the problems of humanity to God. For instance, Abraham acted as mediator to intercede on behalf of Lot when God wanted to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 18:16-33). Moses was mentioned in section 3.2.1 as one of the examples of mediators between God and his people in the Old Testament. The function of such a mediator was to intercede for the people and to act as a channel to God. Aaron and his family also performed the duty of mediation on behalf of the people of Israel. The same function was performed by Samuel and the prophets who came after him. Whatever the duty that needed to be performed in Israel, there was always a mediator who stood between the people and God so that such duty or sacrifice would be acceptable to God. Breytenbach (2010:175-176) has observed that in the writings of Josephus and Philo, it was God himself who acted as agent by reconciling himself to the household of Israel.

Mediation in Greco-Roman and Jewish religiosity thus played a similar role when it came to mediating between the sacred and the profane, holy and unholy. The conflict between the sacred and the profane necessitated the process of mediation in the religious arena so as to enact reconciliation between the sacred and those who had transgressed.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the common characteristics that were evident when reconciliation was carried out in the ancient Greco-Roman world and in the Old Testament. It was acknowledged that transgressing the domain of the sacred was a major cause of estrangement and conflicts, which called for reconciliation. It was discovered that in order to carry out the process of reconciliation specific actions needed to be undertaken. Actions were therefore crucial in effecting reconciliation in the ancient world. Rituals which included giving sacrifices, sharing meals, undertaking an exchange, and healings were vehicles that enacted the process of reconciliation. From this brief comparative analysis of reconciliation, it can be defined as a process or an action in which rituals such as sacrifices and exchanges are involved for the purpose of eliminating the hostility between people and God, and between

people. Reconciliation was a vertical and a horizontal process in the ancient world. This understanding of reconciliation will be tested in the succeeding chapter in order to see whether or not these same principles are found in Luke's Gospel. It will enable this study to draw a conclusion as to whether a similar conceptualisation of reconciliation as something that was enacted, rather than discussed, occurs in the Gospel of Luke.

Chapter Five - The concept of reconciliation in Jesus' ministry in Luke 1:1-19:27

5.1 Introduction

The study of Luke's concept of reconciliation will be divided into two chapters due to the volume of the materials to be studied. Chapter five will focus on the first three main sections of Luke: the introduction to the infancy of Jesus and his preparation for his ministry (1:1-4:13), his ministry in Galilee (4:14-9:50), and his journey to Jerusalem (9:51-19:27). Chapter six will focus on the fourth section, Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem (19:28-24:53).[187]

Chapter five will give a brief introduction to the socio-historical context of the Gospel of Luke before analysing Jesus' *missio reconciliatio* in the first three sections of the Gospel by focusing on the terms (section 5.4), teaching (section 5.5) and enactments (section 5.6) of Jesus relating to the concept of reconciliation. As noted earlier (section 1.6.1), writers such as Taylor (1941) have acknowledged that the richness of Luke with regard to reconciliation, compared to other writers of the New Testament, suggests that he might have drawn on numerous sources. Chapter five will therefore investigate the concept of reconciliation in Luke's Gospel from the socio-historical perspective of the Greco-Roman and Jewish contexts in which it originated.

5.2 The socio-historical context of the Gospel of Luke

In terms of genre, the Gospel of Luke resembles the works of ancient Greco-Roman authors such as Homer and Virgil (Powell, 2009:151). This assertion has prompted some scholars to argue that the author of the Gospel was a Gentile (Powell, 2009:151).[188] His knowledge of the Old Testament text (LXX) has, however, made other scholars question his possible Gentile provenance (Theissen, 2001:86-87). Despite there being no consensus on the ethnic identity of the author of Luke, it is clear that the Gospel is saturated with Gentile elements, such as the statement that "all flesh will see the salvation of the Lord" (3:6). In line with this, Stephen G. Wilson (1973:245-249) asserts that the function of Luke's allusion to the Old

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[187] Each of the sections is believed by Perry (1920:13) to have had a different source. According to him, the G source came from Galilee, while P (the Perean source) underlies his journey narrative with the J source coming from Jerusalem. This position has not, however, received widespread acceptance amongst New Testament scholars.

[188] The identification of the author of the book as a Gentile has been criticised in recent time by scholars such as Jervell (1972), Franklin (1975) and Parsons (2001:8), who state that its author was a Jew.

Testament (cf. Luke 4:25-27; 24:46; Acts 1:8; 2:39; 10:34; 15:14; 26:17; 28:26) was for him to "explain and justify the proclamation to the Gentiles."[189] For Luke, Jesus had come to save everyone, and Theophilus[190] was expected to be aware of this fact.

The dual Gentile-Jewish nature of Luke suggests that its author was a writer[191] (Richard, 1990; Strelan, 2008), theologian (Jervell, 1972; Morris, 1974; Fitzmyer, 1985; MacArthur, 2009), historian (Strecker, 1996:412), and socio-religious reformer (Kitchen, 2010:153) who was part of the intersectional trajectory that existed between Jewish and Greco-Roman cultures. The resultant effect of this "marriage" is what might be called *Judeo-Greco-Roman culture*. It is due to this "marriage" that the previous two chapters have investigated the concept of reconciliation in both Greco-Roman society and the Old Testament.

The investigation undertaken has revealed that the concept of reconciliation was used in both Greco-Roman and Jewish societies in ways that are conceptually similar. Both the Greco-Roman and the Old Testament concepts of reconciliation, for example, specified a place for the sacred as well as for human agents in the process of reconciliation (see section 2.7). They both also emphasised that human profanity was the way through which humanity was

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[189] D.A. Carson and Douglas Moo (2010:40) argue that the writing of the Luke's Gospel had a "wider reading public in view, primarily those with a Gentile background. Like the other gospels, Luke was not so much written to a specific location as to a specific kind of reader."

[190] The reference to Theophilus in Luke and Acts describes the recipient of the work. Recent scholarship has argued that Theophilus served as a patron who enabled Luke complete his writing. The assumption of this study is that Theophilus was a real name, and not an imaginary figure, as scholars such as Cadbury (1927:203) and Bauckham (1998:9-48) believe. Theophilus was thus the recipient of Luke's historical narrative. It is possible that, as pointed out by David Lewis Allen (2010:325-335), Luke had already written his Gospel before later adding the name of his patron to thank him for his support (Carson & Moo, 2010:40). This assertion is based on the fact that the author of Luke does not make any further reference to him in his Gospel. As D.A. Carson and Douglas Moo (2010:40) observe Theophilus was a high-ranking person who provided financial assistance to Luke to write his Gospel.

[191] While Powell (2009:150) declares that the Gospel was originally anonymous, the identity of Luke as its author was, however, undisputed among the church fathers. Evidence from the ancient church fathers indicates that Marcion accepted the Gospel of Luke as coming from the hand of Luke. Irenaeus (in Foster, 2010:275) says that Marcion accepted the Gospel of Luke and mutilated it into fragments when he (Irenaeus) says: "[Marcion] mutilates the Gospel which is according to Luke, removing all that is written respecting the generation of the Lord, and setting aside a great deal of the teaching of the Lord, in which the Lord is recorded as most dearly confessing that the Maker of this universe is His Father. He likewise persuaded his disciples that he himself was more worthy of credit than are those apostles who have handed down the Gospel to us, furnishing them not with the Gospel, but merely a fragment of it." Irenaeus in the Muratorian Canon attributes the Gospel to Luke, who was a Gentile Christian companion of Paul (Phlm 24; Col 4:11, 14; 2 Tim 4:11) (Perrin & Duling, 1992:293). Further linguistic signs in what are often referred to as the "we passages" in his second volume, the Acts of the Apostles suggest that the author of the Gospel was a companion of Paul (Acts 16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16). The only clear link that connects the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of Apostles is the prologue to the second volume (Acts 1:1), where the author writes: *Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὦ Θεόφιλε, ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν* ("In the first book, O Theophilus, I have dealt with all that Jesus began to do and teach," (RSV). The use of *πρῶτον λόγον ανδ ὦ Θεόφιλε* in Acts 1:1 can be taken as an indication that one person wrote the two volumes to Theophilus (Luke 1:4; Acts 1:1).

estranged from the divine. Both the Greco-Roman world and the Old Testament testify to various actions through which the process of reconciliation could be accomplished. For instance, in the Greco-Roman world one of the means of achieving reconciliation was based on exchange (see sections 2.6.4 and 4.2.4), whereas in the Old Testament the action rested on a sacrificial ritual that the priest performed at the tabernacle or temple. People thus used different actions in order to facilitate the process of reconciliation whenever it was required. The belief in the gods as the ones who initiated the process of reconciliation between them and individuals, and between individuals and society, was also important for the people of the Greco-Roman world, although they differed on which God/gods were involved (see section 2.7.1).

5.3 Jesus' missio reconciliatio in Luke

In section 5.2 it was argued that Luke's concept of reconciliation was influenced by both the Old Testament and the Greco-Roman concepts of reconciliation. Luke's explicit understanding of the reconciliation that occurred between God and his people is, however, that it is a process that started in the Old Testament and found its ultimate fulfilment in Jesus, God's Son.[192] The prologue to his first writing already indicates the importance of Jesus' mission being the fulfilment of the Old Testament during his time. Luke 1:1 states $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\eta\rho\circ\phi\circ\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\eta}\mu\hat{\iota}\nu$ $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$, which William Kurz (1999:148) renders as "events that have been fulfilled among us" as an indication of the eschatological manifestation of the Son of Man. The Lukan Jesus is thus presented as the fulfilment of the expected One of YHWH, known from the prophets (Gray, 1998:20-25).

The announcement by John the Baptist in Luke 3:4-6 further captures the essence and the place of Jesus in Luke's Gospel:

> As it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\circ\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\grave{\eta}\nu$ $\acute{\circ}\delta\grave{\circ}\nu$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\circ\upsilon$), make his paths straight. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and

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[192] The Greco-Roman concept of reconciliation was at times also manifested in enactments of which the gods were seen to be the arbiters. The gods arbitrated whenever there was an estrangement in the relationship between humanity and their god, as well as amongst humans. There were also occasions where human agents could act on behalf of the gods during the process of reconciliation (see section 2.7.2). The Greco-Roman understanding of reconciliation, without being necessarily the source of Luke's theology thereof, thus also had a place for gods as mediators.

the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth; and all flesh ($\pi\hat{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\ \sigma\grave{\alpha}\rho\xi$) shall see the salvation of God ($\tau\grave{o}\ \sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\nu\ \tau\hat{o}\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$)."[193]

Through John's declaration, Luke indicates that the emphasis in his Gospel is on repentance and the forgiveness of sin, which was seen by the Old Testament prophets as the means through which Israel would be reconciled to God. The reiteration of the Old Testament prophetic rhetoric of repentance as a means of forgiveness of sin in Luke is also evident in John's preaching in Luke 3:4. Based on Luke's explanation, John's citation from the Book of Consolation (Isaiah 40-66) pointed to Jesus being the expected Messiah. The reply that the Lukan Jesus (7:22)[194] gave to the question asked of him by the Baptist through his disciples also implicitly states that he is the fulfilment of Old Testament, since some of the signs of the coming Messiah were that the leprous, the blind and the lame would be removed by him from the streets of Israel. Martin Dibelius (1963:71) describes this part of the Gospel text as a messianic hymn.

According to Luke, Jesus thus fulfils the role of a mediator, which in the Old Testament was done by prophets and priests. The position assigned by Luke to Jesus is, however, more than that of an Old Testament prophet, as the Lukan Jesus claims $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\sigma\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\nu\ \pi\rho\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\upsilon$ "even more than a prophet" (7:26). For Luke, Jesus was not only a prophet but the actual presence of God among his people, as they acknowledged in 7:16 ($\pi\rho\phi\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma\ \mathring{\eta}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\theta\eta\ \mathring{\epsilon}\nu\ \mathring{\eta}\mu\hat{\iota}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \mathring{o}\tau\iota\ \mathring{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\psi\alpha\tau\ \mathring{o}\ \theta\epsilon\grave{o}\varsigma\ \tau\grave{o}\nu\ \lambda\alpha\grave{o}\nu\ \alpha\mathring{\upsilon}\tau\upsilon$ "a great prophet has arisen in our midst and because God has visited his people"). This hymn of the people is in agreement with the one uttered by Mary in the so-called Magnificat ("for God has visited his people and ransomed them").[195] It is interesting to note that the term $\mathring{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\psi\alpha\tau$ is used by Luke in the New Testament only with special reference to how the Lukan Jesus was perceived and received by

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[193] Among all the evangelists, only Luke cites verbatim from the LXX version of Isaiah 40:3-5 with the omission of the phrase: "And the glory of the Lord shall appear." The MT version of Isaiah lacks the term "the salvation" ($\tau\grave{o}\ \sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\nu$), which could point to the fact that the Jews at the time of writing did not believe in the salvation of all of humanity. Luke's use of LXX in this context depicts John as speaking to people who were already filled with messianic expectations of the coming of the One who would take away iniquity ($\mathring{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$) from Jacob and reconcile the people back to God (Isaiah 59:20-21). The Messiah was expected to perform a dual function, that of God and that of a human, according to the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, who believed that the coming Messiah would inaugurate the age of reconciliation and salvation between the Jews and Gentiles (*T. Sim.* 7:1-2).

[194] Luke 7:22: $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \mathring{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \mathring{I}\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\eta\ \mathring{\alpha}\ \epsilon\mathring{\iota}\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \mathring{\eta}\kappa\upsilon\acute{\sigma}\alpha\tau\epsilon\cdot\ \tau\upsilon\phi\lambda\upsilon\grave{\iota}\ \mathring{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu,\ \chi\omega\lambda\upsilon\grave{\iota}\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\alpha\tau\upsilon\hat{\sigma}\iota\nu,\ \lambda\epsilon\pi\rho\upsilon\grave{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \kappa\omega\phi\upsilon\grave{\iota}\ \mathring{\alpha}\kappa\upsilon\acute{\sigma}\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu,\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\upsilon\grave{\iota}\ \mathring{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\nu\tau\alpha\iota,\ \pi\tau\omega\chi\upsilon\grave{\iota}\ \epsilon\mathring{\upsilon}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ "Proceed or go and announce to John what you have seen and heard: blinds receive their sights, lames walk, lepers are cleansed, dumbs hear, dead are raised up and the poor hear the good news being preached to them."

[195] RSV translation of the Magnificat "for he (God) has visited and redeemed his people."

the people. The word is found four times in all of the Lukan material (Luke 1:68, 78; 7:16 and Acts 15:14). Its usage conveys the idea of a special visitation by God for the purpose of ransoming his people from their estrangement due to their sin and impurity. This visitation of God in Jesus is an event that is accentuated by Luke with different metaphors and nuances. The Lukan Jesus is portrayed as the only one who could fulfil the Old Testament prophecies, having the ability to reconcile estranged humanity with God.[196] In Luke, Jesus' reconciliatory deeds are encapsulated in his mission, actions and teachings, rather than in his explicit teaching on reconciliation. This is in line with how the concept of reconciliation is treated in the Old Testament. In chapter three, in which the concept of reconciliation in the Old Testament was investigated, it was, for example, found that the term $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ occurs only in the so called "apocryphal" books of the LXX (Porter, 1994:60-61) (see section 3.8.2). In the Pentateuch, the Prophetic Books and the Psalms, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ is not used at all. This led to the observation that actions (mainly ritual acts) were the way through which the Old Testament expressed reconciliation with YHWH and with one another, since the concept itself was not specifically discussed therein. These actions were eventually challenged by the rhetoric used by the prophets (see section 3.7). It was also observed that during the exile and thereafter the expectations and the language of the people changed further. They began to look into the meaning of reconciliation as an event that would be possible at the coming of the *Goel* (see section 3.7.3). This expectation is highlighted in the writings of the period, such as the author of Maccabees and other apocalyptic writers, as well as Philo and Josephus.

In the following sections attention will be paid to terms in Luke which might refer to reconciliation (section 5.4) as well as to Jesus' teaching on reconciliation in a metaphoric manner in the parables (section 5.5). Thereafter enactments of reconciliation – especially the healing of lepers – will be investigated (section 5.6).

5.4 Terms for reconciliation in Luke

Luke uses many terms, some of which are hapax legomena, for reconciliation in his writings. The usage of these words can help us to understand Luke's concept of reconciliation. Luke is also rich in metaphors and words that have a direct bearing on the concept of reconciliation. For instance, Luke in his description of the mission of John the Baptist as being

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[196] The same can be said of Luke's second volume, the book of Acts, in which there is no salvation except in the name of Jesus (Acts 4:12) (Steyn, 2005:67).

ambassadorial[197] confesses in 1:16: "And he will turn many of the sons of Israel to the Lord their God" (καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιστρέψει ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν. Using the phrase υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιστρέψει in his writing, Luke refers to Israel's expectation of the Messiah promised by the prophets (see Mal 3:1-4). In the so-called Benedictus of Zachariah (Thyen, 1971:154),[198] the function of John as the messenger of YHWH is prophesied by Zachariah at the baptism of the infant John with the same phrase ("go before" προπορεύσῃ) used in Luke 1:76, where the father of John the Baptist declares that John will go before (προπορεύσῃ) the Messiah in order to prepare his way (MacArthur, 2009:39-40). This by implication designates the office and duty of John as being ambassadorial in nature. In antiquity, especially in the Greco-Roman world, such an emissary often carried a message of peace and reconciliation (see Dionysius, *Ant. rom.* 5.3.1). Their role was that of an envoy, whose paramount duty it was to speak on behalf of those who sent him (Wright, 2006:7-8).

Hartwig Thyen (1971:155-156) sees the song in Luke 1:76-79 in the Benedictus as a reinterpretation of an "older Jewish Psalm… by the identification of the Baptist with the eschatological bringing of salvation…" In Luke's Gospel, Zachariah the priest thus believed that the birth of the Baptist would inevitably inaugurate a new phase in human history in which the knowledge of salvation (γνῶσιν σωτηρίας) would be given to YHWH's people (Thyen, 1971:156). This would eventually invoke the tender mercies of God (σπλάγχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ) upon his people. The term σπλάγχνον, according to Thyen, is used differently by Luke than the way it is used in the LXX, but in accordance with its usage in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. According to Thyen, the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in *T. Zeb.* 8.2 attests that God will send τὰ σπλάγχνα[199] αὐτον upon the earth. On the basis of this, Thyen (1971:156) claims that the Messiah himself can be called σπλάγχνον κυρίος. According to Luke, the coming of John is thus the beginning of the fulfilment of the people of God's final reconciliation to YHWH.

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[197] Craig A. Evans (2011) has shown that the language of Luke is congruent with the ambassadorial language of the Greco-Roman Empire. This is important, since ambassadors played a key role in effecting reconciliation in it.

[198] The preaching of John the Baptist, according to the so-called Benedictus of Zachariah, intends to inaugurate a new age of repentance of sin and forgiveness.

[199] The term σπλάγχνα has its highest frequency in Paul in the New Testament, especially in contexts which involves reconciliation. In Philemon alone, the word occurs three times (Phlm. 7, 12 and 20). This letter of Paul has earlier been acknowledged in this study as being a letter of reconciliation, and therefore the use of σπλάγχνα therein is not a surprise.

5.4.1 ἀπαλλάσσω

The use of ἀπηλλάχθαι in Luke 12:58 is the only instance in Luke's Gospel in which he uses a word that in common use had the meaning of reconciliation. Porter (1994:123) alleges that the non-theological usage of ἀπηλλάχθαι in Luke's Gospel implies the need for reconciliation. If this is correct it means that one is able to settle a dispute with one's enemy, since whenever the word is used in a passive sense it implies that one had been reconciled with one's enemy (Stein, 1992:367; Porter, 1994:123). It thus portrays the idea that one who offended another person has to seek reconciliation so as to stop the estrangement between them. The problem is, however, that its use in Luke 12:58 does not make it clear that Luke actually had the aforementioned idea of reconciliation in mind. It instead appears that he has in mind the settling of a conflict about a debt, without this necessarily also resulting in the debtor and the creditor being reconciled with each other (cf. Luke 12:58-59).

5.4.2 ἡγεμονεύω ανδ πρεσβεία

The political context Luke describes in the opening two chapters of his Gospel conveys the idea of a political appointee occupying a designated position in a given political scene. He uses the words ἡγεμονεύοντος Κυρηνίου in Luke 2:2, which F. Godet (2004:125-126) describes as a "genitive absolute" that essentially implies the "character of an imperial commissioner." Ched Myers and Elaine Enns (2009:126) confirm that the word ἡγεμονεύω "governor", as used by Luke 2:2 in reference to Quirinius, connotes its Latin meaning of *legatus*. It is believed by Myers and Enns to have been used synonymously with πρεσβεία, which Luke uses in 14:32 and 19:14. The usage of *ambassador(s)* or *delegation* might be clearer here, given the sense in the passages cited. *Embassy* is used only in historical texts to refer to such a delegation; in modern usage it refers exclusively to the residence/office of an ambassador. It was expected that the πρεσβεία would exercise his power within his legation or embassy. In the context of the socio-historical world of Luke, ambassadors were sent out as agents of peace and reconciliation. They were also invested with authority to exercise and maintain the rule of law on behalf of the emperor and Empire.

It is worth mentioning that πρεσβεία, both in its verbal and noun forms, occurs five times in the New Testament in Luke (14:32; 19:14) and Paul (2 Cor 5:20; Eph 6:20; Phlm 9). All these occurrences delineate the ambassador as an agent of reconciliation (Rohde, *EDNT* 111:147-148). The word πρεσβεία means an "embassy", which, according to Anthony Bash (1997:3), designates the dwelling place and the message of an ambassador. He further

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explains that the word functions as an abstract noun that specifies the task of those people that occupy ambassadorial positions (Bash, 1997:4).[200] In this regard Günther Bornkamm (1968:6:681) alleges that "The ambassador legally represents the political authority which sends him; his competence is according to its constitution. In the Roman period $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ is a Greek equivalent of *legatus*… commonly used for the imperial legates."

An embassy was a place for negotiation after the cessation of war and hostilities in the ancient world, and it was a duty of an ambassador to negotiate for peace and reconciliation (Bash, 1997:30). Bash's argument is against that of Breytenbach, who suggests that the purpose of the embassy and the ambassador in the ancient world was to bring about a truce (rather than reconciliation) in a time of war. Whatever may likely be the role of an embassy and an ambassador in the ancient world, it is clear in Luke that the $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ acts as a messenger with a message of peace and reconciliation (14:32). In Luke's Gospel, its usage bears a resemblance to an ordinary messenger, as is stated by Bash (1997:164): "In Luke-Acts ambassadorial language is not used theologically at all. Instead it was used literally and referred explicitly and implicitly to a typical process of communication in the Greco-Roman world." Bash further acknowledges that "The process continued in the early patristic period."

Luke's knowledge of the language and culture of Greco-Roman society is indicated by his use of language that was initially understood by his contemporaries as having a connection to the process of reconciliation. According to Bash, it is thus possible to see a connection between Luke's language and similar language in the Greco-Roman world. One such instance is alluded to by the author of Second Maccabees, who believes that Jason's reconciliation and reform was in contrast to the tradition and the beliefs of the Jewish people. The author in 2 Macc 4:11 expresses Jason's attitude thus:

> He set aside the existing royal concessions to the Jews, secured through John the father of Eupolemus, who went on the mission ($\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$) to establish friendship and alliance ($\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\chi\iota\alpha\varsigma$) with the Romans; and he destroyed ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon\omega\nu$) the lawful ways of living and introduced new customs contrary to the law.

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[200] Bash (1997:156) asserts that Luke 14:32 and 19:14 are two places where ambassadorial language is used in Luke's Gospel. According to him, Luke 14:32 refers to a king who sent a delegation asking for peace and 19:14 "probably alludes to the Jewish embassy to Rome in 4 BC during the reign of Archelaus." Bash further states that the ambassadorial language is prevalent in Luke and suggests that Luke 7:2-10 contains the idea of two embassies: the first one is the embassy of the Jewish people to Jesus (the elders), and the second the embassy of the friends of the centurion to Jesus. Bash thus illustrate that Luke knew the language of reconciliation of his time.

Craig Evans (2011:130-132) believes that only Luke and Paul use similar language in the whole of the New Testament and that Luke's portrait of Jesus as a king is connected with his benefaction to the people whom he encountered during his ministry on earth. Therefore, the duty of the disciples was to represent Jesus in the world, as pointed out by Evans (2011:137) when he concludes that:

> The proclamation of Jesus as king, who has sent his apostles and ambassadors, to proclaim "good news" (εὐαγγελίον) and to reconcile an estranged world to the one and true God, does indeed envision the mission of the ambassador, who goes forth, bearing the message, will, and letter of his sovereign. The Lukan Evangelist appears to have developed this theme, perhaps more than other Evangelists.

5.4.3 ἔχθρά φίλος ανδ φιλία

Another group of words (ἔχθρα, φίλος and φίλοι) relating to friendship and enmity occurs in Luke 23:12 and also has a link with the concept of reconciliation. In antiquity it was very important to use words such as "friends" (φίλοι) or "friendship" (φιλία) in order to define the nature of a relationship (see section 2.3.2.2).[201] From the Lukan perspective, the practice in the ancient world of reconciling with one's estranged enemies by befriending them (Plato, *Menex*. 243e) was one way of averting their hostility (ἔχθρα). Such friendship was seen as being embraced by the divine (Berchman, 2008:52). Similarly, Luke's argument is that both Herod and Pilate were ἐν ἔχθρᾳ before the trial of Jesus took place (Luke 23:12), but that Pilate believed that he could use Jesus' trial to accomplish their reconciliation. He therefore decided to send Jesus to Herod. Luke adduces that this ended the hostility between the two leaders and that a new relationship was established between them. The same notion occurs in the work of Homer and Plato, who believed that friendship breaks enmity and leads to reconciliation.

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[201] David Konstan (1996) has looked extensively at the differences that existed between the two nouns in the classical Greek. For more elaboration on this see Konstan (1996:71-94). Konstan's analysis of the nouns φίλοι and φιλία, and how they differ from each other, is insightful. According to Konstan, φίλοι involves love of parents and family, who as such can be called *friends*, whereas φιλία involves people who are not related by blood but are in *friendship* (Konstan, 1996:71).

5.4.4 ἀλλήλων

The pronoun ἀλλήλων may be translated as "of each other" or "of one another." It conveys the idea of interdependency and exchange.[202] Porter (1994:15) sees exchange as an effective tool that enabled the achievement of reconciliation in antiquity. Luke identifies an occurrence of reconciliation through exchange, which was common in Greco-Roman society, between Herod and Pilate, as explained in section 6.5. The person of Jesus in the socio-historical context of Luke's narrative in 23:6-12 serves as the physical means of the exchange, which Luke believes restored the relationship between the two political figures in the text. As Parsons (2008:368) states, "the exchange of goods and services that characterized Greco-Roman relationships made friendship a vital strand in the fabric of Greco-Roman society." Exchange can also be seen as the foundation for the renewal of friendship (Garnsey & Saller 1987:154), since the exchange of goods and services was the means through which the ancient Greco-Roman world effected the process of reconciliation (Homer, *Il*. 9.121-156; Plutarch, *Pompey* 9.1-3) (for more detail on this in Greco-Roman society see section 2.6.4).

The reconciliation of Herod and Pilate is evident in Luke's use of ἀλλήλων in the text to delineate how reciprocal their relationship had become after their exchange of Jesus. The action of Pilate enabled Herod to reconcile with Pilate, thereby renewing their estranged relationship. The use of προϋπῆρχον (is inflected 3rd person active indicative of προϋπάρχω) by Luke defines the reason for Pilate's action. It implies that their pre-existing relationship was characterised by enmity. The reason that brought about the enmity in their relationship is not indicated in the text by Luke.[203]

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[202] An important aspect of Luke's ethics is that the horizontal reciprocal relationship between social equals, which underpinned social relationships in the Hellenistic world, is negated. For the Lukan Jesus reciprocal relationships (the one another refered to) amongst his followers is to transcend all social barriers. The rich are, for example, not only to invite those who can respond appropriately to their hospitality for meals, but also the poor (Capper, 1998:499-518). The emphasis on caring for one another is thus not an exclusive concept, but rather an inclusive one.

[203] Jerome H. Neyrey (2005:467) highlights that the system of reciprocity was common within patron-client relationships in antiquity, which stimulated different kinds of relationships, depending on the parties involved. This assumption helps Neyrey (2005:468) to define reciprocity as "basic goods and services are exchanged; clear notions of reciprocity arise; the client who incurs a debt has obligations to the patron." But in the context of the Passion of Jesus' story, there is no identification of a patron-client relationship in the text of Luke 23:12, since both Herod and Pilate were of equal status. However, the identification and categorisation by Neyrey of different kinds of reciprocity that existed in the ancient world can solve the problem that is posed by the text as to the nature of the relationship that existed between Pilate and Herod. The type of relationship that was established between Pilate and Herod can be regarded as "balanced reciprocity" which aims at furthering their mutual interest (Neyrey, 2005:469).

5.5 Teaching on reconciliation in Luke

In this section the analysis of Jesus' teaching on reconciliation in Luke will focus on Luke 15:11-32 (the parable of the Prodigal Son). The reason for this focus is that instead of using words for reconciliation Luke uses actions to describe it. In other words, he does not tell us about reconciliation so much as he shows us what it looks like. The parable of the Prodigal Son is a good example of this way of teaching about the nature for reconciliation, since, although the parable is clearly about reconciliation, the word itself does not occur in it.

This teaching of the Lukan Jesus is embedded within a section which is unique to Luke, which suggests that the words of the text could be Luke's own creation; or it could, as Arland J. Hultgren (2002:72) believes, stem from a Lukan special source (L). In this section, priority will be given to the socio-historical function of the story in Luke 15:11-32 and its relevance for understanding Lukan reconciliation.

5.5.1 Luke 15:11-32 - Text and translation[204]

Εἶπεν δέ· ἄνθρωπός τις εἶχεν δύο υἱούς. 12 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῶν τῷ πατρί· πάτερ, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας. ὁ δὲ διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βίον. 13 καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συναγαγὼν πάντα ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακρὰν καὶ ἐκεῖ διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν ἀσώτως. 14 δαπανήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο λιμὸς ἰσχυρὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξατο ὑστερεῖσθαι. 15 καὶ πορευθεὶς ἐκολλήθη ἑνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης, καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ βόσκειν χοίρους, 16 καὶ ἐπεθύμει χορτασθῆναι ἐκ τῶν κερατίων ὧν ἤσθιον οἱ χοῖροι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ. 17 εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐλθὼν ἔφη· πόσοι μίσθιοι τοῦ πατρός μου περισσεύονται ἄρτων, ἐγὼ δὲ λιμῷ ὧδε ἀπόλλυμαι. 18 ἀναστὰς πορεύσομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτῷ· πάτερ, ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου, 19 οὐκέτι εἰμὶ ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱός σου· ποίησόν με ὡς ἕνα τῶν μισθίων σου. 20 καὶ ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ. Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη καὶ δραμὼν ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν. 21 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῷ· πάτερ, ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου, οὐκέτι εἰμὶ ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱός σου. 22 εἶπεν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ· ταχὺ ἐξενέγκατε στολὴν τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐνδύσατε αὐτόν, καὶ δότε δακτύλιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποδήματα εἰς τοὺς πόδας, 23 καὶ φέρετε τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν, θύσατε, καὶ φαγόντες εὐφρανθῶμεν, 24 ὅτι οὗτος ὁ υἱός μου

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[204] Unless otherwise stated all the translations are author's translations.

νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν, ἦν ἀπολωλὼς καὶ εὑρέθη. καὶ ἤρξαντο εὐφραίνεσθαι. 25 Ἦν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἀγρῷ· καὶ ὡς ἐρχόμενος ἤγγισεν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἤκουσεν συμφωνίας καὶ χορῶν, 26 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ἕνα τῶν παίδων ἐπυνθάνετο τί ἂν εἴη ταῦτα. 27 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἥκει, καὶ ἔθυσεν ὁ πατήρ σου τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν, ὅτι ὑγιαίνοντα αὐτὸν ἀπέλαβεν. 28 ὠργίσθη δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν εἰσελθεῖν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐξελθὼν παρεκάλει αὐτόν. 29 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἰδοὺ τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐντολήν σου παρῆλθον, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐδέποτε ἔδωκας ἔριφον ἵνα μετὰ τῶν φίλων μου εὐφρανθῶ· 30 ὅτε δὲ ὁ υἱός σου οὗτος ὁ καταφαγών σου τὸν βίον μετὰ πορνῶν ἦλθεν, ἔθυσας αὐτῷ τὸν σιτευτὸν μόσχον. 31 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· τέκνον, σὺ πάντοτε μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σά ἐστιν· 32 εὐφρανθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαρῆναι ἔδει, ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σου οὗτος νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἔζησεν, καὶ ἀπολωλὼς καὶ εὑρέθη.

11 And he said, "A man had two sons, **12** and the younger of them said to his father, 'Father, give me the share of the property that belongs to me.' He divided the property to them.**13** And a few days after, the younger son gathered his property and travelled to a far country, and there he wasted his property on reckless living. **14** But after he spent everything, there was a great famine throughout in that country, and he began to live in want. **15** And preceded to attach himself to one of the citizens of that country, and he sent him into a field to feed pigs. **16** And he desires to eat the carob pods which the pigs were feeding on, but no one was giving it to him. **17** And when he came to himself, he said, 'How many of my father's slaves have bread, but I am here destroyed by hunger? **18** I will rise and go to my father and say, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and in your presence. **19** I am no longer worthy to be called your son." ' **20** But when he was still afar off, the father saw him and had compassion on him and ran and fell upon his neck and kissed him profusely. **21** The son said to him. 'Father, I have sinned against heaven and you. I am no longer worthy to be called your son.' **22** But the father said to the slaves 'First bring quickly the best cloth and put it on him, and a ring and put it on his finger and sandals on his feet. **23** Bring the fattened cow and sacrifice and let us eat, **24** for this my son was dead and now is alive; he was lost and was found.' They began to celebrate. **25** But when the elder son, who was in a field, came back and approached the house, he heard music and dancing. **26** And he had called for one of the servants, inquiring what was happening. **27** And he said to him, 'Your brother is back and your father sacrificed the fattened cow because he has received him in good health.' **28**. As a result, the first son got angry and refused to go in, but the father came out and urged him. **29** But he answered and said to the father, 'See, all these years I serve you greatly and never bypassed your commandments, and you have never given me a goat so that I could celebrate with my friends. **30** But when this your son, who had wasted his life with prostitutes, came back, you

sacrificed for him the fattened calf.' **31** But the father said to him, 'Son, you are always with me, and everything that is mine is yours also. **32** It is better to rejoice and be merry, for this brother of yours was dead and he has been made alive; he was lost and has been found.'

5.5.2 An overview of the interpretation of Luke 15:11-32

The biblical text has many categories of meaning. These meanings could be either literal or non-literal. The latter is often explained as having "spiritual", "mystifying" or "allegorical" meaning (Hornik & Parsons, 2005:139). As a result, *allegorical* interpretation became a powerful interpretative schema through which the ancient church fathers viewed the content of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and all other parables (Jeremias, 1954:67-89). It was also the favoured method for performing the exegesis of the biblical parables until the era of Jülicher (see below).

Allegorical interpretations are named after the Greek word ἀλληγορία, which refers to something other than what one seems to say (Alles, 2008:2). Every word was believed to have a hidden meaning when it was viewed through the lens of allegorical exegesis. Allegory was first employed by the biblical prophets of the Old Testament[205] and later popularised by the early church, and especially by the Alexandrian school of theology, as an interpretative method (Grant, 1984:52-62).[206]

Tertullian's (*c.* 160-220) work is believed to be the first preserved allegorical interpretation of the parable of the Prodigal Son. He is also regarded as the first church father to have preached allegorically on the parable of the Prodigal Son (Alles, 2008:4). Tertullian (*Pud.* 8.1) in his interpretation of the parable accuses his unnamed predecessors of allegorising the text. Tertullian himself, however, also fell into the same trap of allegorisation. Considering this parable alongside other parables in chapter 15, Tertullian believes that the prodigal son

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[205] An example of the Old Testament allegory is found in the prophet Nathan's story of the little ewe (2 Sam 12:1-4). The little ewe in the story is Bathsheba, the poor man is Uriah, and the rich man is David. A similar allegorical rhetoric is witnessed in the parable of vineyard (Isa 5:1-7), and the parable of the two eagles (Ezek 17:1-10).

[206] Robert M. Grant has written extensively on the origin and the use of the allegorical method as a means of biblical exegesis in early Christianity. According to him, the Alexandrian school of theology, popularised by the influence of Origen, used allegory as a means through which the content of the bible had to be interpreted. The School of Antioch, conversely, did not uphold the use of allegory as the basis for biblical exegesis; rather, it followed the Jewish influence on biblical interpretation. One such father of the school of Antioch was Theodore of Mopsuestia, who insisted that the biblical content had to be interpreted using literal apparatus (Grant, 1984:63-72). The majority of the early church fathers that used allegory as a tool for biblical exegesis came from Africa; possibly as a result of the already established influence of Platonic philosophical school in Alexandria.

represents a sinner who had wandered away from God and served the prince of this world, the devil. But after he came to his senses he decided to go to his father (God). As a result of his return, the father gave him the garment that Adam had lost in the garden. The ring he received was a symbol of baptism, while the fattened calf signified receiving the Lord's body, the Eucharist "*Opimitate dominici corporis vescitur, eucharistia scilicet*" (Tertullian, *Pud.* 8-9).

The same approach to the parable is found in the works of Jerome (*c.* 383), Ambrose (*c.* 388) and Augustine (*c.* 399-400), who all preferred using allegory as a means of interpretation of this parable (Hornik & Parsons, 2005:139). Jerome's exegesis came as an answer to Pope Damasus' question as to the various meanings attached to the parable of the Prodigal Son (Jerome, *Epist.* 21.1-2). From the perspective of Damasus' questions, he regards the contents of the parable as having a symbolic meaning, and he therefore wanted to know the significance of each of the symbols in the parable. In order to determine this, Jerome decided to examine the text verse by verse. This is one of the first contextual interpretations of the parable in the history of the church. Jerome opines that the elder brother represents unrepentant Israel and the prodigal son the Gentiles who willingly received the gospel. Jerome therefore draws the conclusion that the angry elder brother, who ardently refuses to join in the ceremony, is "Israel and stands outside." By implication, Jerome does not deviate from the exegetical trend of his predecessors. He still believes that there is a dichotomy between the Jews and the Gentiles (*Epist*. 21.39.1). Ambrose, however, in his allegorical interpretation sees the elder brother as a Christian who is envious of the reconciliation of the sinner (Hornik & Parsons, 2005:140). The name "elder brother" is not a designation of his wisdom but of his vice. Ambrose further explicates that he is called the elder brother because an envious person ages quickly. The robe "is the marriage garment, which if anyone have not, he is shut out from the marriage feast" (Ambrose, *On Rep*. 3.18). In trying to symbolise the meaning of the fattened calf in the parable, Ambrose believes that the slain animal represents the blood of Christ shed for sinners. The same allusion is made by Augustine in his interpretation of the parable (Geréby, 2004:356).

Cyril of Alexander (*c.* 376-444), in his expository commentary on Luke's Gospel, attempts to give a moral interpretation of the parable. Cyril rejects an interpretation that the elder brother represents the angels and questions whether such an interpretation is consonant with 15:10. Cyril believes that the father in the parable represents God, who is the creator of heaven and earth. The younger son is the type of Christian who came lately to the knowledge of God,

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Whereas the elder son represents the faithful Christians who devote their time day and night in serving the Lord. The slain calf represents the body of Jesus that was sacrificed for the salvation of the profligate children (Cyril, *Luke* 2.107).

As can be seen from the discussion above, the criticism on the rightful meaning of the parable started with the first extant commentary on the parable, which was written by Tertullian.[207] This dissension regarding the interpretation of the parable of the Prodigal Son in early Christianity continued unabated along two divergent lines, Eastern theologians and Western theologians. However, both schools agreed that reconciliation was central in the parable (Aquinas, *Cat* 3.529-530).

Later on, with the Reformation, the manner in which the parable was interpreted changes. While Martin Luther does not make any comment on the content of the parable, John Calvin alleges that the elder brother symbolises the Jewish Pharisees of Jesus' time, those who refused the idea of pagans sharing their privilege in the economy of God (Geréby, 2004:352). Soon after the Reformation, the Tübingen school understood the parable as mirroring the class struggles between the Jews and the Gentiles. For its proponent F. Baur, the parable shows that "the difference between the attitudes of the brothers remains inexplicable, and any special feast celebrating the return of the gentile brother remains a gratuitous event" (Geréby, 2004:354).

With the modern interpretative schema provided by Jülicher, the debate as to the symbolic representation of the characters in the parable appears to be unimportant, and instead the meaning of the whole parable becomes the hallmark for understanding the parable. Jülicher sees the allegorisation of the parable as a means of ignoring the true message of Jesus (Alles, 2008:10) and that the interpretation of the "fattest calf" as a representation of the blood of Jesus amount to hermeneutical profanity (Geréby, 2004:356). Jülicher's parabolic interpretation is, however, also not without challenge from other scholars. Its major challenge came from the works of C.H. Dodd and J. Jeremias, who rejected Jülicher's method in favour of situating the parable within the ambit of the ministry of Jesus; their method thus pays more attention to the interpretation of the literal and the social context of the parables of Jesus, which in turn demanded a response from the audience (Warren, 1997:42).

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[207] The opening statement of Tertullian in his interpretation of the parable begins with a criticism of early works done on the parable that are not extant today. Tertullian says that the earlier interpretation of the parable did not suit the symbolism of the parable and its representation.

5.5.3 Modern interpretation of Luke 15:11-32

The parable has been described by modern scholars as one of the most popular parables and an abridged version of the Gospel (Wierzbicka, 2001:301).[208] Norval Geldenhuys (1979:406) describes it as a "Gospel within the Gospel", since it contains the summary of many gospel truths. The story in Luke 15:11-32 has been given different titles, reflecting the understanding of the interpreters and the lens through which they view the text. "The Prodigal Son," or as rendered in the Latin Vulgate, "*De filio prodigo*," seems to be the oldest title given to the text, and it is well attested by many scholars of the Bible (Fitzmyer, 1985:1083). In German it is known as *Der verlorene Sohn*, while in the French tradition it is known as *Le fils prodigue.* Both the German and the French meanings portray the generally accepted title of the parable as the parable of *the prodigal son* (Hultgren, 2002:72). Some of the other titles given to the parable are "The parable of the Father's Love" (Jeremias, 1954:128; Bultmann, 1963:196), "The parable of the Lost Son" (Schottroff, 2006:138-151) and "The parable of the two lost sons" (Brailey, 2003:95-118). Recently Trevor J. Burke (2013:217-238) has provided a reversed title to the parable, "The parable of the Prodigal Father" instead of the prodigal son. His Holiness Pope John Paul II, in his popular sermon in 1984 (*Reconciliatio et Paenitentia*, December 2, 1984), gives the title of the parable as "A Parable of Reconciliation," and thereby expresses the nature of the text, which embodies reconciliation between the estranged son and his father. This title is a reflection of the totality of the text's message which was earlier proposed by Vincent Taylor in 1941.

It is important to note that this text has received different interpretations over the years. It has even been used to foster anti-Semitism (for example, by the early church patriarchs). A change in the interpretative schema of the text came with the emergence of the work of Adolf Jülicher in the New Testament exegetical arena of the twentieth century (Punt, 2007:95). In order to provide an adequate interpretation of the parable, Jülicher classifies the parable in 15:11-32 as a "parable narrative" (Baird, 2003:158-159). Rudolf Bultmann and Brad H.

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[208] Anna Wierzbicka (2001:301) in her introduction to the parable is worth quoting at length, as her introduction emphasises the importance of the parable narrative in Lukan text. She adduces that "The parable of the prodigal son has been rightly described as 'a Gospel in miniature' (Monterfiore [1937] 1968:525) and 'Evangelium in Evangelio' 'Gospel within the Gospel' (Arndt 1956:350; Bailey 1976:206). It has been described as the greatest of all of Jesus' parables (Compton 1930-1931:287) and, indeed, 'the greatest short story ever told' Sommer 1948). The literature on this parable is enormous, and although some of it is bizarre (see e.g. Breech 1987), many commentaries are highly insightful, informative, and illuminating. Nonetheless, it is also widely held that the exegesis of this parable is beset with difficulties. Some commentators, for examples, Breech, even assert that 'it is … certainly the most difficult [parable] to interpret' (p. 205)."

Young have argued over the authenticity[209] of the Lukan origin of the story.[210] According to Bultmann, the second part of the parable is paradoxical when compared to the first part of the story in 15:11-24, and the structure of the parable should be understood in line with that of Matthew 21:28-31 (Bultmann, 1963:175, 196). Despite Bultmann's doubt concerning the theological value of the entire parable, it does appear as though the parts of the story fit together. Some scholars even argue that it is one of the best structurally fitting stories in the New Testament Gospels (Punt, 2007:93-94). This is also true of its immediate literary context, since the entire structure of chapter 15 is determined by the concept of being lost, which reveals the authorial intention behind it (Fitzmyer, 1985:1083).

Exploring the three parables in chapter 15, Hultgren (2002:73) concludes that their meaning becomes clear only at the end of the chapter. While Hultgren's conclusion makes a valuable point, his argument does not see the narrative in 15:11-32 as different from that of the first and the second parables. The distinctive feature in 15:11-32 is that it depicts a lost son who decided to find his way home, whereas in the previous two lost parables the owners were the ones looking for their lost possessions.[211] Among the three parables about someone or something being lost, two of the parables thus deal with inanimate objects, whereas only one deals with a person who is lost. The parable in 15:11-32 speaks of the estrangement that was brought by one person with his family so that his reunion became possible only through reconciliation.

Luke mentions that the parable of the Prodigal Son is one of the parables that the Lukan Jesus used in his teaching as he moved toward Jerusalem. The use of the formulation $E\hat{i}\pi\epsilon\nu\ \delta\epsilon$ in reference to Jesus as the narrator of the parable implies that the parable is to be regarded as a single story that was told within a specific context. It was earlier stated that Bultmann divides the text into two major parts, verses 11-24 and 25-32, and that he acknowledges the

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[209] The absence of the parable in the popular Marcion canon throws doubt as to its authenticity in the Lukan corpus (Westcott, 2005:315; Tyson, 2006:88-89; Lieu, 2015:197). Westcott observes that perhaps there were two version of Luke's Gospel at the time of Marcion, while Tyson sees the omission as intended by Marcion, perhaps due to the statement of the father in verse 31. Also it could be that the final invitation of the father to the elder son might have been the reason that Marcion removed it from his canon.

[210] Both Bultmann and Young hold the same opinion, namely, that the Lukan story in 15:11-32 is centred on the Matthean story (Young, 1999:182-183).

[211] In linking chapter 15 to chapter 16, many scholars (e.g. Punt, 2007:94) see the whole setting as centring on possessions. This argument is possible when considering only these two chapters together, but is doubtful when viewed from the perspective of the Lukan journey narrative, since it seems that the whole narrative is centred on repentance, forgiveness and reconciliation, as is clear in 17:1-3 and 18:9-14. The narrative in the chapter thus rather focuses on the idea of the reconciliation of repented humanity to God and to one another.

importance of the second part. The same is observed by J.T. Sanders (1968-69:433-438), who believes that there is evidence of unique Lukan language only in the second part of the narrative. Bernard B. Scott (1989:106) maintains the traditional structuring of the parable by dividing it into two major sections, and asserts that the narrative parable is centred on the younger son and the elder brother. With this, Scott somewhat underestimates the function of the father in the narrative.[212] Thomas Aquinas, in his *Catena Aurea* (3.529-547), divides the whole parable into three subsections, making it one of the earliest known structures of the parable. In modern scholarship, the threefold division of the narrative is championed by Funk (1974), Blomberg (1990), and Hultgren (2002).

Funk's (1974:63) threefold division of the parable is as follows: the crisis of the younger son, the response of the father, and the response of the elder son. He further alleges that this division naturally gives the tempo of the story and places the emphasis on the younger son, and not the elder son. Both Blomberg and Hultgren maintain the same division as Funk. David A. Holgate (1999:44-46) differs from the traditional division of the text by dividing the parable into four major parts, yet maintaining its unity as a single story. This fourfold division of the parable does not alter the actual meaning that the story conveys within the context of this parable, but helps in emphasising the different roles played by the characters in the story. Blomberg (1990:171-172) upholds the traditional division of the parable and places strong emphasis on the prodigal son and his father, while he downplays the importance of the first son in the parable.

5.5.4 Socio-historical analysis of Luke 15:11-32

As is evident from the survey undertaken in 5.5.2, several attempts have been made to understand the parable of the Prodigal Son without them coming to consensus about its meaning, other than that it relates to forgiveness and reconciliation. This section will therefore undertake a socio-historical interpretation of the parable in order to see how the

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[212] As we are going to see in the narrative, the opinion of this study is that the father's response provides the grounds for the narrative to reach its climax. The father seems to control the movement of the story through his actions and verbal responses. In chapter two of this study of the investigation into the Greco-Roman concept of reconciliation it was shown that the power to enact reconciliation was in the hand of the one that had the might to exercise it. It was the principle which provided the grounds for Alexander the Great to unify the entire Empire. The popular dictum attributed to his teacher, Aristotle is that, "We fight war that we may live in peace" seemed to have great influence in the life of Alexander the Great. It was from this perspective someone with superior power that controlled the process of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society. This prompts Hornik and Parsons (2005:136-139) to argue that Lukan idea is that the father could enforce reconciliation according to the existing Progymnasmata (προγυμνάσματα) of his time. The parable thus illustrates the patriarchal headship of families in the ancient world (Blomberg, 1990:171-172).

concept of Lukan reconciliation functions in the text. In order to do this, the whole parable will be restructured so as to ease the examination of the text; however, this is not to claim that this division is the final structuring of the parable.

There are several terms in the parable that have a connection with the process of reconciliation in antiquity. For instance, the verb used for the killing of the animal for the celebratory meal differs from the verb ἀποκτείνω, which is usually used in the LXX for an ordinary killing. Luke rather uses θύσατε, which is a New Testament hapax legomenon in the sense that only Luke uses the term in the second person plural. It is found more than six times in the Old Testament (Exod 8:25; 12:21; 2 Chron 35:6; 1 Esd 1:6; Ps 4:6 and Hos 13:2), where it is used for a sacrifice. θύσατε is an inflected form of θύω, which means "sacrifice", "slaughter" or "kill." The same usage is found in New Testament text outside the Gospel of Luke (Acts 14:13, 18; 1 Cor 10:20 Matt 22:4; John 10:10; Acts 10:13; 1 Cor 5:7 and Mark 14:12). It occurs in the New Testament in the context of sacrifice except in Matt 10:20; John 10:10; and Acts 10:13, in which the usage implies the ordinary killing of an animal. However, when compared with similar occurrences in the LXX, the context of its usage is usually with reference to sacrifice. The same notion is found in Josephus: θύω τε θεοῖς οἷς θύειν μοι νομίζεται δίκαιον ἡγούμενος παρὰ πολλῶν ἐμαυτω "I myself I sacrificed to those gods whom you think are not fit to be sacrificed to" (*Ant*. 4.149). The use of θύσατε by the father (verse 23), the servant (verse 27) and the son (in verse 30) thus has sacrificial implications, and it could thus possibly function as a symbol of expiation for the purification of the prodigal son (Cyril, *Luke* 2.107).

5.5.4.1 Estrangement: Its cause and effect in Luke 15:11-24

The opening statement of the parable alerts the reader to a situation which is found in every human society – a divided family (Jeremias, 1954:128). The son requesting his inheritance while the father was still alive was contrary to the norms of antiquity, as it signified that the son wished his father to be dead (Bailey, 1976:161-169; Scott, 1989:111; Forbes, 1999:226; Punt, 2007:98), while his departure from the family similarly meant that "the boy is indeed lost" (Bailey, 1976:164). Bailey further observes that the action of the younger son also shows that the elder brother did fulfil his family responsibility since he did not stop his younger brother from getting away and wasting his share. It should be noted that the request of the younger son was not contrary to the law (Deut 21:16-17 LXX; Jeremias, 1954:128). Though Scott (1989:111) does not support the action of the younger son requesting his

inheritance from his father, he notes that the Old Testament has similar stories where the younger son is preferred to the elder. Examples are the stories of Cain and Abel, Joseph and his brother, Moses and Aaron, David and his brother, and Solomon and his brother (Scott, 1989:112). He therefore believes that the essence of Deut 21:16-17 was to protect an elder son from the ill treatment of his family as a result of the special love a father may have for a younger son. In the parable, the allusion to Deuteronomy indicates that the younger brother expected his father to share the portion of his estate that was due to him and, as a result, it would be wrong to accuse him of demanding what was not rightfully his, as is made clear by Schottroff (2006:139-140), who observes that the younger son's request was justified within the legal frameworks of both Jewish and Hellenistic socio-historical contexts. Therefore it would not be wrong to assert that this son's request was *not* incongruent with the family *ethos* practised by the Jews.

The same cannot, however, be said about the phrase καὶ ἐκεῖ διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν ἀσώτως "and there he wasted his share in prodigal living", which clearly brings a "moral accusation against" the young man (Schottroff, 2006:140). Furthermore, there are allusions to the Old Testament, based on the Mosaic legislation, which imply that such prodigality demanded a death sentence (Exod 20:12; Deut 21:18-21).[213] The disposal of his property for the exchange of money for easy spending was understood to be the greatest offence in the socio-historical context of Luke, as is made clear by Green (1997:580). Luke's use of ἀσώτως — a hapax legomenon (Bock, 1996:1311) — reveals that such an attitude inevitably brings dishonour to his family and to his society. In fact, it is a transgression of the Mosaic material as stated in Exod 20:12 (LXX), in which there is an imperative, τίμα, from the verb τιμάω, which means "to honour", "to exceedingly value", or "to estimate." For this younger brother to disobey this command not to dispose of his property was to dishonour his father. His action can also be understood as a son cursing his father, which was also against the Mosaic material (Lev 20:9). The prodigality of this son thus demanded his death upon his return to his father's house. The use of ἀσώτως should thus alert the reader of the impending danger awaiting the son if he should ever come back home. The whole story in the first part of the parable revolves around the use of this hapax legomenon in the text. The subsequent verses

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[213] Ephesians 6:2 reiterates this allusion and calls it ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ "this is the first commandment with a promise."

(14-32) are also based on this same attitude of this young man. Verse 13 is thus crucial in ascertaining the magnitude of his transgression (Nolland, 1993:783).

After his wastefulness the younger son had an encounter with λιμὸς "famine", which resulted in his ὑστέρημα "need" arising (Bock, 1996:1311). The nature and effect of this prodigality is conveyed by the use of ἰσχυρός "strong" to express his situation (Bock, 1996:1311). Furthermore, his prodigal attitude led him to pursue a job supervising a pig farm, which to a Jew was the most dishonouring occupation imaginable (Bock, 1996:1311). This further reveals the depth of his depravity (Liefeld, 1995:189-190). He became morally and ethically debased, resulting in him abandoning his religious and socio-cultural norms as a Jew (Jeremias, 1954:129). In other words, his prodigality had stripped him of his freedom as a child, thereby condemning him to slavery, as is evident in verse 15 (Nolland, 1993:783). Another consequence that the young man faced as a result of his prodigality was his desire to satisfy his hunger with the animal's feed, but no one wanted to give it to him (Jeremias, 1954:129-130).

Socio-culturally, the young man was in a self-inflicted exile due to his profligate behaviour. This behaviour caused enmity between the youngest son and his father. It was a behaviour that defiled both personal and communal relationships, causing estrangement between him and God and his people. The situation of the young man degenerated to the point where he could no longer bear it, and Luke says in verse 17, εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐλθὼν "but when he came to himself", indicating a point of self-realisation. The young man uttered a statement that would forever change his life. The young man asked a rhetorical question of himself, and after a soliloquy he decided to make the most important decisions of his life (verse 18): ἀναστὰς πορεύσομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτω. He was not only going back to his father but would also confess that: πάτερ, ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου. The Lukan statement here depicts a situation in which μετάνοια "repentance" hopefully leads to forgiveness and reconciliation. The first of the prodigal son's statements correlates with the wording of Psalm 88:27 (LXX): αὐτὸς ἐπικαλέσεταί με πατήρ μου εἶ σύ θεός μου καὶ ἀντιλήμπτωρ τῆς σωτηρίας μου. He will cry to me, "You are my father, my God and the rock of my salvation." The situations of both the psalmist and of the prodigal son are thereby correlated with each other. Both the prodigal son in the Lukan narrative and the psalmist called to their fathers for help when both were in desperate situations that needed their fathers' help. The second part of Psalm 88 (LXX) is similar to the second part of the

statement of the prodigal son in the Lukan narrative. The prodigal son was thus separated from the love of the father and therefore in need of the type of salvation that only his father was in a position to offer. The young man also needed an enactment of reconciliation that would help him overcome the estrangement between him and his father (and his family), which would restore him to his original position as a child. This is why the emphasis is on the father as the key figure in the parable, as is demonstrated by the different repetitive patterns in the text. One such repetitive pattern is found in the use of πατὴρ "father" in the parable. The repetition is arranged in such a way that whenever the word repeats itself in a verse there is always a change in the rhythmic pattern of the story. Such a repetitive pattern of the noun is found in verses 12, 18 and 20. In these three verses the word πατηρ occurs six times, making two repetitions per verse. Their arrangements are in this order:

Repetitive pattern of πατὴρ in 15:12: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῶν τῷ <u>πατρί·</u> <u>πάτερ</u>, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας. ὁ δὲ διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βίον.

Repetitive pattern of πατηρ in 15:18: ἀναστὰς πορεύσομαι πρὸς τὸν <u>πατέρα</u> μου καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτῷ· <u>πάτερ</u>, ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου,

Repetitive pattern of πατὴρ in 15:20: καὶ ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν <u>πατέρα</u> ἑαυτοῦ. Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ <u>πατὴρ</u> αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη καὶ δραμὼν ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν.

In the Lukan narrative of the parable of the Prodigal Son, the repetitive pattern of πατὴρ has a special function in that after each repetition there is always a change in the story. For instance, in verse 12, after the repetitive pattern formed by πατὴρ, the narrative changes the story of the younger son into a different relationship that is shameful and which changes his position from being a beloved son of his father to that of a slave in a strange land. The same rhythmic pattern can be observed in verse 18, where the word occurs twice. Again the narrative takes on a different pattern thereafter. In this case the repetitive pattern brings to the prodigal son to the self-realisation that helps in restoring his relationship with his father. This abrupt change is seen in the text immediately after the repetition of πατὴρ in the verse. This time the change is significant, as it changes the dire situation of the prodigal son to a different one through the process of reconciliation that is based on repentance (μετάνοια). The same shift also occurs after the repetition of the same pattern in verse 20. The πατὴρ and its repetitive pattern thus always signal a definite moment in the parable. Considering this repetition and its function in the parable story, Johan Thom (2003:555-573) emphasises that

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this story demonstrates that neither the first son nor the second son is the hero, but rather the father. The context of the story therefore defines the father as the centre of gravity of the parable. This is important, as the father's duty in the parable is that of reconciler. His does not only reconcile his younger son to himself, but also attempts to reconcile his younger son to his elder brother, as is indicated in verse 32. The embrace and kiss that the father offered to the prodigal son signalled that his estranged son did not deserve death by stoning, as specified in the Mosaic material.

5.5.5 Interpersonal and divine reconciliation in Luke 15:11-24

The action of the son in verses 18-19 has a direct impact on the rest of the story in the parable, especially considering the repetition of $\pi\alpha\tau\grave{\eta}\rho$ in the parable. The behaviour of the father in verse 20 reversed the story in favour of the homecoming prodigal. Luke's attestation of the behaviour of the father towards the younger son has special significance considering what happened in verses 12-14. Malina and Rohrbaugh (2003:290-291) observe that the action of the father in the narrative in verse 20 was contrary to the family ethos in the ancient Near East, as it was not proper for an elderly person to run in public. A running elder was said to lack dignity and respect. The father is running in this context "because the son is in immediate danger from the hostile villagers." This explanation of Malina and Rohrbaugh is very important when the repercussion of such prodigality in the Mosaic material is considered. Malina and Rohrbaugh (2003:291) further allege that in order to avoid such repercussions from the hostile villagers, the father sent a signal "by his kiss and embrace that the errant son is under his protection." Malina and Rohrbaugh's argument agrees with what had already been identified in the first three verses of the parable, namely, that the parable has several allusions to the Old Testament. The argument of Malina and Rohrbaugh is a direct invocation of the Old Testament law against an errant son, so that the father's intervention saves him from being stoned to death. Thus the attitude of the son and of his father towards him explicates the idea of interpersonal reconciliation in the parable. It is interpersonal, since the cause of estrangement between the father, son and the community has been removed through the father's intervention on behalf of his son. Only his relationship with his elder brother remains unresolved.

Schottroff (2006:142-143) raises a concern as to the implication of the statement in verse 21. Prodigality in the parable is regarded as sin against God and humanity, as argued earlier in this study (see section 5.5.4.1). The younger son stated and thereby confessed that heaven and

earth should look upon him with mercy and pardon his conduct which had caused a serious estrangement from God, his father, and the entire community (which represents humanity). Having known the gravity of his sin, the prodigal son decided to ask for both divine and interpersonal reconciliation as a means of restoring his severed relationship. A parallel of such a confession is found in Psalm 51 (RSV; LXX 50:5):

David's confession: "Against thee… have I sinned" (Ps 51:4)

The Prodigal Son's confession: "I have sinned against…" (15:21)

The parallelism of both confessions is evident when comparing the Greek text of Luke's Prodigal Son narrative with the LXX:

Ps 50:6 (LXX): *σοὶ μόνῳ ἥμαρτον καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου*

Lk 15:21:   *ἥμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου*

The confession of the prodigal son thus supports the idea that when one sins against a fellow human being it is also a sin against God. In the context of David, his sin against Uriah was seen as sin against God and all of humanity (see section 3.7.1). Both relationships play an important role in the process of reconciliation, as both divine and interpersonal relationships need to be restored. Divine and interpersonal reconciliation can furthermore occur simultaneously, as is evident in the prodigal son's request for forgiveness from both his father and God.

In the parable the acceptance of the confession of the prodigal son by his father is signalled by the gifts the father bestows on him. All of these gifts, the robe, the ring, and the sandals, given by the father to the *νεώτερος* "younger" son are allusions to the Old Testament[214] (Jeremias, 1954:130; Marshall, 1978b:610-611; Holgate, 1999:215-216; Schottroff, 2006:143). For example, in Esther 6:8 King Ahasuerus honoured Mordecai by giving him a new robe, which signalled his change of status from a lower rank to a more important position. Holgate (1999:215-218), in reflecting on the significance of these gifts in the Old Testament and New Testament, as well as in Greco-Roman society, concludes that the son

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[214] Since these gifts first and foremost depict the father's love for the prodigal son, Kendall (2004:259) sees in the act of giving them an allusion to Jeremiah's description of the love of God for his people, Israel, in Jeremiah 31:3-4 ("The LORD hath appeared of old unto me, saying, Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore, with lovingkindness have I drawn thee. Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel: thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry" [KJV]).

has now adopted the virtue of "liberality"[215], as symbolised by the father's gifts. This new status attained by the homecoming prodigal son was made possible through the process of reconciliation that was effected by his repentance (μετάνοια) and his father's forgiveness (αφεσις). As a result, Taylor (1941:17) asserts:

> Here is a picture of reconciliation. The son is restored to the fellowship of the home; the broken relationship is re-established. It may even be that there is a representation which includes the heart of the Pauline idea of justification, since the father accepts the son as righteous: 'This my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found'.

The parable of the Prodigal Son thus underlines the importance of μετάνοια in the process of reconciliation.

5.5.6 The response to the father's forgiveness in the parable

The interaction of the father with the prodigal son concludes in verse 24. In this verse, while the father wholeheartedly welcomed his estranged son, the reverse occurred in the reaction of the first son. Reflecting on the response of the elder brother, Punt (2007:98-99) argues that the action of the father had created further animosity between the elder brother and the younger one. The animosity in the parable reaches "even higher if more subtler levels in the sullen rejection of his older brother upon the younger brother's return" (Punt, 2007:99).

While a παῖς (a male or female servant) had important functions to fulfil in a household in antiquity whenever a feast was to be organised (Schottroff 2006:143)[216], the unnamed slave also plays a key role in inciting the elder son to react negatively to the reconciliation between his father and younger brother in the parable narrative. The reply of the servant in verse 27 (ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἥκει, καὶ ἔθυσεν ὁ πατήρ σου τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν, ὅτι ὑγιαίνοντα αὐτὸν ἀπέλαβεν) summarises the reason for the celebration (Scott, 1989:119) and defines the position of the elder son in relationship to both the younger son and his father through the use

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[215] The manner in which the father decided to deal with his penitent son indicates that the father did not withhold anything from the son. All his rights as a son were given to him as a true child of his father (Luke 15:22-24).

[216] The usage of παῖς may be subject to different interpretations, but in the Lukan context here it signifies a servant (Oepke, 1967:637). Scott identifies the place of servants as stewards in the Lukan Jesus parable, but he fails to see any function for the servant in this parable (Scott, 1989:205-216). The functions of servants go beyond their household functions, as they were in a position to influence the affairs of households. One of the functions of the servant in the parable of the Prodigal Son is to *gossip*, as is clearly indicated in verse 27. Pieter Botha (2012:212-234) believes that gossip "involves at least three parties, and usually the first is implicitly seeking solidarity with the second against the (absent) third, thus re-affirming who is 'in' and who is 'out' and was regarded as 'a mechanism of preserving social group' in antiquity." The servants might thus have gossiped so as to show solidarity with the elder son against the younger one and his father.

of two phrases (ὁ ἀδελφός σου and ὁ πατήρ σου). The statement of the servant appears to be intentionally inciting the elder son to revolt against his father and younger brother, thereby nullifying the already-established reconciliation process, when he adduces the reason for the celebration: ὅτι ὑγιαίνοντα αὐτὸν ἀπέλαβεν ("because he has received him safe and sound", RSV). The servant's statement is an idiomatic expression stating the condition in which the younger son came back to his father's house. What occurs next in the text is an expression of the normal way of responding to the squandering of a family's wealth by a family member only to see him or her receive a warm reception upon returning, in that this turn of events provoked the anger of the elder brother (verse 28).

The statement in verse 29 is the self-justification of the elder brother for his reaction by using the Mosaic material as the basis for his justification and asserting that ἰδοὺ τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐντολήν σου παρῆλθον. On the basis of this justification, Geréby (2004:357) believes that "this incriminated sentence is a *verbatim quotation* from Deuteronomy 26:13," which reads: μοι οὐ παρῆλθον τὴν ἐντολήν σου καὶ οὐκ ἐπελαθόμην "I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them" (RSV). The statement of the elder son is the reverse of that of Saul in 1 Sam 15:24, who claimed to have acted contrary to the law of God, saying: ὅτι παρέβην τὸν λόγον κυρίου "for I have transgressed the commandment (word) of the LORD." The elder son, unlike Saul, thus claims that he deserves no punishment, as Saul did, since he has kept all his father's commandments, and yet he was not being celebrated.

The statement of the son in verse 30 is a direct reaction to the answer of the servant in verse 27.

15:27 And he said to him, "Your brother has come, and your father has killed the fatted calf, because he has received him safe and sound."

15:30 "But when this son of yours came, who has devoured your living with harlots, you killed for him the fatted calf!"

The father's answer to the elder son's accusation is in turn a direct citation from the Book of Psalms, according to Augustine (cited in Aquinas, *Cat*. 3.543). Augustine indicates that the father's statement parallels Ps 73:22 (72:23 LXX), demonstrating that the love of the father is always with the elder son. The Psalm alluded to says καὶ ἐγὼ διὰ παντὸς μετὰ σου, a statement that expresses the irrevocable love of the father for his first son.

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The open ending of the parable has led interpreters of Luke to argue that there is in the end no reconciliation in the parable, since the eldest son refused to join in the celebration. This action of the eldest son is a direct protest against the socio-cultural norms of ancient Greco-Roman society, in which a meal (δεῖπνον) was often used as a means of reconciliation (see section 2.6.3).[217] By not joining the festive meal, the elder brother refused to be reconciled with his younger brother, thereby indicating his displeasure with his father's conduct. Scott (1989:122), however, asserts that if the elder brother actually had refused to join in the celebration then it means that "the parable has suffered violence."

Schottroff (2006:143) observes that the parable describes a patriarchal household system in antiquity in which the head of the family determined and influenced the whole family. If Schottroff's observation is correct, it means that the power to enforce reconciliation in this parable rests with the father of the house, and that he could have prevailed upon the eldest son to accept his brother back into the family. The echo of ὁ ἀδελφός σου οὗτος (this brother of yours) is emphatic and hints at the irrevocable relationship of the younger brother with the elder brother according to the father. The phrase is against ὁ υἱός σου οὗτος ("this son of yours") in verse 30 (Marshall, 1978b:612; Fitzmyer, 1985:1092-1093). Therefore, the first son seems not to have any other alternative but to obey the voice of the father, even though it is not explicitly stated. This argument is supported by Bock (1996:1319), who affirms that the "father will not allow the son's complaint to stand nor will he allow the elder to separate himself from his brother." The description of the behaviour of the father towards the younger and the elder brothers shows that the father's interest is not only in the younger son but also in the elder son, and that their reconciliation is of primary importance to the father (Green, 1997:585-586). Though the ending of the parable seems inconclusive, the reconciliation of the elder son to his younger brother appears to be inevitable from a socio-historical perspective, in that the father could enforce it. However, according to Trevor J. Burke (2013:236), the point of the parable is precisely that the father did not force either of his sons to be reconciled, in that:

> In both encounters with his sons the father waives the right to employ his paternal power and
> authority and chooses in its place not only to be generous but to be generous to a fault, where

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[217] It was argued in section 2.6.3 that δεῖπνον was often used as a means through which reconciliation was carried out in the ancient world. Meeks (1983:31) and Smith (1992:652-653) point out that such a meal was often considered to be a sign of friendship and reconciliation in antiquity.

mercy mingled with compassion is evidence of abundant grace, a grace that is always unmerited and underserving.

5.5.7 Conclusion

This section examined the concept of reconciliation in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32). Different views on how the parable is to be understood from the time of the church fathers to the period of modern exegesis were surveyed in the course of reading the text. The structure of the parable was also examined in order to understand the author's intention with the parable. It was noted that the parable draws from both the Old Testament and the Greco-Roman world. The socio-historical interpretation of the parable revealed that it depicts an estrangement between the younger son of a family and his family, represented by his father and elder brother. It therefore provides a picture of conflict in need of interpersonal reconciliation. The parable assumes that sin against a person was also regarded a sin against God. The confession of the younger son to his father *and* to God is similar to that of David in Psalm 51. It demonstrates that his conduct had been a transgression not only against his father, but also against God, since he asks for forgiveness from both the father and God. Therefore, for reconciliation to take effect there has to be both interpersonal and divine reconciliation. The parable depicts the confession of the son as an act of repentance in line with the prophetic rhetoric in the Old Testament, where confession and repentance were important in reconciliation rituals (see section 3.7.1). The father's actions towards the penitent son indicate the necessity of the ritual or table fellowship in enacting reconciliation in the ancient world (see sections 2.6.3; 4.2.3 and 5.5.5).

5.6 The enactment of reconciliation in Luke

Using linguistic and philological methods alone in biblical interpretation does not provide a comprehensive way of understanding the biblical text, sincesuch interpretations often fail to take into consideration the actions, allusions and metaphors that an author is using to express his feelings in a given text. [218] This narrow approach has often resulted in Paul being seen as the only New Testament writer who regards Jesus' mission as a *missio reconciliatio* (mission of reconciliation), since he is the only one to discuss it specifically (1 Cor 5:18-19). The examination of the mission of Jesus as a mission of reconciliation in Paul has been the focus

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[218] The work by Porter (2006:131-152), *Paul's concept of reconciliation, twice more*, is informative, as it attempts to shift the debate of Paul's understanding of reconciliation from the linguistic domain to the domain of a concept. Porter believes that using a conceptual approach to biblical exegesis provides more insights into the textual understanding of Scripture.

of many theologians' study of reconciliation in the New Testament (apart from the Gospel according to Matthew, which has also received some attention, since he uses the term reconciliation in its verbal form).

Scholars such as Taylor (1941), Ridderbos (1975) and Marshall (1978a) have also placed more emphasis on the vertical expression of reconciliation, and in so doing neglected the horizontal aspect of reconciliation (which occurs between persons). The studies of Ford (1983) and Constantineanu (2009) have, however, emphasised both the horizontal and vertical aspects of reconciliation. According to Taylor (1941:18), the Gospel of Luke also has many passages that deal with Jesus' teaching and enactments of reconciliation (see Porter below). The scholars' exclusion of Luke in the study of the *missio reconciliatio* of Jesus on the grounds that reconciliation is only a linguistic and descriptive term, is therefore mistaken. This has prompted Ford to use a narrative method in examining the content of Luke regarding the doctrine of reconciliation. Ford's argument is based on the understanding that Luke's narrative invites its readers to consider the narrative of Luke as focusing on Jesus' reconciliation. This is important, since the Gospel of Luke contains many actions that refer to reconciliation in that they depict Jesus either as an agent of reconciliation or the object of reconciliation.

On the one hand, reconciliation in Luke, as argued earlier (see section 2.3.1), resembles that in the Greco-Roman world. On the other hand, Luke's understanding of reconciliation can be said to be similar to that of the Jewish world, in that he uses metaphors, verbal echoes, allusions and nuances without mentioning the term reconciliation, in order to place the emphasis on the liberation of humanity from bondage. For Luke the healings, actions, stories and the teaching of Jesus are all means through which he effected reconciliation. These actions and the teachings of Jesus rest on the idea that "reconciliation is the operative antidote to the breakdown of all relationships, either divine-human or human-human" (Măcelaru, 2012:51). As a result of this it is therefore necessary to investigate the actions of Jesus and the way he effected reconciliation with the people with whom he came in contact.

5.6.1 Reconciliation rituals in Luke

It can be argued that no reconciliation can take effect without ritual action (see sections 2.3.1.3; 3.3 and 3.5), as it has been observed that in antiquity nations, including Israel, believed that "correct cultic performance was an essential aspect of public order and well-being" (Blenkinsopp, 1995:126), of which the effecting of reconciliation was an important

aspect. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the Lukan narrative is saturated with the idea that ritual action is necessity for reconciliation (cf. 5:12-16; 15:11-26; 17:11-19; 22:19-20; 23:33-34; 24:46-48). This notion did not, however, originate from Luke, since it was inherent in both Greco-Roman and Jewish religions.

The second chapter of Luke's Gospel expresses a number of ritual actions that indicate that the whole life of the Lukan Jesus was determined by ritual actions (Thiessen, 2012:16-21). Jesus is depicted therein by Luke as the Messiah, who was born into a specific ritual domain, and who through rituals and sacrifices was able to overcome sin, the greatest enemy of humanity, in order to enact reconciliation. The narrative concerning Jesus in Luke in chapter two thus supports the notion that the writer was aware of the importance of rituals and their effectiveness in dealing with impurity and uncleanliness in the Mosaic material (Thiessen, 2012:16-17). The importance of the ritual in Luke 2 was that it brought about the process of purification and cleansing as stipulated in the Mosaic material.[219]

While his death on the cross was the fulfilment of the Old Testament expectation of the Messianic figure who would take sin away from his people through his blood (22:19-20), there are also other rituals in Luke's Gospel which functioned as a means through which reconciliation was accomplished between humanity and God and with one another (see section 3.5.5). The cases of the lepers in Luke 5:14 and 17:14 are good examples in Luke where a ritual needed to be completed before reconciliation could be accomplished.

5.6.2 Healing as metaphor for reconciliation in Luke

In the Gospel of Luke alone, there are indications that Luke's records up to sixteen healings and four exorcisms (Wahlen, 2004:144). Some of the healing episodes are distinctively Lukan. Luke thus specifically introduces his readers to the healing power of Jesus as a means through which the sick were able to find relief. The Lukan emphasis on Jesus as a healer is a direct allusion to the expected *Isaianic Goel* (see section 3.7.3). Casting out demons and healing the sick were clear signs in Luke that the kingdom of God (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεου) had come near to the people through Jesus, since only the expected Messiah was thought capable

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[219] Scholars such as Brown (1977:2-11), Marshall (1978b:116), Fitzmyer (1981:424) and Bovon (2002:99) are of the opinion that the author of Luke's Gospel had an accurate knowledge of the Mosaic rituals as stipulated in Leviticus 12. Thiessen (2012:29) asserts that the prevalence of rituals in Luke-Acts supports the idea that the author of the text, though not a Jew himself, was familiar with the idea of the Leviticus ritual.

of doing it. The coming of Jesus, according to Luke, was thus nothing less than the arrival of the salvation promised by God.

Healing in the New Testament incorporates different social and cultural phenomenon[220] than what is associated with it in the modern world, since sickness was not seen as the result of environmental, physical or pathological problems. It was rather a socio-cultural and religious construct.[221] Sickness, in both ancient Israel and Greco-Roman society, was regarded as a bad omen that came upon the sufferer as a result of punishment from the gods. Some of these sicknesses called for ostracising the sick person from his or her community. In Jewish religion lepers were, for example, expelled from their communities. They were regarded as being dead, with funeral services even being held on their behalf.

Lepers were not ostracised because their sickness was understood as being contagious, but because it was seen as bringing pollution into a community (Weissenrieder, 2003:136-139).[222] The community furthermore determined the nature of the sickness and how to deal with it (Pilch, 2000b:67-68). The healing of lepers was the only way through which the ostracised could be reconciled with their community.[223] The healings in the Gospel of Luke often refer to the integration of healed persons with their community. It is, therefore, important to note that the work of reconciliation carried out by Jesus in the Gospel of Luke would not have been completed if the sick ones were not healed and the captives set free

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[220] Paul John Isaak (2006:1214), in reference to healing using an African lens emphasises that "For such an individual being healed means being restored to one's extended family, friend and community." He further adds that "Health, therefore, implies safe integration into the life of the society."

[221] Annette Weissenrieder in her book: *Images of illness in the Gospel of Luke: insights of ancient medical texts* emphasises the importance of understanding the ancient socio-historical understanding of illness and how it was constructed based on specific social and cultural parameters. Weissenrieder (2003:3) elucidates that:
"Illnesses only ever exist for us in the form of a socially imposed image that reflect both the knowledge and the judgments and expectations of particular eras and cultures. Objective manifestations such as medical and social evidence are nearly always the cornerstones on which images of illness are built. However, the meaning that people attribute to these manifestations is a constructivist issue rather than a natural one."

[222] The insight from Weissenrieder's view of illness in the ancient world is very important in the exegetical reconstruction of the Lukan leper's text.

[223] The case of the outbreak of Ebola in recent time may be likened to that of the person that suffered leprosy in the ancient world. In Ebola's case, sufferers are totally separated from their families and the community of people, but if they recover they will be reintegrated into their families. This differs from HIV/AIDS, which often has negative socio-cultural values attached to it, and therefore people see anyone suffering from it as being immoral. In the *Priesterschrift*, leprosy is seen as pollution that created socio-cultural oppressiveness in the life of whoever suffered from such a disease. The two cases of leprosy in the Old Testament are treated as cases of pollution and sin (Num 12:10, 15; 2 Chron 26:17, 20), which Israel was to be mindful of. The same socio-cultural understanding in ancient Israel of some sicknesses as pollution is evident in Num 5:1-4. The emphasis here is to remind the people what happened to Miriam, the prophetess and elder sister of Moses, when she sinned against God and Moses. Hence the people were called *to remember* זכר ($\mu\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\eta\tau\iota$) the punishment associated with crossing such a boundary. This established the matrix through which the subsequent socio-cultural dynamic was interpreted.

from the bondage of suffering and sin. In the words of Pilch (2000b:14) "Jesus reduces and moves the experiential oppressiveness associated with such afflictions. In all instances of healing, meaning is restored to life and the sufferer is returned to purposeful living."[224] In other words, since the restoration of the sick to their community is concomitant with the removal of the estrangement that caused their separation, it implies reconciliation in action.

5.6.3 The λέπρα texts and reconciliation in Luke

The leper text in 5:12-16 occurs in all the three Synoptic Gospels. However, despite the text being found in all three Synoptic Gospels, Luke has a unique addition (Plummer, 1922:151).[225] He also adds another pericope on lepers in 17:11-19. Due to different settings in which the two stories (5:12-16 and 17:11-19) occur in Luke, the two accounts and their implications for the Lukan community will be examined separately. Luke's inclusion in his narrative of the issue of leprosy[226] raises questions concerning the nature of leprosy and how those who suffered from the disease were treated in the ancient world.

5.6.3.1 Leprosy in the ancient world

The actual meaning of the term λέπρα is not clear. Some notable authors believe that the disease comprised a number of different diseases associated with the skin. They argue that the biblical nomenclature for what is today called leprosy does not denote what was known as leprosy in biblical times. Scholars such as Pilch (2000b:39-56), Weissenrieder (2003:35) and Edmond (2006:37-42) follow the argument first put forward by Bateman, who argues that leprosy was actually mistranslated by those who translated the works of Arabian writers into Latin. Bateman notes that the Greek meaning of leprosy is similar to that of the Hebrew word, but that the muddled translation came about with the misappropriation of the nomenclature after the translators had already used words for tubercular diseases for leprosy.[227] The first misappropriation of this name probably came from Aretaeus, who used

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[224] It is worthy of note that sickness was perceived to be a sign of sin in the Old Testament, and in order to be healed the person had first to be forgiven and reconciled to God. This forgiveness and reconciliation did not end with the person concerned and God, but also impacted society in order to enable the person to be accepted back into the community. For this to be carried out, the deity provided humanity with two options, which are prayers and sacrifice, as the means through which reconciliation could be effected (Mbabazi, 2013:69-71; see also chapter four of this study).

[225] Scholars such as Taylor and Fitzmyer see Mark as Luke's source for his leper texts, while some argue that Luke had an independent source. Fitzmyer (1985:571) acknowledges that the context of the story is part of the Synoptic Triple Tradition, but argues that the sources available to each of them might have been different from each other.

[226] Luke alludes to lepers in several places in his Gospel (4:27; 5:12-16; 7:22; and 17:11-19).

[227] Tubercular diseases are caused by bacteria (e.g. tuberculosis).

ἐλέφας and ἐλεφαντίασις, which were tubercular diseases for, λέπρα (Bateman, 1813:294). Bateman, in trying to end the misappropriation of the use of "leprosy" for the Greek (*Lepra Graecorum*), divides the category *lepra* into *Lepra vulgaris*, *Lepra alphoides*, and *Lepra nigricans*. Based on his description, leprosy was a scaly skin disease (Bateman, 1813:25-36; Edmond, 2006:37-44).

Bateman's description of leprosy does not offer any solution to the understanding of the term as used in the ancient texts, like the Old Testament, and its conceptualisation in the Lukan text. All the species of leprosy listed by him, for example. are believed to be non-contagious and do not fit the description of the Old Testament texts such as Num 12:10-15 and 2 Chron 26:17-20. The Old Testament describes leprosy as a whitish disease which covered the whole body. The cases of Miriam and King Uzziah are typical examples. The Lukan usage of language is in line with that of the Old Testament description of leprosy. In Luke 5:12, Luke uses the Greek term πλήρης "full" or "covered with" to describe the nature and the extent of the disease, which none of Bateman's description fit. Viewing the disease of leprosy through the modern lenses of *non-contagious effect* in essence reduces the meaning and the implication of the text in the socio-historical context of Luke's time, since what the modern world calls non-contagious disease might not have applied to the ancient world's understanding of λέπρα, especially when the sacred and non-sacred spaces were involved. Consequently, the modern description of leprosy as Hansen's disease, psoriasis, pityriasis, ichthyosis (Bateman, 1813:25), may not actually convey what in the Lukan text is meant by leprosy. The reason for this is that the expression in Luke differs from the understanding of the disease based on the notions of modern medicine.[228] It must thus be understood in terms of its socio-cultural and religious implications for the sufferers and their community within the socio-historical context in which it occurred. For example, Luke emphasises the need of purity for leprosy sufferers, which necessitated rituals and sacrifices in order to enact reconciliation as an integral part of their healing. The ancient world regarded leprosy as a serious disease that had the power to contaminate the presence of the holy. It was not just a contagious disease, which easily spread to other persons, but was regarded as defilement and pollution that invoked the idea of diminishing the presence of the sacred or divine.

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[228] Shellberg (2012:49-51) observes that the "modern judgments about the severity of an illness tend to influence interpretations toward enhancing the miraculous aspect of healings."

Little is known of how Greco-Roman society treated those who suffered from leprosy. However, the works of the Cappadocian fathers Aretaeus, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzus (*Or.* 43.63-64) provide information regarding the social stigmatisation of lepers in Greco-Roman society in the period 200 to 400 CE. The reason for this is that the Cappadocian fathers heavily depended on the previous works of Aretaeus, who was a medical practitioner in Rome. Their work thus sheds some light on the way in which lepers were treated in the earlier Roman period. Susan R. Holman (1999:285) can thus conclude that:

> As with the ancient Israelite leper, those who contracted leprosy in the Greek and Roman worlds of late antiquity also faced the threat of social exile, destitution, and lingering self-destruction. Yet, at least in these texts, contagion is not defined in terms of ritual purity and pollution, but in terms of social terror of catching this dreaded sickness. Leprosy was, above all, a social disease. Its manifestations were most notable for their power to exile the afflicted from that religious identity which for Greek-speaking Christians and Greek and Roman religions was inseparable from civic life, and the homeless leper would be functionally unable….

The situation of those suffering from leprosy was dire from ancient Egypt and ancient Israel to the Greco-Roman period, since they were subjected to social stigmatisation and ostracism. The harsh treatment of the lepers in antiquity is reflected in the derogatory statement found in an ancient Egyptian papyrus document dated from 2500 BCE and a Greek text from about 327 BCE as well as a Roman one from about 62 BCE. The rights of the lepers as human beings were stripped off them in ancient Greco-Roman society. This unwholesome treatment meted out to lepers further invites Holman (1999:286) to state that "Graeco-Roman culture was satisfied to exile this threatening group to the fringes of social existence," where they would live and beg for shelter. Holman thus comes to the conclusion that the treatment of those who suffered leprosy during late antiquity was similar to that they received in ancient Israel. In other words, their dignity as humans was stripped off, and they were separated from the rest of society. This is also evident in the writings of Josephus. In his writing *Against Apion*, Josephus's argument against Manetho reflected on the way in which the lepers were treated in the ancient world, beginning from ancient Egypt to the Roman Empire. Josephus's argument is based on the writing of Manetho, who said that the reason the Egyptians drove away the Israelites from their land was that the Israelites were leprous. He further added that the leprous Israel, after being driven away from Egypt, went into the desert and sought the face of the gods through fasting and supplication, as is told by Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 1.308):

Hereupon the scabby and leprous people were drowned, and the rest were gotten together, and sent into desert places, in order to be exposed to destruction. In this case they assembled themselves together, and took counsel what they should do; and determined, that as the night was coming on, they should kindle fires and lamps, and keep watch; that they also should fast the next night, and propitiate the gods, in order to obtain deliverance from them (νηστεύσαντας ἱλάσκεσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς περὶ τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτούς).

The argument of Josephus against the accusation of Manetho that the Jews were lepers, and that it caused them to be driven away from Egypt, thus sheds some light on how lepers were despised in the ancient world. The Lukan perspective provides an additional framework through which one could view the way lepers were treated during his time. The *Lepra Pericopae* in Luke 5:12-16 and 17:11-19 suggest that the people who suffered from leprosy in his time were given the same treatment as prescribed in the Mosaic material, in that they were excluded from their communities.

5.6.3.2 Purity and reconciliation in Luke

In the biblical narrative, and in the ancient Near East, it can be argued that whenever the issue of reconciliation occurs it almost always is viewed from the perspective of purity. It was observed (in sections 2.3.1.2 and 3.3) that the reason for seeking reconciliation in the Old Testament and in Greco-Roman society was to deal with the defilement brought about by humans' pollution of the sacred. The command of YHWH to the house of Israel in Lev 20:24-26 to be holy unto him provided the reason for the rituals and sacrifices that were intended to deal with the estrangement that had come about thanks to the defilement of both sacred and communal spaces (Dunn, 2002:450).

The precise nature of the relationship between the purity material and the Gospel has, however, been "an ongoing debate" according to James Dunn (2002:450-451). It was initially mainly between E.P. Sanders and Jacob Neusner before Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans and others entered the debate. All of these scholars believe that the purity material is very important for understanding the Gospel of Luke and Acts. James Dunn, for example, argues that the purity material is enshrined in both Lukan texts, but especially in the Acts of the Apostles. According to Dunn (2002:451-453), Peter's behaviour towards others in Acts depicts the role of the purity material in his time. Neusner (1993:222-224) in turn believes that what determines the action of Jesus in Luke is tied to the purity material that was inherent in the Jewish religion from the time of Moses. Citing cases in Luke, such as the

cleanings of leper(s) (5:12-16; 17:11-19) and the prohibition against touching unclean things (7:32-50), he states that such actions presuppose the continued functioning of the purity material in Luke. Suffice to say the ongoing debate on the precise function of the purity material in the time of Luke is beyond the scope of this study. It is sufficient for this study to note that the purity material plays a crucial role in Luke and therefore delineates how its author understood the reconciliation process, since defilement in the Old Testament, according to him, called for reconciliation in the house of Israel.

Jonathan Klawans (2000:137) in this regard argues that impurity defiles every boundary and space, and as such it must be atoned for. The same picture emerges in the Lukan text (e.g. 7:36-50; 15:1ff) (Evans, 1997:371). It was mentioned earlier that sickness and diseases were seen in antiquity as being caused by sin (see section 2.6.1), and in turn caused pollution or impurity, which resulted in the sick being estranged from God and their communities (e.g. those suffering from leprosy). The idea of reconciliation is thus implicit whenever impurity as a boundary is removed. The way Jesus dealt with impurity in the Lukan text identifies him as the Messiah who had compassion and mercy on sinners and the sick amidst their impurity so as to bring about their reconciliation with God. The remission of their sin by Jesus was thus an important way through which reconciliation with God and their communities was enacted (22:19-20 cf. 5:20; 7:48).

5.6.3.3 Luke 5:12-16 – Text and Translation

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ πλήρης λέπρας· ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐδεήθη αὐτοῦ λέγων· κύριε, ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι. 13 καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἥψατο αὐτοῦ λέγων· θέλω, καθαρίσθητι· καὶ εὐθέως ἡ λέπρα ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. 14 καὶ αὐτὸς παρήγγειλεν αὐτῷ μηδενὶ εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου καθὼς προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. 15 διήρχετο δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνήρχοντο ὄχλοι πολλοὶ ἀκούειν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσθενειῶν αὐτῶν· 16 αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑποχωρῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις καὶ προσευχόμενος.

12 And it took place suddenly[229] in one of the cities, a man full of leprosy[230], but when he saw[231] Jesus, he fell on his face and pleaded him, saying: Lord, if you are willing, you have

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[229] *ἐγένετο* is one of the aorists that is often found in Luke. It is believed that Luke uses it to mark the beginning of a new pericope or block in his writing (cf. 5:17; 7:11; 8:1; 9:18; 11:1; 14:1; 17:11; 20:1) (Culy, Parsons & Stigall, 2010:161).

[230] MS D reads *λεπρός*, while other MSS, e.g. ℵ, B, F, etc., support the genitive feminine form, *λεπράς* (Swanson, 1995:81).

the power to cleanse me. **13** And he (Jesus) stretched out his hand and touched him and said, I am willing, be cleansed. And immediately the leprosy left him. **14** And he charged him to tell no one, but to go and show himself to the priest and to offer purification according to the commandment of Moses, as a witness to them. **15** Instead, many reports spread concerning him and many people came to hear him and to be healed of their diseases, **16** but he was withdrawing into desert and was praying.

Although the problematic relationship between Mark and Luke's leper texts was first discussed by Frederic Gardiner (1871) in his harmonisation of the Gospels, it was Burnett Hillman Streeter who first alerted scholarship to this problem in the writings of Luke. The splitting of the Markan text (Mark 1:1-40-44) in Luke (5:12-16)[232] has warranted Joachim Jeremias (1971:39-41), William Reuben Farmer (1976:199-231),[233] Robert A. Stein (1992:151-153) and Robert Horton Gundry (1994:138-140) to study the problem critically, but unfortunately no scholar has been able to offer a compelling reason for why Luke split his story into two parts.

Though Luke follows Mark in narrating his story, he still maintains his own focus in his account. The observation of Nolland (1989:225) is that Luke's use of the phrase $Kα\grave{ι}$ $\grave{ε}γ\acute{ε}νετο$ $\grave{ε}ν$ $τ\hat{ω}$ $ε\hat{ι}ναι$ $α\grave{ὐ}τ\grave{ο}ν$ $\grave{ε}ν$ $μι\hat{α}$ $τ\hat{ω}ν$ $π\acute{ο}λεων$ (it took place suddenly in one of the cities) in Luke 5:12 but part of it is also found in Luke 5:1, 17; 6:1, 6, 12; 8:22; 13:10 and 20:1, and that it shows that the presence of the Messiah becomes more important as one progresses through his Gospel. It is clear that Jesus' presence made a difference in the lives of Peter and those who were sick.[234] This is in line with the *messianic manifesto* declared by the Lukan Jesus in 4:16-18. The provision of fish in Luke 5:4-11 can be linked to the Elijah and Elisha narratives in 1 Kings 17 and 2 Kings 4 (Craddock, 1990:69-71), thereby invoking the understanding of Jesus by Luke's community as the promised liberator and healer. The Lukan pericope therefore marks the beginning of the fulfilment of the final messianic reconciliation of the people to God that was earlier prophesied in the Old Testament.

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[231] The variant $κα\grave{ι}$ $\grave{ι}δ\acute{ω}ν$ is supported by MSS A C D F and $Θ$, while $\grave{ι}δ\grave{ω}ν$ $δ\grave{ε}$ is witnessed by MSS in B ℵ (Marshall, 1978b:208; Swanson, 1995:81)

[232] Luke's sudden return to Mark's narrative story (Mark 1:40) in 5:12-16, which he drops in 4:44 and inserts in his text in 5:1-11, seems to draw unprecedented attention from the abovementioned scholars.

[233] Farmer's argument is based on Matthean priority.

[234] As John Nolland (1989:228) rightly points out, the "individual responses to Jesus mark this section of Luke."

5.6.3.4 Socio-cultural boundaries in Luke 5:12-16

Based on the *Priesterschrift*'s prescription, a leper in Israel was not allowed to have contact with other people, since impurity was seen as being highly contagious and therefore caused those who came into contact with it to be polluted. Separation from the people around them was thus understood to be important.[235] People suffering from leprosy were thus regarded socially, religiously, economically and culturally as unfit to be a part of a healthy human society. They lived on the fringe of society and as such were regarded as being marginal in the ancient world.[236]

5.6.3.5 *Λέπρα* and ostracism in Luke 5:12-13

Luke's use of the word *λέπρα* (Luke 5:12-13) to refer to the nature of the sickness that the man suffered from poses a number of problems in terms of its pathological nomenclature. Luke's writing implies an understanding of leprosy based on the procedures of the diagnostic apparatus provided and sanctioned by the *Priesterschrift* (Fitzmyer, 1985:573), instead of that of modern medicine. The Lukan use of the term thus invokes the notion that the disease is associated with impurity and that this was contagious in the sense that it could pollute the whole community (Weissenrieder, 2003:136-137). Since contact with lepers could make people unclean, to have leprosy was to face ostracism in accordance with the Mosaic prescription and the priestly legislation (Bock, 1994:472). Importantly, verse 12 reveals the leper to be an Israelite[237], and not a foreigner, a son of Abraham who despite this still faced ostracism (Spencer, 2008:128).[238] The verb *καθαρίζω* as it is used by Luke is an inflected form of the infinitive *καθαρίζειν* "to cleanse" in the LXX, which is used for the cleansing or purification ritual of unclean people (Nolland, 1989:227). Wherever the word is used in the

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[235] As already observed (in section 3.6.), the treatment of a leprous person was similar to that of the scapegoat in that both a leper and the *azazel* were sent away from the inhabitants of Israel. In the purifying sacrifice for a leper the birds used for the sacrifice were also sent away like the *azazel* (Finlan, 2005:34-35).

[236] Luke 5:12-16 contains "a constellation of stereotypical characters: entities on the outer edges of social and religious systems" (Spencer, 2007:152), who were readily responding to Jesus' benefaction.

[237] The setting of the event poses many interpretive questions, since Luke does not mention the name of the city where it took place. Hans Conzelmann (1960:43) asserts that Luke does not mention the exact location the event took place in since it was his intention to narrate the mission tour of Jesus to his community in Judea, or as Fitzmyer (1985:573) puts it, "the country of the Jews." Marshall (1978b:208), Bock (1994:472) and Green (1997:236) place the event within the jurisdiction of the "other cities" in the ministry of Jesus, as earlier mentioned in section 5.6.3.3. This unspecified *polis* in the Lukan text may figuratively describe the hopelessness of those found with such a disease in ancient Jewish society, since leprous people were living without a city, and therefore without human rules and regulations, being seen as dead people. Taylor (1980:186) alleges that for Luke to remove the name of the city where the event took place means that he was critical of Mark's historical record.

[238] In the Greek context of the *polis*, citizens were expected to have equal rights as well as an existence without discriminatory practices, since they believed that the *polis* was a gift from the gods (Garrison, 1997:59).

LXX and other Hellenistic writings, it invokes the idea of pollution and defilement. It also implies a sense of estrangement in the relationship between humans and the divine that needs to be removed through cleansing. The cleansing also necessitated the physical declaration by a priest that the affected person was free of the pollution (Taylor, 1980:187). This is the reason why Jesus decided to send the healed man to a priest for a physical examination (Luke 5:14).

In the Levitical material the use of καθαριζομένου (Leviticus 14) and καθαρίσαι (Leviticus 16) all focus on sin as the cause of the impurity and estrangement. It is used in Psalm 51:2 (LXX, 50:4), where David cried out to God to καθάρισόν him from his sin, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας μου καθάρισόν με. Josephus (*Ant*. 5.42) presupposes that the term καθαίρω had a similar usage in classical Greek,[239] especially in ritual purification which was necessary for a relationship to be restored with God and humanity. The notion is also evident in another of Josephus's works (*Ag. Ap*. 2.205), where he uses καθαίρω (as a first person active indicative of καθαίρειν) as a prescription ritual for those who were defiled by contact with dead bodies.

The Hebrew word for καθαρίζω is *kipper*, which means "to cleanse" (see section 3.6). It played an important part in describing the special sacrifices that deal with the issue of impurity in the Old Testament (Lev 14:10-32). In the Old Testament the mediating figure between an impure person and the divine was ὁ ἱερεὺς. His role was to carry out the physical purification of the defiled people of God, thereby removing the barrier between God and his estranged people. The removal of this barrier through purification, rituals and sacrifice invokes the idea that God had forgiven his people and restored them back to fellowship with him and with one another. The usage of καθαρίζω in the Lukan text thus implies that there was impurity and sinfulness in the life of the λεπρός which is congruent with the view in Judaism that sickness was a result of moral contamination. His separation from the community of people also resulted in him being separated from the divine presence. Therefore, he was not qualified to be counted as a person in Israel's confederation. He needed to be cleansed of his impurity for his right as son of Israel to be restored to him. The Old Testament thus points to καθαρίζω as being one of the ritual actions that embodied reconciliation, and as an event that was particularly important within the ambit of communal worship.

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[239] Deissmann's (1901:216-217) conjecture is that the use of καθαρίσαι by the λέπρα is derived from the Hellenistic Greek use of καθαρίζω, which is in agreement with the LXX.

The λεπρός calling Lukan Jesus κυριε goes beyond just identifying him as a mere "lord." He rather understands him as the Lord who is capable of restoring his estranged relationship with his God and his community. From this point in the passage, Jesus functions as a mediator between the leprous and God. The touching of the leper by Jesus is a cultic (Hughes, 1998:170), cultural (Bovon, 2002:175) and emotional act (Bock, 1994:474) by which Jesus transferred his purity to the unclean leper and thereby made him pure again (Hughes, 1998:170-171).[240] The lordship of Jesus in this text denotes him as a mediator between two groups that had been estranged by disease (see section 2.2.2). Here the Lukan Jesus is the Lord of reconciliation, with the authority to remove boundaries and bring good news to the afflicted (Green, 1997:237-238). This invincible δύναμις and ἐξουσία that the Lukan leper found in the Lukan Jesus are the power and authority through which an outcast could be reconciled to society.

The invocation of the name of Jesus was thus a medium through which this estranged leper found cleansing and reconciliation (Nolland, 1989:227). The longing of the man was to be "restored to his family and community" (Bratcher, 1982:79), thereby bringing to an end his unbearable ostracism.

5.6.3.6 Legal and cultic prescripts for reconciliation in Luke 5:14-16

Wright (2001:57) states that the intention of Jesus for the healed leper was for "him to re-join his family, his village and his community as a full and acceptable member."[241] It is noteworthy that in order to accomplish this, Jesus followed the Mosaic material by commanding the leper to act according to the law (Fitzmyer, 1985:575; 1989:180) so as to be "officially reintroduced into social discourse" (Green, 1997:238).

Λεπροὶ in Israel were required to be certified or given a "clean bill of health" (Wright, 2001:57) before they were allowed access to people and their community. It was mandatory that no λεπρός was allowed to have any contact with other people before ritual purification took place. Fulfilling the requirements of the law, as stated in Lev 14:2-57, would enable all

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[240] Marshall (1978b:209) states that the stretching out of the hand of Jesus is reminiscent of the hand of God and his accomplishment in history, as well as the action of Moses in delivering Israel from captivity.

[241] In section 3.6 of this study, the efficacy of Yom Kippur as a day of reconciliation in the household of Israel was described. The participation of lepers was, however, not treated. This concern prompted the examination of the content of the so-called Priestly legislation in Leviticus 13-14 and its effects on lepers (see section 3.6). It was revealed that, the Priestly legislation had a prescription for those that were affected by leprosy but who were later healed (Marshall, 1978b:209-210). This prescription was similar to that of the Yom Kippur and its purpose was to reconcile a person that was estranged from their community as result of their uncleanliness.

the necessary processes to be completed for the certification of the leper as being healed (Ravens, 1995:86). The Lukan Jesus' use of προσέταξεν implies unconditional obedience to the law, which was necessary for reconciliation to be enacted within Israel's legal jurisdiction. This is an allusion to Isaiah 42:3-4 (LXX)[242], and was not understood as merely a suggestion that one could decide to obey or not. It was a κέλευσμα that must be kept in Israel and any disobedience to it punishable by death (Lev 14:2-57). The Lukan Jesus thus wanted the man to act based on the law in order for him to be accepted back into Israel's confederation.

Luke's retention of the Markan phrase εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς (Mark 1:44) may be explained based on his understanding of the Old Testament concept of ritual purification and sacrifice, which was geared towards reconciliation.[243] The Priestly material prescribed a two-in-one ceremony for a healed leper. The first aspect of the ceremony was a ritual purification that prepared the leper to make the actual sacrifice which was to take place in the temple, and which would enable him to be welcomed back to the community of God and his people. The two-in-one ceremony was performed as a witness (εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς) to both the priest and the household of Israel that the person who had at one time been estranged from the confederacy of Israel and economy of God had now been reconciled, and the evidence for this was the ritual-sacrifice carried out by the priest. This is where ritual and sacrifice were acted out as means through which an estranged person (leper) could be reconciled to God and his people in Israel. The authority to do this rested on the priests, who were the custodians of the Mosaic legislation (Marshall, 1978b:209-210).

This procedure that the healed person had to undertake underlines the importance of ritual action in the process of reconciliation in antiquity. In other words, Luke upholds the premise that action was a valuable tool in the reconciliation process in ancient Israel. The rituals and sacrifices that were specified in the law of Moses are actions that were expected to act as means of reconciling the estranged Israel with YHWH, as is stated by Mbabazi (2013:70), who acknowledges that God has provided to humanity prayers and sacrifices as means of

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[242] There is a possibility that Luke was influenced by the prophecy of Isaiah in 42:3 and that Luke here depicts Jesus as the one who fulfilled the law without breaking a "reed" κάλαμον as was spoken by the prophet Isaiah. By implication the Lukan Jesus thus fulfils all the legal requirements of the law. Luke's presentation of Jesus' instruction to the λέπρα is thus a succinct description of the Mosaic legal legislation for purification and reconciliation of a healed leper with Israel's community.

[243] He thus sees that the only way reconciliation could be accomplished in Israel was through a ritual cleansing (contra Fitzmyer (1989:575), who believes that Luke did not understand the meaning of the phrase).

achieving forgiveness and reconciliation. Rituals and sacrifices are tangible means that differentiated reconciliation from any other similar process. That Luke is aware of this is evident in his emphasis on the importance of ritual and sacrifices as actions of reconciliation in his narrative (5:14; 17: 14; 22:19-20; 23:30-40). The Lukan Jesus does not downplay the place of such an imperative as a means through which the leper could be properly assessed and certified by the priests, who were trained both in cultic and socio-cultural ways to do so, as it was the prerogative of the priest to carry out such an examination and certification (Nolland, 1989:228). Such action was also in agreement with the law as a *code of conduct* in Leviticus 13 and 14 (Esler, 1987:114-115).

5.6.3.7 The healing and reconciliation of the ten lepers in Luke 17:11-19[244] – Text and Translation

11   Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας. 12 Καὶ εἰσερχομένου αὐτοῦ εἴς τινα κώμην ἀπήντησαν [αὐτῷ] δέκα λεπροὶ ἄνδρες, οἳ ἔστησαν πόρρωθεν 13 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦραν φωνὴν λέγοντες· Ἰησοῦ ἐπιστάτα, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. 14 καὶ ἰδὼν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες ἐπιδείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκαθαρίσθησαν. 15 εἷς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἰδὼν ὅτι ἰάθη, ὑπέστρεψεν μετὰ φωνῆς μεγάλης δοξάζων τὸν θεόν, 16 καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Σαμαρίτης. 17 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· οὐχὶ οἱ δέκα ἐκαθαρίσθησαν; οἱ δὲ ἐννέα ποῦ; 18 οὐχ εὑρέθησαν ὑποστρέψαντες δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀλλογενὴς οὗτος; 19 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀναστὰς πορεύου· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.

11 And it happened as he was going to Jerusalem and he went through in-between Samaria and Galilee. **12**. In a certain village, ten lepers who stood afar met him, **13** and they raised their voices and said, "Master Jesus have mercy on us." **14** and when he saw them, he said to them go and show yourselves to the priests and it happened as they were going, they were cleansed. **15** But one of them who received healing returned with a loud voice and glorifying God. **16** And he came and fell on his face at his feet and giving him thanks and he was a Samaritan. **17**. But Jesus answered and said, "Were they not ten cleansed? Where are the nine? **18**. "Has no found returning to give glory to God, if not this stranger?" **19**. And he said to him "Arise and go your faith has made you whole."

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[244] Proposals of titles for the pericope fall into three or more categories or alternative titles: "The cleansing of the Ten lepers" (Bultmann, 1963:33; Betz, 1992:50), "The grateful Samaritan" (Marshall, 1978b:648), "The Cleansing of the Ten lepers and the Grateful Samaritan" (Weissenrieder, 2003:135), "Gratitude from a foreign Leper" (Green, 1997:618), and "Healing of Ten Lepers and a Samaritan's Faith" (Bock, 1996:1397).

There is an intratextual relationship between Luke 5:12-16 and 17:11-19, which tells the story of ten lepers who received their healing as they encountered Jesus on his way to Jerusalem.[245] The major difference between the first and the second leper episodes (17:11-19) is that the lepers are described by Luke as standing far away from Jesus as they called for mercy from him. Secondly, the inclusion of a foreigner in the second narrative makes it more effective in conveying Jesus' inclusive approach to his community. Thirdly, the response of the healed lepers towards their healing is different from that in 5:12-19. Luke also narrates that the one person who thanked Jesus was not a Jew, but a Samaritan. Another notable difference is the setting of the story.

The quest to trace the origin of Luke 17:11-19 has prompted Martin Dibelius (1971) and Rudolf Bultmann (1963) to use form criticism (*Formgeschichte*) in order to provide a tenable origin for the tradition contained in the pericope. On the one hand, Dibelius does not take the pericope to be a paradigm, tale or legend, but rather a narrative that removes Jesus from the centre of the discourse and places a "stranger" at its centre. Dibelius (1971:120) also alleges that the text lacks detail of good quality to deserve special attention. No doctrinal or moral teaching may thus be attached to the text. Rudolf Bultmann (1963:33), on the other hand, categorises the text as one of the biographical apophthegms, and understands it as a secondary text with a Hellenistic origin which directly depends on the miracle story in Mark 1:40-45. Hans Dieter Betz (1992:61-66), while accepting Bultmann's apophthegm dependency of Mark 17:11-19 on Mark 1:40-45, and Dibelius's insinuation of a "lack of detail of special quality," theorises that the first scene of the healing miracle can only be a parody of a miracle healing from leprosy. Betz's argument for a miracle story as a parody is that "Since the miracle-story, as a literary form, is itself already an abstraction, its parody can be expected to be more even abstract." To him the text was added later to the New Testament with the purpose of correcting a theological problem. Its aim was to compel Luke's generation to go undergo conversion, as it was an orthodox doctrine of primitive Christianity in the second century CE (Betz, 1992:67).

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[245] Luke 17:11-19 is the second episode of healing or cleansing of lepers found in the Lukan narrative. The story of the cleansing of these ten lepers in 17:11-19 is a Lukan peculiarity, since it does not have any parallel in any of the available texts of the New Testament.

5.6.3.8 The setting of Luke 17:11-19[246]

The second leper pericope according to Luke is set during Jesus' final journey to Jerusalem. Luke's narrative contains different episodes of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem (Luke 1-3; 9:45-24:53) which reveal how during his journey (Davies, 1974:244-250, against Conzelmann, 1960:66-70) he implemented his earlier manifesto of the liberation of his people from evil which had ostracised them from the presence of God and their human communities (Fitzmyer, 1985:1151). It can thus be described as one of the "journey miracles" of Jesus in Luke's Gospel that illustrate the reconciliatory aspect of the Lukan Jesus' ministry.

Jesus' final journey begins in chapter 13 (Fitzmyer, 1985:139-140), which Marianne Palmer Bonz believes to be the beginning of the Lukan Jesus' judgement upon the holy city, Jerusalem.[247] The focus on Jerusalem as an important city for Luke (Davies, 1974:252-255) is based on the premise that it is where God would affect the reconciliation of Israel and humanity. The redemption of Jerusalem means the redemption of Israel and the Gentile world alike (2:30-32). In short, the coming of Jesus means the beginning of the final redemption of Jerusalem (2:38).[248]

Luke has been accused by Lukan scholars of inadequacies in terms of his geographical knowledge of Palestine (Leaney, 1958:228; Conzelmann, 1960:68-73; Hendriksen, 1978:542-544; Fitzmyer, 1985:1152-1153; Bock, 1996:1400-1401; etc.), and for the way (and times) that the Lukan Jesus travelled to Jerusalem. The debate about the accuracy of Luke's account prompts Bock (1996:1401) to conclude that "while the time is drawing near for Jesus to go to Jerusalem, he ministers on the Galilean-Samaritan border (the mention of Samaria prepares for the reference to the Samaritan in 17:16)." Bock's conclusion implies that Jesus travelled to Jerusalem from Galilee and passed through the border of Samaria. However, Bock's assumption does not account for Luke's apparent lack of knowledge of Palestine. A careful reading of the Lukan construction of *διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας* in line

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[246] Schweitzer (1984:267) suggests that "the story may have been associated with the eschatological discourse because the healing of leprosy was looked on as a kind of resurrection, probably because it appeared equally difficult."

[247] Marianne Palmer Bonz (2000:143-151) accepts the unity of Luke 13-24, as it revolves around the Lukan Jesus' journey to Jerusalem. She further posits that the unity of the text in the Lukan narrative depicts the judgement on Jerusalem. The expectation of the people was, however, that the coming Messiah would have the power to redeem Jerusalem, as is expressed by the infancy narrative in Luke.

[248] The Lukan portrait of Jerusalem is in line with the idea that had already been known among the Jews, namely, that one of the functions of the Messiah would be to redeem the city of Jerusalem. The author of the First Book of Enoch (*c.* 150 BCE) describes it as "a new house" that is being brought by "the Lord of the sheep" for his "flock" (Patai, 1989:220-221).

with the geography of Palestine may support Luke's version of Jesus' journey. In this case, Weissenrieder's theory that Luke's knowledge of Palestine was adequate if it is taken into consideration that his narrative was based on the borders of the first century Palestine warrants careful attention. She proposes, based on the first-century knowledge of the geography of political Palestine, that Jesus must have passed through the Valley of Jezreel on his way to Jerusalem. Her argument is based on the possibility that the northern border of Samaria and the southern border of the territory of Herod Antipas ran through this valley. The Lukan use of "between Samaria and Galilee" should in other words be viewed in terms of its political or topographical location. To question to whom the large area of the valley belonged in the first century CE, either politically or topographically, is thus very important in determining the meaning of the text. The Valley of Jezreel was between the borders of Samaria and Galilee. Josephus (*Wars* 3.37-50) writes that the Samaritans and the Jews lived together in the valley, and that it was very rich in agriculture. He further comments that conflict in it was common because of the mixed races and cultures therein, and that even the Jews themselves fought against their countrymen within the valley (*Wars* 2.466-468). It means that "in the midst of or in-between" (μέσον) Samaria and Galilee there was a conglomeration of many different ethnic nationalities. From Josephus's historical perspective, it is possible to argue that Luke 17:11-16 is to be situated in a well-defined geographical location.

The importance of the setting of the text is obvious, as it determines the context where both Jews and Samaritans could mingle together. This could only be possible in a place like the *μέσον Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας*, where many ethnic nationalities lived together in the first century. The ten lepers could thus move together in the Lukan text as a result of the location of this area between Samaria and Galilee, *διὰ μέσον Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας*. Analysing the geographical location from an ancient medical perspective, Weissenrieder (2003:192-193) further suggests that the nature of the valley contributed to the occurrences of an illness such as leprosy, since it was often wet and damp, which contributed to the spreading of communicable diseases. This could be why the leprous were numerous enough to form groups of up to ten at a time.

The narration of Luke in 17:11-19 is similar to that of the pericope in 5:12-16, and it also focuses on reconciliation which is inclusive, in that both the Gentiles and the Jews shared in the benefits of the healing ministry of Jesus. All of the lepers were restored to a new state of

existence (Pilch, 2000b:7). The setting of the event makes Luke's intention clear, as it reiterates his "universal redemptive vision" that "all humanity will see the salvation of God" (*καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεου*, Luke 3:6). Luke's narrative of the ten lepers thus implies that the Jews, the Samaritan and the sick are all in need of God's reconciliation, as well as of reconciliation with each another.

5.6.3.9 The socio-historical context of the lepers in Luke 17:11-19

Luke's narrative of the ten lepers reiterates the manner in which people with this affliction were treated in the socio-historical context of the ancient world. Lepers, as mentioned earlier (see section 5.6.3.1), were not allowed to mingle with others in society. This premise is strengthened by the use of the phrase *οἳ ἔστησαν πόρρωθεν*, which was a prescribed norm for the household of Israel in the Mosaic material (Lev 13:45-46; Num 5:2-4). The Mosaic legislation did not permit lepers to have contact with anyone who was free of the disease, since they were seen to be unclean. In order words, any social interaction with an unaffected person could lead to the transference of impurities and therefore call for a ceremonial cleansing. The lepers were thus heeding the law that prescribed the avoidance of physical contact with healthy people (Marshall, 1978b:651). Their conduct thus differs from that of the leper in 5:12-16, who was directly in contact with Jesus. It appears that they were ostracised from their different homes, based on the context of the text in Luke 17:11-19. J.C. Ryle (1997:236) comments that this ostracism brought a sense of reconciliation between them as people belonging to groups who were usually in conflict with each other, when he states: "Among the lepers there was a sense of reconciliation, since both the Samaritan and Jew were able to live together and forget their bias and differences." Though there was a sense of reconciliation among the affected lepers, as is acknowledged by Ryle, this type of relationship based on a common situation is not really true reconciliation, as is made evident by the group not remaining together (and acting in unison) after they had been healed.

The description of Luke of the ten lepers shows that the people were suffering as a result of the socio-cultural actions (injunctions) meted on them by their community. *οἳ ἔστησαν πόρρωθεν* implies a total rejection, since "they were cut off from the physical affection of their families and the worship of their spiritual community" (Ryken, 2009:224). The phrase further delineates the state of the lepers, in the sense that "to be a leper was to be separated from society and alienated from the people of God" (Ryken, 2009:224). The distance from where the lepers stood is indicated by the use of the phrase *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦραν φωνὴν*, in that by

using ἦραν Luke implies that they were far from other people. The only means through which the hope of these lepers could be rekindled was in the hands of Ἰησοῦ ἐπιστάτα. This name for Jesus is particular to Luke (Nolland, 1993:846). The usage of the term "master" designates someone who has special power to carry out what others could not do. Bovon (2013:504) sees a connection between this title used together with ἐλέησον, and the appeal of the Psalmist in Psalm 40:5 (LXX), who cries for mercy and healing from God, Κύριε, ἐλέησόν με· ἴασαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου. Bovon observes that Jesus is ranked as equal with God as someone who has the mandate to help estranged humanity, shattered and dehumanized by sickness, to be reconciled to God and humanity through the act of his ἔλεος to them.

The use of ἐλεέω implies that Jesus had the power to use it to alleviate the need of people. It is often used in tandem with someone who has a higher status and has the power to show compassion by dispensing mercy to those in need (Bock, 1996:1401). His compassion for them initiated the process that led to the reconciliation of the lepers with their communities. The Lukan emphasis in the text implies that the social norm which was prevalent in the ancient world, which led to the estrangement of those who were sick, was undone by the Lukan Jesus. Here the mercy (ἔλεος) of Jesus stands against all the barriers that society imposed on these lepers.

5.6.3.10 The cleansing of the lepers in Luke 17:11-19

The reference to the lepers' cleansing as the only means through which the estranged leper people could be reconciled with God and with others is identical to the instruction given to the leper in 5:12-16 and in line with the *Priesterschrift* prescription:

5:14 ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν <u>δεῖξον</u> <u>σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ</u> καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου καθὼς προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς

17:14 πορευθέντες <u>ἐπιδείξατε</u> <u>ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν</u>

The two texts both contain the phrase "to the priest(s)", which has important implications for understanding the text. It implies that the power to pronounce someone clean in order to allow the estranged person back into their community was within the jurisdiction of the priest, as was commanded in the Mosaic material (Lev 13:34). The repetitive intratexture therefore reveals that the lepers were to offer sacrifices to enable them be reconciled to their people. The intratextual imperative to "go to the priest" focuses on the need of the affected people to be restored with their community. This entails that the process of reconciliation

through ritual and sacrifice rested on the priest, as documented in the *Priesterschrift*'s prescription. However, the reason for sending them to the priest, instead of to the temple, in the 17:14 raises a serious concern, as one would have expected that Jesus would have sent them to the temple, but here it is not stated that they should go to the temple. Instead they have to go to a priest. Ford (1983:93) thinks that this is because of the Samaritan who was among the ten lepers, and who would not have a temple to go to, since their temple was destroyed in 129 BCE by John Hyrcanus. While the argument of Ford seems convincing, it fails to answer how the Lukan Jesus came to know that one of the ten lepers was a Samaritan even before the order was given.

What is important is that in the Lukan context the priest is afforded a veto power to declare any person clean or unclean. This necessitated Jesus sending the leper to receive the cleansing pronouncement from the priest who was in charge at the time the healing took place. It was within the power of the priest either to sanction it or not to. This provides the reason for the repetitive intratexture of the text that revolves around the ancient ritual *corpus personae*, the priests (ἱερεῖ). This imperative signals the ritual-cultic principle that there was generally no true reconciliation implemented in Israel without the services of a priest. The priests were acting as mediators between God and humanity, especially in a situation where sin and impurity were involved.[249] It was a perpetual duty of the priests to maintain their ritual sanctity in order for the entire household of Israel to have a good relationship with God and with one another (Knohl, 2007:189-191). The Lukan Jesus thus recognises the cultic function of the priests in the amphictyonic economy of Israel as those mandated to safeguard the socio-cultural and religious relationship between God and his people, Israel.

5.6.3.11 Interethnic reconciliation in Luke 17:11-19

From the setting of the event, and the narrative patterns that are employed, Luke indicates his intention with the story. The setting of the event in μέσον Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας gives credence to Luke's reason for situating the incidence within a valley that was known to be inhabited by different ethnic nationalities (Weissenrieder, 2003:195). This provides a reason for lepers of different ethnic nationalities to form a common community so as to be able to

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[249] The right to offer sacrifice in the cultic-ritual corpus in Israel was reserved only for the priest of the order of the Aaronic priesthood. The case of king Uzziah of Judah (2 Chron 26:18-21), who offered sacrifices in the temple and upon doing so was smitten with leprosy, is an example of where there was an interference by a private individual into the jurisdiction that was meant only for the priest in Israel (Merrill, 2008:394). It was the duty of priests to provide a spiritual means for the forgiveness of the sin of the people and to mediate between God and his people (House, 1998:129-142; Beck, 2007:65-66).

survive. Luke uses two words, *Σαμαρίτης* and *ἀλλότριος* , in order to show that Jesus came to reconcile the whole world and not only the Jews to God. This is in line with his earlier declaration in 4:16-18.

5.6.3.11.1 The *Σαμαρῖται* and their relevance to Luke's understanding of reconciliation

Σαμαρίτης (Samaritan) is a common word in Luke's Gospel, indicating that his interest in the Samaritans supersedes that of Matthew and Mark (Ravens, 1995:72). Apart from Luke, the only writer who is pro-Samaritans among the Gospels writers is John (Ford, 1983:93).

Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Σαμαρίτης "and he was a Samaritan" expresses the type of relationship that existed between the Jewish community and that of the *Σαμαριτῶν*. The setting of the narrative on the Lukan Jesus' journey to Jerusalem resulted in the emerging of Samaria and the Samaritan in the story of Luke (Ravens, 1995:76). Jesus is on his way to Jerusalem through the Samaritan territory (9:51-18:14). The narrative begins with the Samaritans' refusal to allow Jesus to pass through their village on his way to Jerusalem (9:52). The subsequent plea by his disciples to call down fire to consume the enemies of the Jews, the Samaritans, was strongly refused by the Lukan Jesus (9:55). David Ravens (1995:78) has observed that Luke's interest is not in the geographical location of Samaria but in the Samaritans. While acknowledging Ravens' insight on the interest of Luke in the Samaritans rather than Samaria, it is worth noting that the Lukan geographical location is important to understanding the context of this narrative, and to deny Luke's interest in the geographical location is therefore to ignore Luke's interest in geographical "symbolism" (Davies, 1974:248).

Samaria and the Samaritans (inhabitants of Samaria) are important to the Lukan discourse on reconciliation since the Samaritans were in an estranged relationship to the Jews. There was a dire need for reconciliation of the two estranged ethnic groups. While the Jews of Jesus' time saw the Samaritans as their enemies, Jesus' story in 10:30-37 invites a different perspective on the Samaritans. The history behind the tumultuous relationship between the Samaritan and the Jews is well appropriated by the author of 2 Kgs 17:24-41 and in the work of Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (*Ant*. 9.288-291). The background of the two texts lies within the framework of the historical narrative in 2 Kgs 17:1-6.

The Deuteronomistic Historian and Josephus both describe the people that the king of Assyria brought from other nations to occupy the city of Samaria as *Σαμαρῖται* (2 Kgs 17:29 LXX). There are, however, a lot of arguments about the authenticity of both accounts in terms of the origin of the *Σαμαρῖται*. Both historical narratives in 2 Kings and Josephus have offered clues as to the historicity of the origin of the Samaritans. Semantically, both historical narratives account for the name that is attributed to the Samaritans as people who initially lived in the Northern Kingdom of Israel soon after the deportation of the Northern Kingdom by Shalmaneser V (726-722 BCE) (Montgomery, 1968:1-2; Pummer, 2009:67-68). The accounts of the origin of the Samaritans by the early church fathers are influenced by that of Josephus (Kartveit, 2009:20). Their works act as commentaries to those of the Deuteronomistic Historian and Josephus.[250] It is important to note that the theory regarding the origin of the Samaritans can be traced both from Jewish historical sources and from the Samaritans themselves.

The Samaritans trace their origin back to the time of the Israel's invasion of the land of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua. The Samaritans in Hebrew are known as שַׁמְרִים, which means "the keepers [of the Torah]" (Coggins, 1975:10-12), and were said to be the descendants of Joseph, whose high priesthood originated with the Aaronic priesthood. Their original tabernacle is said to have been erected by Joshua on Mount Gerizim, where the commandment of the Lord was written (Deut 27:2). The Judean-Samaritan rift came as a result of the disagreement between the older and the younger sons of Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar, and the subsequent move of the Ark of the Covenant to Shiloh by Eli (Coggins, 1975:7; Hjelm, 2000:23-24; Anderson & Giles, 2002:10-11). The schism widened during the construction of the temple in Jerusalem and culminated with the return of the Babylonian exile in the period of Ezra (Caster in Hjelm, 2000:24).

References from Montgomery, Caster, Coggins, Anderson, Hjelm and Pummer shows that there was an antagonistic relationship between the Israelites and the Samaritans that started a long time before Luke was written. The same antagonistic tendency between the two groups was witnessed during the period of John Hyrcanus. It is believed by many scholars of the

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[250] The origin of the Samaritans seems to have been debated since the early church. Origen believes that the Samaritans (*τοὺς Σαμαρεις*) were sent by the king of Assyria as guards to the land of Samaria after the deportation of the Northern Kingdom. The same notion is found in the work of Eusebius of Caesarea, and Epiphanius of Salamis and even Jerome refer still to Samaritans as "the guardians of the land" (Pummer, 2002:7-9; Kartveit, 2009:20-21).

Samaritans that John Hyrcanus was the one responsible for the destruction of the Samaritans'
temple on Mount Gerizim in 129 BCE (Ford, 1983:93).

The hatred between the two ethnic nationalities is evident in the presentations of the Synoptic
writers. Matthew 10:5, for example, carries the same notion of hate that was expressed by the
Jews against the Samaritans when Matthew purports that the Matthean Jesus said $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \epsilon\grave{\iota}\varsigma$
$\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu\ \Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota\tau\hat{\omega}\nu\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \epsilon\grave{\iota}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\eta\tau\epsilon$ " and do not enter into any city of Samaritans." Mark's
refusal to mention the Samaritans in his text may be due to the hatred between the Jews and
the Samaritans. However, irrespective of the origin of the Samaritans, the most important
thing is that the Lukan narrative places a strong emphasis on the Samaritans and places them
among the people whom the Lukan Jesus came to save, as is stated by Anderson and Giles
(2002:41):

> The conciliatory stance of Jesus, and implicitly by the church retelling the story, is a
> significant aspect of the story. Two other episodes in Luke speak more sympathetically of the
> group: the story of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37) and the account of a Samaritan, the
> only one of the ten healed lepers, who returned to thank Jesus for the healing. Hostility
> toward the Samaritans has disappeared by the time of the narrative of Acts 8:4-25, which
> describes them as the next target of Christian mission after Jerusalem and Judea. Philip
> succeeds in converting Samaritans to Christianity.

The same notion is pointed out by Ford (1983:92) when she states that:

> The verses about the Samaritans are significant because they show the spirit in which Jesus
> deals with hostility, they foreshadow his passion, especially the Lukan passion, and portray an
> open rejection of the zealous action of Elijah. The opposition of the Samaritans is typical, and
> Jesus' response and the material in 10:30-37 and 17:11-19 are, on the whole, atypical of the
> average response of Jesus' Jewish contemporaries toward the Samaritans.

The pro-Samaritan texts within the context of the Lukan Jesus' final journey to Jerusalem are
utilised by Luke as a symbolic movement towards the final reconciliation which will be
carried out in Jerusalem as atonement for the sins of many. This final journey indicates the
messianic fulfilment by the Lukan Jesus as the one who is capable of destroying hostility
through his actions and reconciling all humanity. The Lukan insertion of the pro-Samaritans
episodes in his narration is based on his already-established presupposition about Jesus,
namely, that through him salvation would come to the whole world (see section 5.4). The
Lukan Jesus' story of the Samaritans and the healing of the Samaritan are significant in

portraying Jesus as a reconciler who was subversive in his approach to the issue of reconciliation – subversive in the sense that Jesus' approach to the Samaritans and the lepers was in contrast to the general practice of his society.

5.6.3.11.2 ἀλλογενής and Lukan reconciliation in 17:11-19

The noun ἀλλογενὴς is a hapax legomenon in the New Testament (Weissenrieder, 2003:195; Nolland, 1989:847), but occurs often in the LXX to refer to someone "of another race, a stranger, foreigner" (Deissmann, 1927:79). In the LXX, ἀλλογενὴς is found most frequently in the *Priesterschrift*, but its usage therein is ambiguous. Sometime it represents someone other than a specified blood relation, especially in connection with the Aaronic cultic ritual performances, as in Num 3:10, 38; 17:5; 18:4, 7; and 29:33, and not necessarily a non-Jewish person. The word thus refers to anyone who is not from the family of Aaron. Moses' allusion to ἀλλογενὴς in relation to the Passover in Exod 12:43 is based on the ordinances of purity within the specification of YHWH's relationship with Israel when he says: εἶπεν δὲ κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν καὶ Ααρων λέγων οὗτος ὁ νόμος τοῦ πασχα πᾶς ἀλλογενὴς οὐκ ἔδεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ "And the LORD said to Moses and Aaron, "This is the ordinance of the Passover: no foreigner is to eat of it" (NASB). In this case the whole house of Israel was to eat of the Passover, and ἀλλογενὴς refers to someone who is outside YHWH's covenant relationship. In other words, it refers to a person who is not a member of the tribes of Israel. The LXX interpretation of ἀλλογενής has established a lens through which other writers of Jewish origin viewed the meaning of the word. Philo uses ἀλλογενὴς as it is used in the LXX, but differentiates it from ἀλλοφυλός, which means a Gentile or foreigner in the Jewish context.

Deissmann (1927:80) proposes that an inscription found on the limestone block from the temple in Jerusalem uses the very word in the text. Deissmann further suggests that the inscription might also have been read by Jesus in the temple. As a result of this, Deissmann believes that the purpose of the inscription was to serve as warning concerning, and also to make clear to everyone, the penalty for Gentiles entering the inner court of the temple (Robertson, 1930:228). The inscription reads thus:

> Μηθεινα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ τεριβόλου ὃς δ᾽ ἄν ληφθῇ ἑαυτῶι αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθειν θάνατον

> Let no foreigner enter within the screen and enclosure surrounding the sanctuary. Whosoever is taken so doing will be the cause that death overtaken him.[251]

The inscription found in the temple uses the language of exclusion and ostracism for all non-Jewish persons in order to keep them outside the temple by threatening them with death for any unauthorised transgression of this rule.

The use of ἀλλογενής in the Lukan leper context delineates why the term was used by the Lukan Jesus. Though Deissmann believes that the inscription in the temple might have been read by Jesus, it would be wrong to assert herein that the inscription had an influence on the Lukan Jesus' understanding of the term. The usage of the word in Luke is based rather on the Jewish understanding of what a stranger was. The socio-historical investigation in section 5.6.3.9 delineated that the Samaritans were strangers to Israel's amphictyonic cultus's ordinances and economy. This understanding has been promoted by Montgomery (1968:160), who insists that ἀλλογενὴς is different from ἀλλόφυλος, with the former being used for a stranger while the latter was used exclusively for Gentiles. In this case Montgomery concludes that Jesus actually made a distinction between the Jews and the Samaritans, which Weissenrieder further explicates to have been made on the basis of purity.

Luke uses the noun according to the Jewish understanding thereof in the LXX (against Ravens (1995:86), who believes that Luke was influenced by Isa 56:3-7). The Lukan Jesus could thus see the man was someone who had been barred from the Jewish cultic community. The word was well understood by the Jews of his time, as ἀλλογενής here implies someone who is outside the ritualistic and cultic economy of Israel. Green's (1997:626) observation is quite intriguing: "Jesus' use of the term is thus ironic indeed, for he observes how this normally ostracized person has behaved in a manner appropriate to the authentic children of Abraham." In this regard Joachim Jeremias (1969:355) has noted that the claim of the Samaritans to be members of Israel's confederacy was highly contested among the Jews since they believed that the Samaritans

> …were the 'Cutheans', descendants of the Median and Persian colonists (Luke17.18: ἀλλογενής –stranger in the land), foreigners. Such was the Jewish view current in the first century AD… in order to refute any Samaritan claim to blood affinity with Judaism (Ant. 11.341). Even their recognition of the Mosaic Law and their meticulous observation of its

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[251] Translated by Lionel R.M. Strachan.

prescription did nothing to alter their exclusion from the community of Israel, because they were suspected of an idolatrous cult from their veneration of Mount Gerizim as a holy mountain.[252]

During this period the Samaritans were therefore regarded by the Jews as outcasts who deserved no mercy from God. The rhetorical interrogation of *οὐχὶ οἱ δέκα ἐκαθαρίσθησαν; οἱ δὲ ἐννέα που;* by Jesus and his calling the Samaritan *ἀλλογενής* in the narrative, however, provide a different interpretative scheme. As for the Samaritan, the destruction of their temple in 165 BCE and the exclusion of foreigners from the temple in Jerusalem, according to the inscription found in the temple, would have barred this healed Samaritan from obtaining the needed *καθαρός* "cleansing" that would have reconciled him with his community. This was not needed, however, as Jesus had healed and cleansed him already.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the first three main sections of Luke (1:1-4:13; 4:14-9:50 and 9:51-19:27). After giving a brief introduction to the socio-historical context of the Gospel of Luke (section 5.2), Jesus' *missio reconciliatio* in the first three sections (section 5.3) was studied by looking at the terms (section 5.4), teaching (section 5.5) and enactments (section 5.6) of Jesus relating to the concept of reconciliation.

In section 5.4 various terms were examined which occur in the Gospel of Luke and are used in relation to reconciliation in the socio-historical context of Luke. It was found that *ἀπαλλάσσω* in Luke 12:58 refers to the settling of a debt and not to reconciliation (section 5.4.1). It was further observed that Luke uses a number of terms common in the Greco-Roman diplomatic word (e.g. *ἡγεμονεύω* in Luke 2:2 and *πρεσβεία* in Luke 14:32 and 19:14, which can refer to an ambassador (or emissary) or their place of residence (see section 5.4.2). While Luke's knowledge of the language and culture of Greco-Roman society is indicated by his use of these terms, which were understood by his contemporaries as having a connection to the process of reconciliation, since this was one of the tasks of an emissary, he does not give them a clear theological meaning. They also do not serve as models for his readers to follow. The same is true of the group of words (*ἔχθρα, φίλος* and *φιλία*) that Luke uses along with *ἀλλήλων* to describe how Herod and Pilate had reconciled and become friends by using

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[252] Jeremias (1969:352-358) sees the account of Josephus and that of John 4:9 as bias to the origin of the Samaritans due to the Jews' hatred of the Samaritans.

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Jesus as an exchange (sections 5.4.3-5.4.4). It was clear from this survey that Luke does not use any of the common terms of his time for reconciliation to develop an ethic of reconciliation.

In section 5.5 Jesus' teaching on reconciliation in Luke was studied by examining the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32). The parable makes it clear that Jesus did not expect authority figures (the father or God in the parable) to enforce reconciliation. It is also evident that repentance was an important part of reconciliation, and that the sharing of a meal would signal that reconciliation had been achieved by all who had been offended (i.e. the father and his entire family, including the elder brother). The forgiveness of the father found concrete expression in the gifts (which all have Old Testament allusions) he gave his wayward son. The parable of the Prodigal Son is a good example of how Luke teaches the nature of reconciliation even though he does not use the Greek words for reconciliation. An important aspect of the parable is that since sin can be against God and a fellow human, reconciliation has both a vertical and a horizontal dimension.

In section 5.6 the focus was on Jesus' enactments of reconciliation in Luke. One such action that implies reconciliation is the healing of sick people in general and the healing of those with leprosy in particular. The focus of this section was therefore on the various $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\alpha$ texts of Luke (5:11-16; 17:11-19). The healing of the leper(s) in Luke indicates that Jesus' actions aimed at forgiveness and reconciliation when such actions are understood in the context of the Mosaic material. In the first case, Jesus commanded the healed leper to bring the offerings prescribed by the Old Testament. Jesus thus acknowledged the role of rituals, sacrifices and priests in the enactment of reconciliation. The healing of the Jewish and the Samaritan lepers signalled that people who were regarded as being dead in the Jewish context had been brought back to life. Therefore, their acceptance and cleansing implied their reconciliation with God and with society. The last episode (Luke 17:11-19) also hinted at the idea of ethnic reconciliation between the Jews and the Samaritans. The socio-historical meaning of these texts is that the dignity of the lepers as human beings had been restored through the healing-cleansing that was done by the Lukan Jesus. This removed the enmity that had acted as a barrier preventing their communion with God and with their society.

Chapter Six - Reconciliation in the Passion Narrative of Luke

6.1   Introduction

In the previous chapter Jesus' *missio reconciliatio* in Luke 1:1-19:27 was studied by looking at the terms (section 5.4), teaching (section 5.5) and enactments (section 5.6) of Jesus related to the concept of reconciliation. This chapter will focus on the fourth section, Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem (19:28-24:53). To understand the Lukan concept of reconciliation, and especially the reconciliation of people with God, it is necessary to examine the Passion Narrative and its role in Jesus' ministry. The question of the significance of the Lukan Jesus' death has caused much controversy in the past and therefore warrants careful examination.

6.2 The Passion Narrative in Luke's Gospel

John Owen (1616-1683) at the beginning of his thesis in his classic work *The death of death in the death of Christ* mentions Luke 19:10 as one of the first two texts that have a bearing on redemption and reconciliation through the blood of Christ. Owen's (1.1.1) testimony is that the death of Christ in Luke has a direct bearing on the redemption and reconciliation of humanity and that, according to him, it was the profound reason for Christ's coming to the world. This also seems to be the testimony of the ancient church fathers who wrote before him, as is evident in *Catena aurea* by Thomas Aquinas. In the preface to his *Catena aurea: A commentary on the four Gospels collected out of the works of the Fathers*, Aquinas cites other church fathers who state that the Lukan narrative attests to the salvific event more than do any of the other Evangelists.

As mentioned above (in the preceding paragragh), the salvific reason for the death of Jesus in Luke was not challenged until the early nineteenth century. Since then there has been much debate as to whether Luke's passion story has any salvific intent at all. As a result of this debate, the Lukan Passion Narrative has witnessed a burgeoning body of literature. Despite the huge amount of literature emerging from the study of the Lukan Passion Narrative, only a few scholars attest to the atoning sacrifice of the Lukan Jesus. For a number of scholars, the death of Jesus in Luke's Gospel has no salvific effect (Daly, 2009:54). They argue that the death of Jesus in Luke is similar to that of Socrates (Scaer, 2005:78), and that it was of no salvific significance to the Lukan community (Neyrey, 2007:157). For Neyrey (2007:191) there is an absence of a *theologia crucis* in Luke and of any reflection on its significance for

the Christian community. Instead, his death does not speak the language of expiation, but rather that of the faithfulness of God to Jesus (Karris, 1985:79-115).

The exegetical understanding of the death of Jesus in Luke as a non-salvific event was given impetus with the emergence of the work of Martin Dibelius in 1919. It was soon followed[253] by the publication of the revised edition of Alfred Morris Perry's thesis by the Chicago School of Theology in 1920.[254] Since the publication of these two works, the emergent literature seems to follow the line of Dibelius and that of Perry's arguments. On the one hand, Dibelius asserts that the death of the Lukan Jesus is that of a martyr, and is without any salvific benefit to his community. According to him, the Lukan community had understood the death of Jesus in this manner, since they were aware of similar martyrdoms that were suffered during the Maccabean persecution (Dibelius, 1971:201). This assertion places the death of the Lukan Jesus on a par with the Greco-Roman concept of a heroic death (Scaer, 2005:11-78). On the other hand, Perry (1920:74) declares that "The death and resurrection of Jesus are the central interest and *raison d'être* of the J source; but the significance attached to his death is not large." The same argument is evident in the work of C.K. Barrett (1961:47-48).[255]

Both Dibelius and Perry's theories of the absence of the salvific benefit of the death of the Lukan Jesus have attracted many disciples and in recent times have become the standard view of the passion event in Luke. The same interpretation of the Lukan Jesus death is, for example, asserted by Donald Senior (1989:145-148) and Peter Rice (2013:365), who understand the death of the Lukan Jesus as a heroic death in which he died as a victim of an

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[253] There is no evidence that Perry had contact with the work of Dibelius and vice versa. They seem to have worked independently of each other.

[254] Dibelius's work *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* "*Form Criticism of the Gospels*", which was published in 1919 and translated into English as *From Tradition to Gospel*, is an important work that provides a critical starting point for the examination of the function of the death of Jesus in Luke. Perry's thesis, which was officially published in 1920, agrees with the notion that is proposed by Dibelius, namely, that the Lukan Jesus' death seems to have little or no salvific benefit to the Lukan community. Perry (1920:74) asserts that Luke, for example, does not mention any sacramental or salvific implication of the death of Jesus in the Passion Narrative.

[255] Barrett's approach to Luke is a historical one, which causes him to reject any theological premise that has been posited by Luke. According to Barrett, the interpretation of the death of Jesus in his Gospel lacks any reference to Jesus as saviour. Rather, the Father is given prominence over the Christ and the Holy Spirit. Barrett (1961:47) argues that God the Father is the author of creation and of salvation. We therefore hear nothing of the pre-existence of Christ, and there is the barest of hints (Acts 20:28) of an atoning death in regard to the death of Jesus. Jesus rather sends the Spirit, because it has been granted to him by the Father to do so.

injustice in which his people, the Jews, had participated.[256] Senior further argues that such a heroic death is emulated by Stephen in Acts 7. The same notion is captured by Darrell L. Bock (1994:355) and F.S. Spencer (2008:63-64), namely, that the Lukan Jesus is regarded by Luke as a Suffering Servant and that he lacks any notion of a salvific event attached to his cross. The same idea – that the death of Jesus is no different from that of Socrates' praiseworthy death – is upheld by Peter J. Scaer (2005:134).

Contrary to the views of modern scholars, the death of the Lukan Jesus was never viewed by the church fathers and earlier commentators before them as having anything less than a salvific effect in the Lukan narrative. Neither did they see the cross as lacking any soteriological effectiveness. For instance, Augustine believes that "St. Luke seems to dwell more than the other Evangelists upon the Priestly lineage of the person of our Lord…" Ambrose, following the same line of argument, accentuates that the Lukan Passion Narrative is all about a priestly victim, which is the Christ himself, who has taken upon himself the sins of humanity (Aquinas, *Cat.* 3.1). Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexander, in his exposition to Luke's Gospel believes that the Lukan Jesus was made sick because of our sins so that we might be delivered from the sickness of our soul (Just, 2003:360). Martin Luther in his eleventh passion-sermon, "Christ prayer on the cross – The malefactor on the right," which focuses on Luke 23:32-43, acknowledges that Luke's story of the passion is unabridged, self-explanatory and complete compared to those of the other Gospel writers.[257] John Calvin and other reformers gave the same interpretation that sees the Lukan Jesus' passion within the framework of the *theologia crucis* (theology of the cross). The *theologia crucis* is effectively developed in the Lukan Passion Narrative as a means through which humanity will have access into the divine presence. Calvin (1979:3.302) notes that the crucifixion of Christ between two robbers "was the finishing stroke of the lowest disgrace", but that he did this

> In order that he might free us from condemnation, this of expiation was necessary, that he might place himself in our room. Here we perceive how dreadful is the weight of the wrath of God against sin, for appeasing which it became necessary that Christ, who is eternal justice, should be ranked with robbers. We see, also, the inestimable love of Christ towards us, who,

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[256] Scholars such as Overbeck (1875:1), Harnack 1909:88-287), Conzelmann (1960:132-140), Haenchen (1971:180), Tyson (1986:100-104), Sanders (1987:48-50) and Rice (2013:363-368) also believe that the Lukan Jesus' suffering and death were due to his own people, the Jews.

[257] In his own words, after reading the text of Luke 23:32-43, Luther (1871:176) says of the Lukan Passion Narrative that: "The holy Evangelist Luke here mentions two things that are very consolatory. Therefore, although the other Evangelists Matthew, Mark and John have omitted them in their record of Christ's sufferings, we shall treat of them here, so that this record may be before us its completeness."

in order that he might admit us to the society of the holy angels, permitted himself to be classed as one of the wicked.

John Lightfoot (1979:3, 215) alleges that the passion of the Lukan Jesus signifies his expiation. The same approach can be seen in the work of Leon Morris (1965:63-106), who argues for the central place of the cross in Luke's gospel. Fitzmyer (1985:1514) notes that the death of Jesus is a symbolic event in Luke which gives humanity access into the presence of God. To Fitzmyer (1985:1515-1517), the Lukan Jesus' death is a sacrifice, and it is no less soteriological in its description than that of Mark or Matthew. Luke Timothy Johnson (1991:375-380) agrees with the salvific nature of the death of Jesus in Luke's Gospel, but he primarily portrays Jesus as a prophet who died for the sin of his people. It seems as if Johnson's categorisation of the death of the Lukan Jesus as a prophet implies that his heroic death should be understood primarily as that of a Jewish prophet. This understanding, however, lacks any allusion to or echo of the Old Testament text that could shed light on his death, since it has no example of a prophet that died for the sin of his people.

One recent work that seems to hold onto the salvific economy of the death of Jesus in Luke is Peter Doble's *The paradox of salvation: Luke's theology of the cross*. Doble (1996), however, ends up calling the death of the Lukan Jesus a righteous death. Doble (1996:93-225) takes Luke's use of δίκαιος "righteous" as the starting point for his thesis. He theorises that Luke's use of δίκαιος is an allusion to or echo of the Wisdom literature. Doble's work is commendable for its insight in many areas: in the first place, it is able to take the use of the word δίκαιος as a means through which the meaning of the salvific event of the Lukan Jesus can be understood. Secondly, its attempts to review the literature on the use of δίκαιος are of great interest, as it provides diverse meanings for the Lukan use of the word and its connotation in the Lukan Passion Narrative. The study also reveals that the use of δίκαιος by Luke vindicates a *theologia crucis* as the crux of the narrative, and a subset of the *theologia salutis* in the Lukan Passion Narrative (Doble, 1996:239). However, while the work of Doble is to be commended, it inadvertently posits that the place of the cross in the death of the Lukan Jesus marks Jesus' death as similar to that of a righteous prophet (Doble, 1996:37, 231) and likens his blood to that of an innocent prophet. In regard to this, one wonders what the essence of the blood of an innocent prophet in Doble's exegesis is, since the blood of an innocent prophet in the Old Testament was not used to effect the forgiveness of sin and reconciliation. It was rather a curse on the people involved in shedding such blood, as is

evident in Deut 19:10, 13. Furthermore, the significance of the cross in terms of a salvific event in Luke is questionable in Doble's work, as he (1996:237) writes:

> While the Lukan cross is no ransom and effects no forgiveness — which Luke understands as God's direct gift to the penitent — this cross is the proving of the δίκαιος and a model of how those who follow him might expect to die…. For Luke, Jesus is the first of a company gathered to walk in his Way: if the 'final event' is the resurrection of the saints or the δίκαιος, then Jesus' resurrection and exaltation is their guarantee of what is to come. God raised Jesus because his dying proved him δίκαιος.

There is another problem in the work of Doble, as so-called *allusions* and *echoes* in his work do not have any direct support from the *Priesterschrift,* which is believed to contain the basic procedures for the sacrificial system of the Old Testament. Against Dibelius, Perry, Neyrey, Karris and Doble, John Kimbell (2014) in his monumental work *The atonement in Lukan theology* therefore argues succinctly that the death of the Lukan Jesus is salvific in nature. According to him, the Lukan Jesus was to carry out atonement through the making of a new covenant for the forgiveness of sin. Kimbell (2014:55), however, believes that Luke does not mention the death of Jesus as a means of reconciliation. This view of Kimbell of atonement without reconciliation casts doubt on the reason for atonement in ancient Israel. In trying to understand the salvific effect of the death of the Lukan Jesus, there is thus a need to see it through the eyes of Luke. There is also a need to re-examine the function of δίκαιος, and other related terms, as used by Luke in his Passion Narrative alongside allusions and echoes from the Old Testament and especially the *Priesterschrift*, from a socio-historical perspective. This is what the following sections aims to achieve.

6.3 The function of the meal in Luke 22:19-20

The opening narrative of the Lukan passion is a meal scene. Meals play a crucial role in a number of Lukan texts (e.g. 5:29; 7:36-49; 11:37; 24:30).[258] Scholars of Luke such as Jeremias (1966), Marshall (1978b), Fitzmyer (1985), Soards (1987), Green (1997), Heil (1999) and Megbelayin (2001), however, have diverse opinions on the meaning and significance of meals in the Lukan Passion Narrative, especially of the meal in 22:19-20.[259]

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[258] Nolland (1993:1041-1052) has observed the role that setting/structure play in the Lukan narrative. Luke also uses a special formula when he introduces a new scene or element in his discourse. The structure/setting of this meal is within the Passover meal.

[259] Some Lukan scholars such as Jeremias (1966:85), Fitzmyer (1985:1390) and John Paul Heil (1999:177-180) have identified two meals within the text of Luke 22:14-20. According to them the first meal is to be regarded as a Passover meal, while the second (the last) one can be seen as the actual meal that Jesus used as a symbol for

Several interpretations have been provided by scholars based on their understandings of the particular meal in question. In line with their interpretations, different names have also been attributed to the meal scene in 22:19-20. It has been called "The Lord's Supper" (Marshall, 1978b:804; Scaer, 2008:126-127; Camp, 2009:82), "The Last Supper" (Jeremias, 1966:219; Fitzmyer, 1985:1390; LaVerdiere, 1996:81; Heil, 1999:180; Megbelayin, 2001:138), and "A Meal of Remembrance" (Etukumana, 2012:9-11). Whatever might be the meaning attached to the meal in 22:19-20, the fact is that according to Luke's narration of the meal, Jesus is the fulfilment of the promise of the Old Testament, as is argued by Godwin Etukumana (2012:10-11):

> In the Old Testament YHWH told Moses to make sure the people keep the Passover meal for remembrance, but in Luke, it is not Moses that communicated to the people, but God in Jesus that informed the new community to keep this meal in remembrance of Jesus. This command implies the superiority of Jesus' meal over the Passover meal, a demonstration of the Lucan rhetoric of remembrance, which can be seen as a "Lucan literary stamp" (LaVerdiere, 1996:82) on the salvific and liberation power of Jesus upon the new community.[260]

This understanding of the meal as a meal of remembrance is in line with the interpretation of Calvin (1979:3.292-393), who describes the meal in the Lukan Passion Narrative as a meal of remembrance that reminds believers that they have been reconciled to God (*Deo primum reconciliati*).

6.3.1 The Passover and Jesus' identity

The Lukan understanding of the meal can be determined only by reading Luke 22:19-20, which states:

> *καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.*

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his death (Jeremias, 1966:85, 255). The type of meal Luke has in mind is very important, as it explains what will happen to the Lukan Jesus as well as what will be the purpose of his death in regard to human salvation (Green, 1997:757-760).

[260] For more details on this see Etukumana (2012).

> And he took the bread having given thanks broke it and said to them: this is my body that is given for you. "Do this in remembrance of me." And in the same manner he took the cup after supper saying "This is the cup of the New Covenant in my blood that is shed for you.[261]

The meaning of the statement by Jesus in the context of the Lukan Passion Narrative is very important for understanding the mission of the Lukan Jesus. The Lukan peculiarity is evident in his choice of words in the meal scene and its ritualistic importance. Luke categorically identifies the second meal with the use of the phrase μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι "after eating (supper)", whereas Matthew and Mark interweave the different elements to make them one event (Chilton, 1997:71). Luke separates the two meals, with the intention of informing his community of the identity of Jesus in the second meal. The identification of Jesus with the elements of bread and wine invokes the knowledge of sin, which calls for atonement (Luke 22:19-20). The statement of Jesus identifies sin as the cause of human friction with God and with one another, while the eating of the bread is the prologue to the salvific event of Jesus' atonement.

The ἄρτον (bread) shared by the disciple is believed to anticipate the body of Jesus that will be crucified on the cross for the sin of his people and which thus metaphorically signifies his agony and suffering (Renn, 2005:141). Bread and body in the text form a parallelism (Nolland, 1993:1052-1053) that represents the Passover lamb that was slain in Egypt (Jeremias, 1966:198-199), which in turn has important implications for understanding the soteriological aspects of his life and death (Fitzmyer, 1985:1401).[262] From the Lukan perspective, Jesus uses Old Testament sacrificial imagery to refer to himself as the bread, which is a metaphor for the lamb that was slain for the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, as is evident in Exod 12:14; 13:9 and Deut 16:3 (Bock, 1996:1726). The implication here is that the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross is a direct representation of the Old Testament lamb, which is symbolised by the use of bread in the Lukan Remembrance meal text (Etukumana, 2012:41-48). The bread thus symbolises the body of Jesus that will be crucified on the cross for the sin of his community. Nolland (1993:1054) relates the function of the statement τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον to the references in ancient Greco-Roman society in the works of Thucydides (*Hist*. 2.43.2) and Libanus (*Declam*. 24.3), which reveal

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[261] I prefer using the longer text to that of the shorter one. The argument in favour of the longer text has been made by many Lukan scholars (see Cooper 1962:39; Jeremias 1966:148-149; Petzer, 1984:251; Carpinelli 1999:75; Billings, 2006:526; Etukumana, 2012:11-15).

[262] Scholars such as Jeremias (1966) and Marshall (1978b) have also wrestled with the interpretation of ἄρτον in the context of the Lukan Passion Narrative of this meal.

that "to give one's body" delineates dying in battle for the sake of one's community of people. This picture from the ancient writers shows that the body of Jesus was given for the sake of his community as a means of redemption. Stated differently, it was *an exchange* for the life of his people.[263]

The Lukan narrative of this meal could also be an allusion to the Servant motif, in that the bread could be intended to refer to the wounded body of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53.[264] In Isaiah 53:5, the Suffering Servant was wounded (ἐτραυματίσθη) for our lawlessness (τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν) and bruised for our iniquities (τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν).[265] Luke's use of δίδωμι is peculiar, as there is no way bread could be shared without first dividing it into smaller portions. This assumed division of the body of Jesus would then correlate with the wounded Suffering Servant in the Isaiah text. The disciples were instructed to eat the meal in his remembrance, which connotes remembering that his body was broken as a means of atonement for their sin.[266] The remembrance also implies the presence of the Lord in their midst when sharing the bread, as is related in Luke 24:30-31 (Decock, 2002:43).

The cup (τὸ ποτήριον) symbolically represents the blood that is about to be shed for the disciples. In the Greco-Roman world drinking from one cup was a sign of reconciliation, as demonstrated in Homer (*Il.* 1.584-600). Jesus' sharing of a cup thus signals his intention to inaugurate a new era of reconciliation for all who will drink from it in the future in remembrance of him. The content of the cup is believed to be the blood of Jesus.[267] In both

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[263] Porter (1994) believes that exchange was a means through which people in the ancient world could carry out the process of reconciliation. The same position is reiterated in his recent work (2006:131-152). Porter, however, does not want to extend this concept outside the Pauline letters. The image of battle in the ancient world provides an interpretative framework through which the ancient world sees the death of a soldier in a battle as salvific, since such a death resulted from the defence of the territorial integrity of their land. It therefore was more honourable and heroic to die on a battlefield than in any other manner in the ancient world.

[264] Fitzmyer (1985:1401), however, believes that the use of ἄρτον has no connection with the Servant motif of Isaiah 53.

[265] In the *Didache* (9-10, 14), written about 96 CE, Jesus is depicted as the "servant of the Lord" who was sacrificed for the benefit of his community (Wolmarans, 2005:320). Scholars such as Allan Garrow (2004:224-234) sees the author of Luke as depending on the *Didache* for his composition, resulting in it influencing Luke's theology. This view of Luke being dependent on the Didache is, however, not supported by all scholars.

[266] The concept of Isaiah's Suffering Servant is well articulated by Breytenbach (2009:349-350), who argues that the LXX translation of the Suffering Servant text of Isaiah has its backdrop the Greek concept of "dying for" and "deliverance" unto the hostile force. It was an event that, when viewed within the messianic mission formula of the ancient Jewish tradition, has political and cultic connotations. The violent death that the Lukan Jesus suffered could thus also have both political and cultic connotations.

[267] J.L.P. Wolmarans (2005:310) adduces that in Greco-Roman culture a similar belief is envisaged when the worshippers believed that "Drinking wine for the followers of Dionysus literally meant drinking the god himself." This belief among the ancient worshippers of Dionysus led to them changing their behaviour, since they believed the gods were now within them.

the Greco-Roman and the Jewish worlds, blood was used as a means of expiation. The Lukan narrative identifies τὸ ποτήριον with blood, which is to be a new covenant (Fitzmyer, 1985:1402). Fitzmyer alleges that the blood of Jesus is an allusion to θυσίαν σωτηρίου "sacrifice of salvation" in Exod 24:5 (LXX), where Moses used blood as a means of sealing a covenant with the house of Israel. Similarly, Chilton understands Jesus' words as an allusion to Moses' statement in Exod 24:8 (LXX) (ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων "See the blood of the covenant which YHWH has cut with you regarding all these words"). Chilton further believes that the essence of Jesus' reference to διαθήκη is that he is renewing it in himself. However, he denies any connection between Jesus' assertion and the allusion in Jer 31:31 (38:31 LXX), where the phrase καινὴ διαθήκη occurs for the first time in the whole Old Testament. Rather, Chilton applies the allusion to Zech 9:11, in which YHWH says that he will set free the prisoners because of the blood of the covenant (ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης) (Chilton, 1997:72). Fitzmyer and Chilton's denial of an allusion to Jeremiah's concept of καινὴ διαθήκη does not recognise the importance of circumcision and its association with blood as a means of formulating a covenant signalling reconciliation. Socio-historically it is important to take note of the incident that occurred between Moses, his wife, and YHWH in Exod 4:25-26 (LXX), where a calamity was averted through the use of τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς (the blood of circumcision) as a means of shielding Moses against the death that God had intended to bring upon him or his son (Cohen, 2003:30-32). Lawrence Hoffman (1996:26-100) has argued in the light of this episode that circumcision itself is a covenant whose power rests on blood. It incorporates the undeniable belief that it was αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς that saved. This belief, according to Hoffman (1996:190), was prevalent in the Old Testament sacrificial system and in early Christianity. This implication of the circumcision in the Old Testament resulted in it being regarded as one of the most important duties that every Jewish male had to undergo, as is evident in the commandment in Exod 12:48, which states that no person without circumcision shall eat of the Paschal sacrifice (Cohen, 2003:35). Here two covenants are related to each other: "the covenant of circumcision" and that of "the Paschal sacrifice." Both of these rituals invoke the importance of blood, especially in the act of deliverance.

Jesus' reference to ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη rests on the reconfiguration of the Old Testament concept of the covenant that he had full knowledge of as a Jew. Contra Marshall (1978b:806-807), who believes that Jeremiah's idea of καινὴ διαθήκη does not involve blood and that the possible allusion here is to Exod 24:8, his statement here is based on the prophecy of Jer

31:31 (38:31 LXX). Before Jeremiah's announcement of the upcoming new covenant relationship, he uses the phrase ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, which can be translated as "the days come" (KJV), "days are coming" (NASB), "The day is coming" (NLT), "the days are coming" (RSV). It refers to the future and thus awaits its fulfilment. The use of καινὴ is very significant, as it defines the nature of the covenant to be inaugurated in the near future. It is on the basis of this covenant that the profane people will become the people of God through the *will* of God (Jer 38:34 LXX). According to Petrus J. Gräbe (2006:79), the text of Exod 24:8 and the promise of the bloodless covenant in Jeremiah were to "supplement and condition each other in the Lord's Supper logia." He further adds that "Jeremiah 31:31 provides the salvation history framework, while Exodus 24:8 serves to illustrate the death of Jesus." The language of Jesus in the Lukan meal ritual is thus an appropriation of this Old Testament prophecy to himself as the one who is capable of inaugurating and fulfilling ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη that is symbolically represented by the content of the cup (Gräbe, 2006:79-80). The definite article ἡ is absent in Jeremiah's opening statement, which in essence indicates anticipation. But Jesus' appropriation of the prophecy comes with the definite article ἡ (the) to indicate that there was such a specific statement already known to his audience. On the basis of the re-authentication and re-appropriation of the Old Testament blood ritual covenant in the Lukan passion story, the Lukan Jesus has fulfilled the requirements of purity that are found in the blood of circumcision and the blood of the covenant, and has brought deliverance and reconciliation to his community. This was done by fulfilling the cutting of ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη with his blood on the cross, which therefore was an indication of the inauguration of the age of reconciliation between humanity and God.

6.4 The Isaianic Suffering-Servant and reconciliation in Luke 22:37

Luke 22:37 is peculiar to Luke (Taylor, 1972:67). In Luke's text it relates to Jesus' interaction with his disciples after the meal had been completed. The interaction begins in verse 31 with Peter being alerted to the danger awaiting him as a result of the impending death that will befall his master. In the course of facing death, Jesus believes that his suffering is the fulfilment of the writing of the Old Testament, emphatically asserting that λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ γεγραμμένον δεῖ τελεσθῆναι ἐν ἐμοι ("for I say to you that what is written in this scripture is being fulfilled in me"). This quotation by the Lukan Jesus is a direct reference to the authenticity of the Old Testament scripture as *ipsissima verba Dei,* the very word of God. The Lukan Jesus is known for citing and appropriating the content of the Old Testament for himself (4:18-19; 6:3-4; 7:22-23, 27; 22:19-20). Jesus' claim that the Old

Testament text refers to him is seen in the way he often cites it when applying it to himself. By doing this, the Lukan Jesus presents himself as the fulfilment of the Old Testament (24:27, 44, 46). But the quotation of Isaiah 53:12 is the only time in Luke that Jesus quotes the Old Testament directly as being fulfilled in him (Nolland, 1993:1076-1077). The Lukan use of $\delta\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ "must" signals an irreversibly determined event that has to come to fulfilment. The Lukan use of $\delta\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ attributes to the statements of the Lukan Jesus something that he must carry out (cf. 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 22:37; 24:7; 24:44). As Plummer (1922:140) notes, it shows that "His work and His sufferings are ordered by Divine degree." This divine ordering, following the work of Plummer, is for him to fulfil the ancient prophetic text $\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\grave{\alpha}\nu\acute{o}\mu\omega\nu$ $\grave{\epsilon}\lambda o\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta$ (He was counted among the lawless people). The phrase has been interpreted differently by scholars. The first interpretation is that the disciples of Jesus are lawless due to them having a $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\iota\rho\alpha$ ("sword") in their midst (Schweitzer, 1984:341-342). Scholars such as Lenski (1961:1069) and Nolland (1993:1077), however, see it as referring to his death between the two thieves. Others believe that the use of $\grave{\alpha}\nu\acute{o}\mu o\iota$ refers to the entirety of humanity for whose redemption his blood is shed (Bovon, 2012:184; contra Schweitzer, Lenski and Nolland).

What is important is that the death of Jesus was, according to Luke, predicted in the Old Testament. In several places in Luke, such as 9:22; 13:33; 17:25; and so on, Jesus reaffirms his commitment to fulfilling this Old Testament prophecy. His association with the downtrodden and the outcast of his society shows that he came for all who had been afflicted by some kind of problems. This assertion is in line with those of Hendriksen (1978:977) and Fitzmyer (1985:1430), who allege that the Lukan Jesus cast himself as the fulfilment of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53. The Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 was a figure expected to come with the sole aim of redeeming Israel from sin in order to reconcile them to God and to one another.

The Lukan Jesus does not see himself as *one who reckons with his disciples* during his passion or as someone who will die between two thieves, but as someone divinely designed to bear the iniquity of humanity for the purpose of reconciling them with God and each other. This event is believed by the Lukan Jesus to have an expected time frame, and that is why the use of $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda o\varsigma$ becomes necessary in his statement. It is on the cross that the Lukan Jesus reached the climax of this statement, as it was only meant for sinners to die such a death (Hengstenberg, 2007:610-612). The reference to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53:12 is a verbal echo through which Jesus claims to fulfil the prophecy of Isaiah. This claim of Jesus

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provides a window through which to understand the script of Luke regarding the place of Jesus in his community. It entails both the recontextualisation and reconfiguration of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah.[268] Positioning his narrative within the Old Testament text and its prophecy, Luke indicates that Jesus is the one whose blood is intended to redeem his community from the power of sin, thereby reconciling them with God. By implication here Jesus is both the lamb and the messianic Suffering Servant who will reconcile his people with God and establish God's kingdom on earth.

6.5 The reconciliation of Herod and Pilate in Luke 23:6-12

The narrative pattern of this section (Luke 23:6-12) deals with the expression of the concept of reconciliation by reciprocity. It occurs in the so-called *Herod Pericope*, which occurs only in Luke (Perry, 1920:44; Soard, 1987:18; Kubiś, 2014:239).[269]

Luke's reason for including this pericope within his narrative of the passion is a matter of debate among scholars (Manus, 1987:123-124). Erwin Buck (1980:175-176) feels that the reason for Luke's inclusion of it is to inform his community that the Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus, as he was declared "not guilty" by Pilate. This opinion is contrary to the recent work of Christoph W. Stenschke (1999:124-126), in which he argues that Luke's explanation does not intend to exonerate Pilate from the death of Jesus, or that, if this was indeed his intention, Luke has failed to do so. Harrington's (2000:787) observation that Luke's intention is to complement Mark and to point out that Jesus was a prophet who died an innocent death, and that whoever wishes to follow him must be prepared to face the same situation does not address the problem that the whole narrative of Luke places more emphasis on the death of Jesus as the Son of God than on him being a prophet (there is no place in Luke where Jesus is placed solely on par with the prophets). Luke instead maintains that Jesus is the son of God till his death and in the resurrection and post-resurrection narratives. Jesus, according to Luke, is more than a prophet, and he died not as a prophet but as the

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[268] According to Vernon K. Robbins (1996:41-50), recitation is a process of transmitting speech or narratives from either the oral or written tradition in the exact or different words in which the person received the tradition, Recontextualisation is a process of citing a biblical text without any indication of the existence of such a word or statement in any written text elsewhere, while reconfiguration of a text is retelling a situation in a text in a way that makes the later event new in relation to the old event. By interpretation, Jesus here applies all the known rules of ancient rhetoric in order to appropriate the fulfilment of the text in his suffering and death.

[269] The source of the Lukan story here is highly disputed, since it is not found in the Markan and Matthean sources. See Harrington (2000:691-709) for arguments on the possible source of the material.

righteous one, the Son of God.[270] The Lukan Jesus is known as Master and not as a rabbi or a prophet (Barclay, 2001:4). The description of the involvement of both Pilate and Herod in the death of the Lukan Jesus was thus possibly intended to indicate how important the death of Jesus was to Luke. The recent investigation by Pyung Soo Seo (2015:41-52) into the reason for Luke's inclusion of this pericope in his narrative acknowledges that it is intended to show how Pilate and Herod were responsible for the death of the Lukan Jesus as a result of their friendship. And this means, according to Seo, that both of them had a hand in the death of Jesus. Seo's (2015:46-47) assertion of the principle of friendship as a means of putting the Lukan Jesus to death is crucial to understanding Luke's intention at this point. He further acknowledges that as a result of this friendship, the death of Jesus was characterised as an abject abuse of authority by both the Jewish and Roman authorities.

While Seo's insight into to the reason for Luke inserting the pericope is helpful, Chris U. Manus (1987:123-125), who has surveyed nine interpretations of the meaning of the text,[271] all of which he refutes, has proposed that the purpose of this text is to emphasise that the blood of Jesus is the only tenable means of achieving reconciliation. No other practice or ritual can enact true reconciliation. Manus thus makes the process of reconciliation a key element in reading this unique passage in Luke.[272]

Luke stresses that the plan to terminate the life of Jesus presented Pilate and Herod with the opportunity to settle their differences with each other (Buck, 1996:1821). A similar situation is well documented by ancient historians of the Greco-Roman society who refer to instances in which the common treatment of a person was used as a means of reconciliation (Plutarch, *Ant.* 32.3-5). Luke sees the reason why Pilate sent Jesus to Herod was to amend their previously broken relationship, as he writes: ἐγένοντο δὲ φίλοι ὅ τε Ἡρῴδης καὶ ὁ Πιλᾶτος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων "Now Herod and Pilate became friends with one another that very day" (NASB). The need for their reconciliation is stated in the second section of the verse, which reads προϋπῆρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες πρὸς αὐτούς "for before this they had

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[270] Jesus never claimed in the Lukan text to have fulfilled any prophetic role. However, he often claimed to be the Son of Man who had the power to forgive sin (5:17-26; 7:47-48; 17:19). O'Toole (2004:156-180) concedes that the picture of the Lukan Jesus is more than that of the Old Testament prophets and parallel to none except Moses, but then goes on to claim that the picture of the Lukan Jesus is more than that of Moses (O'Toole, 2004:52-53).

[271] H.W.A. Meyer sees the Lukan text in 23:6-12 as an eclectic composition. Others think that Luke includes this text so as to blame the death of Jesus on the Jews and thereby exonerate the Romans (Manus, 1987:124).

[272] Bovon (2012:261) also notes that there are three major elements in the narrative context of the story of which one of them is the climax of the story whereby Pilate and Herod became friends.

been at enmity with each other" (RSV), which plausibly invokes the idea of reciprocity (Kubiś, 2014:243; cf. see section 5.3.1.4). The text can be arranged as follows:

ἐγένοντο δὲ φίλοι ὅ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πιλᾶτος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετ' ἀλλήλων (A)

προϋπῆρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες πρὸς αὐτούς (B)

Luke uses the reflexive pronouns *ἀλλήλων* and *αὐτούς* to end both the A and B sections of verse 12 in order to show the nature of the reciprocity that came about between these two figures as a result of them using the Lukan Jesus as a means of amending their previously shattered relationship (see section 5.4.3).

According to Manus (1987:127), "It is in the blood of Jesus that the true friendship and reconciliation with God are achieved for all humanity. This sense is characteristic of the Lucan homiletic material elsewhere." The reconciliation between Herod and Pilate thus foreshadows the effect of the death of Jesus as the means through which God would appropriate reconciliation between himself and his people. It is, however, unclear if this was Luke's intention. It could thus be that the involvement of Jesus in settling the hostility between Herod and Pilate is simply one of coincidence, in that any prisoner could have served as the means of exchange that lead to them reconciling (see section 4.2.4).

6.6   Jesus on his way to Calvary in Luke 23:27-28 – Text and translation

Ἠκολούθει δὲ αὐτῷ πολὺ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν αἳ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἐθρήνουν αὐτόν. 28 στραφεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰς [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ, μὴ κλαίετε ἐπ' ἐμέ· πλὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς κλαίετε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν.

Translation

> **27** And there followed him a great multitude of the people, and of women who bewailed and lamented him. **28** But Jesus turning to them said, "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children" (RSV).

This section features another Lukan peculiarity. Whereas Matthew 27:29-33 and Mark 15:17-22 present the scene with a lot of intense mockery from the audience, Luke's presentation shows how Jesus received the sympathy of the crowd. Luke's narrative is thus a direct opposite to those of Matthew and Mark. Luke describes the behaviour of the people with *κόπτω* and *θρηνέω* when he says, *δὲ αὐτῷ πολὺ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν αἳ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἐθρήνουν αὐτόν* "and with him a great number of people and of women who

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mourned and lamented him," which is opposite of ἐμπαίζω (to mock), which is used by both Matthew and Mark. The reaction of τοῦ λαου affirms the already-established (in Luke 23:6-12) character of the Lukan Jesus as being blameless. The reaction of Jesus towards the people is very important when viewed from the way Luke narrates his story.

6.6.1 The daughters of Jerusalem and the Passion Narrative

The use of the phrase θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ is peculiar to Luke in the New Testament. It is striking that the Lukan Jesus prefers to address the mourning and lamenting women as θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ "daughters of Jerusalem," which is not common even in the Old Testament prophetic writings. In order to elaborate further on this, it is worth pointing out that the two phrases the θύγατερ Ιερουσαλημ and θύγατερ Σιων can be used interchangeably in the Old Testament prophetic discourse or narrative. These two phrases, however, never appeared in their plural forms in the Old Testament, as is evident from their use in the singular in 2 Kgs 19:21; Ps 9:14; Isa 10:32; Isa 16:1; 37:22; 52:2; 62:11; Jer 4:31; 6:23; 8:19; Lam 1:6; 2: 1, 4; 4:22; Mic 1:13; 4:8; Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:7; 2:10; 9:9. In some places the two phrases "the daughter of Jerusalem" and "the daughter of Zion" are used simultaneously to refer to Jerusalem or the nation of Israel (Judah), as in Lam 2:13; 4:8; Zeph 3:14 and Zech 9:9.[273] Other times the usage of "the daughter of Zion" or "the daughter of Jerusalem" contrasts the "daughter of Edom", as in Lam 4:22, and "the daughter of Babylon", as in Zech 2:7. The usage of the phrase daughter of Jerusalem in the Old Testament, especially in Zephaniah, stands parallel to references to Israel (Poulsen, 2015:57) or the collective population of Jerusalem (Kartveit, 2013:12-33). The daughter of Zion or the daughter of Jerusalem is thus apparently used here in reference to the amphictyonic confederacy of Israel as YHWH's covenanted people, as opposed to the daughter of Babylon.

The use of θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ in the context of the Lukan Passion Narrative does not, however, mean the same as θύγατερ Ιερουσαλημ and θύγατερ Σιων, which are common in the prophetic literature. A possible allusion of θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ "daughters of Jerusalem" in the Old Testament is found in the Song of Songs (Garrett & House, 2004:21-22).[274] It is only in this book that reference to the daughters of Jerusalem (θυγατέρες Ιερουσαλημ) in the plural

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[273] This observation has been made by Thomas Lewin (1863:243-254).

[274] The actual authorship of the book is contentious. The phrase ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων ὅ ἐστιν τῷ Σαλωμων (LXX) can be translated as "The song of songs, which is Solomon's" (RSV, NASB). The superscription thus makes a connection with Solomon. The tradition favours Solomon's authorship (Pope, 1977), while contemporary scholarship sees it as a collection that possibly belongs to Solomon's era (Garrett & House, 2004:123-124).

form is found (see Song 1:5; 2:7; 3:5; 3:10; 5:8; 5:16; 8:4). The only place where this phrase is used outside Song of Songs is in the Lukan Passion Narrative. In the Song of Songs as interpreted by Pope (1977:318-319) and Griffin (2011:67-68), it is a designated name for the girls or women in Jerusalem.

The place of women in mourning for the dead was sacrosanct in the ancient Greco-Roman world, as is acknowledged by Darja Šterbenc Erker (2009:138), who states that mourning was a religious obligation in the ancient Greco-Roman world. Seneca (4 BCE to 65 CE) in his *Troades* (83-94) says that women of Trojan were expected to mourn their hero, Hector, by beating their breasts. A similar event is described here by Luke in making a direct statement on how the daughters of Jerusalem had beaten their breasts, lamented and wailed for Jesus. The emotional response of these women towards the suffering Messiah confirms that the Lukan Jesus was blameless and therefore does not deserve to die like a thief, as was earlier argued in Luke 23:6-12. Jesus' use of $θυγατέρες\ Ιερουσαλημ$ "daughters of Jerusalem" to address the women who sympathized with him suggests that he does not deserve any pity, since he is suffering based on a divine programme. The statement $πλὴν\ ἐφ'\ ἑαυτὰς\ κλαίετε$ $καὶ\ ἐπὶ\ τὰ\ τέκνα\ ὑμῶν$ "weep for yourselves and your children" does not invalidate the process of reconciliation that Jesus is carrying out, but rather depicts the future mishaps that would occur as the result of the inability of the people to recognise who Jesus was. The language used by the Lukan Jesus delineates the type of love that he had for his people that drove him to the cross. It could also be that Luke is arguing that, as the daughters of Jerusalem were invited to see the love of the beautiful black girl in the Song of Songs (1:5), the Lukan Jesus had invited the daughters of Jerusalem to seek his love through repentance.

6.7 The relationship between the death of Jesus and forgiveness and reconciliation in Luke 23:34a

In section 6.3.1, it was observed that one of the reasons for the death of the Lukan Jesus was so that he would serve as a sin offering for the forgiveness of his community's sins. The cry of the Lukan Jesus for the forgiveness of the sin of those who killed him brings the narrative to its climax in 23:34.

Luke 23:34 displays another Lukan peculiarity (the prayer of Jesus) that is not found in the Passion Narratives in the other New Testament Gospel writers. The reason for including this prayer in his text is best understood from the manner in which Luke formulates his narrative. Luke pays greater attention to the passion of Jesus in his narrative than do the other

Evangelists, and this could be one of the reasons why Luke emphasises what others do not. It is therefore necessary to examine the necessity of Jesus' utterance on the forgiveness of sin as it occurs in Lukan Passion Narrative. The Lukan Jesus' prayer on the cross reads thus:

ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν· πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν[275]

But Jesus said, "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing."

The text of Luke 23:34 has posed yet another difficulty to the interpreters of Luke, as they are divided as to whether or not the original manuscript of Luke contains this prayer of Jesus. Its absence, according to Nathan Eubank (2010:522), from the "two strongest Alexandrian witnesses, $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ and *Codex Vaticanus*, as well as from 579 and the Sahidic version," poses questions as to its authenticity in the Lukan narrative. Still, apart from the Western manuscripts, other Alexandrian texts strongly attest to the authenticity of the prayer in their different manuscripts, albeit with some variants between them. The church fathers prior to the fourth century also have numerous attestations of this prayer in their writings. One such example is the writing of Origen, who in two of his works, *De Pascha* (2.43.7-14) and *Homiliae in Leviticum* (2.1.5), quotes the prayer extensively (Eubank, 2010:522-523). The argument on both sides of the debate is thus well attested, as there is evidence for both the inclusion and the omission of the text in several ancient manuscripts (Bolin, 1992:139; Bovon, 2012:306-307). Despite the attestations from the ancient church fathers and many ancient manuscripts from the Western church, Philip Wesley Comfort (1992:142) holds the view that the text in question was not part of the original Lukan material but was inserted into the Lukan text at a later stage. Contrary to Comfort's assertion, the argument in favour of the Lukan origin of the text is, however, on balance stronger, as is made clear by Eubank (2010:523):

Yet patristic citations offer a powerful and neglected counterweight to the papyrus. The prayer is cited by Irenaeus (*Haer*. 3.18.5) and apparently by Marcion (in Epiphanius, *Pan*. 42.11.6) in the second century, Hippolytus (*Ben. Is. Jac*. 27.28) in the late second or early third century, as well as Origen (*Pasch*. 2.43.7-14; *Hom. Lev*. 2.1.5) in the third and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl*. 2.23) in the fourth. Ephrem cites the prayer three times in his commentary on the

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[275] The followings witnesses lack the text: $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ℵ[1] B D* W Θ 0705 579 597*, while the following witnesses testify to its Lukan origin: ℵ*, [2] A C D[2] L Δ Ψ 0250 f[1] f[13] 28 33 157 180 205 565 597[c] 700 828 892 1006 1010 1071 1243 1292 1342 1424 1505 Byz [F G H N]. Irenaeus Hippolytus, Eusebius Eusebian Canons Ps-Ignatius Apostolic Constitutions Gregory-Nyssa Amphilochius Didymus Ps-Clementines Ps-Justin Chrysostom Cyril Hesychius Theodoret; Ambrosiaster Hilary Ambrose Jerome Augustine [ABS] includes the prayer with asterisks.

> *Diatessaron*, which suggests that the prayer was in Tatian's text in the middle of the second century (10.14; 21.3; 21.18).

The same argument is emphasised by Ilaria L. E. Ramelli (2011:32-33), who states that there is good manuscript support for its Lukan origin. She further posits that it could be that some ancient translators found it difficult to believe that Jesus could forgive his enemies even at the point of death. Ramelli (2011:34) might thus be right when she argues that the removal of the text from the Lukan Passion Narrative took place in the third century CE. Eubank's and Ramelli' submissions provide strong support for the Lukan origin of the text. The basis of their submissions is the evidence provided by various ancient church fathers, and in addition to this even Marcion, who was considered to be a relapsed heretic, has it in his text.

Owning this evidence in favour of the Lukan origin of the text, many scholars have postulated several reasons as to its omission in the later manuscripts. Marshall (1978b:867), Schweitzer (1984:359), Ehrman (2006:88-90) and Bovon (2012:307) note that one of the reasons for its omission could have been the fact that it exonerates the Jews from their punishment for killing Jesus. In other words, anti-Semitism could have led to its omission. Recently, scholars such as Bart D. Ehrman (2006:90)[276] have again emphasised the anti-Jewish behaviour of Christians during the second century as one of the reasons that fuelled the corruption of the text of the New Testament, one of the corruptions of which is the removal of Luke 23:34.[277] Those who believe in the anti-Semitic element uphold that the early church nurtured the hatred against the Jews because they thought the Jews responsible for the death of Jesus. Therefore, the Jews deserved no forgiveness from Jesus. The destruction of the temple in Jerusalem also possibly created doubt in the mind of the early Christians as to the authenticity of the prayer of Jesus in this text, for if the Jews had been forgiven, why did God destroy the temple?

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[276] In this regard Ehrman (2006:386) submits: "The conclusion appears to be fairly secure, then, that Luke's Gospel originally portrayed Jesus as praying for forgiveness for those responsible for his death. Why then was the prayer omitted? It appears that scribes were uncomfortable with the idea that Jesus himself would forgive the Jews for what they were doing, and even more, that he would ask God to forgive them. For according to early Christian interpretations of the events of the year 70, God never did forgive the Jews. And how could he? They had killed his Christ. What was one to do with the fact that Jesus had asked God to forgive them? The easiest solution was to remove the prayer from Jesus' lips. And this is what scribes who copied Luke did, starting with our earliest surviving manuscript, $\mathfrak{p}^{75}$."

[277] In his earlier work, Ehrman (1993), listed several controversies that engulfed the early church and described how such controversies affected the text of the New Testament. See also the work of Eldon Jay Epp (2005) for different reasons for the alteration in *Codex Bezae* (D).

Recently, Ramelli (2011:30-35) has argued that the Lukan prayer for forgiveness is also contrary to Jesus' doctrine of forgiveness in Luke, which is more conditional than unconditional in nature. He argues that the patristic authors and early Christianity did not for one moment consider forgiveness to be unconditional, and this called for the excision of the text from the Lukan Passion Narrative.

According to Ramelli (2011:36), "Forgiveness always rests upon repentance; there is no question of unconditional forgiveness." In trying to prove his thesis, Ramelli (2011:33-34) believes that the translation of the text is misleading, and that it should be translated otherwise. He says that the Lukan Jesus in the text did not pray for the forgiveness of his enemies. He rather prayed that their sins should not be imputed to them. Based on his assumption, the text should be read as "do not even impute them this," which according to him agrees with the prayer uttered by Stephen in Acts 7:60. A careful reading of Luke, however, disproves Ramelli's argument. For instance, 5:20, ἄνθρωπε, ἀφέωνταί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου attaches no condition to the pronounced forgiveness. The same formula is found throughout the Lukan text, as in 5:23; 6:37; 7:47, 48. Luke's teaching on forgiveness is thus based on the divine prerogative to forgive, and not on human repentance. Those whom the Lukan Jesus has forgiven did not do anything to deserve his forgiveness. It was based strictly on his mercy. Ramelli's view of the conditional forgiveness of sin in Luke also reintroduces the *lex talionis*, which the Lukan Jesus is not comfortable with, as is shown by Michael Patella (2005:45).[278]

Whatever the reason for the alteration of the text of the Lukan Passion Narrative in 23:34 might be, whether it is a case of anti-Jewish sentiment, as is alluded to by Schweitzer, Ehrman, Bovon, or due to the theological question that God has not answered the prayer of Jesus, or the conditional understanding of forgiveness of sin, as fronted by Ramelli (2011:33-34), the internal evidence of the text attests to the fact that its language correlates with that of other Lukan texts. Ehrman (2006:88) has suggested that Luke's creation of a parallel text, which he does obliquely without drawing attention to it, is contrary to the scribal harmonisation, which tends to be word for word, with verbal agreement. Ehrman points out that this parallelism is also found in the prayer of Stephen in Acts 7:60, but that it does not provide a key to the exegesis of the text in question. At this point the parallelism seems to

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[278] Randy Nelson (2012:58) believes that the notion of conditional forgiveness is true to human nature, but that the biblical interpretation of unconditional forgiveness is consonant with the teaching of Jesus.

have an insignificant function. Furthermore, Luke's use of the word and his ethical teaching on forgiveness are congruent with the text in 23:34. One word that is common in the Lukan text is πάτερ, which in Luke has a special place in the teaching of Jesus, and the usage here thus indicates that the λόγιον (*logion*) was written by Luke, as in 23:46 (Petzer, 1991:58-59, citing von Harnack, 1931:33). The πάτερ formula in Matthew and Mark is also often formulated with a modifier, but the Lukan usage is quite different, and out of its seven occurrences in the Lukan text, two are found in the passion story. This signals that the longer reading of 23:34a is probably the original work of Luke (Eubank, 2010:526).

6.7.1 The function of Jesus' prayer in Luke 23:34a

Having established the authenticity of the text in the Lukan Passion Narrative, the reason for Luke's inclusion of the prayer in the context of Passion Narrative is crucial in determining its function in the pericope. Shelly Matthews (2009:128) indicates that the prayer of the Lukan Jesus in the context of the Passion Narrative of Luke does not provide any grounds for the atonement for sin. Rather he situates the prayer of Jesus within the mould of martyrdom in antiquity, which aims at informing the Lukan community regarding their need to exercise love for one another (Matthews, 2009:129-134). Matthews thus denies any echo or allusion of this prayer to the Old Testament. Rebekah A. Eklund (2014:10-11) sees the prayer of the Lukan Jesus as depicting someone who is truly in command of his situation and who acts in accordance with his teaching on forgiveness in 6:27-28. In other words, she supports the idea that Jesus was fully aware of the situation surrounding him and that he was in control of what befell him.

The wording of the prayer in 23:34a throws some light on its social and exegetical function and its importance, since it is found only in the Lukan narrative.[279] The use of πάτερ is Lukan, while the use of ἄφες is congruent with the teaching of Jesus in Luke, with strong support from the New Testament teaching on ἀφίημι. Scholars such as Marshall (1978b:868) and Matthews (2009:128) have, however, denied any echo or allusion of the prayer of the Lukan

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[279] The church fathers may not have seen the function of the text for the Lukan community, and perhaps this is why they did not believe that the prayer of the Lukan Jesus in this text had been answered (Eubank, 2010:532-533). Among such fathers is Hypatius, the archbishop of Ephesus in 532 CE, who says regarding this prayer: "the Christ, though he prayed earnestly, did not receive an answer, or he did not really pray" (Hypatius, in Eubank, 2010:532-533). In considering this ancient exegesis, Eubank (2010:536) concludes "that early Christians read Luke 23:34a as a prayer for the soldiers who crucified Jesus and that early Christians inserted this prayer into Luke to increase the guilt of the Jews by exonerating the Romans" may not actually testify of the intention of Luke for his inclusion of this text in his Gospel.

Jesus to the Old Testament.[280] Schweitzer (1984:359), however, indicates a possible allusion to the prayer to the *Priesterschrift* in Lev 4:2, where Moses prescribed a law for inadvertent sin. The possibility of this allusion is predicated in the prayer: οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν "for they do not know what they are doing."

For whom the exculpation is meant in Jesus' prayer is another problem that the text has posed for Lukan scholarship. Schweitzer (1984:359) and Matthews (2009:145) opine that the exculpation in this text is meant for the Jews who killed Jesus, while Eubank (2010:536) thinks that the exculpation is for the Roman soldiers who were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. No matter what the argument may be regarding the question of who was responsible for the death of the Lukan Jesus, Luke, whether intentionally or otherwise, does not indicate for whom the prayer is intended.

It is also debatable whether the prayer was intended to have a specific referent, since the mission of the Lukan Jesus was to suffer (πάσχω) for and on behalf of humanity (Mittelstadt, 2004:69). Luke emphasises this aspect of Jesus' ministry more than do Matthew 16:17 and Mark 8:31 and 9:12. The use of παθεῖν to define the ministry of Jesus by Luke emphasises his place and the essence of his relationship in human redemptive history. According to Luke, πάσχω is the only means through which the Lukan Jesus can bring about forgiveness and reconciliation to humanity. This mantra of suffering before the crucifixion event is succinctly expressed by Luke in:

9:12:   καὶ πῶς γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἵνα πολλὰ πάθῃ καὶ ἐξουδενηθῇ

9:22   εἰπὼν ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν

17:25   πρῶτον δὲ δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης

22:15   πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν

The Lukan texts above are clear demonstrations of the importance of the suffering motif as it relates to the Lukan Jesus. The reiteration of the same suffering motif after the resurrection event, as is evident in 24:26; 24:46, is crucial to the interpretation of the place of suffering in

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[280] Such exegetical interpretation seems to deprive the Lukan community of the salvific benefit of the death of Jesus. In Luke 22:19 the essence of the cup that was given to the disciples was the blood of Jesus that was about to be shed for the sin of humanity. This intratextural narrative provides insights into the reason for the Lukan Jesus's death. It means that the use of ἄφες implies that the content of the cup, as a symbol for the blood of Jesus, will be shed for the redemption of humanity. The cry for forgiveness is thus not contrary to the Lukan Jesus teaching of the subject of ἀφίημι.

the ministry of the Lukan Jesus. The same motif is extended to the second book, Acts. This suffering, according to Luke's narrative, is not imposed on the Lukan Jesus through human agents. The human agents only helped in fulfilling what was originally and divinely ordained by God (House, 1990:324-329; Mittelstadt, 2004:16-20).

Therefore, labelling the prayer of forgiveness in Luke as pertaining to the forgiveness of the Jews and/or the Roman soldiers seems to limit the salvific event of the cross in Luke. The prayer of the Lukan Jesus on the cross is rather meant for the reconciliation of all of humanity to God. This intercessory prayer offered by Jesus thus places him in the position of a prophet like Moses. It may be recalled that when Israel sinned against YHWH during the exodus event Moses interceded on behalf of the people in Exod 32:32; 34:9 and Num 14:19-20. Moses' prayer and presentation of the sin of the people of Israel to YHWH was without blood, whereas the Lukan Jesus' intercession and offering of his blood identified him as both a prophet and a priest who is greater than Moses. In conclusion, it can thus be argued that, having provided an allusion through the prayer of Jesus to the Old Testament prophet like Moses, the Lukan Jesus' prayer of forgiveness is neither specifically meant for the Jews nor for the Roman soldiers who crucified him, but this prophetic-priestly prayer is meant for the forgiveness and the reconciliation of all of humanity, as is evident in Peter's speech in Acts 4:26-28:

> παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. συνήχθησαν γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔχρισας, Ἡρῴδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλᾶτος σὺν ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ, ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἡ χείρ σου καὶ ἡ βουλή [σου] προώρισεν γενέσθαι

> 'The kings of the earth took their stand, / And the rulers were gathered together / Against the Lord, and against His Christ.'   "For truly in this city there were gathered together against Thy holy servant Jesus, whom Thou didst anoint, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, along with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, to do whatever Thy hand and Thy purpose predestined to occur" (NASB).

The speech of Peter is thus a direct indictment on all humanity as having had a hand in the death of Jesus. The use of οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ("the kings of the earth and the rulers"), as spoken by Peter, can be interpreted only within the framework of human representation. This is further emphasised by Peter's use of ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς Ἰσραήλ ("the Gentiles and the people of Israel") in Acts 4:26 to describe who had a hand in the death of the Jesus. In essence, God ordained Jesus as a means of fulfilling forgiveness and effecting

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reconciliation with humanity through his blood. The high priest, the Jews, Pilate and Herod, and the Gentiles are all functionaries who aided in facilitating the already-assigned function of the Lukan Jesus as a prophet-priest for the purposes of reconciling the human race with God, a type of reconciliation that transcends both the vertical and horizontal spheres. It is thus possible that the same understanding which is stated in Acts of who was responsible for the death of Jesus, and thus in need for forgiveness for it, also underlies Luke's Gospel.

6.8 The tearing of the Temple curtain and the death of Jesus in Luke 23:45

Luke's narrative culminates thus in respect of the reconciliatory ministry of the Lukan Jesus:

$$τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος, ἐσχίσθη δὲ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ μέσον$$

The Lukan narrative is fronted with two events that occur concurrently (Marshall, 1978b:874-875). The first event is the darkening of the sun, which Marshall believes to mean that the sun failed to give light. The phrase *τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος* depicts that the effect of the death of the Lukan Jesus was beyond the sphere of human understanding. Mikeal Parsons (2015:339) sees it as an allusion to the way Greco-Roman authors referred to the ascent to heaven which usually occurred after the death of great men. He further states that ascension events here signal the divine displeasure over the death of the Lukan Jesus. Parson's assertion is in contrast to the opinions of Dibelius, Neyrey, Scaer, Tyson, and others who believe that the death of the Lukan Jesus was a heroic death similar to that of Socrates.

The second part, *ἐσχίσθη δὲ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ μέσον*, differs slightly from the Markan account (*Καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπ᾽ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω*) (Mark 15:37) (Kimbell, 2014:88). Mark and Luke are similar in their narrative but different in their arrangement of the events. Luke places his account of the events before the death of Jesus, while the reverse is true of Mark's account. Luke concurrently brings two events to bear at the same time: the eclipse and the tearing of the temple's veil.[281] Significantly he imports the idea of priestly legislature within the Aaronic ritual domain. The noun *καταπέτασμα* derives its usage from the LXX (e.g. in Exod 26:31ff.; Lev 21:23; 24:3). Marshall (1978b:875) adds that "it refers to the curtain separating the holy place from the holy of holies in the tabernacle." Plummer (1922:537) describes it, saying, "Between the

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[281] The reference to the eclipse has been a point of debate beginning from the Alexandrian school of theology with Origen to the present. Origen first argued that the possibility of having an eclipse of the sun during the Passover is unfounded if not impossible. He further added that there was no any other historian or writer who mentioned the occurrence of the event, and therefore believed it might possibly be an invented version of the story (Origen, *Schol. Matt.* 135).

Holy Place and the Holy of Holies… there was a curtain called τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα… to distinguish it from the curtain which separated the outer court from the Holy Place."

In regard to the interpretation of the Luke 23:45, four positions have been taken: (1) it signals the destruction of the temple (Marshall, 1978b:875); (2) it signals the abrogation of the temple ritual; (3) it is to open the way to God; (4) it shows that the Lukan Jesus had communion with his Father in the temple (Sylva, 1986:239-250). Besides these four reasons, John Kimbell (2014:88-89) provides an additional six, resulting in ten different interpretations regarding the meaning of Luke 23:45 (his six include the sign of the "last days", replacement of the temple by Jesus, the emptiness of the temple, the opening of access to God for the Gentiles, God coming out from the temple to reach humanity, and the opening of access to God through the death of Jesus). Some of these positions overlap, especially those that see it as the abrogation of the rituals in the temple and the granting of access to God through the death of Jesus (Kimbell, 2014:89).

In accentuating his narrative on the prerogative of the death of the Lukan Jesus, Luke uses καταπέτασμα to describe it. The use of καταπέτασμα is consonant with the cultic-ritual prescription that is provided in Exod 26:31-37. The same allusion is evident in 2 Chron 3:14ff.[282] Josephus's (*Wars*. 5.212-14) description is also in agreement with the prescription given by Moses in Exodus. Besides this veil, there is another veil mentioned by Josephus (*Wars*. 5.219) that is different from the one mentioned in *Wars*. 5.212-214. These two veils, based on Josephus's descriptions, seem to look alike, but to infer which of them Luke makes mention of is difficult. Reading Luke along with Exod 26:33 (LXX), however, provides a lens through which the meaning of the καταπέτασμα can be understood in Luke's context. This veil, according to the author of Exodus, was meant to function as a custodian of τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου (the ark of the testimony) and separated the rest of the tabernacle from the first part. The ark of the testimony was a symbolic representation of YHWH in the midst of the congregation of Israel. This veil is therefore important in the Lukan presentation as a result of its significance in the cultic economy of Israel. The inner veil's function was to separate the holy of holies from the other partitions of the tabernacle. Only one person had

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[282] Both the Exodus and 2 Chronicles descriptions of the veil in the tabernacle and Solomon's temple provide imagery that the guarding angels – the cherubim – were within the veil and therefore ward off any intruder from going into the holy of holies. This explicates the image of being separated from people, and that this has been nullified in Luke by the tearing of the veil that acted as a barrier to the entrance of the holy presence (Kimbell, 2014:95).

the mandated right to cross this veil on *Yom Kippur*. The use of ἐσχίσθη by Luke is furthermore significant in his polemics on the death of the Lukan Jesus (Ben Ezra, 2003:212-227).[283] The Lukan use of this word seems to invalidate the *un-salvific* polemics of the Lukan Jesus' death. The tearing of the veil is an indication of the salvific economy of the Lukan Jesus, since it was only the high priest who had the right to enter through it. The meaning of it being torn in the context of Luke is that the blood of Jesus has opened up a new relationship between humanity and God.

Through the death of the Lukan Jesus the veil had been torn (ἐσχίσθη δὲ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ μέσον), thereby inviting all to come to the holy of holies, where there is no τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου but το αἵμα του Ιησού "the blood of Jesus." Luke's mention of the temple ritual ostensibly portrays the Aaronic ritual as ineffective in providing the needed socio-cultural and cultic reconciliation to humanity. By writing his story, Luke interprets the death of Jesus on the cross as a sacrifice that has a higher value attached to it than that of the Aaronic priesthood. The Lukan narration is thereby implicitly confirming the nullification of the old ritual action that was enshrined within the framework of the Mosaic ritual for the reconciliation of the people to God and to one another. This is the beginning of the establishing of a new way of reconciliation through the blood of the new covenant that is shed for many for the remission of sin.

6.9 The antithesis between innocence and death in Luke 23:47

The meaning of the death of Jesus is often based on the meaning of the statement that is purportedly presented by Luke to have been uttered by a centurion (Doble, 1996:70-73). As argued earlier (see section 6.2), scholars like Dibelius, Perry, Neyrey, Tyson, Senior, Scaer, Rice, and a host of others do not see the death of the Lukan Jesus as being salvific in nature. They posit that the use of δίκαιος warns against the misappropriation of the Lukan text on the death of Jesus. In this regard Kilpatrick (1942) is acknowledged as the first scholar to use "innocent" for the word δίκαιος in the Lukan text (Nolland, 1993:1158; Doble, 1996:70;

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[283] Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (2003:212-215) maintains that Luke believes that the Lukan Jesus has replaced *Yom Kippur*, but that the fast during his day was still carried out by the early Christianity. According to the author of Luke, the abolition of the *Yom Kippur* ritual by the death of Jesus does not mean the abolition of the fast that was kept during the Day of Atonement. Besides the abolition of the *Yom Kippur* cultic ritual, Luke sees Jesus as the one representing the high priest through his death. David Lewis Allen (2010:335-336) posits that there is a similarity between Luke and Hebrews, and as a result he (Allen) moves on to conclude that the author of Hebrews is Luke. He (2010:59-60) reiterates this in his commentary on Hebrews, as well as that the Lukan Jesus' death depicts a salvific event. It is, however, doubtful whether this argument will convince the majority of scholarship.

Scaer, 2005:103). Since the translation of Kilpatrick, differing meanings have been attached to its usage in Luke's Passion Narrative. David Hill (1967:122-123) ardently believes that the use of the word should be translated as "innocent", and Marshall (1978b:876) posits that the use of the word designates Jesus as a martyr who perishes innocently. Doble (1996:235) insists that the death of the Lukan Jesus is the death of an "innocent," and therefore denies any atoning effect, as he adds: "Luke may not conceive of Jesus' death as an atonement, but he does understand this death as a 'turning of the ages.'"

Conversely, Nolland (1993:1159) points out that the use of δίκαιος by Luke in the Passion Narrative does not portray "an innocent" man," but rather shows that Jesus is a righteous man who stands in a good relationship with God. Before Nolland, Schweitzer (1984:362) had earlier indicated that the use of "righteous" in Luke is synonymous with the "Son of God" in Mark. Contrary to Schweitzer and Nolland, Taylor (1972:96) alleges that the use of δίκαιος in Luke is not a replacement for the Markan υἱός θεοῦ. James R. Edwards (2015:698-699), who also does not accept "innocent" as a meaning of δίκαιος in the text, insists that the word should be translated as "righteous." Righteous, according to him, is a "compensated title" which implicitly signifies the righteous state of Jesus. Expanding on his thesis, Edwards adds: "It is, rather, consciously elected to emphasize that Jesus fulfils the office of the righteous sufferer in Israel as set forth in Isa 53." Translating the meaning of δίκαιος in the Lukan passion story was not a problem to the early church fathers, who believed in the salvific effect of the death of the Lukan Jesus. The translation problem is a later development following Augustine (354-430 CE), who insisted that the word δίκαιος should be read based on the interpretation of the centurion, who did not know of the salvific work of Jesus (Aquinas, *Cat*. 3.760-761). According to Augustine, the centurion called the Lukan Jesus "a just man", which inevitably means a Son of God (Aquinas, *Cat*. 3.761).

If Augustine's interpretation is accepted, it means that the premise in regard to the meaning of δίκαιος must first be understood socio-historically from a Greco-Roman perspective.[284] In trying to justify that Jesus was innocent in light of the Greco-Roman context, Garrison (1997:55-57) likens the death of the Lukan Jesus to that of Hippolytus, who finally reconciled

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[284] A solution to understanding the statement of the centurion can, in other words, only be offered by the use of comparative, analytical and constructive conclusions provided by socio-historical exegesis. In this case one has to compare the literary context of this text with the available Greco-Roman or Jewish literature. Here the comparative conclusion (deduction), as explained in section 1.7.1, seems to be one of the available ways of solving the problem in the text.

with his father at death.[285] Another possibility is that in the Greco-Roman context the term δίκαιος "denotes obligations to men and to God, and therefore indicates 'one who fulfils obligations towards men,' the fulfilment of religious duties often being linked therewith…" (Schrenk, TDNT 2:187). The centurion's statement in the Lukan text therefore depicts the Lukan Jesus as fulfilling "his obligations towards men." This understanding sets up the events of the Lukan passion by placing Jesus within the framework of a religious rite as a righteous person capable of fulfilling his religious duty towards God and humanity. In other words, Jesus here is referred to as a sinless person or a saint (Schrenk, TDNT 2:189), which enables Jesus to stand "before God without blame" (Bock, 1996:1864).

Another Greco-Roman text that comes to mind is the work *De officiis* (*On duty*) of Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE). In Book III, Cicero implores his follow citizens to emulate the nature of Hercules in the way he suffered and died in the course of serving humanity, as a result of which he was made a member in the council of the gods. Cicero (*On duty* 3.5.25) adduces that:

> In like manner it is more in accord with Nature to emulate the great Hercules and undergo the greatest toil and trouble for the sake of aiding or saving the world, if possible, than to live in seclusion, not only from all care, but revelling in pleasures and abounding in wealth, while excelling others also in beauty and strength. Thus Hercules denied himself and underwent toil and tribulation for the world, out of gratitude for his services, popular belief has given him a place in the council of the gods.

David E. Aune (1990:19) draws the conclusion that the Heraclean imagery was one of the major sources that ancient Christianity used in order to explain the person of Christ, but that they also believed that the person of Christ was greater than that of Heracles.[286] The importance of his argument is not to point out how the Lukan Jesus was similar to the Hellenistic saviour, Heracles (Hercules), but rather that the centurion's statement in this text can be understood within the framework of ancient religiosity and socio-cultural beliefs. This helps us to analyse the situation in order to draw a constructive conclusion from the text. We can in this sense acknowledge that the statement of the centurion was a general belief known

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[285] Garrison (1997:54-55) is of the opinion that the last words of Jesus in Luke are portrayed according to the diction of Greco-Roman last words for the dead, that is, that the last words of the Lukan Jesus, "Father, into your hands I commit my spirit," are meant to reject the notion of Mark that "Jesus may have died forsaken by God…" Garrison further postulates that the cry of Jesus indicates that Jesus was able to reconcile to his father at death, just like Hippolytus in the play of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.532ff.

[286] See also Carl R. Holladay, John T. Fitzgerald, James W. Thompson and Gregory E. Sterling (2013).

within the Greco-Roman world. Using a socio-historical interpretation of 23:47 thus enables one to draw the conclusion that the death of Jesus provided an occasion for the centurion to see the Lukan Jesus as a human who shares in the pantheon of the Greco-Roman divinities at his death. From Luke's perspective Jesus did not share in the pantheon of the Greco-Roman gods but was rather the Son of the only true God, who had the power to intercede on behalf of humanity at his death, just as Heracles (Hercules) was supposed to do in the Greco-Roman world.

Considered from a Jewish perspective, the Old Testament (LXX) supports the rendering of δίκαιος as "righteous" or "just." For instance, Exodus (9:27) uses the word to refer to the "righteous" or "just." Accordingly, the author of Exodus indicates that the Pharaoh, king of Egypt, used the word δίκαιος ("right" or "just") when he wanted Moses to entreat God on his behalf.[287] There is no evidence in the LXX that God is ever referred to as the "innocent God." He is rather often referred to as the "righteous God." The example above is typical. God is always the righteous God. As a result, Bock sees an allusion to the use of the word in the Old Testament, which entails that Jesus is the fulfilment of the Righteous One in the Old Testament (Bock, 1996:1864). If Bock's interpretation is correct, it means that Jesus is the fulfilment of Isaiah's (53:11) *Righteous One* who is to bear the sin of his people, as is acknowledged by Johnson (1991:384-385).

However, the Lukan text in 23:47 presents two antitheses.[288] The first antithesis in the text is between a *righteous man* and *death.* The second one is *praising God* at the death of a *righteous man.* Though Luke does not mention the reason for this in this verse, it can be inferred that it was a result of the Lukan Jesus' death that the utterance was made by the centurion. The righteousness of Jesus is thus revealed at his death, according to Luke. This conclusion is based on the events in verses 45-46. The darkness, the tearing of the temple curtain and the gentle cry of Jesus were signs that brought this conviction about Jesus to the centurion. The events that took place at the death of Jesus in this context vindicate him and

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[287] The phrase in the LXX is ὁ κύριος δίκαιος, which can be translated as "the Lord is just or right" or "the Lord is righteous," and the use of this phrase is further qualified within the sentence by the use of ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ὁ λαός μου ἀσεβεῖς. This statement of Pharaoh provides a basis on which the translation of the δίκαιος can be ascertained. The context of the text shows that Pharaoh acknowledged the righteousness or the justness that is found in YHWH of Israel, which contrasted the wickedness of his gods and his people. It is translated as "right" in the KJV, NJB, RSV, NIB, and ESV, while "righteous" is used by the NASB and NLT.

[288] Antithesis in this sense is defined as "a figure of speech in which contrasting words, clauses, sentences, and/or ideas are set against each other in similar grammatical structures" (Tate, 2012:20).

give him a place in the heart of the centurion as one of the *righteous* who died a glorious death. The ἐδόξαζεν τὸν θεὸν by the centurion and the utterance of his statement that ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν antithetically produce an effect that sees the Lukan Jesus as the Messiah who through suffering brings redemption to humanity. It is a direct depiction of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, whose duty it is to bear the sin of the world.

The use of δίκαιος further refers to the sacrificial imagery from the Old Testament ritual corpus. In the Old Testament ritual corpus, only those animals that were *blameless* were selected for sacrifice. The blamelessness and the death of an animal were two inseparable *images* in the Mosaic ritual and legislation. For Jesus to go thoroughly through all the judicial systems of Pilate and Herod, and of the Jews, and to be declared *blameless* therefore has a salvific implication. This identifies the Lukan Jesus as the one who is qualified, according to the so-called Magnificat of Mary in 1:68, to fulfil this assertion ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησεν λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτου (for God has visited his people and ransomed them). It was earlier acknowledged in section 4.4 that this statement of Mary is a allusion to Isaiah 52:9. A similar statement is reiterated when Jesus is on his way from a centurion's house in Capernaum in 7:16, during which the people shouted καὶ ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτου (for even God has visited his people). This image of God visiting his people is affirmed by the Lukan Jesus in 7:26. In the narrative above, it was the centurion's faith that attracted Jesus and changed his direction so that he was acknowledged by the people at Nain. Here on the cross another centurion revealed to humanity that the Lukan Jesus is the *Righteous One*. If Johnson's and Bock's interpretations are accepted regarding the allusion of this narrative to the Righteous One in Isaiah 53, it therefore means that the centurion's use of δίκαιος is an allusion to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53:11 (LXX):

> ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὖ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει

> When he sees all that is accomplished by his anguish, he will be satisfied. And because of his experience, my righteous servant [*one*] will make it possible for many to be counted righteous, for he will bear all their sins. (NLT; italics mine)

A careful reading of Luke identifies the theme of the righteous one as one of the most important themes in it. It is also a recurring theme in Luke's second volume (cf. Acts 3:14; 7:52). In fact, the apostolic *kerygma* rests on the framework of the proclamation of Jesus as the righteous one who gave himself for the redemption of humanity. Luke is mindful of this fact, as it is found repeatedly in the mouth of the resurrected Christ in 24:44-48 that Christ

should suffer, as it is written in the Scriptures, and that repentance and forgiveness of sin and reconciliation on the basis of his righteous death should be preached to all of humanity.

6.10 Conclusion

The investigation into the Lukan Passion Narrative has revealed the significance of the Lukan Jesus' death as a means of forgiveness and reconciliation. The picture of reconciliation that emerges is analogous to that of the Old Testament. Firstly, the remembrance meal that Jesus carried out with his disciples was an indicator that points to the place of blood in the cutting of covenant (see section 6.3). The cup is a symbol of his blood and is an allusion to the Old Testament practice of reconciliation through blood. Secondly, the suffering of Jesus in the Passion Narrative depicts Jesus as the fulfilment of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah who is to take the transgression of his people on himself in order to reconcile them to God and to inaugurate the era of peace and reconciliation through suffering, a theme that is well attested in Luke 22:37. At his death, many significant events that appropriate the passion of Jesus as redemptive and reconciliatory are evident, such as a prayer for forgiveness, the dividing of the veil and the confession of the centurion, which all evokethe salvific economy of the death of Jesus for human forgiveness of sin and reconciliation (see section 6.9). All this is to indicate that there is a place for atonement in Luke's theology.

Chapter Seven - Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The research problem on which this study focused was how the concept of reconciliation was understood in the Gospel of Luke. In order to address this research problem, the study investigated the concept of reconciliation in the Gospel of Luke by using a socio-historical approach.

Cilliers Breytenbach's definition of reconciliation (section 1.1) was used as a starting point from which to identify how the concept of reconciliation was understood in the ancient Greco-Roman world (chapter two) and the Old Testament (chapter three). This understanding of how reconciliation functioned in these two contexts was then used to identify where it occurs in the Gospel of Luke (chapters five and six). This was done to avoid an anachronistic understanding of reconciliation in Luke (i.e. using a modern understanding of reconciliation in order to identify its presence in Luke). This study is also not a word study of Luke's use of Greek words for reconciliation (e.g. *καταλλάσσω* and its cognates), but rather of his understanding of the *concept* of reconciliation.

In line with Taylor (1941:7), who stated that a clear definition of reconciliation does not occur in Luke in any discourse, but that it is rather expressed in the ethical practices of primitive Christianity evident in Luke, the study focused on Luke's depiction of the deeds of Jesus which effect reconciliation. It was determined that the concept of reconciliation is enacted in Luke 5:11-16, 17:11-19 and 15:11-32, as well as in a number of pericopae in the Passion Narrative (Luke 22:19-20, 37; 23:6-12, 27-28, 34a, 45, 47). These pericopae were therefore identified as the focus of the study even though commonly used Greek words for reconciliation do not necessarily occur in them.

In section 1.7.2 the socio-historical methodology used in the study was described as a combination of sociological and historical critical approaches to the Greco-Roman and Jewish contexts with which Luke interacted. Luke's interaction with both the Greco-Roman world and the Jewish world necessitated that both be studied and compared to each other (chapter four). Because of the vastness of the extant texts that serve as examples of the concept of reconciliation, rather than only of words for reconciliation, secondary literature on reconciliation in this period was used to identify primary sources that address reconciliation

in the ancient Greco-Roman world (section 1.6). The same approach was followed in the investigation of the Old Testament, which focused on the LXX (as in section 1.6).

7.2 Reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world

In chapter two the investigation of the concept of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society revealed that in the tense socio-historical context of this society, characterised by war (as in section 2.2.1), disease (as in section 2.2.2) and exile (as in section 2.2.3), reconciliation was sought in a number of ways. For example, victory in war enabled the Romans to enforce their will and peace on others, being healed by the gods restored the sick to their families, and amnesty allowed the banished to return. It was evident that reconciliation occurred in all aspects of Roman society, as is apparent from literary evidence (cf. the *Res gestae* of Augustus Caesar and the letter of Paul to Philemon in section 2.5) and from archaeological evidence from different inscriptions (section 2.4). Giving an offering or sacrifice, praying, sharing a meal and drinking from the same cup, exchanging a gift (e.g. through marriage) and healings were some of the actions identified that enacted reconciliation in the ancient Greco-Roman world (see section 2.6). Gods and humans were agents or mediators of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world (see section 2.7).

It was confirmed that the concept of reconciliation in Greco-Roman society can be understood best through the actions that portrayed it, rather than by specific words used to refer to it (section 2.9). Reconciliation was, furthermore, seen as that which brought the common good to the empire and could restore the wellbeing of everyone in society. Sometimes what the empire conceived as reconciliation was, however, different from what the ordinary person in the street of Athens or Roman perceived as reconciliation. Not all manifestations of peace were, in other words, the result of reconciliation.

7.3 Reconciliation in the Old Testament

In chapter three the Jewish concept of reconciliation was investigated in the writings of the Old Testament (LXX). While the Hebrew word for "reconciliation" is hard to pinpoint in the Old Testament, actions that enact the concept of reconciliation are numerous. The Jewish concept of reconciliation encompasses two intersectional expressions thereof, a vertical reconciliation with God and a horizontal reconciliation with humans, which were expressed in the covenant between God and Israel.

An important aspect of the Old Testament is the dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, which created a barrier that separated humanity from God (see section 3.2). The only

way by which a profane human could approach the presence of the holy was therefore by means of ritual purification. Rituals such as atonement, ransom, and restitution, by which the profanity was removed in order to restore the sacredness of the sacred, therefore played an important part in restoring the vertical relationship between God and Israel. In the Old Testament reconciliation therefore occurs in many instances where offering(s) functioned as a mediating substance between God and the people (see section 3.5.3). These offerings also strengthened the social relationship between the people of Israel, since they often occurred in communal settings. In some instances, a ransom had to be given before reconciliation could be effected (see section 3.5.4).

The importance of atonement as a religious and ethical process that the Mosaic material demanded from every Israelite was also investigated (see section 3.5.5), with a special focus on *Yom Kippur* as the day of reconciliation of the household of Israel. The place of ritual and sacrifice in reconciling healed lepers with God and their community in Leviticus 13-14 also received attention (see section 3. 6). In section 3.7, reconciliation in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament was investigated. It was determined that, whereas the prophetic rhetoric did not condemn the priesthood rituals, their ability to enact the forgiveness of sin and reconciliation to God and to the community was questioned. In the prophetic tradition, listening to the voice of God became the means through which God would reconcile Israel to himself.

The examination of the Jewish concept of reconciliation in the Hellenistic era (see section 3.8) indicated that the reinterpretation of the law as a means of reconciliation played an important role in this period and that it was believed that sin against God and humanity resulted in punishment, but that repentance and turning away from sin would always result in forgiveness and reconciliation.

7.4 The concept of reconciliation in the Greco-Roman world and the Old Testament

In chapter four the results of chapters two and three were compared in order to see whether both the Greco-Roman and the Old Testament texts surveyed have anything in common in their descriptions of reconciliation. It was ascertained that some customs and actions, such as prayers, giving sacrifices, sharing meals and exchange that led to the elimination of hostility, occur in both (see section 4.2). While the precise nature of the rituals, prayers and exchanges and the methods thereof differed, they all occurred in one form or another. It was, furthermore, clear that the concept of reconciliation in both the Greco-Roman world and the

Jewish world was incorporated within ritual processes; that sacrifice was one of the means through which the people appeased divine beings; that sometimes an exchange was done by the people so as to appease the anger of the offended, who could be either the gods or humans; and that in order to achieve the process of reconciliation, rhetoric was used to influence the people.

Although there was seemingly no fixed expression for reconciliation in the Greco-Roman and Jewish literature, many actions were used as means of conveying the idea thereof. For instance, both the Greco-Roman and Jewish texts depict the healing of a person as one of the signs that showed that he or she had been forgiven by God and was therefore restored in their community. It was also clear that the popularity of priests and God(s) involved in the healing processes in both Greco-Roman and Jewish societies was due to their activities in effecting healing. Both societies also emphasised ritual and sacrifices to enable the restoration of the estranged back into their society. It was also observed that they shared the concept of mediation.

During the process of reconciliation, mediating agents were the ones who stood between the people and God. In the Jewish world the priest and prophets were mediating agents on behalf of the people, whereas in the Greco-Roman world the mediating agents were primarily the priests of the gods. Sometimes in Greco-Roman society the gods themselves acted as mediating agents. A typical example of this was the part played by Asclepius in effecting the healing of afflicted people. The motivations for seeking reconciliation were also similar, in that it was sought to eliminate hostility (see section 4.3.1), to seek the common good (see section 4.3.2), and to restore honour (see section 4.3.2).

In section 4.5, it was demonstrated that reconciliation can be described as a process or an action in which rituals like sacrifices and exchanges are involved for the purpose of eliminating the hostility between people and God, and between people. Reconciliation was thus seen as both a vertical and a horizontal process in the ancient world. This definition formed the basis through which the actions and the words of Jesus were examined. This finding is congruent with Breytenbach's understanding of reconciliation as the process of breaking the existing barriers with the aim of restoring liberation to humanity.

7.5 The concept of reconciliation in Jesus' ministry in Luke 1:1-19:27

Chapter five focused on the first three main sections of Luke (1:1-4:13; 4:14-9:50 and 9:51-19:27). It gave a brief introduction to the socio-historical context of the Gospel of Luke (section 5.2), after which Jesus' *missio reconciliatio* in the first three sections (section 5.3) was studied by looking at the terms (in section 5.4), teaching (in section 5.5) and enactments (in section 5.6) of Jesus relating to the concept of reconciliation.

In investigating the terms Luke uses for reconciliation (see section 5.4), it was found that ἀπαλλάσσω in Luke 12:58 refers to the settling of a debt, and not to reconciliation (section 5.4.1) and that, although Luke uses a number of terms common in the Greco-Roman diplomatic world (e.g. ἡγεμονεύω in Luke 2:2; and πρεσβεία in Luke 14:32 and 19:14, which can refer to an ambassador (or emissary), or to their place of residence: see section 5.4.2), he does not give them an explicit theological meaning. The same can also be said of the group of words (ἔχθρα, φίλος and φιλία) that Luke uses along with ἀλλήλων to describe how Herod and Pilate had reconciled by using Jesus as an exchange (see sections 5.4.3-5.4.4). It was thus clear from this survey that Luke in developing an ethic of reconciliation does not use any of the common terms of his time for reconciliation. He does, however, have a knowledge of the practices through which reconciliation in the ancient world was enacted (e.g. the sending of an emissary). In section 5.5 the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32) was analysed. An important aspect of the parable is that, since sin can be against God and a fellow human, reconciliation has both a vertical and a horizontal dimension. This analysis revealed that the parable does not suggest that the Lukan Jesus expected authority figures (the father or God in the parable) to enforce reconciliation. According to the parable, repentance was an important part of reconciliation, and the sharing of a meal would signal that reconciliation had been achieved by all who had been offended. The forgiveness of the father was expressed by the gifts he gave the younger son. The parable of the Prodigal Son reiterated that Luke speaks about reconciliation even though he does not use the common Greek words for reconciliation.

In section 5.6 the focus was on Jesus' enactments of reconciliation through the healing of sick people in general and those with leprosy in particular. In the first healing of a leaper (Luke 5:12-16), Jesus commanded the healed leper to bring the offerings prescribed by the Old Testament. Jesus thus acknowledged the role of rituals, sacrifices and priests in the enactment of reconciliation. The healing of the Jewish lepers and the Samaritan (Luke 17:11-19) signalled that people who were regarded in the Jewish context as being dead have been brought back to life. Therefore, their acceptance and cleansing implied their reconciliation

with God and with society. It also hinted at the possibility of ethnic reconciliation between the Jews and the Samaritans.

7.6 Reconciliation in the Passion Narrative of Luke

The final aspect of the Lukan understanding of reconciliation is displayed in his narrative of the passion of Jesus (Luke 19:28-24:53). Firstly, the remembrance meal that Jesus carried out with his disciples pointed to the place of blood in the cutting of covenant (see section 6.3). The cup as a symbol of his blood was an allusion to the Old Testament practice of reconciliation through blood. Secondly, the suffering of Jesus in the Passion Narrative depicts Jesus as the fulfilment of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, who was to take the transgression of his people on himself in order to reconcile them with God and to inaugurate the era of peace and reconciliation through suffering (section 6.4), a theme that is well attested within the Lukan text. On his death, many significant events that appropriate the passion of Jesus as redemptive and reconciliatory are evident, such as a prayer for forgiveness, the dividing of the veil (section 6.8), and the confession of the centurion, which all evoke the salvific economy of the death of Jesus as the righteous one (section 6.9) for human forgiveness of sin and reconciliation.

7.7 Conclusion and recommendation

The research problem that this study set out to address was how Luke understands the concept of reconciliation. In the first instance, it is clear that Luke's Gospel has a theology of reconciliation even though he does not discuss it specifically by using the commonly used terms for it. Instead he presents Jesus' teaching on reconciliation through his description of the actions and words of Jesus in his Gospel. Luke wants his community to know that sin has estranged humans from each other and God. It affected the spiritual, social and political domains. Reconciliation therefore implies the removal of the underlying cause (sin against God) and its effect on humanity, in both the spiritual and the physical spheres. The special focus of the Gospel of Luke on Jesus' ministry to the marginalised of his society (the poor, women and the sick), furthermore, indicates that they were the particular recipients of the reconciliation enacted by Jesus. The ministry of those called by Jesus to follow him should

therefore also have those marginalised by society as its primary focus.[289] This focus should therefore also guide the ministry of the church in Nigeria.

God is seen as central to human reconciliation, and therefore any process of reconciliation that does not affect the spiritual and the physical aspects of humanity and restore the totality of humanness is not to be considered full reconciliation. Luke believes that the Lukan Jesus came into the world to demonstrate to humanity, through his teachings and actions, and finally by giving his body as a sacrifice in order to atone for the sin of his people, what it means to be reconciled.

For contemporary readers of Luke, it is therefore important to note that: (1) Reconciliation with God and with others cannot be separated. Horizontal and vertical reconciliation are connected to each other; (2) Reconciliation cannot be forced upon others. It can only be demonstrated and offered (cf. the example of the father in the parable of the Prodigal Son); (3) Reconciliation should be practised, rather than just discussed. Practical enactments of reconciliation – sharing meals, exchanging gifts, and fellowship together – should therefore be prioritised; (4) Reconciliation should be extended to all. No one, not even those considered by society today to be "leprous Samaritans," should be excluded; (5) Reconciliation should be practised in a holistic manner – it should address social, economic, political and religious estrangement; (6) Reconciliation should aim at a peaceful coexistence and liberation of humanity from the shackles of injustice and inhuman manipulations (Breytenbach, 1986:1).

Having studied different actions that were used by various agents in the ancient world and the Lukan Jesus for achieving the process of reconciliation, this study therefore recommends that such actions should be tested and applied whenever the issue of reconciliation arises today. Further studies on the understanding of the impact of reconciliation and its relationship in restoring humanity dignity should also be undertaken (for example on Acts). There is also a need for studying several actions that made it possible for reconciliation to be effected by the Lukan Jesus and his disciples and such findings should be used in curbing hostility in the modern world. In the context of the Niger Delta of Nigeria, reconciliation should be a mediating process in nurturing the growth and the wellbeing of the poor by utilising the

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[289] See the work of Burridge (2007:260-268) for Luke's focus on Jesus' ministry to the poor and the marginalized (women, outsiders and non-Jews). According to Burridge the ministry of Jesus in Luke signals that his disciples should be an inclusive community which always embraces outsiders. As a community they should thus embody the reconciliation with God and the marginalized braught about by Jesus.

natural resources for the benefit of the people and to the glory of God, who provided them with such natural resources.

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