

An Investigation of Lucan Meals with relevance to Food Justice in India

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is concerned with interpreting the Lucan meal narrations to elucidate what Luke was saying about human needs, especially in relation to food, in order to bring that message to bear on the question of food justice in India. The issue of hunger in post-independent India, culminating in the National Food Security Act of 2013, has evoked the following questions: (a) Was Luke concerned about the destitute?; (b) If the Lucan Jesus' "Good news to the *πτωχοί*" represents Luke's concern for the destitute, how do the Lucan meal scenes serve his purpose in connecting faith and food in society in reaching across the margins and partnering with the destitute; and (c) How can Luke's insights be articulated into a theology to address food insecurity in today's India?

The comparative models, theories and research of the social sciences (especially sociology and anthropology) have been deployed to investigate the socio-economic and religious context of the first-century Mediterranean world where the Lucan audience were located. The investigation conducted in Chapter Two and Three has concluded that the first-century Mediterranean world was an advanced agrarian society which was socially stratified and characterised by a distinctive set of values. With the help of a historical-exegetical and redactional approach to the Lucan meals enriched with social-scientific insights, Chapter Three has exposed the values, social structures and conventions of the Lucan audience and the dimensions of destitution present in Luke-Acts. Chapter Four employs social-scientific tools to assist in exegeting selected Lucan meal scenes and discovers radical reforms introduced by the Lucan Jesus at the table in terms of relationships and reciprocity in relation to food. In Chapter Five, these exegetical results have been deployed in the manner of Practical Theology to articulate a Lucan theology of hunger and hospitality. Chapter Six is occupied with an analysis of the question of food insecurity in India and suggestions for how the Church might apply the Lucan theology of hunger and hospitality to help remedy that problem. Finally, Chapter Seven is a brief conclusion.

This thesis makes at least three significant contributions to academic scholarship. Firstly, the historical-exegetical and redactional approach enhanced with social-scientific perspectives, models and offers new insight into how Luke crafted Jesus' meal scenes to confront and challenge the values, social structures and conventions of the Lucan audience. Thus, this research bridges a long-standing gap in Lucan scholarship on the text in its social milieu.

Secondly, Lucan scholarship on table-fellowship has been enriched by the concentrated focus on the plight of the destitute. Thirdly, this dissertation has applied the methods of Practical Theology to generate a Lucan theology of hunger and hospitality that erects a bridge between the exegesis and the issue of food insecurity in today's India in such a way as to foster ecclesial transformation and action to help to rectify the situation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ami.	<i>Laelius de Amicitia</i>
b. Rab.	<i>Bereishit Rabbah</i>
b. Sha	<i>Bereishit Shabbath</i>
BCE	Before Common Era
CE	Common Era
CESCR	Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
CFSVA	Comprehensive Food Security & Vulnerability Analysis
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FAOSTAT	Food and Agriculture Organization Corporate Statistical Database
Hor. Od	Horatius Flaccus (Horace), <i>Carmina</i>
AJ	Josephus, <i>Antiquities of Jews</i>
BJ	Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i>
m. A. Zar.	<i>Mishnah Abodah Zarah</i>
m. B. Met.	<i>Mishnah Bava Metzia</i>
m. BaQ	<i>Bava Qamma</i>
m. Ber.	<i>Mishnah Berakhot</i>
m. Dem.	<i>Mishnah Demai</i>
m. Hag.	<i>Mishnah Hagigah</i>
m. Hag.	<i>Mishnah Nedarim</i>
m. Hul.	<i>Mishnah Hullin</i>
m. Ket.	<i>Mishnah Ketubot</i>
m. Pesh.	<i>Mishnah Pesachim</i>
m. Sha.	<i>Mishnah Shabbat</i>
m. She.	<i>Mishnah Sheviit</i>
m. Yad.	<i>Mishnah Yadayim</i>
NSS	National Sample Survey
PDS	Public Distribution System
PPP	per person per day
Q Tem	<i>Qumran: The Temple Scroll</i>
t. Avo. Zar	<i>Tosefta Avodah Zarah</i>
t. Ber	<i>Tosefta Berakhot</i>
WFP	World Food Programme

Journals

CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
JSNT	Journal of the Study of the New Testament
JSOT	Journal of the Study of the Old Testament
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
NTS	New Testament Studies

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. BROAD AIM

The purpose of this research is to investigate social issues in Lucan meal narrations to elucidate the author's concern for the marginalised, poor and destitute and bring it to bear on the question of food justice in India. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948), Article 25 states, "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food." According to the National Family Health Survey 4 (2015-16), 38.4% of children in India are stunted, and 21% of the population as a whole is malnourished.¹ In terms of the number of children suffering from malnutrition, India remains one of the world's highest-ranked countries. This ratio opinions in stark contrast to the fact that Indian granaries are filled with foodgrain which is sufficient for the present year and the upcoming year. This research focuses on the issue of food justice, particularly the food security bill under NFSA 2013 (Appendix 1) (also called Right to Food Act) of the Indian Parliament that establishes a "Right for Food." The present situation in India features the increasing violation of human rights, gender discrimination, economic isolation, escalating poverty, and the cry for daily living.

Furthermore, this research aims to evaluate the extent to which the elements of poverty and riches in Lucan theology have been motivated and influenced by the social and political constraints experienced by the Lucan audience. The broad aim of this dissertation is to set out biblical and theological principles underlying the Lucan concern towards hunger and destitution by deploying the Lucan understanding of justice concerning meals as a means to shed light on food justice in contemporary India.

¹ Ministry of Health and Family Welfare Government of India (2016). *India Fact Sheet: National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4) 2015-16*. Mumbai: International Institute of Population Sciences. For additional information on NFHS-4, visit <http://rchiips.org/NFHS/pdf/NFHS4/India.pdf>. For related information, visit <https://www.iipsindia.ac.in/>.

The emphasis on the poor and the marginalised in his two-volume work, Luke-Acts, shows that the Third Evangelist is concerned with social structure and social relations issues. Luke probably wrote his two-part narrative between the mid-seventies and early nineties of the first century CE to the Christ-followers who lived under Roman rule in the Greek East (Plummer 1992:xxxix; Esler 1987:44; Tuckett 1996:18). Esler argues that Luke attempted to legitimate Christianity to members of his community in the Greek East whose allegiance was wavering under social and political pressures (1987:222). Jesus' miracles, parables and ethical exhortations reflect his concern for the well-being and dignity of all. Whilst Jesus' concern, however, is common to the four Gospels, what makes Luke give more importance to this issue? Does his work educate his audience on the right attitude towards those whom society ignores: the destitute, the homeless, and the social outcasts? To answer these questions, we need to investigate the social concerns and the hospitality elements in Luke-Acts and their relevance.

The following are the objectives of the research:

1. To understand what Luke was saying about human needs and human dignity in relation to hospitality and meals.
2. To achieve 1. by situating the Lucan message in the context of the first century CE Greco-Roman and Judean cultural scripts.
3. To investigate the problem of food security in post-independent India, culminating in the National Food Security Act (2013).
4. To develop a Lucan theology of hunger and hospitality.
5. To analyse food security in India in the light of the Lucan theology of hunger and hospitality and to propose recommendations to responsible bodies for implementing Lucan ideas in a way that will ameliorate the food problem in India.

2. STATUS QUAESTIONIS

The socio-economic and political dimensions of Luke-Acts reveal the context in which it was written and the socio-economic context of its recipients. Moreover, biblical studies have been broadened by varying methodological attempts to investigate biblical texts by paying more attention to their social contexts. By bringing social-scientific interpretation to the Lucan meal narrations and their geographical, historical, socio-economic-political, cultural and even religious contexts, this dissertation will propose a new way of reading Lucan meal scenes and the plight of hunger from a social-scientific understanding.

We begin with a survey and preliminary critique of some research done on the social setting of Luke and of his theology of poverty and riches. This brief survey will show us what kinds of methodologies have been employed in previous studies and how they have interpreted the relevant narratives. Furthermore, it will pave the way for furthering our investigation with a new methodology on problems and notions that need to be considered or perhaps reconsidered and reconstructed. To do this, it will disclose limitations in existing methodologies.

2.1. Critical Survey of Scholarship on Luke in his Social Setting

The social setting of the text is a much-discussed and debated issue in Lucan studies, and this section aims to shed some light on the current scholarly discussion.

2.1.1. *Social Context of Luke-Acts: Date and Location*

The common authorship of Luke-Acts is widely accepted based on the similarities in the prologues (Lk 1:1-4, Acts 1:1-3), language, style and theology. Although the name of the author is not stated in either book, except in P⁷⁵ (Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV),² both internal and external evidence point to the same person as the author of both the Gospel and Acts (Harnack 1907:20-24; Ellis 1974:51; Geldenhuys 1988:17-18; Fitzmyer 1989:2).

² The title εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν is found in no other manuscripts. On Papyrus XIV-XV, dating about 200 CE, see Fitzmyer (1989:2).

The *terminus a quo* for Luke-Acts is 70 CE because of Luke's likely knowledge of the destruction of Jerusalem in that year (Esler 1987:27-28) and because of his use of Mark, based on the majority view (pace Robinson 1976: 95 and Crossley 2004:43) that it was written around 70 CE. The *terminus ante quem* is ca. 140 CE, based on Marcion's use of Luke (Roth 2015). However, the majority of commentators (Bock 1994:16; Pervo 2006: 359-63; Garland 2011:33; Dicken 2012:17-25) favour a date in the last decade or two of the first century and that is the position adopted in this dissertation. One additional argument for a first-century date is Luke's openness to women (Lk 8:3), which became more difficult as the Christ-movement developed (Fiorenza 1989). In any event, nothing in this research depends upon a precise dating for the work since the broad social and economic features mentioned continued (no doubt with some local variations) throughout the period 70-140 CE.

As to the place where Luke-Acts was written, according to Kümmel (1973:151), Luke indicates many characteristics of a Hellenistic urban setting. Mk 2:4 mentions a revealing architectural feature ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην ("they uncovered the roof"; Mk 2:4) and ἐξορύξαντες ("having dug through" Mk 2:4). The roof Mark mentioned was probably made of straw and mud that was common in first-century Palestinian houses. The Marcan verb ἐξορύσσω ("digging through") can only be relevant if it is a mud roof. Luke introduces into his version of this passage κέρραμοι, "roof tiles" (Lk 5:19), which were alien to rural Palestinian houses. The above observation indicates that the text was written outside Palestine. Familiarity with the city of Antioch is evidenced in the book of Acts.³ Antioch was the political capital of the Roman province of Syria, a centre for Roman control and a key location for troops and food supplies.⁴ In Antioch, the gospel was preached to non-Judeans, and the concern towards the poor was expressed through sharing the wealth with

³ Acts 11:19-20; 13:1-4; 14:26-28; 15:1-3; 18:22-23.

⁴ See A. Burnett, M. Amandry and P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage: From Vespasian to Domitian AD 69-96* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), nos. 1912, 1930, 2310-13.

the suffering people in Judea (Acts 11:20-21, 27-30). The fact that Luke makes Antioch the beginning point for Paul's missionary journeys in a manner difficult to reconcile with the evidence in the Pauline letters gives the city a suspicious prominence that may indicate it was Luke's base.

There are four reasons for arguing Syrian Antioch was where Luke wrote Luke-Acts. However, nothing turns on what city he wrote it in: (i) Antioch-on-Orontes, also called Syrian Antioch played a vital role in the stages of Christ-followers as Luke depicts them (Acts 8:1; 11:19, 20-21); (ii) According to Luke, "*we sections*" of Acts mention Syrian Antioch in the missionary journeys of Paul (Acts 13; 15:36-41; 18:22, 23); (iii) Luke's well-known knowledge of sea voyages and maritime terminology indicate that the community could have been located in a coastal city or nearby; (iv) It has to be a rainy place for tile roofs and tiled roof houses of Syrian Antioch also support this argument (Lk 5:19 in contrast with Mk 2:4).⁵ These considerations make possible the Christ-followers of Antioch as the immediate audience of the narrative.

Furthermore, as Esler (1987:30) observes, the Lucan prologue which starts with a dedication to Theophilus (whose identity will be discussed in the next section) and Lucan writing features, such as the excellent literary Greek of the sea-voyage and shipwreck description in Acts 27, indicate an urban setting. Thus, though the precise location where Luke-Acts was written does not directly relate to this research, its urban setting has some relevance to understanding the socio-economic context of the text.

2.1.2. To Whom is Luke-Acts Written?

The prologues of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles (Lk 1:1-4; Acts 1:1-5) present Acts as a continuation of the Gospel of Luke, as is accepted by almost all scholars (Kümmel 1973:147; Alexander 2000:163; Barrett 1961:62; Fitzmyer 1981:36; Maddox 1982:3; Callen 1985:576). According to them, Luke-Acts is a single two-volume work, and both parts are

⁵ Harmanşah (2013:21) suggests that annual rainfall in the area of ancient Antioch about 500 to 700 mm (cf. De Giorgi 2016:214). Accessed from Google books online.

dedicated to a person called Theophilus (Lk 1:3; Acts 1:1). Many attempts have been made to identify Theophilus. Was he a historical person or a legendary figure? If he is a historical person, was he a Christ-follower or a non-Christ-follower? What kind of relationship did he have with the Christ-followers of the first century? What was his social location? Although finding the identity of Theophilus is not the aim of this research, considering him and his position will help us to understand the context of the recipients of Luke-Acts concerning food issues. Furthermore, the identity of Theophilus, especially his social level, does have some bearing on the purpose(s) of Luke-Acts, particularly Lucan meals.

Several scholars have concluded that Theophilus may have been one among the Roman government's social and political elite (Cadbury 1968:505–506; Bruce 1990:98; Green 1997:xxxix; Peterson 2009:102). Recently, Loveday Alexander and John Moles disagree with this proposition and propose that Luke has used the literary tradition of classical historians or the scientific manuals of his time (Alexander 1993:188; Moles 2011:463). Alexander argues it in terms of the literary etiquette of the Graeco-Roman world (2000:163). Other scholars find a possible symbolic description and understand the name etymologically to represent any “God-lover” or “a friend of God” (Nolland 1989: xxxii–xxxiii, 10; Johnson 1991:28; Guthrie 1990:109). Nolland (1989:xxxiii) suggests that Luke-Acts would well suit Cornelius-like readers who may seem appropriate when we take Luke-Acts in its broader context. However, arguments exist against considering Theophilus as merely symbolic. Firstly, the Lucan use of “second person singular”⁶ narrows down the primary audience of the text to a particular person, Theophilus. Secondly, if we are arguing Theophilus as an imaginary figure, the Lucan use of the term *κράτιστος* “most noble” seems artificial and unnecessary. Furthermore, three out of four occurrences of this term in Luke-Acts directly refer to historical figures of that age.⁷ The majority position among scholars is that Theophilus is indeed a real person (Bruce 1990:98; Bock 1994:15, 65; Green

⁶ In the prologue (*καθεξῆς σοὶ γράψαι* “write to *you* in order,” Lk 1:3 and *ἐπιγνῶς* “*you* may know,” Lk 1:4)

⁷ In Acts 23:26, 24:2, Luke uses it to address Governor Felix; in Acts 26:25 as a title to Festus

1997:xxxix; Garrison 2004:97; Garland 2011:55–56; Thompson 2011:428). Considering the above discussion, however, it is unnecessary to limit Theophilus to representing the whole Lucan community or suppose that Luke had written his two-part narrative only to Theophilus (cf. Creech 1990:107-26; Witherington 1998:63-65; Esler 1987:30-45).

Scholars argue that if Theophilus was a person of high rank, he would have assisted the production of Luke-Acts with financial resources, a likely scenario in an age of patron-client relationships (Polhill 1992:79; Alexander 1993:190–191; DeSilva 2000:126; Peterson 2009:102; Garland 2011:56). Alexander (2000:164) identifies him as the patron of a house church who would have engaged Luke to verify the events of Jesus’ life and teaching to benefit the broader audience in a Roman province. Literary patronage in Greco-Roman society was not reciprocal since the benefactor/literary patron functioned as a channel of circulation of the written work (cf. Gold 1987). In the case of Luke-Acts, it is more likely that the literary patron Theophilus acted as an entrée to a wider audience. More probably, he would have been a non-Judean since, as Bock (1994:63-64) suggests, Theophilus could well be a Christ-following non-Judean. Garland (2011:56) hypothesises that Theophilus was “an alias for a prominent Roman who needed to remain incognito,” meaning he might have desired not to be revealed for political reasons. The overarching theme of Acts, the inclusion of non-Judeans, also supports this proposal. Bock (1994:15) sees Theophilus as a Godfearer before coming to faith in Christ. His list of Godfearers in the book of Acts (Acts 10:2, 22, 35; 13:16, 26, 43, 50; 17:4, 17; 18:7) highlights the importance of non-Judean inclusion. At the same time, it is interesting to note Simeon’s prophetic words, “a light for revelation to the non-Judeans” (Lk 1:30). Given what has been discussed, this dissertation assumes that there is a possibility of a mixed population of both Judeans and non-Judeans in the Lucan audience in which Judeans represented a significant number (cf. Esler 1987:31-33). Hence, discussing the issue of non-Judeans in relation to food and table-fellowship will assist in exposing Judeans vis-à-vis non-Judeans in the Lucan audience.

The Cornelius incident (Acts 10), which Luke probably intends to be paradigmatic, is only the most obvious sign of the problem relating to social relations between Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers. Many scholars believe that table-fellowship played a significant role in Judeans separating themselves from non-Judeans (cf. Dunn 1983:3-57; Wilson 1983:68ff). Esler approaches this issue with the support of works by anthropologists Mary Douglas (1966, 1975a) and Edmund Leach (1969) and argues that Judeans eating with non-Judeans is a relevant issue for a socio-redactional approach to the study of Luke's strategies and purposes (Esler 1987:71ff). He presents the problem of the shared table with considerable evidence from Jewish literature, from the Old Testament to Mishnaic passages, arguing that there was a prohibition in the first century CE on Judeans engaging in intimate dining with non-Judeans based on the laws against idolatry (Esler 1998: 93-116).⁸ In light of the Jerusalem council findings, many scholars confine themselves to the issue of circumcision and suppose the point of table-fellowship was not discussed at the council (Conzelmann 1987:119; Taylor 1992:125; Dunn 1993:122). According to Dunn, the issue of the food laws had not been raised explicitly and was not explicitly part of the argument (Dunn 1995:122). Esler argues that the agreement had been sealed in Jerusalem to legitimate fellowship between Judeans and non-Judeans, but James later had the agreement broken in Antioch (Esler 1995:308-310). Moreover, in his *Galatians* (1998:106), Esler distinguishes between "meals in parallel" and true table-fellowship. Further arguments on the attitude concerning Judean and non-Judean commensality will be discussed later.

⁸ Dan 1:3-17; Judith 10:5; 12:2, 7-9, 17-19; two apocryphal references Esther 4:17 and Tobit 2:15-18; the *Letter of Aristeas*, *Book of Jubilees*, *Joseph and Asenath*; and Mishnaic passages (m. Ber. 7:1 & m. A. Zar. 5:5).

Furthermore, the “Godfearers” passages⁹ of Acts suggest that Theophilus could have been a Godfearer, like Cornelius, before coming to faith (cf. Tyson 1992:36). Luke uses the term κατηχήθης (“you have been taught in a systematic manner”) in the prologue of Luke, and this implies that the person already had some catechetical instruction. In Pauline writings, this term refers to oral teaching regarding faith in a church context (1 Cor 14:19; Gal 6:6). Furthermore, the extensive use of Old Testament references in both the gospel narratives and Paul’s letters supports the possibility of widespread catechetical instruction in the first century CE Christ-movement.

In sum, Luke’s concern is to write for Theophilus [as well as the community] an orderly account of “certainty of the things” (Lk 1:4), i.e., presenting Jesus as the Saviour to the suffering community. What drives him to write for Theophilus about salvation, which involves restoring relationships in socio-economic, political and cultural realms of society? Did Roman imperialism dehumanise the social structure? What is the socio-economic, political milieu of Luke-Acts? Lucan selection and redaction of his source materials disclose how the social context shaped the life of the first-century Christ-followers and their relationship with the “destitute,” the πτωχοί. It is now necessary to examine previous scholarship on these issues.

2.2. Critical survey of scholarship on Luke’s Theology of Poverty and Riches

“The theology of the poor” is one of the major themes of Luke-Acts (Esler 1987:187).¹⁰ Biblical scholars are very conscious of the importance of the poor and the marginalised in Luke-Acts, where the Third Evangelist, Luke, expresses his concern with their treatment. It is one of Luke’s interrelated purposes of Luke-Acts, telling the audience who they are, whose they are, and how they are. In Luke, the destitute are listed with the captive, blind, oppressed,

⁹ Acts 10:2, 22, 35; 13:16, 26, 43, 50; 17:4, 17; 18:7.

¹⁰ Seccombe 1982; Esler 1987; Johnson 1991.

hungry, mournful, persecuted, lame, lepers, deaf, crippled and dead (Lk 4:18; 6:20; 7:22; 14:13, 21; 16:20,22). Who are the destitute in Luke's Gospel?

Green argues that both the terms *πτωχός* and *πλούσιος* are not economic terms, but were used to refer to the social status of a person (Green 1995:81-82; cf. Kanagaraj 1997:39). How does Luke use the term *πτωχός* in his Gospel? While Degenhardt discusses *πτωχός* in religious terms, Schmithals maintains it refers to persecuted Christians (cf. Phillips 2003:237-239). Yet if Luke uses the term *πτωχός* to indicate a religious category of persons and persecuted Christ-followers, then why does he use *πτωχός* as an antithesis of "rich" (Lk 6: 20,24)? As Tannehill rightly observes, the Lucan Jesus directs much of his teaching on wealth towards those who are rich (Lk 12:13-21; 18:18-25; 15:19-31); however, the concern for the poor is the motivation for his teaching (Tannehill 1986:128). Scholars argue that Luke writes to legitimate the Christ-movement to members of his audience whose allegiance was wavering under social and political pressures in including in relation to poverty and riches (Esler 1987:222). Is the Lucan Jesus concerned about the suffering of the poor? Does the Lucan Jesus have an economic programme to improve the quality of life? This present dissertation attempts to answer such questions.

For Johnson (1991:221), the Lucan narratives expose the inequality between the poor and the rich and personal relations in Luke are based on and evaluated in terms of material possessions. The Lucan narrative accounts for ten out of thirty-four occurrences of the term *πτωχός* in the New Testament. In this two-volume narrative, the audience exposed, as well as addressed, was under Roman imperial rule and was subject to the social and political pressures of the first century economic, social and religious moral codes. The unequal distribution of wealth disadvantaged the people depicted in the Gospel. The social status of a person, as Joel Green observes, was not just related to his/her economic position but also his/her power in society (Green 1995:9-11). Relations between the rich and the poor and the factors contributing to the inequality will be discussed later in this study.

Luke-Acts has only two passages, according to Luke Johnson, concerning the community of goods, and he finds an inconsistency between the ideal of the “community of goods” in Acts 4:32 and the ideal of almsgiving in Luke-Acts (Acts 9:36; 10:2, 4, 31; 11:27-30, 12:25). He tries to find the answer to this inconsistency in the light of “prophecy and the fulfilment of the prophecy” and interprets all the passages in these terms (1977:9-21). Furthermore, for Johnson (1977:138), possessions are a literary motif for Luke, and he argues that “the thematic statements on the rich and the poor form a parallel to the pattern of the prophet and the people.” He takes forward this argument in his commentary on Luke, and he interprets the Lucan language about “the rich” and “the poor” (Lk 1:53; 4:18; 6:20-24; 7:22; 14:13, 21; 16:19-31) in terms of their rejection and acceptance of the Prophet (1991:22-23). Johnson (1991:139) identifies the poor with outcasts, the people who accept the Prophet, and the rich with influential leaders of the people of Israel, the people who reject the Prophet. The plausibility of these arguments, however, can be questioned by the following observations. Firstly, there are references to wealthy and influential people in Luke-Acts as God-fearers (cf. Lk 7:2-10; 8:1-3; 23:50f; Acts 10-11), and they are within reach of the gospel in Luke-Acts. Secondly, inconsistency can be seen in his interpretation of *πτωχός*. In his interpretation of the term *πτωχός* in Lk 16:20, he understands it in a literal sense, as a person who is economically deprived and needs others’ support for his survival (1977:142). Finally, he observes that it is difficult “to reconcile radical abandonment of possessions with the ideal of almsgiving” (2011:99). For Johnson, Luke has some self-contradictory statements regarding possessions; in one place the Lucan Jesus demanded a complete renunciation of their belongings (Lk 9.1-6; 10.4-9), but in later passages, the disciples were instructed to take care of the poor (Lk 11:41; 12:33; 19:8; Acts 10:2, 4, 31). Luke is unambiguous in his treatment of wealth – possessions and wealth are for the needs of others rather than for themselves at the expense of the poor, as is portrayed in two parables (Lk 12:16-21; 16:19-31). For this dissertation, such distinctions are not particularly significant. It focuses on the use of wealth in alleviating destitution, particularly hunger.

In his monograph, *Poverty and Expectation in the Gospels*, Mealand (1980:16-17) assumes that Luke did not have any particular interest in issues related to wealth and poverty. In his opinion, the various passages on the subject were just replicating and elaborating the Marcan tradition (1980:16-17). In rejecting this argument, Esler contends that besides the traditional sources Luke enhances them with what he drew from other sayings in addition to Marcan and Q sources (Esler 1987:165; see also Mack 1995:169). In his treatment of the story of “Rich man and Lazarus” (Lk 16:19-31), Mealand does bring out the negative aspects of wealth: “The man’s wealth seems to be the main reason for his translation to Hades” (Mealand 1980:32). In addition, Luke encourages the proper use of wealth (Lk 3:11; 19:8). In particular, the Lucan meal accounts encourage the extension of fellowship with the underprivileged (for example, Lk 14:13).

David Seccombe (1982) observes contradictory aspects in the Lucan attitude towards poverty and possessions. He finds a large amount of Lucan material that rebukes the rich and valorises the poor. At the same time, the Lucan presentation of Jesus’ association with the elite and the participation of “socially and economically advantaged people” in the early Christ-movement projects a positive view towards wealth (Seccombe 1982:12). Seccombe’s argument seems to be a recommendation for possessing wealth. Seccombe highlights the proper use of wealth in terms of almsgiving and acts of benevolence. Seccombe proposes two lines of thought in his understanding of Lucan theology concerning riches and the poor. He agrees that both Luke and Acts were addressed “to the rich about the poor” (1982:3), and they do not contain “any idealisation of poverty” (1982:134). While talking about poverty, Seccombe correlates the terms *πτωχός* and the *עניים* of Psalms, Isaiah, and the Inter Testamental literature. He hypothesises that *πτωχός* in Luke-Acts does not refer to any particular group suffering under socio-economic as well as religious discrimination, but it relates to Israel as a whole nation that requires salvation. Thus, he has given a spiritual understanding of poverty and also proposes that “... the answer to their (Israel’s) poverty is

the messianic kingdom” (1982:21-43, 95). Secombe, to some extent, acknowledges the existence of poverty in speaking about Lucan passages on Christ-followers’ ongoing use of wealth and argues that Luke encourages his readers to use their wealth to alleviate the hardships of poverty.

Furthermore, in his understanding of wealth, Secombe (1982:132-134; 227-228) claims that there is no ideal of poverty, and he finds renunciation not as a demand but “a paradigm of the limitless character of discipleship.” Yet some factors weigh against Secombe’s position. Luke uses the term *πτωχός* in relation to an underprivileged group, along with some other groups of people who also share the characteristics of the destitute.¹¹ Secombe is inconsistent in his interpretation of the terms such as *πτωχοί* and *πλούσιοι*. He gives them a spiritual connotation in some places (1982:90-91; cf. 24-43, 66, 87-92), whereas, in Chapters 3 and 4 he uses them to indicate real poverty. In addition to the inconsistency in the interpretation on the themes and symbolisation of poverty (cf. Topel 1985:275-276), Secombe fails to acknowledge the presence of poor/destitute at the tables and meal ministry of Jesus among the destitute.

In his *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts* (1987), Philip Esler argues the Lucan audience was very diverse, ranging from beggars to Roman military and administrative personnel (Esler 1987:183-187). The Lucan community contained both the poor and the rich in terms of a socio-economic perspective. Most scholars find the Lucan presentation of the theology of the poor in Jesus’ inaugural preaching in the synagogue in Nazareth. However, Esler (1987:187-189) proposes that Luke presents the theme of “good news to the destitute” even from the infancy narrative, for which he quotes the words of Mary in the Magnificat (Lk 1:52-53) and the humble birth of Jesus in a stable (Lk 2:7). Furthermore, he extends his examination in finding possible evidence that addresses the poor in Luke-Acts and comes

¹¹ Poor, captives, blind, oppressed – Lk 4:18; Poor, hungry, mourners, persecuted – Lk 6:20-22; Blind, Lame, Leper, Deaf, Dead, Poor – Lk 7:22; Poor, Poor, crippled, lame, blind – Lk 14:13, 21.

out with the following two arguments supporting his treatment of the theme of the poor in terms of physical suffering. Firstly, for him, the parable of the Great Banquet (Lk14:15-24; Mt 22:1-10) is an excellent example because the guests in the parable are beggars, maimed, blind and lame within the city, and people brought from highways and hedges. Secondly, the story of a man who asks his friend for bread at night (Lk 11:5-8) immediately after a petition “give us our daily bread” in the Lord’s Prayer (Lk 11:3) pictures the poor. The absence of the term *πτωχός* in the book of Acts is a clear indication of the behaviour of early Christ-followers whose practice of *κοινωνία* had the result that “there was no one who was *ἐνδεής*” (Acts 4:34) (cf. Esler 1987:185-187). In understanding the Lucan theology of salvation, Esler acknowledges both eschatological and empirical (this-worldly dimensions). According to him, Lucan theology encourages communal sharing in order to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and the destitute. In reasoning about table-fellowship, Esler focuses on commensality between Judeans and non-Judeans (although he uses the expressions “Jews” and “Gentiles” to refer to those groups). He argues from the pressure that the community faced from the Jerusalem church (Acts 15) regarding Jewish ethnicity that “If any feature needed to form part of the symbolic universe, he (Luke) was creating for them in the face of the symbolic universe rooted in Jewish ethnicity, it was table-fellowship” (1987:107). He does not address the inclusion of the *πτωχοί* in meals, and that is the major interest of this dissertation.

Esler’s arguments on the theme of poverty and riches in terms of a socio-economic perspective have not been sufficiently applied in Lucan studies before, and they suggest a new approach in New Testament studies. Through his research, Esler provides “very well informed” data in terms of wealth and illustrates the hardships of the urban poor in the Roman empire (Neyrey 1990:745). There are some gaps, however, that need to be filled. First of all, Esler (1987:186) believes that the Lucan community successfully implements Jesus’ recommendation for the distribution of wealth to the poor. However, in his treatment

of wealth, Esler misses out some unique passages from Acts that talk about the attitude of wealthy Christ-followers which establish Christ-followers' exemplary life: for example, communal meals (Acts 6:1-6); the Antioch Christ-movement (Acts 11:27-30); and Paul's encouraging words (Acts 20:35). Secondly, in his treatment of wealth, Esler spends much of his efforts on the negative aspects of wealth. In addition to the passages mentioned above, Luke has more wealth-related material that poses positive assumptions about wealth (cf. Lk 8:3; 10:7, 38-42; 14:12-14). Thirdly, Esler strongly emphasises physical suffering, especially hunger, in his treatment of poverty, though, when it comes to the theme of table-fellowship, Esler (1987:105-107) limits its broader aspects to a restricted group, i.e., the fellowship of Judeans and non-Judeans. He fails to identify the plight of hunger for those with physical infirmities, such as lepers, the crippled, lame and blind (Lk 4:13, 18).¹² Even though Esler's principal thesis is that the Lucan community was confronted with economic disparities in relation to the rich and the poor, he fails to do justice to connecting table-fellowship, particularly communal meals of Acts, with the issues of wealth and poverty. Furthermore, meal passages such as the feeding of the five thousand (Lk 9:12-17), the invitation to meals (Lk 14:12-14), and communal sharing (Acts 2:42-45; 4:32-35) challenge the Lucan audience that experiences a class struggle, not only an ethnic struggle, and encourage the sharing of food among the unequal in terms of reciprocity.

Bruce Malina has observed (1995:89) that "the poor would not be a social class but a sort of revolving class of people who unfortunately could not maintain their inherited status" and has defined poor in terms of social status. He comes to this argument based on his assumption that honour and shame were paramount in the New Testament world. When trying to see Lucan meal narrations from the concept of Mediterranean honour and shame concerning the customs of hospitality, honour is recognised and activated by invitations to meals. Bailey, who spent decades living on the West Bank, offers some typically helpful

¹² A detailed discussion on this issue is dealt in separate section in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

insights into the cultural setting of the parables with information about customs and practices relating to shared meals and invitations in a modern West Bank setting that shed light on the first-century context (Bailey 1980:88-113). Furthermore, Malina's subordination of material poverty to kinship concerns through socially defined poor and his interpretation of the Lucan *πτωχός* in terms of status downplay the Lucan concern with poverty. Hence, adjusting Malina's model by understanding *πτωχός* with respect to material deprivation will be an emphasis of this dissertation.

In his 1995 monograph, Joel B. Green defines the term *πτωχός* and its relation to society and to mission and salvation. Three things in Luke are seen in his understanding of the poor and its connexion with wealth. Firstly, Green postulates that the term *πτωχός* concerns not just the economic condition of the person, but also it is the interpretation and the amplification of others concerning their status (Green 1995:82). Secondly, in a recent article, Green relates economic resources to power and privileges and notes their association with other qualities of human society, such as gender, marital status, age, health, religious purity, and land ownership (Green 2014:177). Thirdly, Green (2014:178-179) highlights the correct use of wealth as a measure of one's faithfulness to the gospel and almsgiving as friendship with the poor (cf. Lk 3:7-14; 6:27-36; 18:18-23; 19:1-10; Acts 2:42-47; 4:32-35; 11:27-30).

In his understanding of the marginalised, Green focuses on the following sections of society: the demon-possessed, tax collectors, women, lepers, and sinners. But his focus limits his investigation into social privilege, where the marginalised include the destitute. Green's study of table-fellowship (1995:85-89) is minimal and focuses on status reversals and religious radicalism in terms of purity, whereas the possibility of open fellowship in feeding the hungry is very evident in Luke-Acts (cf. Lk 4:26; 9:10-17; 11:5-8; 14:15-24; 16:19-31; Acts 4:31-37; 27:33-38). While interpreting the first-century Christ-followers' community life, Green observes that "Luke's Gospel presents 'almsgiving' as friendship with the poor"

(2014:179). However, almsgiving has more than the connotation of friendship. It is integrally associated with “patronage” and the concepts of “honour and shame.” In the light of commensality and community of goods (Acts 4:32), almsgiving gives a clear picture that the Christ-followers in Acts were not just extending their friendship with the destitute, since they shared their very being in feeding the deprived community and gave without expectation of return.

In his *Paul and Poverty and Survival* (1998) Justin Meggitt argues for the low economic status of the Pauline communities. He argues that the vast majority, 99% of the population, were the poor who lived far below the elite members of society who were just 1% of the population of the empire in the first century.¹³ Moreover, he suggests that the cities of the Mediterranean world were filled with beggars and goes on to say that “To a population in which nearly all lived only a little above subsistence level the beggar embodied their profoundest fears” (1998:59). For his understanding of poverty, he relies especially on Garnsey and Woolf.¹⁴ Highlighting the elite nature of most ancient literary sources, Meggitt argues that it would be inappropriate and misleading if they dominated our social understanding of the biblical text, whereas the context of interpretation “... needs to be constructed that tries to give voice to the lived reality of the other 99% of the population” (cf. 1998:12-13). Meggitt (1998:73) argues that because of the economic disparities caused by the underdeveloped, pre-industrial economy of the Graeco-Roman world, the non-elite of the Mediterranean antiquity would have had “brutal and frugal lives characterised by struggle and impoverishment.” Thiselton (2000:25) notices the limited evidence in Meggitt’s

¹³ Meggitt was influenced in this conclusion by Alföldy (cf. Alföldy 1985: 127). For Meggitt, “The distribution of what little income was available in the Mediterranean world was entirely dependent upon political power: those devoid of political power, the non-elite, over 99% of the Empire’s population, could expect little more from life than abject poverty” (1998: 50).

¹⁴ “The poor are those living at or near subsistence level, whose prime concern it is to obtain the minimum food, shelter and clothing necessary to sustain life, whose lives are dominated by the struggle for physical survival” (Garnsey & Woolf 1989:153; cf. Meggitt 1998: 5).

hypothesis, while Horrell (2004: 358) sees it as too binary.¹⁵ With his careful and detailed analysis of named individuals in the Corinthian congregation, Longenecker (2010:220-252) points to evidence that the Corinthian congregation contained a mix of socio-economic strata. He argues that, in fact, “Meggitt’s advocacy of binary dichotomisation is in full accord with the rhetorical construction of the elite.” However, Meggitt’s study is significant in its extensive evidence of the living conditions of the societies of the Mediterranean antiquity, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

As we have seen thus far, scholars differ in their views on the themes of poverty and riches in Luke-Acts, with a basic fault line running between literal and eschatological understandings of the issue. However, some uncertainty over the issue of hunger is evident. Hence this dissertation tries to fill the gap in the interpretation of Lucan meal narrations by investigating the following questions. Is the Lucan Jesus concerned with the struggles of the poor? Has the Lucan Jesus set out any social programme to improve their quality of life, especially concerning hunger? This dissertation will analyse Luke’s concern with the social, political, economic and religious setting motivating his emphasis on the destitute. At the same time, it will also analyse the hardships of the marginalised with livelihood needs such as food and shelter. Since meals are a potential source of information about a group’s symbolic universe (Neyrey 1991:368), the dissertation will analyse the classification system replicated in meals and table-fellowship with a focus on maps of persons, things, places, and times in appraising the reversals wrought by the Lucan Jesus. The dissertation will also read the text from the generalised reciprocity model for understanding asymmetrical relationships between human beings illustrated in meal scenes.

¹⁵ In his argument on 1 Cor 1:26 and 4:10, Meggitt claims that these references are not always the case of indicates the presence of elite, furthermore, he argues that the elite in 4:10 denotes with the sense of spiritual (rather than social) self-importance (cf. 1998:106-107).

2.3. Critical Survey of Scholarship on Using Lucan Perspective on Meals in Terms of Poverty and Hunger

As many scholars have noted, table-fellowship is one of the prominent themes in Luke-Acts, and the meal scenes are significant for interpreting Luke. Luke has given more emphasis to families and meals than any other New Testament writer (Neyrey 1991:361-362). The placement of the meal setting in Luke-Acts shows how important it is for the Lucan message. The Lucan Jesus is often at meal scenes, just as Karris states that the Lucan Jesus is either on his way to, at, or returning from a meal. Later he claims that Jesus was killed because of the way he ate (Karris 1985:47, 70). Yet Karris does not talk about inappropriate table manners. Table manners represent people's culture and beliefs. People in antiquity were expected to behave in accordance with their social status. Nadeau (2015:271) states that "Incomprehension creates an ideological boundary between people who consider themselves 'civilised' and others 'uncivilised.'" Ill-behaviour at the table was often considered unnatural and improper (cf. Cicero, *Verrem* 2.1.66). The Lucan Jesus' inclusive table associates and his radical transformation of table-fellowship paved the way to his death. Dennis Smith examines the relationship between Lucan meals and Greco-Roman symposium literature and concludes that Luke uses the symposium motif of table-fellowship as a literary device (Smith 1987:613-638; 2003:253). In asserting the social function of meals, on the other hand, Jerome Neyrey approaches Lucan meal narrations in the light of socio-cultural analysis (Neyrey 1991:361-387). Steele argues that meals serve to confirm the status quo, and roles are specified in them: a host, a chief guest, and other guests (Steele 1984:379-394). This classification in meals existed in antiquity. Since this dissertation concentrates on meal scenes in terms of food security and the plight of hunger, it is appropriate to analyse scholarship on the Lucan perspective on meals in terms of poverty and hunger.

Robert Karris emphasises the theme of food is a central motif in the Lucan Gospel and observes, “the theme of food occurs in every chapter of Luke’s Gospel ... the motif that God in Jesus provides for a hungry creation occurs in all significant contexts in the Gospel of Luke” (Karris 1985:5-6). *Eating Your Way Through Luke’s Gospel* (2006) is an excellent result of his research of more than two decades. In his earlier work, *Luke: Artist and Theologian, Theological Inquiries* (1985) he has proposed that the Gospel of Luke is a “kerygmatic narrative” and therefore “meant to preach to the reader in narrative form and to elicit from the reader an act of Christian faith” (1985:8; cf. Fitzmyer 11-14, 145-162). Karris (1985:5-6) also asserts that the meal is a central motif in Luke’s Gospel. Karris’ argument on the Lucan meal motif is highly germane to this dissertation concerning contemporary food security in India. He claims that within first-century Palestine, the Lucan view is universal and not culture-bound. Thus, he states that the “kerygmatic story of Jesus’ eating with social and religious outcasts resonates with all readers in whose cultures sharing food is sharing life” (1985:59). He recapitulates this motif as follows: (i) food as a theme occurs in every chapter; (ii) Luke opted not to avoid setting Jesus at the table (e.g. Jesus’ speech against the Pharisees - Lk 11:37-54 // Mt 23:25-36); (iii) the food motif is present in all significant contexts of Luke; (iv) Luke uses the food motif to illustrate the providence of God; and (v) the food motif appropriately symbolises “God’s renewed union with his estranged people” (Karris 1985:5-6). Karris uses narrative criticism in his later work (2006) and emphasises the social and sacred dimensions of all meals in Luke, including the Last Supper (Karris 2006:88-90). Following Joachim Jeremias, Karris also suggests that Jesus’ table-fellowship with “sinners” represents “acted parables” of the kingdom of God” which reflects God’s unconditional acceptance” (Karris 2006:32; cf. Jeremias 1971:115-116). Karris also dedicates a chapter to the topic of women and food in which he sets aside all the presuppositions about the role of women as servers of food and states that women are the persons doing theology, not dishes (Karris 2006:83). At the same time, he fails to identify the blind, lame, poor and hungry at the table, which is the central focus of this dissertation.

Smith (1987), following Steele (1984), finds similarities between Lucan meal scenes and the Greco-Roman symposium and argues that by placing Jesus at meal tables, Luke uses a form of literature that his audience knew about. Smith declares that his goal is to “provide a common model that can be utilised for the study of all data on formal meals from the Greco-Roman world” and to prove that “the banquet was a single social institution that pervaded the culture as a whole” (2003:2, 12). By exploring the meal customs of various traditions, Smith states that “meals took similar forms and shared similar meanings and interpretations across a broad range of the ancient world.” He also highlights the nature of the Greco-Roman banquet tradition (2003:2). Finally, he traces historical developments of the “banquet,” and his extensive study of source material on meal traditions in antiquity justifies his objective. Although Lucan meals have some features of symposium literature, however, establishing such a connection is not the major purpose behind Lucan redaction.

As discussed, both Smith and Steele fundamentally argue that Luke situates table-fellowship discussion to present his gospel in a genre that his potential readers is familiar with (Smith 2003:256-257; Steele 1984:394). Smith applies his studies of Greco-Roman banqueting to Jewish banquets and categorises Lucan meal scenes according to the table talk that happened after the meals, for which he relies heavily on the symposium form in which discussion of philosophical topics took place (Smith 2003:253-272). Nevertheless, it is not adequate to reduce the significance of Lucan meal scenes to conformity to Hellenistic influence, because in addition to Smith’s conclusion of a literary motif, as we will see in Chapter 4, Lucan meal scenes play a vital role in exemplifying generalised reciprocity in relationships.

Jerome Neyrey, in a 1991 essay (1991:361-387), argues against the view that considers meals as rituals of status change and transformation (McVann 1991:333-360). According to Neyrey, meals are not rituals; instead, they are ceremonies, which are predictable, determined, and purpose to confirm roles and ranks within the chief institutions

of a given group (Neyrey 1991:362). He narrows down the meals to the group's centre, not to the periphery. Accordingly, meals strengthen a given group. However, it is essential to note that he neglects certain themes, such as crossing boundaries and status reversals (Neyrey 1991:363). Whether or not Neyrey's hypothesis linking meals to the centre of groups is a valid claim at a general level, it is debatable when it concerns Lucan meals. In this regard, a more plausible position is offered by Mary Douglas who sees food as a "code" that exposes the pattern of social relations in differentiating hierarchy, inclusion, exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries (Douglas 1975a:249). Elliot (1991:388, 391), following her, argues that food codes embody and replicate social codes. Besides, concerning reciprocity, he states, "Giving without expectation of return, hospitality and the sharing of food and shelter ... are all actions characteristic of kin groups and the ethos of household" (1991:388, 391). However, it is worth noting that Neyrey proposes that meals and table-fellowship are to be examined in terms of reciprocity (Neyrey 1991:362). Hence this dissertation will address the meal narrations in Luke-Acts, paying attention to the values, social structures and conventions of the Lucan audience in order to understand relationships between them in terms of hospitality, food sharing and reciprocity.

The early Christ-movement met in homes and shared meals, even though Adams has valuably alerted us to the variety of other locales used in the early period.¹⁶ Lucan meal scenes match these actual meals and draw the audience into the meal scenes as an "implied audience" (Meeks 1983:75-77). Paul Heil furthers this notion in his monograph, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts: An Audience-Oriented Approach* (1999). Heil's approach is literary-critical and audience-oriented, and he investigates "the narrative progressions," both within a particular meal scene and within the entire compass of the meal scenes in Luke-Acts. In

¹⁶ Edward Adams (2016) postulates that the first century early Christ-followers met in a variety of places other than houses, such as workshops, barns, warehouses, hotels and inns, rented dining rooms, bathhouses, gardens, watersides, urban open spaces, and burial sites. Given the internal evidence and Graeco-Roman context, it is reasonable to assume that the early Christ-followers at time met in houses for their worship, sharing meals (Acts 20:7-9; 1 Cor 16:19; Philemon 2; Romans 16:5; Col 4:15; cf. White 1990: 142).

explaining his methodology, Heil argues, “the “authorial audience” refers to the hearers or readers the author envisions in creating the text. The author assumes that the Lucan authorial audience possesses the social, cultural, historical, literary, rhetorical, and interpretive knowledge necessary to actualise its meaning and receive its communication” (Heil 1999:2-3). Although the argument of the identity of the audience is not the central core of this dissertation, Heil’s hypothesis of the “implied reader” certainly supports its argument in understanding particular dimensions of the text in its cultural context. Heil argues that the “implied reader” is understood to be imbued with a knowledge of the Scripture contained in the Septuagint and also with the socio-historical and literary context of the text (Heil 1999:3). However, Heil’s failure to identify the audience in their socio-economic perspectives rather than in relation to the messianic banquet is worth noting. His conclusion, however, offers a glimpse of these perspectives (Heil 1999:312).

Thiessen’s *Jesus and the Forces of Death* (2020) starts with a statement, “the Jesus of the Gospels only makes sense in light of, in the context of, and agreement with priestly concerns about purity and impurity” (2020:8). Concerning food and dietary laws, Thiessen takes Mark 7:19 to legitimate his argument. The common consensus on this text is that Jesus rejected the ritual purity system and food laws of first-century Judaism (cf. Sanders 1985:264-267; Chilton 2002:119; Meier 2009: 359). In arguing the Lucan parallel passage (Lk 11:37-41), Thiessen carefully accepts the Lucan Jesus’ rejection of Pharisaic tradition in not washing his hands but argues that this passage deals only with purity concerns, rather than *kosher* laws, Jewish food laws (Thiessen 2020:195). It cannot be said, however, that the practice of Judean food laws is irrelevant to this passage. This is evident in Jesus’ instructions to the seventy-two (Lk 10:7-8). The twofold repetition in verses 7 and 8b to accept food offered by the welcoming host (potentially non-Judean) clearly indicates that the Lucan Jesus has disregarded dietary restrictions (Pervo 2009:269–70; Talbert 1982:117). Furthermore, Thiessen’s argument fails to offer positive textual evidence to support his

argument that Jesus is genuinely concerned with matters of law observance, especially dietary laws. This dissertation, however, takes the position that Lucan Jesus neither supports nor rejects/forsakes Judean food laws, but he strongly condemns pharisaic purity concerns and encourages fellowship between Judean and non-Judean, which is the prefiguration of the proclamation of the gospel to the nations and inclusion of non-Judeans.

Hence it is appropriate to read Lucan meal scenes exploring the socio-economic elements embedded in the Lucan narrations and assessing the influence of the social values of the Mediterranean world in the text. This dissertation will interpret the meal scenes in Luke-Acts with the help of models and theories of social-scientific interpretation in investigating the subject of hospitality and food justice.

2.4. Critical Survey of Scholarship on Theological Approaches in Addressing the Plight of Hunger

This dissertation aims to bring Lucan perspectives on hunger to bear on the question of food justice in India; hence, we need a means to create a linkage between historical criticism thus informed by the social sciences and its results to the contemporary situation. In seeking to apply Lucan insights to food justice in India, we draw inspiration from John Koenig. In his pioneering 1985 work *New Testament Hospitality*, he utilised historical interpretation informed by the then very new sociological approaches of Gerd Theissen and John Elliott to address hospitality issues in relation to historical Jesus, Paul and Luke to develop a theological understanding of hospitality in the contemporary world. This dissertation employs the method of interpretation that is mainly concerned with interpreting biblical texts in their social, cultural and historical setting, and aims to investigate the original meaning of the bible, its genre, content, structure and rhetorical strategy (Elliot 1993:69). In order to situate the contemporary destitute and hungry in a theological endeavour, it is requisite to discuss how theologians reflect Christian praxis through different approaches to the action-reflection process.

In his inaugural sermon on his enthronement as the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1942, William Temple mentioned the ecumenical movement as “the great new fact of our era.” Temple’s quote, perhaps, may apply, if (regrettably) in a negative way, to the development of a prominent difference of approach among theologians on an important subject. Theologizing in recent years has witnessed a considerable separation appearing between the approach to bringing theology (including biblical insights) to bear on real-life situations. Especially, terms like “World Christianity,” “Global North,” or “Global South” point to paradigm differentiation in doing theology. This dissertation highlights two particular approaches, practical and pastoral theologies on the one hand and contextual theology on the other. While the former focuses on applying biblical insights to a particular context for social change, the latter is interested in how cultural contexts impact upon the interpretation of biblical texts. The former approach, which developed largely in the USA, Canada, Europe and East Asia (“Global North”), is Practical Theology (PT). It is an “application” discipline, which prioritises interpretation and reflection that are then followed by action-oriented guidelines for religious praxis in society (cf. Gräb and Osmer 1997:1-5; Maddox 1990). In the “Global South,” contextualisation that emerged in the late 1960s valorises issues of liberation concerning culture, ethnicity, religions, patriarchy, caste and identity to bring about social change where the emphasis is first on action (especially in the form of engagement with disadvantaged communities) and then biblical and theological reflection (Bergmann, Sigurd & Vähäkangas 2021:2). This dissertation acknowledges the two strands of theological approaches that have some connection with geography. At the same time, it is optimistic that such a binary approach would not necessarily be a totally polarised approach since this is an era of globalisation where everything is interconnected.

In the 1970s, the debates inaugurated by form criticism and redaction criticism began to be overshadowed by more meticulous attention to the historical context of biblical texts that was enabled by the introduction of the social sciences. This paradigm shift has motivated theologians and exegetes to explore avenues of contextual interpretation of the Bible, while the use of social sciences in relation to biblical texts has often enabled a more ready application of the resulting insights to contemporary situations. While the historical-critical methods are the particular approaches employed to investigate the historical context of the text, PT emphasises contemporary experience and experimentation and builds relationships between theory and practice.¹⁷ Practical Theology, very broadly speaking, is the theological area that concerns itself with ways in which insights from the Bible, tradition and dogmatic theology, and from other areas, such as philosophy and the social sciences, can be utilised to speak theologically about matters of pressing concern today. In the last two decades, PT has been accepted as an academic discipline that studies the interaction between theology and practice (Dingemans 1996; Cahalan 2005; Bennett 2013). Many approaches to PT have emerged, and they can be classified into three major streams: (i) applied theological approach; (ii) theological reflection approach; and (iii) functionalist approach (Cahalan 2005:64-94). The functionalist approach uses scripture as a resource and understands the “practical” in the PT as the *praxis*. PT has been “the part of the emergent contextual theologies of the latter part of the twentieth century” that focus on solidarity with the marginalised and their plight towards enhancement in the light of the Scripture (Ballard 2012:166; cf. Astley 2002). Pattison and Woodward (2000:7) understand PT as “A place where religious belief, tradition and practice meets (sic) contemporary experiences, questions and actions and conducts a dialogue that is mutually enriching, intellectually critical, and practically transforming.”

¹⁷ Historical context covers the time, the place in which the text was written and also includes the source of the text. The events, places and customs mentioned in the text also come under historical context.

According to Tracy, *praxis* in PT is Christ-followers' response to their life situations, not just when they are confined within the church and theological academy, but in relation to the public and society, particularly in its responsibility of maintaining justice and controlling conflicts (Tracy 1981:6-7). Forrester (2000:118) points out two ways of doing theology in public PT, magisterial and liberationist. While the magisterial approach claims to do theology with authority, "from the heart of things not from the margins," the liberationist approach brings the solution from below, "arising out of real experiences and struggles on the ground" in responding to the voice of the voiceless, the underprivileged and the marginalised. Thus, theology is not just to address the issue of the poor through a benevolent or generous act, but it should be from the cry of the poor; in other words, it should arise from a specific historical and material context and should address the context.

In recent years, there is a consensus among theologians concerning the context and contextual theology is that "all theology is contextual theology" (Bergmann 2003:1-7; Pears 2010: 168; Bevans 2014:48).¹⁸ This formulation is unproblematic, at least to some degree, since all Christian theology is influenced and moulded by the context of the theologian. In other words, context is both the framework and part of the source material for doing theology. Contextual theology is commonly understood as the manner of understanding the biblical texts according to the cultural context of the Church. Since the 1960s, theologians from Global South, especially Africa and Asia, have been interested in how cultural backgrounds influenced the interpretation of biblical texts. Gutiérrez points out that the Israelites were freed before God formed them into a community by means of a covenant and endowment with the Law in the exodus; he argues that theology must consider "the symbolic

¹⁸ For a better understanding of the term "contextualisation", it is necessary to refer back to the first instance. According to the report of the Theological Education Fund (1972:19-20), contextualisation refers to the "capacity to respond meaningfully to the gospel within the framework of one's own situation." Furthermore, the document differentiates contextualisation from indigenisation: "Indigenisation tends to be used in the sense of responding to the Gospel in terms of a traditional culture. Contextualisation, while ignoring this, takes into account the process of secularity, technology, and struggle for human justice, which characterises the historical movement of nations in the Third World." Moreover, contextual theology is not only based "on the compassionate feelings for the underdogs" but on the divine revelation in the Scripture (cf. Maimela 1986:106).

language in which the people expressed their resistance, their combats, and their religious experience' (2004:6,194). In his words, the theology of liberation is "an attempt to understand the faith from within the concrete historical, liberating, and subversive praxis of the poor of this world – the exploited classes. Despised ethnic groups, and marginalised cultures" (Gutiérrez 2004:37). Parker's *Theologising with the Sacred 'Prostitutes' of South India* (2021) is a fine example of contextual theology in the Indian context. She expounds a theology of resistance and liberation for the Dalit people, particularly women, which challenges systems of oppression including sexism, classism, socio-economic, political and religious marginalisation. At this juncture, it is worth quoting Gutiérrez's case for an option for the poor. According to him, it is a "prophetic option that has its roots in the unmerited love of God and is demanded by this love", and it is biblical and theological (Gutiérrez 1973: xxvii). Pears proposes a definition for contextual theology: contextual theology is "that theology which explicitly places the recognition of the contextual nature of theology at the forefront of the theological process" (Pears 2010:1). This thesis acknowledges the existing two stands of theology; at the same time, it does not deny the impact of one's context in his/her understanding, interpretation and reflection on God's nature and their practice. Hence, this thesis does not just put forward an application endeavour. Since the objective of this thesis is to enliven the Church with humanitarian concerns and to enlighten the Christian community in its journey with the oppressed, especially concerning hunger and its elimination, it will also focus on those modes of doing theology with methods of engaged reflection. Before moving on and theologising the Lucan understanding God's concern towards the oppressed and marginalised, the following section will discuss two works that focus on the theology and the practice of hospitality.

Letty Russell (2009) brought cogent theological perspectives on hospitality and applied them as a useful tool with which the Church might address issues of exclusion and discrimination. She demonstrates that experience, social reality, tradition, and action are all “ingredients in our theology” (Russell 2009:1). Letty Russell has focused on the biblical understanding of the practice and meaning of hospitality and uses a theological method of practice and theory to address the social structures of injustice and division (Russell 2009:49-50). She argues that hospitality should be understood as “*solidarity with strangers*” in their struggle for “empowerment, dignity and fullness of life” and maintains that hospitality and justice are closely connected (Russell 2009:19-20, 122). Her arguments and references from biblical passages turn “biblical hospitality” into social activism. She fails, however, to include the struggle of the destitute in their plight for subsistence and the Lucan Jesus’ radical tables that turn the world upside down and ensure food for the destitute. Her work is not a profound theology of hospitality; however, Russell’s statements and arguments on hospitality help develop hermeneutical strategies and contribute to a theology to bring justice and healing to our world in crisis.

Newlands and Smith (2010) start their book with a quote by Lucien Richard (2000:1) “For Christianity, the reality of hospitality to the stranger is expressed in the meals taken by Jesus with those who were at the margin of society ... the practice of hospitality was viewed as the concrete expression of love.” Although they mention earlier the Magnificat and the Parable of the Good Samaritan as evidence of Luke’s interest in hospitality, later they say, “In Christianity, hospitality spreads out from Jesus’ words in St Matthew’s gospel, ‘I was a stranger, and you took me in’ (Mt 23:35)” (Newlands & Smith 2010:23). They fail to acknowledge the Lucan Jesus’ Nazareth proclamation, his concern towards the deprived and the destitute, and his transformative tables. They argue that the theology of hospitality need not be “humanist” and “liberal,” and they approach it as a “Christian perspective”, which is the care for the stranger, the outsider (Newland 2000:7, 15, 19).

In his *Alms: Charity, Reward, and Atonement in Early Christianity* (2016), David Downs deals with Hebrew-Aramaic, Greek translation of Old Testament, Apocrypha and New Testament passages to argue for the atoning power of almsgiving in early Christianity. He argues that the declaration of the atoning power of almsgiving was not opposed to the “avowal of the unique, atoning death of Jesus,” and claims the non-competitive relation between both (Downs 2016:6). In other words, he equates almsgiving with the saving work of God.

The undisputable consensus is that salvation is a significant theme for Luke (Fitzmyer 1981:179-192, 222-223; Green 1997:23; Marshall 1970:94-102). Luke-Acts contain many references that expose his specific vocabulary of salvation: pardon of sins (ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, Lk 24:47; Acts 2:38); redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις, Lk 21:28); life (ζωή, Acts 11:18); eternal life (ζωὴν αἰώνιον, Lk 10:25; 18:18, 30; Acts 13:46, 48); grace (χάρις, Lk 1:30; 2:40; 7:47; Acts 4:33; 7:10, 46; 11:23; 25:3, 9); ransoming/redemption (λύτρωσις, Lk 1:68; 2:38). Furthermore, Luke used four words to express his soteriology: σωτήρ (“saviour” 4 occurrences); σωτηρία (“salvation”, ten occurrences); σωτήριόν (“salvation”, three occurrences); and in verb form σῶζω (31 occurrences). Interestingly none of the above references has a connection with almsgiving. Downs’ view of atoning almsgiving may reflect some kind of benefit repaid to the donor, not the salvific work of God. Green (2017:116) situates the theology of atonement in its relationship between “God and God’s people, for the whole of humanity, and indeed for the cosmos.” The point of departure of this dissertation in reading almsgiving and merciful deeds is reciprocity and human relations.

These above observations provide the basis for a theological engagement with the deprived and the destitute. This thesis strives to contribute to the scholarship on the Lucan table-fellowship theme by enhancing it with “Good news to the πτωχοί” as a theological issue that addresses the plight of the destitute and the issue of food insecurity today. Through the investigation of the Lucan meal scenes from social-scientific perspectives and the

insights from PT, this thesis suggests that the Lucan meal scenes both reflect the impact of the dominant socio-religious and economic pressures on the πτωχοί for whom Luke showed such concern and provided material for an application to the contemporary situation in India. Meanwhile, this dissertation places the Indian context at the centre of theological praxis, including hospitality.

2.5. Current Understandings of the Effect of India's NFSA (2013)

In the last decade, India's rapid economic growth has not been completely reflected in its people's health status. The saddening information is that 22 per cent of its population is undernourished.¹⁹ The issues of food security²⁰ and poverty are growing globally. India, the second-largest country in the world in terms of population, is divided by social and economic factors, and it is home to the most significant number of malnourished persons in the world. While famine was the primary problem during the colonial era, malnutrition has replaced it as the chief concern of legislators and economists. Food security is one of the major challenges being currently faced by India. This situation resulted in the passing of the National Food Security Act (hereafter NFSA) by the Parliament of India in September 2013. The preamble states its aims as "to provide for food and nutritional security in human life cycle approach, by ensuring access to adequate quantity and quality food at affordable prices to people to live with dignity and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto."

Furthermore, it is appropriate to mention Article 47²¹ of the Constitution of India as the foundation behind this Act which provides that nutritional enrichment, living standard enhancement, and embellishment in public health services are the primary duties of the State.

¹⁹ According to the Global Hunger Index – International Food Policy Research Institute.

²⁰ The World Food Summit of 1996 defined food security as existing "when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life." Cf. United Nations. 1975. Report of the World Food Conference; Rome, 5-16 November 1974. New York.

²¹ *Constitution of India*, Article 47: Duty of the State to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health.—The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health.

In the post-independence period, various poverty vindication programmes have been introduced. To eradicate hunger and malnutrition, NFSA has been framed as an Act bringing together three earlier schemes, the Midday-meal (MDM), the Public Distribution System (PDS) and the Integrated Child Development Schemes (ICDS), and the Indian Government has passed it through an ordinance. This dissertation aims to assist the Church in understanding the Lucan concept of hospitality and food justice to make a positive contribution to the ongoing debate on food security in India. This dissertation has its limitations, and it is not part of its aim to critique an Act passed in the Parliament; however, it will critically examine the difficulties and problems in the implementation of the NFSA. In particular, the highest constitutional institution of the State, the Supreme Court of India, more recently observed that the NFSA has not been implemented as it should be.²² Nirmala Rao and Kaul (2018: 34) observe, “On paper, it is an excellent and contextually relevant scheme, but the implementation of the scheme had not been accorded adequate priority, perhaps due to weak institutional capacity and/or a lack of political will.”

Food security is commonly associated with the availability and accessibility of food and foodgrains, whereas it has multiple dimensions in its relationship with other social dynamics. Drèze argues, “the right to food needs to be linked to other economic and social rights relating to education, work, health and information, which together hold the promise of radical change in public priorities and democratic politics” (Drèze 2004:1723). Food and food security are essential for building a healthy individual, and they are significant factors for social and national cohesion in building a healthy community. Food insecurity will result in holistic disequilibrium in the society that leads from one to another level of the society, from individual to groups and community, and at the end, it may break the solidarity of the nation. Hence, this dissertation will employ statistical analysis as an “observational

²² "We are in general agreement with counsel for the petitioner and the fact that even after prodding by the central government and our prodding, many of the state governments have not yet established a working state food commission. This is a clear indication that there is hardly any commitment to the implementation of the NFS (National Food Security) Act," a bench of Justices M B Lokur and N V Ramana. Press Trust of India,

instrument” providing secondary data relating to India’s food security/insecurity. This dissertation will investigate the problem behind food insecurity by looking at the differential effect on different types of households, such as the poor and marginalised. Besides, existing secondary data sources such as the National Sample Surveys and other literature, both originating from researchers in India and outside the country, will be used to analyse the trends in food consumption, the impact of poverty, and malnutrition.

This dissertation aims to provide suggestions to encourage the church in India in exercising the Lucan Jesus’ proclamation “Good news to the πτωχοί” within a Practical Theology framework focusing on hospitality by aiming at the basic needs of people. The mechanism of poverty alleviation and the importance of food security from the context of Lucan meals as contributing to a theology of hospitality will be the major result of this research, and it will be directed to critiquing and alleviating food insecurity in India. Food justice amidst a society of inequality and oppression is the main concern of the research. By employing the stated methods, this research will aim to enlighten the Christian community in its journey with the oppressed, especially in fighting against food insecurity. Moreover, this research will not just be an academic exercise for understanding Lucan meals from social-scientific perspectives, neither will it be a comparative study between Lucan hospitality and NFSA 2013 in the context of malnourishment in India. It will instead contribute to analysing the socio-economic, political and religious context of Mediterranean societies and the Lucan community for its better understanding of the text while building a theological bridge between the Lucan vision of feeding the destitute and the current situation in India. The next chapter will pay attention to the historical, social, economic, and cultural context of the Mediterranean region from social-scientific perspectives where this dissertation has established the Lucan audience.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC PERSPECTIVES ON THE FIRST-CENTURY MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Any investigation of the New Testament literature with a historical dimension requires a clear understanding of the socio-cultural and political contexts in which the events of the New Testament took place. The Christ-movement that existed in Mediterranean societies has the marks of the impact of the dominant cultures upon it. In New Testament studies, social science methods play an increasingly essential role in the interpretation of the texts, as seen in numerous works (cf. Malina 1981; Elliott 1982; Harrington 1988; Malina & Neyrey 1991; Malina 1993; Pilch 2007). These studies set out various models from the social sciences, which scholars have applied to the biblical world. Esler, one among the advocates of social-scientific interpretation, suggests, “The question is not ‘Do we need the social sciences?’ but instead ‘How can we get along without them?’” (1994:18). Hence this chapter will seek to investigate the emergence of social-scientific interpretation and models and theories that shaped New Testament studies to set out the models for our investigation of Lucan meals.

1. WHAT IS SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC INTERPRETATION?

John Elliott (1993:7) labels social-scientific interpretation a “sub-discipline of exegesis,” not an independent methodological paradigm. Social-scientific interpretation reconstructed the established methods of historical criticism as well as for the first time introducing the sociology of knowledge, sectarianism and Mediterranean anthropology into research on the New Testament. It addressed the long-standing disinterest in the social dimensions of biblical texts. The biblical texts were the products of an ancient social system or systems, and the requirement to understand texts in their contexts always really meant that a sophisticated analysis of that context was essential for interpreting the texts. Many exegetes

realized that there were social dimensions to the biblical texts. However, they largely ignored them or applied folk psychology²³ to understand them. Folk psychology is rooted in understanding our own culture and can be very problematic if we use it to understand the products of a culture at a geographical and temporal remove from us. It was always likely that only when interpreters of biblical texts turned to the social sciences for expert help from researchers who spent their lives working on similar issues would a reasonably competent understanding of ancient social contexts emerge.

The early attempts in the interpretation of New Testament texts in terms of “social” issues began with Ernst Troeltsch²⁴ and Max Weber.²⁵ Their pioneering theoretical approaches to connecting history with the development and interaction of social and cultural forces laid the foundation of this approach (Troeltsch 1977:243-247). Shirley Jackson Case (1923; 1933) and Shailer Mathews of the American “Chicago School” developed the “sociohistorical” method. Carolyn Osiek views Case’s method as an outcome of modernism and a response to the historical-critical method, which aims to arrive at the authenticity of the text through the “the investigation of questions of authorship, dating, and the assessment of original literary forms” (Osiek 1989:265). The publication of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann’s *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge* (1966) charted how social contexts and ideational constructs were dialectically related and allowed scholars to think and write about such things without the risk of being labelled Marxists. On the whole, Berger and Luckmann’s “sociology of knowledge” has been foundational for all the approaches employed in the social-scientific interpretation of the

²³ Proto-psychological reflections in theological and exegetical works by early church fathers, such as, Tertullian, Cassian, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Great, and Augustine are primarily concerned with matters of faith and life. Through their reflections on sin, grace, knowledge, faith and the nature of the Christian life, Luther and Calvin contributed to the development of Protestant folk psychology. Eric L. Johnson discusses it in his essay “A Brief History of Christians in Psychology” in Eric L. Johnson (Ed.), *Psychology & Christianity: Five Views*, Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Academic, 2010), 11-14.

²⁴ *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (1931) is the translation of his German work published in the year 1911 under the title: *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* in which Troeltsch investigated the social issues of Christian communities in the first century B.C.E.

²⁵ Weber’s ‘sociology of religion’ in his *Ancient Judaism* (1919) contributed a new methodological approach in studying religion.

New Testament. As Adams (2000:6) states, “Berger’s notion of the symbolic universe is now firmly established as a standard heuristic tool in New Testament studies, being widely employed by interpreters.”

Many biblical scholars have applied Berger and Luckmann’s model of the social construction of reality to the New Testament texts (cf. Meeks 1972; Gager 1975; Esler 1987). Wayne Meeks, in his article “The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism (1972),” applied Berger’s sociology of knowledge and Bryan Wilson’s sectarianism briefly, yet at the same time most aptly, and suggested that the depiction of Jesus in the Gospel according to John served to both construct and reflect the symbolic universe of a sectarian community (cf. Esler 2014:126). Later during the 1970s, many scholars, especially those present at meetings of the AAR/SBL,²⁶ were recognising the need to focus on the social formation of Christianity in a particular region of the Mediterranean world. Johnathan Smith listed four possible goals in approaching social issues of early Christianity, namely the social facts, the social history, the social organisations, and the social world (Smith 1975:19-20).²⁷ Gerd Theissen pioneered a new perspective in exegesis by merging historical criticism with sociological perspectives in an essay on wandering preachers published in 1973. Malina (1981) outlined a series of models derived from the anthropological studies on the pivotal values of Mediterranean cultures, such as honour-shame, limited good, and patron-client relation, and introduced cultural anthropology to the study of the values of Mediterranean culture in the biblical texts. Using sectarian theory, John H. Elliott (1982) posed a fresh way of applying social-scientific interpretation to 1 Peter.

²⁶ American Academy of Religion (AAR); Society of Biblical Literature (SBL).

²⁷ Social facts are those aspects of social life that shape the behaviour of individuals and affects their everyday life. For Durkheim (1982:21) social facts “... consist of manners of acting, thinking and feeling external to the individual, which are invested with a coercive power under which they exercise control over him.” The social history exposes the inter-related relationship between economic, demographic and social process, as well as their impact on “political institutions, the distribution of resources, social movements, shared worldviews, and forms of public and private behaviour” (cf. Conrad 2015). The social organization or social structure is a pattern of relationships between individuals and social groups and the process that holds it.

Philip Esler (1987) brought a fresh and revealing light on the social and political motivations of the theology of Luke-Acts by linking the idea of the sociology of knowledge and sociology of sectarianism. Esler (1987:65) suggested that Luke wrote his two-part narrative for a “community” which was formerly a Jewish reform movement but had recently “acquired a sectarian status in relationship to Judaism.” Members of the Context Group²⁸ adopted a new approach that had in common a reliance upon anthropology (based on Malina’s *New Testament World*) with a focus on emphasising the cultural gap between the New Testament world and the present one (cf. Esler 2004:46-61). In a 1996 work, Esler introduced Social Identity Theory to biblical interpretation and applied it to the conflict in Galatians, arguing that Paul was trying to create a new identity for the Christ-following group (Esler 1996:234). In sum, we can conclude that social-scientific interpretation has had two dimensions: (a) asking new socially realistic questions of New Testament texts and (b) helping us to understand the answers to those questions by “connecting the dots”, as it were. It will be useful now to examine the social-scientific interpretation more closely.

1.1. Using the Models

As explained above, social-scientific interpretation as it developed in biblical studies during the late 20th century addresses the issues and ideas behind the text by using perspectives, theories, and models generated by the social sciences and investigates the social features of the form and content of the text. Scholars use various concepts and theories from sociology, anthropology and social psychology to investigate the data. In the interpretative activity, all exegetes use models, which is an unavoidable part of the basic human processes of perception and categorization, and the usage of models is not a matter of choice (Carney 1975:5; cf. Malina 1981:11-18; Elliott 1986:6; Esler 1994:12). However, most “models” are just intuitive hunches based on folk psychology unless they are consciously adopted from

²⁸ A group of scholars including John Elliott, Bruce Malina, Jerome Neyrey, and John Pilch paid a close attention on the relationship between biblical studies and social sciences which sprouted as the Context Group in 1990 and expanded to include scholars such as Dennis Duling, Philip Esler, Douglas Oakman and Richard Rohrbaugh among others.

the social sciences. Carney, often followed by New Testament scholars (Esler 1995; Pilch 2007), brilliantly set out a broad array of models for use in the ancient Mediterranean world. Elliott, who in his *What is Social-Scientific Criticism* (1993) draws on Carney, clearly states that models are not easy to define, but a model “acts as a link between theories and observations” to provide a practical framework of investigation (Carney 1975:8; Elliott 1993:4). In agreement with Carney, Esler underscores the comparative nature of models and agrees on the significance of models since they help us raise questions and generate insights in pursuing the hidden meaning (Esler 1994:12-13).

David Horrell (1996:31) criticises the model-based approach to social-scientific New Testament interpretation and rejects the adoption of social-scientific models which are drawn from a context far removed from that of the New Testament. In his lengthy review of Horrell’s work, Esler argues that the word “model” is a reasonably “general expression for the various ideas and perspectives” for those who practise social-scientific interpretation of biblical texts. Their responses (Horrell 2000; Esler 2000a) to each other spark fresh light in reading the texts in the light of ancient Mediterranean culture without falling into anachronism²⁹ and ethnocentrism.³⁰

The members of the Context Group claim that models are heuristic tools for the investigation of the text and the frameworks and are not to be understood as true or false; they are useful, or they are not (Elliott 1993:43-45; 1995:7; Esler 1994:12-19; 1995:4). A very significant source for New Testament critics interested in social-scientific interpretation were models and theories from cultural anthropologists working on contemporary Mediterranean culture. In deploying this anthropological research on biblical texts for the first time, Malina, in various works (1981, 1993a), discussed below, played a significant role in the application of a variety of cultural anthropological models to the texts of the New

²⁹ Anachronism - Using of modern theories in analysing the ancient social patterns.

³⁰ Ethnocentrism - Evaluation of other cultures according to preconceptions originating in the standards and customs of one’s own culture.

Testament. Malina defines modelling as the “process of breaking down complex human activity” into more straightforward concepts or ideas to understand the complexity of society (Malina 1993:26).

The following section will discuss the main social-scientific ideas and perspectives to be employed in this dissertation, especially for their applicability in discerning patterns in and the values of Greco-Roman and Judean societies, including concerning meals.

2. MAIN SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC TOOLS OF THIS PROJECT

To understand Lucan meals in terms of poverty and hunger, it is necessary to take a close look at the broad socio-economic system of the Mediterranean world in which Luke-Acts was produced. In Luke-Acts the poor are listed with the under-privileged and marginalised (Lk 4:18; 6:20; 7:22; 14:13, 21; 16:20, 22). What are the terms used in Luke-Acts to refer to the underprivileged and economically deprived? Who are the *πτωχοί* in Luke-Acts? Does the term *πτωχοί* refer to the economically deprived in society? Is there any link between the economy and the social system?

2.1. Use of Sociology in New Testament Studies

As discussed in the previous section, the last three decades of the 20th century witnessed an awakening interest by biblical scholars, particularly New Testament scholars, in their investigation of the texts with the application of theories, models, and methods generated by the social sciences.³¹ One of the three major sociological perspectives used in this dissertation is the sociology of knowledge. In Marx’s writings, it is found inchoately in an ideology where he introduced a new apprehension of man (human) that he (she) was social rather than an individual being. He furthered the study of the social base of consciousness: “consciousness is, therefore from the very beginning a social product, and remains so as long as men exist at all” (Marx, Engels & Arthur (Ed.) 1970:41-47, 51). Max Scheler (1924) and

³¹ Early examples included Gager 1975, 1982; Scroggs 1980; Elliott 1982; Tidball 1983; Meeks 1983.

Karl Mannheim (1936) assumed that knowledge emerged out of, and was determined by, their proponents' social contexts and structural locations. In their co-authored work, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966), Berger and Luckmann applied this to everyday life with a qualitative understanding of human society. They studied the relationship between the human thought world and the social context within which it emerges as well as the implications that dominant ideas have on society. Berger's *The Sacred Canopy* (1967) applied these theoretical perspectives to the subject of religion. Many New Testament scholars frequently have their works and social science insights for the critical analysis of the texts (Meeks 1972; Gager 1975; Kee 1980; Theissen 1993 (formerly 1983); Esler 1987; MacDonald 1988; Pickett 1997; Adams 2000).

According to Berger and Luckmann, "The sociology of knowledge must concern itself with everything that passes for *knowledge* in society" (Berger & Luckmann 1966:15, 24, 26; cf. Berger 1967:106-109). For them, humanity and sociality are intertwined. They argue that man is by nature "homo socius" who cannot produce a human environment in isolation (Berger & Luckmann 1966:69). A human being is, by nature, an ordering creature; his or her biographical experience is first subjectively experienced and then externalized and objectivated to become part of our knowledge. In the process of socialization, the learned objective truth is internalized as subjective reality; hence the social "worlds" must be legitimated (Berger & Luckmann 1966:82f, 110-115). Concerning the present research, it is appropriate to appreciate how far this theory is applicable to investigating Luke-Acts (which is the thesis of Esler 1987). The author of Luke-Acts would not have realised that he was engaged in the process of world-building as Berger and Luckmann understand it, but he was nevertheless. We confront here the difference between etic and emic modes of understanding. The context of his audience engaged him in his construction of the narrative world of the text. While the sociology of knowledge helps us comprehend the relationships between ideas and their social contexts at the most general level, specific features of ancient

Mediterranean society benefit from applying ideas from cultural anthropology, which I will now discuss.

2.2. Cultural Anthropology

The term culture³² has played a vital role in the study of society. Culture systems (of socially transmitted behaviour patterns such as social relations, values, and institutions) serve to relate human communities to their ecological settings. Cultural anthropology is the study of contemporary and historical human societies and cultures that makes “the understanding of the cultural other” its primary focus (cf. Podolefsky & Brown 1997; Jenkins 1999:85). Cultural anthropologists seek to understand how people live in societies and how and why human patterns of thought and behaviour differ in contemporary societies. They are concerned with the social and cultural dimensions of today’s peoples, and sometimes yesterday’s people, and analyze people’s lives and traditions (Podolefsky & Brown 1997). After World War II, some cultural anthropologists turned their attention to the Mediterranean basin to study human patterns since the Mediterranean communities possess certain cultural similarities across different countries (cf. Pitt-Rivers 1963: 9–10). The early works of Pitt-Rivers and Peristiany consistently paid attention to social values (honour and shame, hospitality, friendship), kinship and family, and the social relations between local communities and society at large (cf. Pitt-Rivers 1963; Peristiany 1965; 1968; 1976). We will discuss these social values in the appropriate sections of this chapter.

In biblical studies, Malina’s *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (1981) has been seen as a ground-breaking book that discloses the ancient Mediterranean setting of the New Testament. In it, Malina identifies pivotal values through anthropological research and explains the different aspects of social structure such as social values, social institutions, social relations, and social events. In his definition of cultural

³² Edward Burnett Tylor, a founder of anthropology, in an early but still useful definition, says “Culture or civilisation, taken in the wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Tylor 1871:1).

anthropology, Malina states, “Cultural anthropology is essentially concerned with the cross-cultural, comparative understanding of persons in foreign or alien social groups, especially in terms of how they differ from us and from our social group(s)” (Malina 2001:6). Esler (1994:12-13) argues that Malina’s Mediterranean anthropology became an essential stimulus for developing abstract models suitable for serving as heuristic tools for analysing biblical texts.

3. MEDITERRANEAN SOCIETY

Social scientists, using various models and perspectives, have defined several stages of societal development. In recent years, Gerhard and Jean Lenski’s macro-sociological approach to the development of the social system has influenced the New Testament scholarship that adopts social-scientific interpretation. The Lenskis divide human societies into ten basic categories³³ according to their stages of development. However, the significant stages of societal development comprise four basic types of societies, viz., the hunting and gathering societies, pastoral/horticultural societies, agrarian societies and industrial societies. A close examination of these societies enables us to contextualise the process of human development and social progress by placing all major socio-political, economic, and environmental characteristics in their historical contexts.

3.1. Advanced Agrarian Society

The first-century Mediterranean world, in which Luke-Acts was written, is an example of an advanced agrarian society (Lenski 1966:190-296). The collective behaviour of the hunting-gathering society favoured individuals in food acquisition and self-sufficiency. People in agrarian societies used advanced farming techniques in order to increase their production. In particular, with the help of the plough, agriculturalists were more productive than

³³ Nolan and Lenski (2009:64) classify societies based on the individual societies' primary mode of substance; hunting and gathering, simple horticulture, advanced horticulture, simple agrarian, advanced agrarian, industrial, fishing, maritime, and herding. Moreover, they acknowledge that their method of classification is an expansion and modification of the one developed by Walter Goldschmidt (1959).

horticultural societies where digging sticks were used for cultivation and developed surpluses beyond subsistence needs. The invention of the wheel and plough provided efficient methods of farming and agriculture and was undoubtedly the economic basis for an “advanced agrarian society” (Lenski & Lenski 1987). According to E. W. Stegemann and W. Stegemann (1999:11), following Lenski and Lenski, the invention of the iron-tipped plough increased productivity even more, allowing farmers to produce more significant economic output in the form of higher surpluses while using less human energy.

This enhancement of farming techniques moved agricultural life from purely subsistence farming to surplus generation. Such surpluses encouraged the formation of armed elites who took much of it for their provisions and luxurious lifestyles. The elites also accumulated large amounts of land. As Stegemann and Stegemann (1999:43) note, “Since land was the basis of wealth, the increased well-being of the wealthy class was possible only through greater possessions of land.” As claimed by Lenski, inequality was at the peak in the advanced agrarian societies, where the minority elite consumed more than half of the gross national product and controlled a large part of the land; the countryside peasants helped them through rents, taxes, and debts. (Lenski 1966:284; cf. Rohrbaugh 1993:388; Nolan & Lenski, 2009:170).

There is a consensus that inequality was typical of all the societies in the ancient world. According to Finley, “The obvious difficulty with the city-state as a community, with its stress on mutual sharing of both burdens and benefits, was the hard fact that its members were unequal. The most troublesome inequality was not between town and country, not between classes, but simply between rich and poor” (Finley 1999:152). Esler, referring to Garnsey, states, in relation to Rome as one example of this system, that the rich and powerful were likely to manifest their aristocratic status by offering their clients inferior food and wine at banquets and even by the fact that Roman law discriminated positively in their favour (Esler 1987:172; cf. Garnsey 1970:221-223). In his later work, Garnsey summarizes the

social and economic policy of the Roman empire as ‘the Roman system of inequality’ (Garnsey & Saller 2014:146).

The consensus is that the rich and elite were likely to become more prosperous and more powerful because of their political power and social status in the first century Mediterranean societies (Rohrbaugh 1991:132-133; 2000:203). At the same time, the poor and needy were vulnerable to forces that deprived them of their privileges (cf. Esler 1987:17). Lenski suggests that social stratification fundamentally deals with the “distributive process” in terms of goods and services, rights and obligations, power and prestige, and asks, “Who gets what and why?” (Lenski 1966:2-3). The advanced agrarian societies witnessed the more significant division of labour, growth in business, and trade. This resulted in inequality among the societies that can be explained with Lenski’s model of “advanced agrarian society,” as in Figure 1 (Nolan & Lenski 2009:171). The diagram depicts the stratification of power and wealth in advanced agrarian societies. At the top of the pyramid sits the ruler or client king. He and his immediate circle were invariably the most powerful, prestigious and wealthy individuals of the society and constituted less than 1% of the whole population.

On the other hand, the opposite extreme was the wretched class of individuals, mainly consisting of expendables, such as unattached widows, orphans, beggars, disabled, unskilled day labours and prisoners of whose labour the society had little need. Lenski observes, “...these individuals could usually eke out a living while they were young and healthy, but most of them soon drifted into the ranks of the expendables and died at an early age” (Nolan & Lenski 2009:171). The influential and wealthy elite who were small in number controlled the economic system of redistribution of resources. This phenomenon was broadly present in the Greco-Roman world.

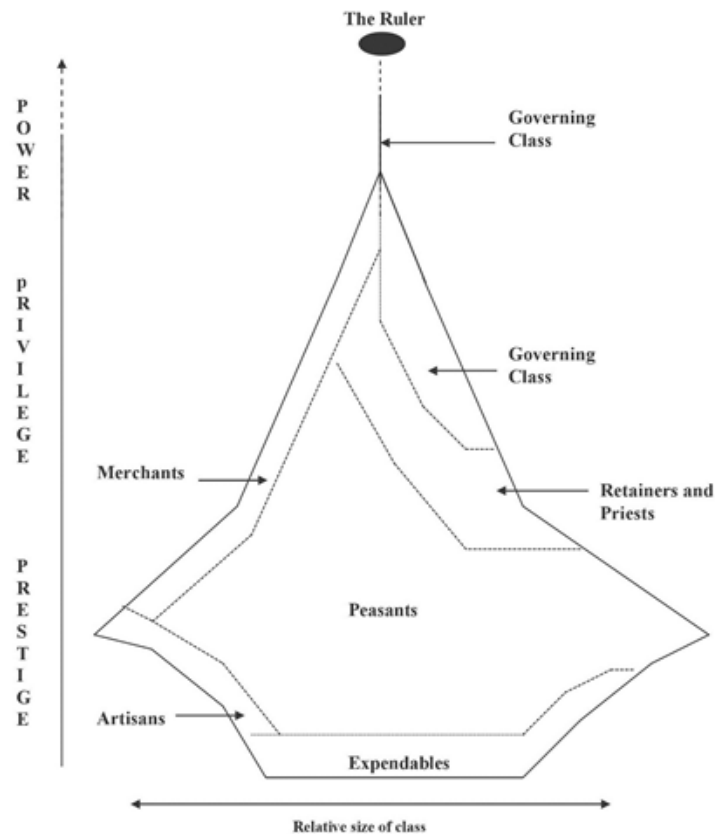


Figure 1 Stratification system of advanced agrarian societies. Diagram by Lenski & Lenski

Rohrbaugh and Oakman offer alternate versions (Figures 2 & 3) of Lenski's diagram adapted to Roman Palestine (cf. Rohrbaugh 2000:201; Oakman 2017:101). According to Rohrbaugh (1991:133), about 5-7% of the total population in the first-century Mediterranean world lived in the cities. Rohrbaugh's observation suggests that a majority of the population lived by farming in the countryside. A city in antiquity was always connected with farms of the surrounding villages. More than 90% of the total population in the first-century Mediterranean world lived in rural areas, and this rural agrarian population comprised mostly peasants whose labour supplied food to the ruling elite in the cities and the villages (Rohrbaugh 1991:126; 1993:388; Oakman 1991:155). These agrarian societies maintained a significant distance between those who belonged to the ruling class and those who had little or no access to any ruling class (Lenski, Lenski & Nolan 2009:145-146). The minority elite who lived in the cities controlled the state's religious, political and economic systems (Moxnes 1994:382). Moreover, they had control over agricultural land, as Garnsey and

Saller observe (Garnsey & Saller 2014:71-72, 230). The Roman occupiers, Jewish elite (Herodians, the high priestly families and elders) and landlords controlled much of the agricultural land in Palestine (Oakman 2008:164-66; cf. Belo 1974:81-82). Herzog (1994: 61) notes that 2% of the “haves” in the ancient agrarian society controlled 50-58% of the annual wealth. The unequal distribution of wealth, uncontrolled surplus and greed for the accumulation of wealth were the root cause of poverty, debt and slavery. Apart from the ruling-elite, there was a considerable number (about 8%) of non-elite, the service class, residing in the cities, viz., the servants and slaves of the elite, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, day labourers, while in the outlying area of the cities there lived beggars, tanners, prostitutes and lepers (Lk14:21) (Moxnes 1994:382; Rohrbaugh 2008:133-135; Oakman 2008:155).

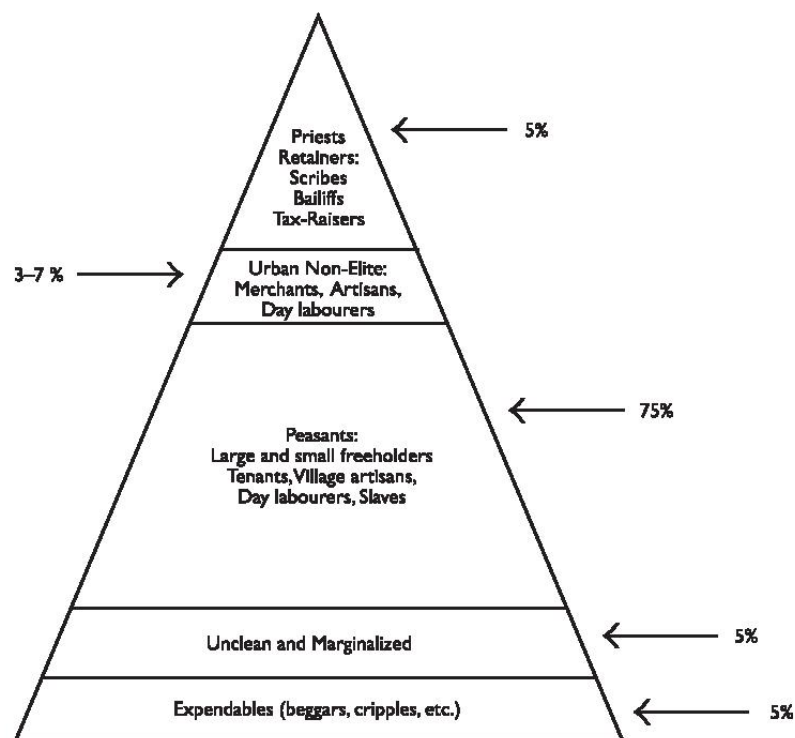


Figure 2 Social stratification of Roman Palestine. Diagram by Richard L. Rohrbaugh (2008)

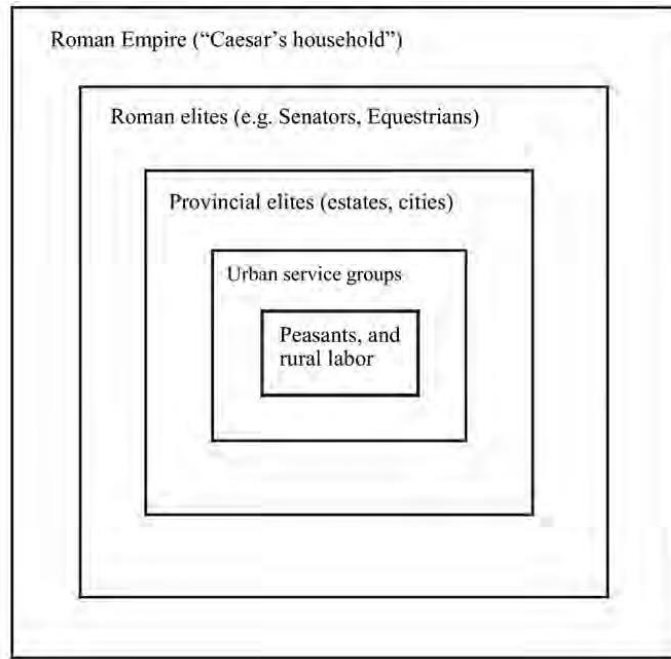


Figure 3 Power structure in the Roman empire. Diagram by Douglas E. Oakman (2008)

It should be noted that reconstructing the economic context of the society needs an in-depth analysis of the disparity between rich and poor. At the same time, the division of labour that existed within the family will also need to be identified. Shared labour between men and women of earlier societies was replaced with technological advancements, resulting in agricultural intensification that created “a premium on male brawn in plowing and other heavy farm work” (Iversen & Rosenbluth 2010:32). This devaluation of women’s labour and the reduced role of women in the economy resulted in a lower status for women and may have been one reason for the patrilineality typical of Mediterranean society. For Engels, the result was “the world-historical defeat of the female sex.” According to Engels, “the man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude; she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children” (Engels 1972:120-121; cf. Lerner 1986:76-100). It is worth noting that Carol Meyers (2012:77-120) challenges this harsh view and mounts an impressive argument that women in ancient Judean society had a much larger role than is generally believed.

3.2. Surplus Production Vs Hunger

As discussed above, the economy of the advanced agrarian societies was built on agricultural surpluses produced by iron-tipped ploughs. In identifying the poor and the rich in the first-century Mediterranean world, we should be conscious of the economic factors affecting daily life that contributed to the disparity among the people.

Finley observes that the Roman emperors adopted the Hellenistic practice of bureaucratic monarchies and universalized it to the whole inhabited world (circa 100 CE, the Roman empire stretched across the entirety of Western Europe and the Mediterranean region) (cf. Finley 1973:153; Adams 2007:56-60).³⁴ Reading Luke-Acts against the backdrop of the Roman economic context during the reign of the emperor Titus Flavius Domitianus, in line with the date of Luke-Acts discussed in Chapter 1, which proposes a date between the mid-70s to early 90s, gives us some understanding of the issues of poverty Luke's readership faced. Domitian's financial policies were characterized by excessive expenditure and greed (*avaritia*) that generated significant controversy (Syme 1930; Rogers 1984). The expenditure caused by his building projects, rebuilding of Rome by repairing damaged structures and commencing new buildings, as well as his lavish entertainment, consequently resulted in financial poverty that was the primary cause for his *saevitia* "cruelty" (Suetonius, *Domitianus*:10). It is, however, mistaken to limit our understating of destitution to the administrative damage caused by the Roman empire, given that the long-standing inequality between the elite and non-elite at the local level was the main cause. Hence, the following section will attempt to understand the plight of hunger and destitution by throwing more light on social stratification.

³⁴ Moses Finley argued that the ancient economy was, in general, a primitive business in which luxurious products were limited to long-distance commerce (cf. Finley 1973).

Meggitt (1998:5-7, 13) postulates that a majority of the population of the Roman empire were in moderately or extremely poor living conditions and their experience of life must have been laborious (cf. Carolyn Osiek 2006:821-822). Moreover, in describing the living places of people in towns and cities who belonged to lower classes and the poor, Osiek argues that they were forced to live in dark, cramped quarters of one- and two-room apartments, or the small back and upper rooms of shops that were poorly ventilated and unhygienic. Heen observes, “Because of material deprivation, poor diet, dangerous occupations, and the crowded conditions in which many urban poor lived, they were susceptible to sickness and disfigurement in ways the elite were not” (Heen 2006:452).

Concerning Garnsey’s definition of poverty, Meggitt (1998:7, 59, 66-67) emphasizes what he considers a vast experience of “subsistence level” poverty. Hence, it is critical to examine the reality and the causes of hunger and destitution in the first century. Ramsay MacMullen (1966:249) says, “No large percentage of the people in the Roman empire can have lived their lives through without at least once wondering where the next meal was to come from.” According to the statement of Gaius (*Digest* 50.16.234.2),³⁵ the word *vivere* (“to live”) refers only to food, and he never mentions the necessity of shelter. This reference shows/suggests that shelter was not regarded as a fundamental aspect of the idea of subsistence in the Roman world. Furthermore, Sallust (*War with Catiline* 48) relates subsistence to food and clothing.

The struggle for physical survival affected the people, especially most of the *plebs urbana* (a subset of the urban population) who were living at near subsistence level and securing a minimum food was their prime concern. Aristotle pictures the plight of hunger in the urban communities of Mediterranean antiquity.³⁶ The Roman emperors tried to address

³⁵ *Digest* 50.16.234.2: “Some people think that the words ‘to be alive’ also relate to food, but Ofilius in a letter to Atticus says that in these words both clothes and straw are included; for no one can live without them,” Gaius (130-180 CE) was a Roman law teacher and a jurist. Theodosius II recognized him as one among the five great Roman jurists in the *Law of Citations* (426 CE). For more details, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gaius>

³⁶ *Politics* 43.3. See also Garnsey (1988:5-6) for a brief discussion on the issues of hunger and food shortage.

the issue by supplying grain at a subsidized price, and even free of cost. Though the common consensus is that the food-grain distributions in Rome were chiefly with political motives, the food-grain distribution illustrates the food scarcity in ancient Rome (cf. Garnsey 1988:82-86).³⁷

As already discussed, food remained a constant reason for worry for the majority of the general population. The lifestyle in Mediterranean antiquity was stressful for many, perhaps most people, often because of the neglect of others, and many were deprived and at risk of hunger. In the entire Roman empire, “the lived reality of the other 99% of the population” was a miserable situation (Meggitt 1998: 13). In contrast, Hands distinguishes poverty from destitution, saying that the beggars possessed nothing while the poor lived “frugally and by applying himself to work, with nothing to spare indeed, but not really in want” (1968:62). There lies a significant distinction between “working poor” and “the beggars.” However, it is difficult to deny that the limited purchasing power of the non-elite prevented them from getting enough to eat during the periodical breaks of the grain supply. An Indian economist Amartya Sen (1981:155) argues that a person or group’s vulnerability to food shortage situations depends on what they have by way of “entitlements.” In other words, in the world of limited good, the poor are the ones with less purchasing power who have a higher chance of starvation.

Many references from classical Greek literature indicate that sustenance was only earned under high pressure. Meggitt (1998:59-60) cites a list of references that explain the hardship of daily work necessary for subsistence: Lucian observes that Micyllus worked all day and every day to gain his daily food (Lucian, *Gallus* 1.22). People sold themselves as well as their families as slaves with the sole purpose of avoiding hunger and starvation.³⁸

³⁷ Finley (1973: 40) argues that “not even the state showed much concern for the poor. The notable exception is the intensely political one of the city of Rome ... where, from the time of Gaius Gracchus, feeding the populace became a political necessity...” (cf. Rickman 1980: 156-197).

³⁸ Debt bondage is clearly defined by Varro: “*Liber, qui suas operas in servitutem pro pecunia quam debebat, dum solveret, nexus vocatur ut ab aere obaeratus*” - “A free man, who for money which he owed, *necetebat*

Hunger was the continuous complaint of the *plebs urbana*, which drove the young girls into prostitution (cf. Meggitt 1998:59-60). It resonates with reality to assume that poverty and hunger were synonyms in Mediterranean antiquity. In the list of the peculiarities of the poor, Carney suggests that they were “undernourished, ill-informed, without organizations or an ideology of their own... (they) could only express their dissatisfaction by abusive shouts, surly attitudes and the occasional riot” (Carney 1975:122). Accordingly, it is no surprise to note Cicero’s depiction of the non-elite as *misera ac ieiuna plebecula*, “a wretched and starveling crowd” (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 1.16.11). In sum, we come to an understanding that economics is embedded in social and political structures of society which stratifies its members into privileged and under-privileged.

Poverty and hunger were real-life experiences of first-century Palestine (Lk 9:12-17; cf. Jn 6:15, 22-26). Hanks (1992: 415) regards πένης (πένητες) “poor” in the New Testament as a designation for those “persons or groups lacking (totally or in some degree) the necessities of life: food, drink, clothing, shelter, health, land/employment, freedom, dignity and honour” (cf. Acts 4:34; 2 Cor 9:9). Esler (1987:180, 185-186) suggests their presence in Luke-Acts. The πένητες includes the working poor, small shopkeepers, artisans, and farmers who might own property, have tools of their trade and could expect a reliable income from their labour, except in times of food crisis or famine.³⁹ Another term used in classical Greek to describe someone who has been reduced to total destitution, who bent down timidly is πτωχός.⁴⁰ It denotes the complete destitution which forces the person to ask for alms and help by begging, as it is applied to Lazarus (Luke 16:20-22). Out of the ten occurrences of πτωχός in the Third Gospel, four references relate, whether straightforwardly or by allusion,

‘bound’ his labour in slavery until he should pay, is called a *nexus* ‘bondslave,’ just as a man is called *obaeratus* ‘indebted,’ from *aes* ‘money debt’” (Varro, *De Lingua Latina* vii.105).

³⁹ For Garnsey (1988: 44), the agricultural farmers were “small producers on land who, with the help of simple equipment, their labour and that of their families, produce mainly for their consumption and for meeting obligations to the holders of political and economic power, and reach nearly total self-sufficiency within the framework of a village community.”

⁴⁰ Homer, *Odyssey* 18. 363; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 395. For more on this, read the article on πτωχός in *TDNT*, Vol 6: 885-887.

to meal scenes (Lk 4:16; 14:13; 14:21; 16:20,22) and two occurrences identify hunger (6:20; 16:20,22). The above references clearly illustrate the complete destitution which forces a person to lead the life of a beggar for his livelihood, especially food.

The Lucan Jesus is often identified with the poor who belonged to the non-elite (Lk 1:54; 6:20, 24; 14:7-11). The theme of Lucan Jesus' inaugural preaching at Nazareth manifesto (Lk 4:18-19) and Blessings and Woes (Lk 6:20-26) appear to be inspired by his concern towards the poor. Did the profound experience of poverty result in hunger? Were poverty and its accompanying hunger permanent or periodic conditions? Is the Lucan Jesus concerned about the economic sustainability of the poor? The next chapter will analyse economic and status-related data to ascertain the social stratification exposed in Luke-Acts.

4. MAJOR ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEMES OF MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE

As discussed in earlier sections, the anthropology of the Mediterranean world is characterized by a variety of themes among which the following two will be considered for the relevance of this present research.

4.1. Honour and Shame

Researchers into Mediterranean cultural anthropology have widely shown how “honour” and “shame” define central cultural values of the society, which Gilmore regards “as a total social fact... fundamental and pervasive” (Gilmore 1987:5). The research into honour and shame by cultural anthropologists has produced effective models to study Mediterranean culture, among whom Pitt-Rivers and Peristiany are two significant figures quoted most frequently by biblical social scholars (Peristiany, 1965; Pitt-Rivers, 1968 & 1977; Peristiany, Pitt-Rivers, 1992).

Concerning Mediterranean culture, Pitt-Rivers was the first to attempt a structured characterization that would encompass the various dimensions of honour. Pitt-Rivers (1965:42) postulates that honour and shame are reciprocal moral values that reflect the conferral of public esteem upon an individual and furthers his argument that Mediterranean honour can be achieved by defeating someone else, which is the theory of “a right to pride” (Pitt-Rivers 1968:503; 1977:1). Peristiany argues that these two, honour and shame, are two poles of evaluation and “are the constant preoccupation of individuals in small scale, exclusive societies, where face to face personal, as opposed to anonymous, relations are of paramount importance and where the social personality of the actor is as significant as his office” (Peristiany 1966:9, 11). Furthermore, Julio Caro Baroja (1965:42) argues for the existence of a gender-linked binary opposition in which honour is associated with men and shame with women; Baroja’s argument clearly portrays a male-dominated and male-oriented culture that finds strong echoes in the first century Mediterranean societies.

Just as many anthropologists have developed Mediterranean anthropology, so it was subject to methodological self-criticism. The dichotomy of “honour and shame” especially has been the object of sharp criticism. Michael Herzfeld (1980:339) pointed out the methodological difficulties in the comparative, cross-cultural analysis of the social values as they combined a rich diversity of ethnography prematurely. He argued that semantic generalisations on honour and shame “have become counter-productive” (Herzfeld 1980:349). According to Herzfeld, “honour” and “shame” are inefficient glosses on a wide variety of indigenous terminological systems. But in his later work, he suggests replacing the notion of honour with other terms such as hospitality (Herzfeld 1987:75ff). As Esler and some anthropologists have argued, Herzfeld confuses general and particularistic modes of understanding; both are needed. In this context, hospitality would be subject to the same criticism as honour, were there, in fact, any problem with analysis at higher levels of generality (Esler 2011: 43-44). Also, Peristiany mentions that the chief purpose of treating

the Mediterranean region as a whole was for epistemological reasons rather than to define it geographically (Peristiany & Pitt-Rivers 1992:6).⁴¹

Coming to the use of honour-shame in its application to the New Testament texts, Malina, along with Neyrey, claims that honour and shame are essential components of the first-century personality (Malina & Neyrey 1991:65). He describes “honour and shame” as follows: “Honor is a claim worth that is publicly acknowledged. To have honor is to have publicly acknowledged worth... Shame, as the opposite of honor, is a claim to worth that is publicly denied and repudiated.” He identifies the interrelationship between honour with three defining features called power, gender status, and religion and describes honour as a claim that is to be publicly acknowledged (Malina 1993:30; see also Moxnes 1996:21). In his model, Malina points out that honour can be “ascribed” or “acquired.” Ascribed honour usually comes by birth or without someone doing anything to acquire it. Malina explains that “[a]cquired honour, on the other hand, is the socially recognized claim to worth that a person acquires by excelling over others in the social interaction that we shall call challenge and response” (Malina 1993:34).

Malina summarizes this research, and many scholars of biblical antiquity have benefited from Malina’s model. However, Gerald Downing, while agreeing that honour and shame are characteristic of the first-century Mediterranean world, challenges the categorical assertions of Malina, Neyrey, and others for their claims that honour and shame are pivotal social values of the ancient Mediterranean world. He observes that “the impression conveyed is that concern for respect is more than an occasional significant feature, that it is both pervasive and dominant” (Downing 1999:54-55). In his later work, he maintains that honour may have become too much of an umbrella term for biblical exegetes. According to him, honour and shame are pivotal values of the society and would be evident in every single social interaction and literature: “to value anything is to honour it, and so every system of

⁴¹ See Esler (2011:39-51) for an overview on the question of honour and shame in Mediterranean anthropology.

values becomes an honour system” (Downing 1999:55; 2000:26). By referring to the works of Peristiany and Pitt-Rivers, Crook (2009:595-596) effectively refutes Downing’s claim and argues for the subtle and complex nature of the social system and its literary depictions.⁴²

In narrowing down the model of honour-shame to the context of meals and table-fellowship, we are indisputably concerned with customs of hospitality, a notion which, as explained in Chapter 1, will assist us theologically to link our exegesis of Lucan meal scenes with the question of food justice in India. As already noted, Bailey (1980) offers some insights about customs and practices relating to shared meals and invitations. In addition, Malina argues that while honour is evident by invitation to meals, denying customary marks of hospitality would be seen as shame (Malina & Neyrey 1991:57-58). The presence of respectable women at public meals in the Greek East is a debated issue, however.⁴³ Stuart Love quotes certain Greek references and argues that respectable women were absent during public meals, and such a woman “did not accompany her husband to banquets or attend banquets alone where ‘public’ women, courtesans, entertained men” (Love 1995:195-196).⁴⁴ However, Burton refers to a social revolution in the Hellenistic world during the first century CE on account of which women were allowed to recline around the dinner table along with men, although this was seen as publicly and morally indecent (Burton 1992:228-229; See also Slater 1991:217-232). Few New Testament references attest the presence of women at public dining with men.⁴⁵ The Gospel of Thomas depicts a scene where Salome reclines at the same table as Jesus (Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* 61). There is no reference to it as shameful. Therefore, our discussion above suggests that the patterns of sympotic conduct in the Greek,

⁴² According to Pitt-Rivers (1965:21, 27), honour “is the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society” which is irrevocably committed by attitudes expressed in the presence of witnesses, the representatives of public opinion. Peristiany (1965:9-10) argues that “honour and shame are two poles of an evaluation” through which the Mediterranean people evaluate their own conduct and that of their fellows

⁴³ O. Murray (1995:230). See also, Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomeroy & Shapiro (1994:280).

⁴⁴ Demosthenes, in *Against Neaer*. (59.24, 33, 4); Isaeus, Pyrrhus (3.11, 3.13); cf. Corley (1989:489-490; 1993 25–28).

⁴⁵ Mt 9:10; 14:13-21; 15:29-39; Jn 2:1-11; Gal 2:11-14; 1 Cor 11:20-22, 33-34a.

Roman and Judean worlds were not the same, and the content of “honour and shame” has to be inferred from the social behaviour of that specific culture.

As noted in a previous section, food remained a constant cause of concern for most of the general population. Another significant element of being hungry was the shame of being a beggar, the circumstance, as evidenced immediately below, that begging was always and everywhere shameful. As discussed, the economy of the first century Mediterranean societies was one of extreme inequality that helped the elite to acquire more power and wealth through their political and economic power and status. Concurrently, the poor remained in their vulnerable status. Malina argued that social stratification existed in the pre-industrial city, although without a middle class, and the lives of beggars and slaves were below the low-status urbanite (Malina 1993:92).

As Peristiany (1965:40-41, 155) argues, the act of begging meant a “dishonourable reputation.” There is convincing evidence for this in Luke 16:3, where the manager dismissed by the land-owner says that “I am ashamed to beg.” At the same time, a few Old Testament references provide unique motivation for almsgiving stating that exploiting the destitute or denying alms to a beggar is “sinful” (Lev 19:13; Pro 14:20-24). A πτωχός, who is destitute of all resources (Hauck 1968: 886–887; Hands 1968:62–63; Esler 1987:180–181), was forced to rely on others for sustenance. In other words, he begs for his living. Plato argues that no virtuous person with temperance (average skill) will ever be reduced to beggary. Moreover, he stipulates that “there shall be no beggar” in the State, and beggars should be expelled from the market and the city (Plato, *Laws* 11.936b-936c7). This illustrates the place and the social status of the beggars in a stratified society like this.

It is also worth noting that suffering to the point of hunger was also a reality of everyday life for many in the Graeco-Roman world. Garnsey (1988:38, 271) states that “Food crisis was endemic” and people went hungry – some even died – in Mediterranean antiquity. Furthermore, he points to the food crises in Rome and the subsequent upsurge in

the cost of living because of the increase in grain prices. He lists fifteen occasions of increase in grain prices during the first century BCE and seventeen occasions in the subsequent century (through the reign of Domitian) (Garnsey 1988:198-202, 218-225). For the beggars, hunger was a constant reality leading to their chronic impoverishment. Starvation and dishonour were the twin consequences of being a beggar in a stratified society, as discussed above.

4.2. Society of Limited Good

Another factor that affected the socio-economic status of society was the reality of limited good, i.e., the belief that all goods in life exist in a finite, limited quantity and are always in short supply (Foster 1965:296).⁴⁶ Agrarian society depended on the weather and land for the production of food, and those were factors which the people could not change. As a result, they believed, all “the goods of life ha[ve] been distributed...and [cannot] be increased – they [are] decidedly ‘limited’” (Witherington 2010:46). Peasant resources are “unexpandable”, and if anyone wants to get more, the only way is trading for it or robbing it from someone else. In Foster’s words, “an individual or a family can improve a position only at the expense of others. Hence an apparent relative improvement in someone’s position for any ‘Good’ is viewed as a threat to the entire community” (Foster 1965:296-297). Furthermore, he recognizes the image of “limited good” as a cognitive orientation prevalent among peasants where “goods” are always in short supply (Foster 1972:62). Although Foster formulated his model in Mexico, there were structural similarities with Mediterranean lands as it is an advanced agrarian society with immigration from Spain. There is considerable evidence for ideas of limited good in the biblical world (see Pilch & Malina 1998:124-126). In Gen 27:30-40, only one blessing is left to Isaac, and nothing is left for Esau when he gave

⁴⁶ Anthropologist George Foster was the first to define the concept of the limited good society. He spent years studying Mexican peasants of Tzintzuntzan and from that experience formulated the model of “Limited Good.” According to Foster, there is no distinction between the social, economic and natural setting in peasants’ world. He observes that “all the desired things in life such as land, wealth, health, friendship and love, manliness and honor, respect and status, power and influence, security and safety, exist in finite quantity and are always in short supply, as far as the peasant is concerned.”

it to Jacob. When God commanded Gideon to defeat the Midianites, he only wanted him to use a small number of men lest Israel claim the (finite) amount of honour that would accrue from the victory and God would miss out (Judges 7). Similarly, Philo noted that the honour of God was diminished when that of idols increased; that is, there was only so much divine honour to go round (Philo, *Spec.* 1.28). Similarly, in John's Gospel, John the Baptist says, "He must increase, but I must decrease" (Jn 3:30).

Peasants, as Malina argues, applying Foster's idea to the New Testament, believed that all goods were limited and not very productive, both material and non-material (Malina 1993:71-93, cf. Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:324). Villages produced resources and wealth in finite amounts. Since all goods existed in limited amounts, some individuals from the non-elite preserved or improved their position by entering into a patron-client relationship that was firmly founded on the inequality of power.

Within the framework of Foster's ideas, this economic reality of Mediterranean antiquity was a limited economy that restrained people from moving upward in the social strata. The minority elite benefitted from this form of economy, where the majority of peasants remained in their reduced status. Scholars identify the reasons behind the debt of peasants, such as tithes, tolls, and tribute, as pressures which drove them to borrow money and suggest that peasants paid nearly 35-40% of the total agricultural production as taxes. Peasants were also indebted because of the "borrowed money" for seeds, and capital investments sometimes made them sharecroppers on their land (Malina & Rohrbaugh, 2003: 349; Oakman 2015:18). Furthermore, the use of money was prevalent in the business of the Roman empire, being used in the trading of goods. Moxnes (1988:36) points out that the economy of the Roman empire was in the process of becoming a monetary economy. In addition, Oakman (2013:156) argues that the bimetallic Roman monetary system kept the

silver money out of the possession of peasants, following Gresham's Law⁴⁷ ("bad money drives out good").

Consequently, the traditional agrarian redistributive economy which engaged itself with money was superimposed on exchange. Douglas Oakman observes that "ancient peasants preferred barter in kind" (Oakman 2013:156). A transition to a monetary economy was likely to bring conflicts and disproportion within society and reinforce the distinction between urban and rural. Scholars of Mediterranean antiquity generally agree that first-century Mediterranean society is an example of a peasant society where villages were closely related with and dependent on the local city (Finley 1973; Meeks 1986:38; Moxnes 1988:22-74; cf. Oakman 1991; Rohrbaugh 1991). The ruling class elite of the urban centres, in Belo's term "class-state," usurped a large proportion of the productivity, while the rural peasants, whose chief priority was survival, relied for their living on kinship relations (Belo 1981:60) and the occasional patron. As the limited economy was in the hands of the elite, the redistributive system was exercised by them, whereas peasants had to fit into the mechanism of unequal reciprocity which can be seen in patron-client relations. As Moxnes (1988:40) notes, there was "a model of an institutionalised form of economic exchange embedded in the social structure." The following section will discuss other aspects of the link between the economy and the social system.

4.3. Limited Good Society and Everyday Life

Reciprocity and redistribution stood as "the two dominant forms of economic exchange in antiquity" (Oakman 1996: 129). In light of the principle of "limited good society," the economic disparity of poor and rich should be understood in relation to honour values. Malina and Rohrbaugh state, "In agrarian societies, to be rich does not solely refer to

⁴⁷ Gresham's Law is an economic principle. According to Thomas Gresham, "if coins containing metal of different value have the same value as legal tender, the coins composed of the cheaper metal will be used for payment, while those made of more expensive metal will be hoarded or exported and thus tend to disappear from circulation" (Young, Julie (2019, April 29). Gresham's Law. Retrieved from: <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/greshams-law.asp>).

economic abundance, although economics and politics are included in the understanding of being rich. To be rich meant to be able to defend one's honour and one's position in society. To be poor meant to be vulnerable and exposed to attack and loss" (Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992: 291). Thus, wealth and poverty were understood more than in economic terms and associated with values of honour-shame in their relation to retaining social status and their interlinked connection with reciprocity.

The connection between reciprocity and family relationships was explicated in the work of anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (1972), who distinguished three kinds of reciprocity relationships, namely "generalized," "balanced", and "negative" reciprocity. Firstly, generalized reciprocity is giving without expectation of return for what one has given, and this kind of relationship occurs among kinsfolk and friends. Secondly, balanced reciprocity is the practice of mutual exchange in attempts to maintain a good social relationship that is less personal and which occurs typically among persons of equal status. Lastly, negative reciprocity is trying to acquire something for free where each party wants to maximise their advantage at the expense of the other (Sahlins 1972:193-196). For Stegemann (1999:34-36), types of reciprocity range from kinship (based on the golden rule) to general (various forms of allegiance), from balanced (non-profit, symmetrical exchange) to negative reciprocity (self-interested, asymmetrical exchange).

Many biblical interpreters using the social sciences, following Sahlins, agree on the dominance of reciprocity in the Greek East. Bruce Malina (1986:101-106) adopted Sahlins' three distinct types of ancient Mediterranean reciprocity and claimed that reciprocity was a mechanism aimed at symmetry between two parties of distinct socio-economic interests (cf. Moxnes 1988:34; 39-40). Zeba Crook (2004:54-59) also uses Sahlins' threefold taxonomy to understand the structures of exchange and argues that benefaction and patronage in the ancient Greek East are the common forms of generalized reciprocity. Crook argues that exchanging gifts does not make the receiver a client and, for him, a gift operates between

the “equals” or “close equals” and expects an explicit reciprocal action of the immediate return of “equal or higher value” (balanced reciprocity).

At the same time, patronage, which is a relationship between unequals, demands “honour and gratitude” as a return. Therefore, it is essential to ask whether the two social dynamics, Roman patronage (*patrocinium*) and benefaction (also “*euergetism*”) of the Greek East that were prevalent in the societies of Mediterranean antiquity, were identical or two separate institutions. Saller (1982:1) suggests that patronage comprehends “the reciprocal exchange of goods and services” and it is “asymmetrical” happening between two parties of unequal status. In this social institution, the patron, or *patronus*, controlled financial and social resources and offered various types of help to the client. In return, the client could recompense the service offered, with “favours” or “services,” in several ways. For example, the client might make cash instalments, provide various services, lend political support, accommodate the patron in his/her will, or simply praise the patron at every opportunity and that relationship could last for generations (cf. Simmons 2008: 275). The change in the economy from a local reciprocal economy of the kinship group to a redistributive economy created a structural change in the society with a new direction in the emergence of patronage which had a relationship with every aspect of the life of Mediterranean antiquity (cf. Robinson & Verdier 2013:262).

Another social institution in Mediterranean classical antiquity was benefaction in which one person gave a gift to a large number of people in a city for public recognition and honour. The benefactor himself declared the motive for his act of benefaction, i.e., φιλοτιμία, or φιλοδοξία (“love of honour or glory”), and it is implicit in the Latin inscriptions recording acts of beneficence. This type of relationship grew out of the principle of reciprocity, in which the recipient of the gift was obligated to reciprocate the benefactor, with honour at least. Consequently, the benefactor could acquire influence over a group of others (cf. Carney 1975:167-171).

Although some scholars distinguish patronage and benefaction as two separate dynamics of the society (Joubert 2001:17-25; cf. MacGillivray 2009:55), some arguments support the idea that Roman patronage and Greek benefactions were synonyms and that they complemented each other (Crook 2004:183-184). The relationship involved in both patronage and benefaction is asymmetrical in that they both involve persons of unequal socioeconomic status. Yet there are significant differences between them. For example, the relationship “must be a personal one of some duration” in patronage, as Saller argues (1989:49). On the contrary, in the case of benefaction, many recipients will be unknown to the benefactor, and they could be very great in number, possibly all the citizens of a city. In view of our discussion above, it is clear that there are differences of opinions concerning the two institutions. A possible explanation for this is that both patronage and benefaction were two different forms of institutions, especially because of the fact that benefactors may not have been on personal terms with all the people they benefited.

As just noted, a patron is a person who knows his client personally, whereas a benefactor who throws a banquet for a city’s citizens is unlikely to know them all. However, in both systems, patron or benefactor obtained honour in the process (Saller 1982:127-128; Winter 1994:26). In both systems, reciprocity encompassed diverse forms of exchange. We must now consider the critical question of the relationship between kinship and reciprocity.

4.4. Reciprocity and Social Relations

Malina (1986:152) argues that fundamental human values are realised through four social institutions or structures: kinship, economics, politics and religion. Many scholars maintain that kinship was the dominating and core social institution in the first-century Mediterranean world (Finley 1973:50; Carney 1975:149; Malina 1986:153; Pilch 1988b:61; Smith 1989:23; Horsley 1989:5; Oakman 1991a:35). Furthermore, the patrilineal nature of society is a central aspect of kinship in this context. Esler (2012:112) argues that patrilineality and patrilocality were significant features of the advanced agrarian societies of the

Mediterranean world. Hanson and Oakman (2008) investigate how issues such as descent, gender, marriage, dowry and bridewealth, divorce, and inheritance take particular forms in a patrilineal and patrilocal society. In an agrarian society, with the role of women being mainly constrained (though not entirely) to the activities of the household, the exercise of patrilineality made them more subordinate to men.

Kinship relations represent an intermediate level of social organisation between clans and tribes which comprise “socially recognized relationships based on supposed as well as actual genealogical ties” (Winick 1956:302). During Roman imperialism, the formal head of the *familia*, the father, was called the *paterfamilias* (Joubert 1995:209; cf. Bradley 1991; Dixon 1992). Scholars observe that the kinship relation, the microcosm of the Greco-Roman society, was “the basis of social obligations, the means by and through which both status and wealth were essentially transmitted.” Furthermore, it was essential to the survival of the wider society (Parkin & Pomeroy 2007:72). The chief role of the *paterfamilias* was to support the dependent family financially; in return, the *paterfamilias* gained obedience, gratitude, loyalty, and honour from the family members (cf. Joubert 1995). Generalized reciprocity among the genealogical kinship group includes a broad range of exchanges united by the degree of intimacy between giver and receiver. This reciprocal relation was motivated by selflessness and compassion among kinship groups in household and village at large. Saller equates voluntary food-sharing among near kin with “suckling of children” and describes it as giving without expectation of return. Furthermore, in generalised reciprocity, the time for return is indefinite and not expected to be restricted in quantity or quality, and even a reciprocal return is never expected (Sahlins 1972:193-194). This relation goes together with feelings of altruism and solidarity.

After a persuasive argument on the appearance and absence of *patronus* with the meaning of “influential protector,” in epigraphic and literary usages, Saller postulates that *patroni* were the people with power and influence who could offer the client goods and services (cf. Saller 1982: 8-11). In return, the client remained subject to the power and authority of the patron and extended their loyalty to him. Furthermore, the element of personal honour was evident in this reciprocal relationship, and Elliot observes that friendship, loyalty, and fidelity were the values of this indenture between the person involved in a patron-client relationship (Elliott 1996:148-149). The principle of reciprocity is realised in this system, and both patrons and clients were benefited mutually. Moxnes (1988:34) elucidates this kind of relationship in terms of the balanced reciprocity discussed earlier.

In *Works and Days* (c. 700 BCE), an ancient farmer’s almanac, Hesiod instructs his brother Perses that he should not waste time and favour those who are too far, geographically and economically, to return benefits to him: “... Befriend with the friendly, and visit him who visits you. Give to one who gives, but do not give to one who does not give” (*Works and Days* 342-345, 353-354). Aristotle also reflects on the same friendship between status-equals in his teaching on whom to love or hate, and why (*Rhetoric* 2.4). It is evident that the giver expected the same in return, and this was common among the various traditions of Mediterranean antiquity (cf. Pitt-Rivers 1971: 140ff). In this manner, wealthy elite individuals established mutually beneficial patron-client relationships. At this juncture, it is unavoidable to raise the following question: whether this relationship existed between groups stratified in socio-economic terms?

This practice of exchanging wealth and influence occurred in patronage in a “limited good” society, as explained above. Richard Saller (1982:1) identifies the reciprocal exchange of goods and services in patronage. Furthermore, Saller defines the asymmetrical relationship of the patronage that operated between people of unequal social status with the exchange of different kinds of goods and services. The term “patron” derives from the Latin

(*patronus*) meaning “father.” The title “patron” denotes the role, responsibility, character and status of a person. As discussed, in benefaction, the principle of generosity is apparent in its operation between those who could reciprocate.

The needs of the poor, especially beggars, those who could not return the favour, were not considered. Hands (1968:65) argues that Solon’s legislation against unemployment must be observed in the context of class struggle described by the writer of the *Athenaion Politeia*.⁴⁸ He suggests that both the terms, ἀεργος (Greek) and *iners* (Latin), imply an idle state of mind – “the reluctance to work.” But the Latin term *iners* means “without skill” or “unskilled” – (*in* - “without/not” + *ars* - “skill/art”), besides the word for beggar was “*mendicus*” (Juvenal, *Satires* 4.116). In his play *Plutus*, which features the personified god of wealth, Aristophanes made a distinction between the poor and the beggar. According to him, the beggar possesses nothing whereas the poor “... lives thriftily and attentive to his work; he has not got too much, but he does not lack what he really needs” (*Plutus* 551-554). The limited employment opportunities for the poor constituted an important cause of beggary.

The needs of πτωχοί were generally not considered, at the same time, almsgiving was discouraged; it was considered as “ill service” which discouraged people from working (Plautus, *Trinummus* 339, cited in Hands 1968:65). At the same time, a kind of balanced reciprocity was the experience in Mediterranean antiquity. In a balanced reciprocal relationship, the primary recipients were those closest to the status of the donor or benefactor, and they could reciprocate. This is apparent in the case of Aristotle’s work on ethics where he says the generous man “... will not give indiscriminately, in order that he may be able to give to the right persons and at the right time, and where it is noble to do so” (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1120b. 3). Pitt-Rivers postulates that host and guest cannot be allowed

⁴⁸ *Athenaion Politeia* 2.2; 5.1: “... a long struggle between the nobles and the common people...”; “... the many as slaves of the few...”; “... the people opposed the nobles.” Cited in Ellis & Stanton (1968:96).

to be equal, and their reciprocity exists in an alteration of roles. At the same time, this exclusion of equality leads to conflict that applies to the beggar as well as the guest, “the one who cannot pay and the one who is not permitted to do so” (Pitt-Rivers 2012:509). In such a society, the status of strangers and hospitality rendered to them is an ambiguous concept. Hospitality is a transformation of the status of an outsider/stranger into a guest; it is a process, and it differs from family and friends (cf. Pitt-Rivers 1968:13-28). Hence, concerning reciprocity, hospitality to a stranger or a beggar is obscure. Panu Minkkinen observes that both the terms “hospitality” and “hostility” share a common root that relates to eating or meal and suggests that the root of the word *hostis* is the Proto-Indo-European root *ghas* meaning “to eat” or “to consume” (cf. Minkkinen 2007:53). Minkkinen’s suggestion could be far-fetched because he treats the meaning of a word not by its actual use but rather by its remote origin. However, *hospes* could presumably have developed from a compound word, *hostipets*, in which a suffix *pa* from *pasco* (“to feed”) has been added to the root *hostis* (“stranger” or “enemy”) (so Lewis & Short 1958:866). In the story of Jupiter and Mercury visiting the simple thatched house of Baucis and Philemon, Ovidius Naso uses the term *hospes* to illustrate their reception in preparing food by killing their only goose to feed their guests (Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 8.688). Hence, it is justifiable to infer the significant feature of feeding to strangers in the term *hospes*.

As discussed, the economic situation in Mediterranean antiquity led to the system of patronage or benefaction relations that operated between people of unequal social status/classes that did not include the plea of the beggar who could reciprocate to his/her patron. Since this dissertation focuses on hunger and food justice issues, it is appropriate to discuss how these relations are related to meals.

4.5. Meals and Hospitality

“Do unto others as you would have them do unto you” (the Golden Rule) or, in other words, “an ethic of reciprocity,” is found in almost all religions and cultures around the world, which encourages its members to take care of each other (Blackburn (2001:101). At this point, it is useful to mention the term philanthropy, which is composed of two words: φιλεῖν and ἄνθρωπον (to love the human being). According to Blackburn, who dates the Golden Rule back to Confucius (551-479 BCE), this rule is found in relatively all ethical traditions of the world in one form or another (Blackburn 2001:101; cf. Spooner 1914:310-312). There is very little in ancient Mediterranean texts, outside Christian works, about the practice of taking care of the poor. Hands (1968:47) argues that the references regarding the obligatory function of the rich towards the poor are very limited in Greek and Latin literature. Instead, *euergetism*, the ancient practice of elite individuals providing part of their private funds to public needs in return for enhanced honour for the donor, was a common feature of Mediterranean antiquity. Such gifts were not focused on supplying sustenance but were aimed at providing entertainment for the citizens (Lomas & Cornell 2003:1) and enhancing the honour of the donor.

Hospitality and etiquette were well developed and vital in the first-century Mediterranean world. Meals and table-fellowship were sophisticated occasions for festivities, teaching, commensality, hospitality, and potential hostility. Over and above their primary purpose of nourishment, food and meals functioned as mechanisms for social formation and organization (Neufeld 2000:16). Anthropologists have seen food as a code that exposes the pattern of social relations. Mary Douglas observes it as a “code” that communicates a multi-layered message:

If food is treated as a code, the messages it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed. The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries. Like sex,

the taking of food has a social component, as well as a biological one (Douglas 1975:249).

Anthropological research finds a cross-cultural commonplace in the relation between diet and household and establishes that food codes embody and replicate social codes (Elliott 1991:388). Food and meals implant within them a range of social capacities, and they encode social values, social relations, social ranking, and group solidarity. In classifying persons, places, and things, meals replicate an elaborate system of classification. *The way a meal is eaten* and *with whom it is eaten* symbolize the social system of a group. In Mediterranean antiquity, dinner was used as an occasion to socialize and develop friendship bonds among the local elite (composed of decurional families, large landowners and business owners).⁴⁹ Class distinctions were maintained as a conventional practice of Roman order during meal times, and low-ranking individuals would not be allowed, perhaps not even invited to such meals.⁵⁰ Meals, therefore, played a vital role in creating communal solidarity, determining and maintaining social ranking, as an arena for challenge-and-response in defining power relations and identifying kinship relations. Based on the above discussion, we could say the institution of the symposium had both the features of aristocracy and equality.

Kloppenborg's *Christ's Associations* (2019) is a work of paramount importance for situating the urban Christ-groups which Paul founded in the cities of the Greco-Roman East in comparison to and contrast with the numerous voluntary associations that existed in those cities and for which we have abundant epigraphic evidence, usually in stone inscriptions. Kloppenborg shows how the meals shared in the voluntary associations were funded by regular subscriptions from the members (2019: 231-235), or sometimes subsidised by

⁴⁹ In line with Garnsey, Perkins observes the term "elite" as a group identity to people with "power, status and wealth" across the Roman empire irrespective of "geographical locations and ethnic backgrounds" (Perkins 2009:4; cf. Garnsey 1970:258).

⁵⁰ Cicero encouraged Plancius that rank must be preserved: "I see that all the rest are of equestrian rank; they are all without stain all equally virtuous and upright men but it is necessary that the distinctions of rank should be observed that the praetorian family should yield to the consular, and that the equestrian body should not contend with a praetorian house" (Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 6:15).

patronal endowments (2019: 209-228). There is no evidence, however, for the members of Paul's Christ-groups paying for the communal meals and this seems even more improbable in the scenes from rural Palestine depicted by Luke, where the voluntary association comparison seems irrelevant. Kloppenborg argues that common meals of early Christ-movement "were sites for the performance of equality among members who were excluded from participation in elite culture," Even though they did not always "succeed in materializing a sense of equality among members" (2019: 244). However, this thesis appreciates his extensive study on Greco-Roman communal meals, especially transgressive commensality (a person of higher social status partaking a meal with his social inferiors). Yet though these Greco-Roman meals create a kind of commensality, that is, "a temporary dissolution of social boundaries," they indirectly affirm hierarchical social distinctions (Kloppenborg 2019:218; cf. Grignon 2001:30).

Given our above discussion, it is necessary to arrive at a model for our investigation of Lucan meal narrations. The next stage is understanding the hardship of the *πτωχοί* and their plight of hunger and destitution. Hence, this research will further its investigation by analysing Luke-Acts in the light of the values and structures of the Mediterranean antiquity that we have discussed here. In addition, it will also aim to uncover the mechanisms involved in ameliorating destitution and poverty in general.

CHAPTER 3

DESTITUTION AND POVERTY IN LUKE-ACTS

In light of the discussion in Chapter 2, this chapter aims to build a foundation for the investigation of Lucan meal scenes by considering the socio-economic context that was Luke's world, as far as destitution, poverty and riches were concerned, and the amelioration of those conditions. In providing a context for investigating the Lucan texts, this chapter will investigate the socio-economic situation of the members of the early Christ-movement and the condition of the destitute in that society to find answers to the following questions: Was Luke aware of people dying of starvation and hunger? Who were the readers, and how was their situation portrayed in Luke? What does *generalized reciprocity* contribute to the author's goals? Moreover, why was hospitality such a significant cultural script in the ancient Mediterranean world?

This present chapter will consider the evidence in Luke-Acts for how the social stratification discussed in Chapter 2 impacted on the realities of poverty and destitution in the ancient Greco-Roman world, in critical dialogue with the existing scholarship on poverty and riches in the text discussed in Chapter 1.

1. POVERTY AND WEALTH

According to Merriam-Webster, poverty is “the state of one who lacks a usual or socially acceptable amount of money or material possessions.”⁵¹ The reality of poverty in the first-century world presents a different picture. Scholarship suggests that people of the first century found themselves in a tough situation at times, at risk of starvation (Garnsey 1988:x; cf. Meggitt 1998:5).⁵² Garnsey and Woolf (1989:153) carry this further by defining the poor as “those living at or near subsistence level, whose prime concern is to obtain the minimum

⁵¹ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/poverty>

⁵² On the one hand, Garnsey (1988: ix, x) paid attention to the reality of food crisis and famine in understanding poverty. On the other hand, Meggitt's emphasis depends on what he considers a wide-scale experience of “subsistence level” poverty and affirms no non-elite person surpasses this status (7, 59, 66-67).

food, shelter, and clothing necessary to sustain life, whose lives are dominated by the struggle for physical survival.” Hence, the lack of necessary essential elements, such as food, clothing and shelter, was the reality of poverty which reflects material deprivation and destitution. At this stage, it is unavoidable to question social reality for the members of the early Christ-movement.

Through the years, New Testament scholarship has offered varied views on the social reality of the members of the early Christ-movement. There are some proposals that the early Christ-followers were from the bottom of society.⁵³ Others support a mixture of wealthy and poor people (Judge 1960; Theissen 1982; Meeks 1983; Friesen 2004; Longenecker 2010). Theissen and Meeks argue that the members of the early Christ-movement came from all levels in the social ladder. Theissen (1982:69) supposes, from Paul’s illustration (1 Cor 1:26) of the pre-Christian social status of the Corinthian Christ-followers, that many, but not all, Paul’s converts came from poor backgrounds, but some came from the elite. Meeks (1983:51-73) with his study of the prosopographic evidence collected from individuals mentioned in Pauline epistles, argues that “Pauline congregations generally reflected a fair cross-section of urban society” (1983:73) Luke-Acts also has numerous references to the status, class, occupational strata, income, and property ownership of individuals or groups.⁵⁴

Meggitt (1998:5-7, 153) argues that the vast majority of the Empire’s urban populace lives much below the elite members of the society. From his study of the economic reality of the Pauline congregations, he concludes that Paul and his churches were part of the destitute, the 99% of the Roman-East: “They shared fully in the bleak material existence that was the lot of the non-elite inhabitants of the Empire” (Meggitt 1998:99). Meggitt takes the side of the “primitivist” model for the understanding of the economy of the early churches.

⁵³ Engels (1894) in his *On the History of Early Christianity*, states that “The history of early Christianity has notable points of resemblance with the modern working-class movement. Like the latter, Christianity was originally a movement of oppressed people.”

⁵⁴ Lk 1:3; 2:1, 7, 24; 4:38; 5:3, 10, 27, 29; 7:2, 5, 29f, 34, 36; 8:3, 41; 9:12f, 10:38; 11:37; 14:1; 16:14; 18:35; 19:2; 23:50. Acts 1:1; 3:2, 6; 4:13, 37; 6:1, 7; 8:10, 27f; 9:43; 10:1f, f, 25-27; 12:12, 13; 13:1, 7, 50; 16:14, 16, 32-34, 37f; 17:4f, 12, 34; 18:3, 7, 8; 19:9; 21:8, 24, 26; 22:3, 28; 24:26; 28:7, 30.

He postulates that “poverty is best understood as an absolute rather than a relative phenomenon.”⁵⁵ The primitivists claim that the household organisation (the οἶκος) and slave labour were the economic foundation of the ancient world, i.e., the rural subsistence economy (Migeotte 2009:2; Finley 1973).⁵⁶ As discussed, Meggitt draws on Garnsey’s definition of “subsistence level” for his conception of poverty.

Theissen critiques Meggitt’s view of the similar socio-economic structure of the Pauline congregations and suggests “dissonance of status” in the early Christ-movement: “The early Christian groups might have comprised rich and educated as well as poor and uneducated people, but all had a deficit inasmuch as they all belonged to a deviant minority” (Theissen 2001:67-68). Friesen (2004:323-361) constructs resource-based poverty. He categorises poverty into three categories: near, at, and below subsistence level.

Many studies try to establish what “subsistence” in the Graeco-Roman world entailed. Rein (1970: 46-49) defines poverty in three broader concepts, viz., subsistence, inequality, and externality. The “subsistence” concept is also known as absolute poverty which is concerned with a minimum of provision: what a person must have to sustain life. The “inequality” concept defines poverty relative to one’s position within a stratified society, and the “externality” concept is related to the effects of poverty, rather than the needs of the poor. Rein challenges the subsistence-level definition and argues that the absolute measure of poverty in subsistence terms is impossible since “values, preferences, and political realities influence the definition of subsistence” (Rein 1970: 61-62). Oakes (2004: 367-371), in his response to Friesen, argues that the New Testament hardly talks about the resources of a particular poor person or group; instead, it talks about the behaviour of the person.

⁵⁵ Meggitt (1998:42): “A cursory survey of the major components of the economy (agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce) reveals, I believe, the veracity of the inherently ‘primitivist’ position. The economy remained weak and rudimentary, with little or no growth.”

⁵⁶ On the other hand, Modernists claim that ancient craft industries and trades, including the slave trade, played a central part in the ancient economy (cf. Rostovtseff:1941).

Nevertheless, behaviour indirectly refers to the lack of resources of the person. For example, “X wears no cloak” infers that the person lacks the money to buy a cloak to associate himself with others in society. In its report of the World Summit for Social Development (UN 1996:38), the UN defines absolute poverty as “a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to services.” In other words, it is a condition where a person lacks a minimum amount of money to meet his/her basic livelihood needs (such as food, clothing, shelter) over an extended period of time. As noted in Chapter 2, from imperial policies to famine and poor housing conditions, the lives of the lower strata of the society can be characterised by total deprivation. Among the list of basic needs, food is a crucial issue, and it is essential to keep life going. Some people were at the extreme level of poverty, even to the point of starvation, which was just an everyday reality in the Graeco-Roman world. Hence, the questions arise: Were poverty and its accompanying hunger synonymous with destitution? And, does Luke-Acts identify a cause for destitution?

1.1. The Plight of Hunger

Ramsay MacMullen (1966:249) says, “No large percentage of the people in the Roman empire can have lived their lives through without at least once wondering where the next meal was to come from.” Harris (2011:42) presents extensive research on subsistence and adopts Foxhall’s and Forbes’s supposition: a “very active” young male needed 3,337 calories a day, and a moderately active one required 2,852 calories (1982: 48-49). Garnsey (1999:19-20) supposes the minimum energy as 1,625-2,012 kcal per day, which is the survival subsistence. Scholars reason that the survival standard for a person in the Greek-East might be between 1,700 kcal/day and 2,500 kcal/day (cf. Stegemann & Stegemann 1999:80; Oakman 1986:58).

As noted in Chapter 2, food was regarded as a basic element/integral part of the accepted idea of subsistence in the Greco-Roman world (cf. Gaius, *Digest* 50.16.234.2). Furthermore, Sallust (*Conspiracy of Catiline* 48) relates subsistence to food and clothing. The struggle for physical survival was the reality of most of the population, especially for most of the *plebs urbana*, the subset of the urban population who lived at near subsistence level and for whom securing the minimum food for survival was their prime concern. In support of Garnsey's definition of poverty, Meggitt (1998:7, 59, 66-67) emphasizes that a near population-wide experience of subsistence-level poverty left beggars in a very risky and exposed situation. Hence, it is critical to examine the reality of hunger and the causes that produced conditions of destitution, thus hunger, in the first century.

Food remained a constant cause of worry for the majority of the general population. Life in Mediterranean antiquity was complicated and burdensome for perhaps most people. Many were short of money and work and at risk of hunger. Hands distinguishes poverty from destitution, saying that the beggars possessed nothing. At the same time, the poor man lived "frugally and by applying himself to work, with nothing to spare indeed, but not really in want" (1968:62). There lies a significant distinction between "working poor" and "the beggars." However, the limited purchasing power of the non-elite prevented them from getting enough to eat, especially during the periodical breaks in the grain supply. Indian Economist Amartya Sen (1981:155) argues that a person or group's vulnerability to food shortage situations is dependent upon what they have by way of "entitlements." In other words, the poor are the ones with the least purchasing power who have a higher chance of starvation in the world of limited good.

Based on our stratification pyramid (Figure 4), we propose that it is more or less 20-30% of the total population, whether in rural or urban contexts, who were at risk of becoming destitute (or suffering destitution). Many references from classical Greek literature point out that sustenance was only earned under high pressure. Meggitt (1998:53-60) cites a list of

references that explained the hardship of daily work necessary for people to gain their daily meals. Indeed, sometimes people sold themselves as well as their families as slaves with the sole purpose of avoiding hunger and starvation.⁵⁷ Hunger was the continuous complaint of the *plebs urbana* in Rome, and hunger drove some young girls to prostitution (cf. Meggitt 1998:59-60). This phenomenon reveals to what extent hunger could motivate behaviour. As noted in Chapter 2, the Roman emperors tried to address the issue of the food crisis by supplying bread free of cost. Nevertheless, the *plebs urbana* and the grain distribution in Rome illustrate the existence of the destitute in the cities of the Roman East who shared almost one-third of the total population (23%), where the rest (70%) lived between relatively stable and subsistence levels.

Discission above offers solid evidence that poverty and hunger were synonymous in Mediterranean antiquity. In the list of the peculiarities of the poor, Carney says that they were “Undernourished, ill-informed, without organizations or an ideology of their own... (they) could only express their dissatisfaction by abusive shouts, surly attitudes and the occasional riot” (1975:122). Accordingly, it is no surprise that Cicero’s depiction of the non-elite was *misera acieiuna plebecula*, a “wretched and starveling crowd” (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 1.16.11).

⁵⁷ In the Greco-Roman world self-enslavement was a common way for impoverished people to provide subsistence for themselves or their family. According to Mendelsohn, debt was the primary source of supply of slaves where one of the following three might be a cause for his/her enslavement: having been sold by his or her parents; giving themselves up for self-sale deliberately; or being judicially enslaved by default (Mendelsohn 1978: 1-33). Pomponius (*Digest* 41.1.19) reveals a strong economic motivation for permitting self-sale: “If a free man, in good faith, be acting as my slave, Aristo says that what he obtains through his own labors or my resources becomes mine beyond any doubt; but what he receives by gift or some transaction belongs to him” (cf. *Digest* 41.2.6).

1.2. Some Factors Affecting Destitution

As discussed above, there were many dimensions to destitution. Nevertheless, it is useful to analyse the situation in more detail.

Land ownership and tax played a vital role in differentiating persons in terms of socio-economic status. Oakman observes that sometimes more than 50% of a total crop was extracted as tax (Oakman 1991:155). Furthermore, the Judean religious leaders demanded a tenth of the production of the land, “the second tithe,” from the peasants apart from the regular tithe (Jeremias 1969:28). Luke’s access to traditions concerning what Jesus said and did in Galilee and Judea, some of which are not found in Mark and Matthew, indicates that he would have had a reasonable knowledge of the life of the peasantry in those places.

Advanced agrarian societies were predominantly rural, and the land was the most substantial asset and the safest resource of wealth, with more than ninety per cent living directly from the land (Finley 1999:102; Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:7). The land was considered as “the one indispensable commodity in antiquity” (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:65). Primary production and substance centred around agriculture in agrarian societies (Hanson & Oakman 2008:179). The wealth of the minority elite was determined on the basis of the land, some of which they worked themselves, through slaves and hired staff, while leasing some of it to others, peasants or farmers, for their comfortable or luxurious living. It is often claimed that land ownership among the wealthy had been increasing and the peasants were suffering a commensurate scarcity. According to Garnsey and Saller (2014:72), the elite considered land ownership as the preferred means of wealth that offered them security and steady income. Since the land was the basis of wealth, Stegemann and Stegeman (1999:43) observe “the increased well-being of the wealthy class was possible only through greater possessions of land.” In parallel, peasants were losing their property, because of taxes, rents, religious tithes, and payments of loans. Dispossession among them, which prevented them from becoming wealthy by direct access to resources, was evident in

agrarian societies. Roman taxes also led the peasants to poverty and debt, to the extent that some peasants deserted their land due to unreliable patrons' desperate indebtedness (Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992: 332-333; cf. Reinstorf 2004: 336-340).

Another prominent factor that disturbed the world of Mediterranean antiquity was famine. Although there was no worldwide famine during the first century, Suetonius, in his *Life of Claudius*, mentioned the failure of the crops and frequent famines that occurred at various places (cf. Haenchen 1971:374; Bruce 1972:243-244). Garnsey (1988:9) notes that the danger of unpredictable weather resulting in drought and crop failure could have triggered a food crisis and hunger.⁵⁸ Furthermore, there are passages by Pliny the Elder mentioning two incidents regarding variations in the level of the Nile, which meant the grain crops were at the risk of drought or flooding.⁵⁹ Josephus also documented how Queen Helena of Adiabene sent a large amount of grain from Egypt for the poor and hungry in Jerusalem during the famine in Judea (46-48 CE) that was a particularly extreme one (*AJ* 20.101; cf. 20.51; 3.320; cf. Haenchen 1971:62-63; Bruce 1972:204). Alongside the above discussed historical instances, the Lucan use of λιμός indicates his particular interest in famine. There are five occurrences of λιμός in Luke-Acts (Lk 4:25; 15:14,17; Acts 7:11; 11:28), while it only finds a single occurrence in each of the other Synoptics (Mk 13:8; Mt 24:7). Although Lucan usage of the term does not allow us to say famine was prevalent among the entirety of the Lucan audience, it is reasonable to hypothesize that Luke-Acts was written from a place which had been severely affected by famine and the suffering it caused. Probably, Luke himself could have had a personal experience of the phenomenon.

⁵⁸ "Sometimes there is much drought or rain, and it prevails over a great and continuous stretch of country. At other times it is local; the surrounding country often getting seasonable or even excessive rains while there is drought in a certain part; or, contrariwise, all the surrounding country gets little or even no rain while a certain part gets rain in abundance." (Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 2.4). (Translation of Webster 2006).

⁵⁹ Pliny refers to flooding that happened during the period of Claudius, who reigned from 41-54 C.E. (Pliny, *Natural History*, 5.10.58; 18.47.168).

Our discussion above substantiates that poverty was related to social stratification within a region. Hence, this research will investigate poverty/destitution in Luke-Acts by placing it within the context of multidimensional social stratification in the Greek-East. For this, it is necessary to investigate the following preliminary aspects. Understanding the geographical context of the text (Rome, Asia, Palestine or wherever) will help us to comprehend the reality of the economic situation, whether Luke-Acts should be read against an urban setting or a rural setting; and, the second consideration relates to exploring the institutions, relations, and structures in Luke-Acts to discover the social context of the Lucan audience.

2. THE SOCIAL WORLD OF THE LUCAN NARRATIVES

Any study of antiquity needs to be specific. The social world of the Lucan narratives refers to the world created by humans, which had cultural, social and physical dimensions, as it is portrayed and assumed in the text. Everyone in the ancient world had an idea of how the system worked (both in cities and countryside), a system that bore marked similarities across the Mediterranean region, admittedly shaped by local ecological variations (Horden & Purcell 2000). Similarly, it is not vital to know even what decade of the first century Luke was writing, although it was probably after 70 CE.

A fundamental aspect of this world was its culture, meaning the sort of issues Malina highlighted in his monograph *The New Testament World* (1981) that has been seen as a ground-breaking book in profiling the ancient Mediterranean setting of the New Testament. It pays primary attention to the study of social values and various forms of social structure, for example, social statuses, social relations, social institutions, and social events. Esler argues that Malina's application of Mediterranean anthropology became a powerful stimulus for applying abstract models built to be heuristic tools for the investigation of biblical texts (Esler 1994:12-19; 2011:38). Hence, explaining the models and methods used in interpreting

the Mediterranean societies will help this research investigate the reflections and response to the situation presented in Luke-Acts.

The prologue of the Third gospel is significant in determining the likely actual reader/audience of the author (Lk 1:1-4). The phrase ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, "from the beginning" (Lk 1:2) suggests that the eyewitnesses were with Jesus from his ministry in Galilee. In Luke-Acts the verb ἄρχειν, "to begin," is used to denote Jesus' ministry in Galilee (Lk 23:5; Acts 1: 22; 10:37) (Fearghail 1991:96). Hence, the writer does not belong to the eyewitness circle. The phrase ἐν ἡμῖν, "among us" (Lk 1:1) likely refers to the early Christ-followers. Nolland (1989:7) argues that the term "us" is general, and denotes the persons whose lives are shaped by the events that have emerged among the community formed around these events. Arguing against this position, Plummer (1992:3) more plausibly postulates that ἡμῖν does not refer to the contemporaries, the people who participated in the ministry of Jesus, but to those who "received" the tradition including Luke himself. In noting the perfect form πεπληροφορημένων ("have been fulfilled"; Lk 1:1), Green (1997:40) also supports this view. Hence, the preferable view is that ἡμῖν denotes the Lucan audience. According to Ringe (1995:8), Luke draws his audience into the particular view of human life and the world that Luke himself assumes. Hence, it is necessary to comprehend the Lucan worldview, even though it is likely the Lucan world consisted of a mixture of people of "diverse social composition" varying as to different ethnic and religious backgrounds and socio-economic statuses (cf. Tannehill 1996:24). The following section will attempt to figure out the structure of social stratification and cultural institutions in the world of Luke. Besides, it will also analyse what societal codes that ensured and maintained social stratification.

3. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN LUKE-ACTS

It is noted in Chapter 2 that the society of Mediterranean antiquity was “advanced agrarian” in nature and, as such, was unequally structured. Some New Testament scholars who use social-scientific interpretation in reading the biblical texts state that the Gospel of Luke was written in the context of a stratified, advanced agrarian society. (Esler 1987:171-175; Oakman 2008:143-144; Rohrbaugh 2007:155). Social stratification was an undeniable part of the social location of the gospels and fundamentally deals with inequality, i.e., inequality in the distribution of supplies and services, rights and responsibilities, status and power. To understand social stratification and its effect in more detail, the following section will explore the social groups and the life presented in the Lucan narratives.

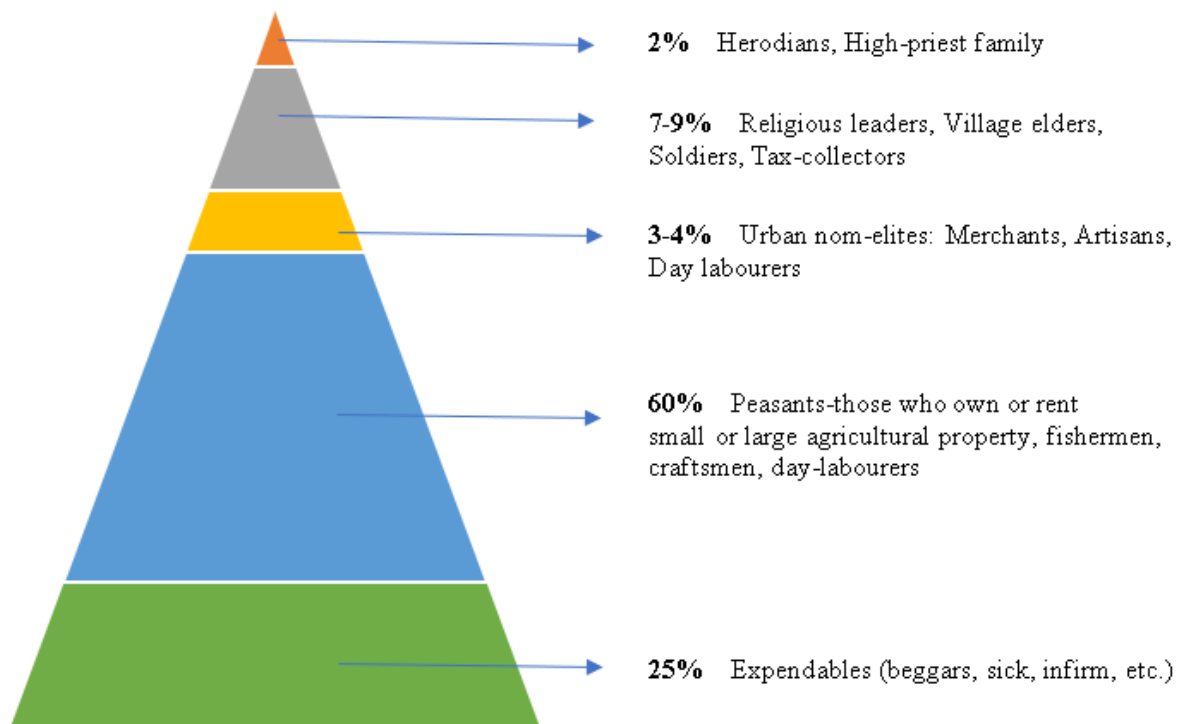


Figure 4 Possible social stratification of the Lucan narratives. Based on Lenski and Lenski (1987)

Following Lenski (1966:284), Oakman classifies the agrarian population into two social classes, small ruling elite (2%) and service class. He breaks the service class into two according to their residential location: 8% of the population as service class to the political elite (priests, soldiers, merchants, craftsmen) and the remaining (90%) as service class to the village (Oakman 2008:136-137). Though this classification, more or less, reflects peasant society, it is unpersuasive to make the retainer class (priests and soldiers) equal with the non-elite artisans. Furthermore, in Oakman's classification, there is no place for the destitute. Hence, a detailed distinction in the stratification will enhance the investigation of the Lucan meal narrations.

The above diagram (Figure 4) is a possible social stratification of the Lucan narratives, and the listed five groups, as noted in the diagram, will indicate the power, the economic class and the status of the potential audience of the Lucan narratives. To understand poverty/destitution and the plight of hunger, it is necessary to investigate the social groups presented in Lucan narratives. Hence, the following section will discuss the social groups in brief, following Rohrbaugh's method that he used in his investigation of the Marcan potential audience (Rohrbaugh 2017:169-196).

3.1. The Urban Elite

Table 1 The urban elite in Luke-Acts

Luke		Acts	
Theophilus	1:3	Theophilus	1:1
Herod	1:5; 3:1, 19; 9:7; 23:7	Rulers	4:5
Augustus Caesar	2:1	Herod	4:27; 12:1, 21
Quirinius	1:2	Pontius Pilate	4:27
Emperor Tiberius	3:1	Claudius	11:28; 23:26
Pontius Pilate	3:1; 13:1; 23:1	Blastus (the king's chamberlain)	12:20
Philip (the Ruler)	3:1	Magistrate	16:35
Rich people	5:29	Galio (Proconsul of Achaia)	18:12
Rich man	12:16; 16:1,19	Felix (Governor)	23:24; 24:10, 22, 24, 25, 27; 25:14
Leader of Pharisees	14:1	Porcius Festus	24:27; 25:1,4, 9, 12, 13, 14, 22, 23, 24; 26:24, 25, 32
Host of the great banquet	14:16, 17	Emperor	25:8, 11, 12,21; 26:32; 27:24; 28:19
Judge	18:2; 12:58	King Agrippa	25:13, 22, 23, 24, 26;
Rich people	21:1		
Zacchaeus			

(chief tax collector and rich)	19:2		26:1, 2, 19, 27, 28,
A noble man	19:12	32	
High priests	3:2	High priest	4:6; 5:17; 7:1; 9:1;
Chief priests	19:47; 20:1; 22:2,		24:1
52;		High priest's family	4:6; 19:14
	23:4, 10	Chief priest	23:14; 25:2, 15

At the apex of the Lucan world stood the urban elite, namely, those with power, status and wealth (cf. Perkins 2009: 4; Garnsey 1970: 258). This section made up about 2% of the total population. Along with the emperor, this section includes the Roman senatorial and equestrian order, Herodians, and high-ranking priestly families. The elite who lived in the cities controlled the religious, political and economic systems of the state.

Two per cent of the total population consisted of the ruling class and military ranking officials (see Figure 4). In agrarian societies, land ownership and tax played a vital role in classifying persons in terms of socio-economic status. Members of the urban elite derived the vast bulk of their income from landed wealth. Based on research by Fiensy (1991), Rohrbaugh states that 1 to 3 per cent of the population in most agrarian societies owned a near majority of the cultivable land (Rohrbaugh 2000:203, 223). The agricultural land in the first century Palestine was controlled by elite Romans, the Judean elite (Herodians, high priest family and village elders) and landlords (Belo 1981:81-82).

The above discussion reflects the social tension between the ruling elite and peasants and the possible existence of social bandits in Luke's world (Horsley & Hanson 1985:48-87). There are many Lucan references (Lk 23:19,32,39-43) to social bandits. The presence of the Greek term ληστής ("robber"; Lk 10:30, 36; 19:46; 22:52) and references to criminals (κακοῦργος; Lk 23:32, 39) provide evidence for the existence of social bandits in the society. Banditry was deeply rooted in the Roman world, and these so-called social bandits probably believed that the compulsory seizure of goods from the peasants by the ruling elite caused the poverty and destitution of peasants (cf. MacMullen 1966:255-268). Josephus identifies Hezekias as a ἀρχιληστής, who with a large band of followers looted the Syrian border and

the Decapolis (*BJ* 1.204-206; *AJ* 14.160). Political and religious oppression in terms of tax, tithe, and second-tithe led the peasant community into debt and loss of land (*Lk* 7:41-42; 12:58-59). Their armed struggle and the military intervention to suppress the insurgents created continuous tension and conflict in rural areas (cf. Oakman 1991: 168; Horsley & Hanson 1985: 30, 48-49). Horsley and Hanson (1985:56f) note Josephus' reference to taxation complaints in Judea (cf. *BJ* 2.85). The Lucan parable of the Good Samaritan infers that travellers falling prey to bandits was a common occurrence to which the Lucan audience could easily relate.

3.2. Retainers

Table 2 Retainers in Luke-Acts

Luke		Acts	
Zechariah (priest)	1:5	Sadducees	4:1; 5:17; 23:6
Priest	5:14, 17:14; 10:31	Captain of the Temple	4:1; 5:26
Tax-collectors	3:12; 5:29; 15:1	Priests	4:1
Tax-collector	5:27; 18:10	Elders	4:5
Soldiers	3:14; 7:8; 23:11	Scribes	4:5
Centurion	7:2; 23:47	Levite	4:36
Jairus (Leader of synagogue)	8:41	Guards	5:23; 12:6; 23:27
Leader of synagogue	13:14	Temple police	5:26
Levite	10:32	Pharisee	23:6
Pharisees	5:17, 21, 30; 6:2, 7; 7:30, 36; 11:37, 53; 13:31; 15:2; 16:14; 18:10; 19:39	Gamaliel (Pharisee)	5:34
Lawyers	7:30; 10:25; 11:45; 14:3	Ethiopian eunuch	8:27
Bailiff	16:1	Cornelius (Centurion)	10:1
Sadducees	20:27	Julius (Centurion)	27:1, 6, 11
Leaders of the people	19:47; 20:1; 22:52; 23:35	Centurions	21:32, 23:17; 24:23
Officers of the Temple police	22:4, 52	Priests of Zeus	14:13
Joseph (Council member)	23:50	Jailer	16:27
		Police	16:35
		City officials	17:8
		Philosophers	17:18
		Sosthenes (Official of synagogue)	18:17
		Roman officials	19:31
		Town clerk	19:35
		Tribune of cohort	21:31; 24:22
		Soldiers	21:32; 23:23, 31
		Horsemen, spearmen	23:23, 32
		Attorney	24:1

The group represented below the urban elite and ranging downward towards the non-elite level were the retainers. According to Lenski, retainers are the persons who serve the elite, and they take advantage of the non-elite populace in exchange for a small share of the economic surplus and a somewhat greater social position (Lenski 1966:243-246; Esler 1987:196; Moxnes 1988:84). This group (perhaps 7 to 9 per cent) included a small army of officials (centurions, jailer, and lawyer), lower-level military people (guards, soldiers, and horsemen), municipal officers (tax-collectors, clerks), legal experts, personal retainers, lower clergy (priests, Levite), teachers (Pharisees, Sadducees, scribes), and household servants. It is interesting to note here (Table 2) that Pharisees and other Judeans who oppose the Jesus-movement figure as the largest group. The Book of Maccabees talks about Hasideans, a group of law-observing Judeans filled with zeal for the law by which Israel was supposed to lead its life (1 Macc. 7:13). With the support of Ferdinand Hitzig and Abraham Geiger, Julius Wellhausen (2001:67, 68) argues that the Hasideans were the predecessors of the Pharisees (cf. Vermes 1999:130). The Pharisees considered themselves as “the holy ones” and “the true community of Israel.” Westerholm (1992: 130) states that the Pharisees were seen as the moral arbiters of the country and they were the most scrupulous of the parties in their observance of the ancestral laws and purity regulations. Jeremias (1969: 246-267) argues that the Pharisees had great esteem for their piety and social inclination to downplay class disparities that earned them the backing of the elite. Josephus states that Herod honoured the Pharisaic leaders and gave them complete access to the court in Jerusalem (*AJ* 17.41ff; cf. 15.3ff).

On the other hand, Pharisees in the Third Gospel criticise Jesus for his welcoming attitude and his association with tax-collectors and sinners (Lk 5:30; 7:34, 39, 40; 11:37, 38; 14:1, 2; 15:1-2). Furthermore, Luke illustrates the Pharisees’ lack of compassion towards the needy (Lk 6:7; 11:43; 14:1-3, 7, 12-14). The Lucan Jesus exposes the boastful attitude of the Pharisees in Luke 18:9-14. In the parable, Luke describes the Pharisee as he is thanking

God for his being, not like “thieves, rogues, adulterers, or even tax collectors” (Lk 18:11). The Lucan Jesus explicitly denounces their tradition and greed (Lk 11:39, 42: 12:1; 14:7, 12-14; 16:14) (cf. Ziesler 1979; Carroll 1988).

3.3. The Non-elite

Table 3 The Urban Non-elite in Luke-Acts

Luke		Acts	
Attendant	4:20	Simon (Magician)	8:9
Creditor	7:41	Lydia (Cloth dealer)	16:14
Inn-keeper	10:35	Tent-makers	18:3
Scribes	5:21, 30; 6:7; 11:53; 15:2; 19:47; 20:1; 22:2; 23:10	Demetrius (Silversmith)	19:24
Father in Lk 15:11-32		Silversmiths	19:25
Manager	16:1		
Samaritans	10:33		

The third group in the social pyramid of the Lucan narratives, who represented 3 to 4 per cent of the population, were the urban non-elite. The members of this group included merchants, artisans, day-labourers, and a variety of service workers. However, it is necessary to investigate the question raised by Peachin (2011:25), as to whether members of the non-elite struggled for position among themselves. Did the better-off members of the non-elite, such as artisans and traders, mock the day labourers? The majority of the individuals listed in the table above (Table 3) are portrayed as harmless, even as doing good. In a parable (Lk 16:1-13), Luke depicts the “unjust” manager acting in favour of the debtors, as well as himself, and he looks to them for support in later years. Since this section analyses the stratified society in terms of poverty and wealth, it is justifiable to have him in the list of non-elite.

3.4. Peasants

Table 4 Peasants or villagers in Luke-Acts

Luke		Acts	
Elizabeth	1:5	Men of Galilee	1:11
Mary	1:27	Peter, John	3:1, 14:11; 21:27;
Joseph	1:27		13:42
Shepherds	2:8	Ananias, Saphira	5:1
Travellers	2:24	Dorcas	9:36
Simeon	2:34	Slaves	10:7
Anna	2:36	Slave girl	16:16
Teachers	2:46; 5:17	Apostles & elders	15:4; 20:17
Fishermen	5:2	Jason	17:7
Simon	5:3	Apollos	18:24
James, John	5:10	Jewish exorcists	19:13
Disciples of Jesus	6:14-16	Helpers	19:22
Jewish elders	7:3	Alexander	19:33
John the Baptist	7:20	Eutychus	20:9
Debtors	7:41; 16:5	Uncircumcised men	11:3
Sower	8:5	Teachers	13:1
Jesus' mother and brothers	8:19	Prophets	21:10
Mary, Martha	10:38,39	People	3:2, 9, 11, 12; 4:1, 2, 21;
Gardener	13:7		5:12, 13, 16, 26, 37; 6:8, 12; 10:2; 11:24,
Man with 100 sheep	15:2		26; 12:4, 20, 22; 13:42; 17:8; 19:26, 29, 33;
Woman with 10 silver coin	15:8		21:12, 30, 40; 28:9
Tenants	20:10	Crowd	1:15, 2:6; 14:14; 16:22;
Servant man	22:10		19:30, 33, 35; 21:27, 34, 36; 24:12
House owner	22:11		
Slaves of High priests	23:50		
Servant girl	22:56		
Simeon of Cyrene	23:26		
Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary	24:10		
People	1:10, 16, 21, 68, 77; 2:10,		
	32; 3:15, 18, 21; 6:17; 7:1, 5, 16; 7:29; 8:4,		
	35, 37, 47; 9:13; 10:8; 14:23; 16:4; 18:11,		
	15, 43; 19:36, 48; 21:1, 9, 19, 26, 45; 21:38;		
	22:2; 23:5, 13, 14, 27, 35		
Crowd	5:19; 6:17, 19; 7:9, 11, 12;		
	8:4, 19, 40; 9:12, 16, 37, 38; 11:27; 21:1,		
	13; 13:14, 17; 18:36; 19:3,39; 22:6, 47		

There are frequent mentions of the “crowd” (ὄχλος) and “people” (λαός) in the Lucan narratives (Table 4). This group included as its major component the peasants, meaning those who own or lease small or large agricultural properties, fishermen, artisans, day-labourers, slaves. Furthermore, this group were the largest population in agrarian societies as well as 60% in the Lucan narrative world (Table 4). As discussed earlier, the members of the urban

elite derived the vast bulk of their income from land ownership and taxation. The burden of elite and economic exploitation rested by and large on the shoulders of the rural population.

The song of Mary (Lk 1:46-55) and the song of Zechariah (Lk 1:68-79) may reflect the political oppression of the reign of Herod. Green (1995:1), on the other hand, claims that Mary's song is a revolutionary song against Roman imperial oppression. However, it describes the plight of the vulnerable with or without the Roman presence. It is a symbol of hope to the suffering people from unjust social structures, disposition and tyranny. In the Roman empire, collecting tribute from the provinces by levying direct and indirect taxes was the custom. The small Roman elite and its provincial allies controlled the primary resource of the land and its production. Most of the population lived near subsistence levels with little ability to absorb crop or animal failure, bad weather, high taxes, rents, poor nutrition, sickness, unrelenting physical work and anxiety (Lenski 1984:271).

Luke begins the infancy narrative with a Roman census. This census could be a registration possibly undertaken by Herod the Great under Roman direction.⁶⁰ The census was conducted in Roman provinces for taxation purposes (cf. Charlesworth 1968:53-57; Schürer 1973:400). The census during the governorship of Quirinius (Lk 2:1-3) indicates a great load of Roman taxation. Belo (1974:63) notes that Rome imposed three kinds of taxes on the colonies, viz., (1) the tribute (*tributum*), which was a personal tax and a land tax; (2) the "yearly produce" (*annona*), an annual contribution to meet the needs of the garrisons; (3) the "public" tax (*publicum*), consisting of indirect taxes and duties. Roman rulers employed tax-collectors to collect direct taxes such as poll tax and land tax for them; toll collectors collected minor taxes like tolls, sales tax, and customs duty, and these are the people who often appears in the Gospels (cf. Donahue 1971:39-61). The Roman customs system cultivated indirect taxes; the highest bidder paid in advance to collect taxes from a

⁶⁰ The census of Syria and Judaea was delegated to a military prefect "on the orders of [P. Sulpicius] Quirinus," to whom Luke refers (Lk 2:2) (cf. CIL III 6687). For more details, see Claytor & Bagnall (2015).

district. In this tax-farming system, Schmidt (1992: 805) suggests that Rome received its money in advance, and the tax-collector (probably a Judean) made his living from commissions on tolls and customs.

As discussed above in the section concerning the urban elite, such a political practice led the peasants into a miserable situation. In the parable of the steward (Lk 16:1-8), Luke portrays the way in which the rich elite and their retainers feathered their own nests in rural Palestine, where being seriously indebted to the rich was an everyday phenomenon; Luke simply assumes his readers will recognise that this was the way things invariably were. In the parable, the steward deducts 20% from the loan of wheat and 50% from the loan of oil (Lk 16:6-7) and in doing so, he was deducting the hidden interest which constitutes his master's profits (Nolland 1993:34, 799; cf. Wright 2000:224; Kanagaraj 1997:32). Yet, in spite of this fraud, the steward was commended by the rich man for his cleverness. Esler (2017:85) notes that the maximum interest rate chargeable under Roman law by Roman was 12%. Takatemjen (2003:142) observes that the interest rates were kept hidden due to the Jewish laws on usury. Therefore, the amount in the document (γράμμα; Lk 16:6) could include the price of the commodity and the hidden interest. Thus, the cancellation of the hidden interest by the steward portrays the reality of the abusive economic structure. Luke describes the steward securing his own future while providing a collateral benefit to his master's debtors.

3.5. Expendables

Table 5 The expendables in Luke-Acts

Luke		Acts	
Lowly	1:52	A lame man	3:2 (beggar)
Hungry	1:53	Prisoners	4:7; 27:1, 42
Anna (widow)	2:36	People with unclean spirit	5:16
Destitute, captives, blind, oppressed	4:18	Hellenists' widows	6:1
Widow	4:26; 7:12; 18:3; 21:2	People / paralyzed and lame	8:7
Man with unclean spirit	4:33	Aeneas, the paralytic	9:33 (beggar?)
Simon's mother-in-law	4:38	Simon (Tanner)	9:43
People with various diseases	4:40	Crippled man	14:8 (beggar?)
Man with leprosy	5:12	Man with evil spirit	19:16
Paralyzed man	5:18	Temple robbers	19:37
Man with withered-hand	6:6	Sick person (Malta)	28:8
People with diseases	7:21; 14:3	Sick people (Malta)	28:9
Sinner woman	7:37		
Sinners	15:1		
Woman cured of evil-spirits and infirmities	8:2		
Demoniac	8:27		
Daughter of Jairus	8:42		
Haemorrhaging woman	8:43		
Man, with convulsions	9:39		
Robbers	10:30		
Suffering man in Luke	10:30		
Crippled woman	13:11		
Man, with dropsy	14:2		
Poor, crippled, blind, lame	14:21		
The younger son in a far country	15:15		
Lazarus	16:20		
Ten lepers	17:12		
Blind man	18:35 (beggar)		
Barrabas	23:18		
Two criminals	23:32		

At the very bottom of society, there were the sick, infirm, and religious outcasts, beggars, tanner, prostitutes, widows, orphans, disabled people, demoniacs, captives and unskilled labourers. They were present in both villages and cities and most of these people "... were forced out of the cities at night..., but frequented the cities during the daytime to beg or find work" (Rohrbaugh 2000: 206). They were regarded as religiously unclean and as social outcasts. Stark (160-161) graphically describes the miserable conditions of the non-elite members of a city like Antioch exposed continuously to filth, poor sanitation, contaminated

water, overcrowding, contagious diseases, inadequate food supply, poor nutrition, ethnic conflicts, crime and catastrophes such as fire and flooding. Moreover, it is significant that this is the probable, or at least a possible, place where Luke-Acts was written. Sickness and disease were the direct consequences of the vast inequalities in wealth and the desperate social conditions that the empire's ruling strategies created.

In the Lucan narrative world, they represented one-fourth of the total population (Figure 4). Luke wants us to know Jesus' concern for these people. In the light of the group of people listed in the Nazareth manifesto (Lk 4:16-30), the term used twice by the Lucan Jesus, ἄφεσις ("Jubilee" or "liberty" and "forgiveness"; Lk 4:18) could indicate "freedom from societal bondage." The Lucan Jesus' announcement of salvation to the ethnic and religious outcasts integrates the economically, physically, and spiritually marginalized. Luke brings all the diseased, oppressed, marginalized group under one umbrella of "destitute" (πτωχός) while using πενιχρός (Lk 21:2) and ἐνδεής (Acts 4:34) for lesser degrees of material deprivation. Meanwhile, the Lucan omission of the term πτωχός in the book of Acts is a puzzling issue which will be discussed later in this chapter. As noted, the list of expendables in Luke-Acts is long. Luke-Acts has 46 references to the expendables, and they are referred to in groups in eighteen places. These extensive Lucan references inform us of his concern for the outcasts and the marginalized. At this juncture, it is essential to comprehend the setting of the Lucan narratives.

3.6. Urban or Rural?

The Gospel of Luke contains different lifestyles, value systems, and modes of socialization. Luke shows great interest in and knowledge of the countryside in the Gospel and a similar interest in and knowledge of Greco-Roman cities of the East in Acts. As already noted in Chapter 1, there is no consensus among the Lucan scholars regarding the place of writing. According to Kümmel (1973:151), Luke's inadequate knowledge of Palestine shows that he composed the Gospel outside of Palestine. Nevertheless, Luke is undoubtedly familiar with

both Greco-Roman cities and the countryside. Moreover, he had access to extensive materials concerning the ministry of Jesus, parables for example, set in Galilee and from those he would have gained much information about rural life there. Accordingly, the rich array of information about the rural setting of Jesus' ministry, which I will now consider, is not surprising.

Having undertaken a detailed investigation of the rural setting in Luke, Oakman (1991:151,178) states that out of twenty-eight references to the "country" (χώρα, ἀγρός) in the New Testament, seventeen are found in Luke-Acts, and this suggests a strong interest in the countryside in Luke-Acts. Parables like the sower (Lk 8:4-8), the mustard seed (Lk 13:18-19), the yeast (Lk 13:20-21), the lost sheep (Lk 15:3-7), the lost coin (Lk 15:8-10) and the lost son (Lk 15:11-32) disclose an agricultural backdrop, which is also reflected in some other episodes (Lk 6:1-4; 10:38-42; 11:5-8; 24:13-31). Jesus sends his disciples into villages (Lk 9:1-6). Some sayings and proverbs of the Lucan Jesus exhibit the oral wisdom of the peasantry: the winnowing fork (Lk 3:17), a good measure (Lk 6:38), the log and speck (Lk 6:41-42), "Figs are not gathered from thorns, nor are grapes picked from a bramble bush" (Lk 6:44), children in the market place (Lk 7:32), and the labourer who deserves to be paid (Lk 10:7). Life in the world of the Third Gospel is built around kinship relations in a rural setting (Lk 1:58; 11:5-8). The Third Gospel also discloses how relationships between unequal partners existed in the village setting with various aspects mentioned that evidence this, such as δανιστής "creditor" and χρεοφειλέτης "debtor" (Lk 7:41), ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος "the owner of the vineyard" (Lk 20:13), and μίσθιος "day labourer" (Lk 15:17), lord and creditor (Lk 6:34; 16:5), and master and servant (Belo 1981:65; Moxnes 1988:62; Oakman 1991:166).

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Lucan redactional emphases also indicate many characteristics of a Hellenistic urban setting. Cities in antiquity were centres of socialization and conflicts. The disparities and differences depicted in a few Lucan passages signal an

urban context to the text (Lk 5:29-32; 7:36-50; 14:1-24; 19:5-10) (cf. Moxnes 1994:379-387). The second part of the Lucan narrative, the book of Acts, has no reference to agricultural life or villages, except in some summary statements of mission work in rural areas (Acts 14:6; 18:23), which talk about the missional activities of the early Christ-movement. According to the book of Acts, a majority of early Christian missionary activities took place in cities (Acts 8:5, 46; 14: 21; 15:36) and the plot of Acts bundled up many geographical locations as travel itineraries took the missionaries from city to city. Oakman (1991:170) notices that the author used πόλις at times in the technical sense of “town”. Out of the 63 cities/towns named in the New Testament, about 38 (apart from Rome and Antioch), are mentioned in Luke-Acts (Rohrbaugh 1991:126). Moreover, the *we-sections*⁶¹ in Acts may suggest that Luke was a travel companion of Paul, who finds himself all over the map of the Mediterranean region, from Antioch to Rome, although this is a hotly contested area (Campbell 2007). Louis Ndekha has provided a good case for it being justifiable to believe that the Lucan audience was a cluster of Christ-groups in a number of cities or members of a single Christ-group in one city.⁶² If the latter, that city may have been Antioch-on-the-Orontes, as argued above in Chapter 1 of this dissertation

In *Who Were the First Christians? Dismantling the Urban Thesis* (2017), Thomas Robinson challenges the consensus – the urban thesis proposed by Wayne Meeks (1983), Rodney Stark (2006), and Ramsey MacMullen (2009) – that the early Christ-movement was largely an urban phenomenon. He argues “early Christianity’s portrait and place in the Roman world must have at least a bit more rustic coloring in its complexion and a bit more rural territory in its reach” (Robinson 2017:208). Robinson (2017:38), with mathematical calculations, claims that 33% of the urban population and 5.8% of the rural population would be “*an equal number of urban and rural Christians*” (italics original). Yet we should

⁶¹ Acts 9:1, 19, 30; 13:1, 4, 13, 14; 14:1, 6; 16:7, 11-12.

⁶² In 2020 Louis Ndekha was awarded a PhD in the University of Gloucestershire for a dissertation that, in part, argued for a local audience for Luke’s Gospel.

probably not follow Robinson in setting up town and country as alternatives. For example, Oakman suggests that the community addressed in the text experienced a frequent interaction between city/town dwellers and country peasants. For him, the terms “city” and “countryside” show the two sides of the same coin (Oakman 1991:177, 179). Agricultural production and supply-chain, migration between urban and rural spheres, and retained links with relatives and friends in the countryside clearly suggest a symbiotic relationship between urban and rural world (Robinson 2017:65-90). Luke’s equal emphasis on urban and rural life settings does not just indicate a mere interaction between the urban dwellers and rural peasants but probably reveals that the Lucan audience was most likely a mixed social group of urban and rural people who were socially stratified.⁶³ At this stage, it is essential to raise the question of the dimensions of poverty and destitution in Luke-Acts. Who then are the destitute in Luke-Acts? What was it like to be destitute? Does the term imply either social status or has it just been used to mean an economic condition, or both an economic condition and social status? What was their plight? Since this is significant to this present research, the following section will investigate what it was like to be poor/destitute in the Lucan world.

4. MATERIAL DIMENSIONS OF DESTITUTION AND POVERTY

As discussed, power relations and economics that are embedded in the structures of a society stratify that society into, mostly, elite and non-elite groups. For a better understanding of poverty/destitution in the Lucan narratives, this section will offer a more detailed image of the destitute in the first century, particularly the Lucan world. In order to assess the plight of hunger and charity in Mediterranean antiquity, this section will discuss the reality of the people listed in Table 5 and examine Lucan terminology for the destitute.

⁶³ In the series of parables concerning 'lost and found,' the parable of 100 sheep refers 'desert (Lk 15:4) while the parable of 10 coins alludes a city backdrop (Lk 15:9).

4.1. Πτωχοί – The Expendables

The Greek word πτωχός is the most common term for a lowly economic state used in the Gospels. Out of its 34 occurrences in the New Testament, it appears ten times in Luke, and it occurs five times each of Matthew and Mark.⁶⁴ Most English translations translate this term as “poor,” which is misleading since modern society defines the poor in terms of economic standards, as those experiencing deprivation suffer relative rather than absolute destitution. As we will now see a better translation is “beggar” or “destitute.”

Of the Lucan instances, three identify the πτωχοί as the object of the good news or receivers of the kingdom of God (Lk 4:18; 6:20; 7:22). Concerning the Nazareth pericope (Lk 4:16-30), commentators reasonably argue that Luke has brought the incident forward deliberately to this present location from its situation later in Jesus’ ministry in Mk 6:1-6 (Nolland 1989:192; Green 1997:203; Marshall 1978:177). Many agree that Lk 4:18 stands as a programmatic introduction to Jesus’ ministry (cf. Conzelmann 1960:221; Hanks 1983:97-108; Esler 1987:34; Ringe 1995). Luke shows that Jesus’ mission is involved with the πτωχοί. Luke sees Jesus as empowered by the Spirit to bring “good news to the πτωχοί.”

Another word in the New Testament used for someone who begs is προσαίτης (Mk 10:46; Jn 9:8). Metzger (1971:108) observes that is a rare and late-Greek word. Besides, there is no sign of this term in classical Greek or the LXX (although note the use of its verbal form προσαιτεῖν in Job 27:14). This word also appears in John 9:8. The word πτωχός, on the other hand, occurs about 130 times in the LXX. These data indicate that Luke used the word πτωχοί because it was more familiar to the audience.

According to Hauck (1968:886), πτωχοί refer to the people who are reduced to begging, those in total destitution. For Thayer, similarly, πτωχοί are the people who slink and crouch, who are reduced to beggary, begging, being a mendicant, asking alms; hence,

⁶⁴ Mt 5:3; 11:5; 19:21; 26:9, 11; Mk 10:21; 12:42, 43; 14:5, 7. In John, there are four occurrences (Jn 12:5, 6, 8; 13:29).

poor, needy” (Thayer 1901:557). The verb form πτώσσω means literally: “to shrink from, to go cowering or cringing about, like a beggar;” and it conveys the idea of utter destitution. As noted, πτωχός refers to a person who is reduced to total destitution. It denotes the complete destitution that forces the person to ask for alms and help by begging, as applied to Lazarus (Lk 16:20-22). The πτωχοί in the Lucan world were beggars, weak, powerless, landless, diseased, naked, hungry and destitute. At this stage, this research raises the following questions: what reduced them to this kind of desperate situation? Does the cause of destitution solely relate to economic and material deprivation, or does it have to be understood in relation to some socio-religious context? Hence, it is essential to investigate the intention of Luke in his bracketing people like powerless, landless, diseased, naked and hungry along with πτωχοί.

4.1.1. The Πτωχοί - the Socially Alienated/Oppressed

In the Nazareth pericope, a prime objective of the mission of the Lucan Jesus is “To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord” (Lk 4:19), which parallels the Year of the Jubilee in Isaiah 61:1-2. Even though the Lucan language of Jubilee and forgiveness proposes a theological connotation, i.e., eschatological salvation,⁶⁵ it is important not to overlook the literal meaning of destitution, explicitly highlighted by the author. Whilst Sanders (1993:91) considers the Lucan forgiveness in its relation with sins, Sloan finds social emphasis in the Jubilee legislation (cf. Sloan 1977:4-5, 12, 79). The Levitical proclamation of the year of Jubilee applies both to agricultural practices but also to freeing people from all types of bondage (Lev 26:10). A possible way of understanding the term “captives” could be the freedom from widespread slavery since slavery was a socio-economic issue in Mediterranean antiquity. As discussed in Chapter 2, the policies and the imperial autocracy of ancient Rome created one of the most thorough-going slave-owning societies in history. Fiensy (1998) argues that slavery played a vital role in shaping the economy of the Greco-

⁶⁵ One example of the theme of salvation in the proclamation of deliverance is 11Q Melchizedek (Miller 1969:467-469). For more discussion on the “year of Jubilee” and “forgiveness” see Esler (1987:181-182).

Roman world. The importance of freedom from is supported by a statement by Simon Bar-Giora describing the freeing of the slaves of the Jewish War. (*BJ* 4.9.3). Hence, the occurrence of the term captives (αἰχμάλωτος) at Lk 4:18 could be a reference to the thousands of Jewish slaves scattered around the Mediterranean region after the fall of Jerusalem (i.e., 70 CE).

The slave was considered as the legal property of another person whose right of ownership gave him the power to control the slave's labour and other activities. Furthermore, slavery, in Roman law, was regarded as quite similar to death (cf. de Croix 1981:135). Wiedemann (1981:1) observes that the slave's complete subjection to his master resulted in the abolition of his identity: "...his very identity is imposed by the owner who gives him his name." Roth clearly illustrates the image of the slave as "... of a faceless, nameless, and powerless type" (Roth 1997:101). Jesus' announcement also brings good news to this group, slaves, in giving new identity and life. Furthermore, though the term πτωχός /πτωχοί does not occur in the passage about Elijah in 1 Kings 17:8-24, the plight of the destitute is evident there. The text informs us that Elijah was sent to a non-Israelite widow (the poorest of the society) during the famine. According to Cogan (2001:427), widowhood is a mark of dependency and widows often lacked the means to support themselves, even more in times of famine. The widow of Zarephath and her son were on the point of death from hunger (1 Kings 17:12). This reference particularly portrays the socio-economic and cultural impact of poverty and food scarcity.

The Lucan use of the Jubilee motif might also or additionally be intended to emphasise the release of people suffering imprisonment, debt or social restriction. At this stage, it is necessary to differentiate debt bondsmen and slaves. Debt bondage, also known as debt slavery or bonded labour, was common in antiquity. Debt bondsmen were once free men or free agricultural farmers, and debt bondage arose from their failure to repay their debts. Consequently, the person who was holding the debt had some control over the

labourer/debtor (cf. de Croix 1981:136; Raaflaub 2004:47). On the contrary, slaves in antiquity were the persons enslaved through, mostly, warfare.

4.1.2. *The Πτωχοί - the Diseased*

Sickness and disease, accompanied by suffering, have always been a problem for human society. There are several instances in the Gospel which describe Jesus' concern for the diseased. The Lucan narratives mention twenty-two diseased individuals (16 in the Gospel and 6 in Acts), and four references identify groups of people (2, 3 respectively) (see *Table 6*). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that out of its ten occurrences of the πτωχοί in the Gospel, and six references are directly connected to the diseased (*Table 7*); however, they are separate categories.

Table 6 The term πτωχοί and the diseased

Lk 4:18, 27	Destitute / Blind / Leper
Lk 7:22	Lame / Leper / Deaf / Beggar / Destitute
Lk 14:13	Destitute / Maimed / Lame / Blind
Lk 14:21	Destitute / Maimed / Blind / Lame
Lk 16:20	Destitute (Ulcerated / Hunger)
Lk 16:22	Destitute (Ulcerated / Hunger)

Beginning with the Nazareth pericope, the Lucan Jesus clubs the term πτωχοί together with other underprivileged people. “Beggar” seems to be something of a dominant category. In the four instances that list groups of disabled/diseased people, Luke either starts with destitute or ends with it. In the third reference (Lk 14:12-14), the Lucan Jesus undermines the norms of social stratification and encourages the host to invite the destitute, the crippled, the lame and the blind (v.13). Furthermore, in the parable of the Great Banquet, which talks about the kingdom of God (Lk 14:16-24), people from “streets and lanes” are brought to attend the banquet. Green (1997:561) understands the phrase as a designated specific area where the people of low status would mostly dwell in a city. Hence the literal interpretation, “people for the streets and lanes” would fit the context, which was the space for beggars and underprivileged who lacked their livelihood. Furthermore, Luke identifies

the condition and the nature of the people brought; they are beggars, maimed, blind, lame (Lk 14:21) who are the vulnerable individuals of the society.

Table 7 *List of disabled/diseased in Luke-Acts*

Disabled/Diseased individuals		Disabled/Diseased as group	
LUKE		LUKE	
Man with unclean spirit	4:33	People with various diseases	4:40; 7:21
Simon's mother-in-law	4:38		
Man with leprosy	5:12	ACTS	
Paralyzed man	5:18	People with unclean spirit	5:16
Man with withered-hand	6:6	People of paralyzed and lame	8:7
Woman cured of evil-spirits		Sick people (Malta)	28:9
and infirmities	8:2		
Demoniac	8:27		
Daughter of Jairus	8:42		
Haemorrhaging woman	8:43		
Man, with convulsions	9:39		
Assaulted man in Luke	10:30		
Crippled woman	13:11		
Man, with dropsy	14:2		
Lazarus	16:20		
Ten lepers	17:12		
Blind man	18:35		
ACTS			
Lame man	3:2		
Hellenists widows	6:1		
Aeneas, the paralytic	9:33		
Crippled man	14:8		
Man with evil spirit	19:16		
Sick person (Malta)	28:8		

Furthermore, in the Lucan narratives, we find disabled/diseased people in various locations. Some are found in public places: for example, on the roadside (blind man; Lk 18:35); at the gate of an estate (Lazarus, Lk 16:20), and at the gate of the Temple (crippled man; Acts 3:2). Some are found ostracised from private living areas, such as at tombs (the Gerasene demoniac; Lk 8:27-31). The places depicted signify that these people were considered as outcasts, marginalized in society and socially inferior. Does this reality of economic destitution and physical disability cause vulnerability if one becomes a beggar?

As we have argued, the world presupposed in Luke-Acts was an agrarian society and agriculture was the primary base of its economy. Agricultural activity required much physical labour, a context where people with disabilities found it much harder to gain work. Osborne (2006:5-6) says it would have been difficult for people with disabilities to get jobs and, that forced them to live in permanent, structural poverty. He also contends that that the disabled “relied on the charity of their families, their friends, and ultimately of strangers,” which underlines the person’s vulnerability. It is highly likely that such a person’s vulnerability would have driven him/her to seek alms for everyday living. The Lucan placement of the term “destitute” either at the beginning or the end of the groupings mentioned above supports this argument. A blind man sitting by the roadside (Lk 18:35) and the man sitting outside the temple (Acts 3:2) are good examples of the disabled beggars we find in the Lucan narratives.

4.1.3. *The Πτωχοί - the Economically Deprived*

To understand the economic reality of the destitute, it is necessary to analyze the Lucan use of another term in Lk 21:1-4. Apart from the term πτωχός, Luke uses the term πενιχρός in illustrating the condition of the widow. In order to interpret Lucan redaction, this term requires consideration.

The verb πένομαι means “to work hard,” which is applicable to people who have few possessions and work for their daily bread. This verb has a cognate adjective, πένης, meaning “someone who works hard of a living”, a “day labourer” and hence a “poor person,” apparently related to this word is πενιχρός, meaning “poor” or “needy.” In 2 Corinthians, Paul uses πένης, which is the more familiar word in classical Greek (2 Cor 9:9). In classical Greek, this term is used as a relative antithesis to wealth; for example, In *Plutus*, Aristophanes equates wealth with money or gold. The character Πενία explains the reality to Chremylus, “You will not be able to sleep in a bed, for no more will ever be manufactured; nor no carpets, for who would weave them, if he had gold?” (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 528). More importantly, in the *Plutus* (552-553) Aristophanes clearly distinguishes someone who

is a πτωχός from someone who is πένης: “For the life of a beggar (πτωχός), as you describe it, means to live having nothing; but the life of someone who is poor (πένης) means living with scarcity and persevering in work.” As we will see below, this is precisely Luke’s understanding as well. Hauck (1968:886-887) correctly summarises the position to the effect that the root word πένομαι refers to a hard-working poor man with few possessions, whereas πτωχός identifies a person who is a beggar, who depends upon others for his living. Thus, πένης includes working poor, small shopkeepers, artisans, and small land-owners, day-labourers; except in times of food crisis or famine, they might expect steady revenue from their labour (Hauck 1968:37; cf. Countryman 1980:25).⁶⁶ Two-thirds of the total population consisted of various social groups, from day labourers to small shopkeepers, who usually had enough to eat for their survival. If πένης refer to this majority group of the population, does the widow in this pericope belong to this particular group? What was the social position of widows?

Some Old Testament passages talk about wealthy widows (Abigail, 1Sam 23:39-42 and Judith, Judith 8:1-7). However, most Old Testament references typically depict widows as marginalised and disadvantaged and as associating with such people (the widow in 1 Kings 17), orphans (Isa 1:23; Jer 5:28; Job 22:9; 24:3), aliens (Exodus 22:21f; Deut 10:18), the poor (Isaiah 10:2; Zech 7:10; Wisdom 2:10). The Hebrew word for the widow, אַלְמָנָה connotes one who is silent, one unable to speak (Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:397). The word χήρα (“widow”) appears nine times in Luke (2:37; 4:25, 26; 7:12; 18:3, 5; 20:47; 21:2, 3) and three times in Acts (6:1; 9.39, 41). The Lucan concern for widows can be seen in his addition of four more narrations to the Marcan tradition (Mk 12:40 // Lk 20:47 and Mk 12:41-44 // Lk 21:1-4) on the theme of Jesus and widows (Lk 2:37; 4:25-26; 7:11-17; 18:2-5).

⁶⁶ For Garnsey (1988: 44), the agricultural farmers were “small producers on land who, with the help of simple equipment, their own labour and that of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and for meeting obligations to the holders of political and economic power, and reach nearly total self-sufficiency within the framework of a village community.”

In the story (Lk 21:1-4), based on Mk 12:41-42 (Fitzmyer 1983:1320), the Lucan understanding of πτωχός emerges unambiguously in its contrast to πενιχρός. The previous pericope (Lk 20:45-47) sets the scene. Jesus' warning about scribes (Lk 20:46-47) connotes the social status of the widows who were a powerless group and victims of the system. Luke's Jesus actually claims the scribes devour their houses (20:47), and presumably, they do this by seizing houses that the widows have, through necessity, put up as security for loans. Wright (1982:256-265) explores this negative view of the poor widow and portrays their socio-economic context. For him, this episode is a sad story of the poor widow who was misguided and exploited by scribes, retainers of the elite. Ched Myers' interpretation of the Marcan parallel (Mk 12:41-42) also attests to this understanding and assumes that the structure of this narrative is a *polarization* of two extreme entities, rich scribes vs poor widows (1990:32-323). In the light of the above discussions, the term πτωχή here could have been used by Luke to expose the oppression of the elite toward the widows who were the weakest and marginalised – socially, economically, and politically. Hence, the Lucan use of πτωχή here could be an inclusive term that reflects the social status of vulnerable people.

Another significant factor in illustrating the condition of the widow is the Lucan use of πενιχρά in addition to the Marcan πτωχή (Mk 12:42,43). Initially, it is significant to note the contrast in the particulars of offerings recorded by the author. In this pericope, the amount of money offered by the widow is recorded as two λεπτά, whereas the amount of the rich man is absent. The two λεπτά⁶⁷ is a tiny amount of money that would not buy a quarter of an hour at a day labourer's pay rate. The Lucan emphasis on two λεπτά clearly portrays that she has extremely limited personal means. Yet the Lucan Jesus says it is her whole life (πάντα τὸν βίον; Lk 21:4).

⁶⁷ The word means "small" or "thin", and a λεπτόν was the smallest available denomination of currency in Mediterranean antiquity.

Yet she still has something, and she is not yet destitute; that is why as she is throwing the coins into the treasury Luke has his Jesus describe her as *πενιχρά* (21:2) in a highly significant redactional alteration to Mark at this point, who calls her *πτωχή* (12:42). In Luke 21:3, however, the widow becomes *πτωχή* (destitute), after she puts all her remaining money into the Temple box. She moves from being *πενιχρά* to *πτωχή* by giving away all that she has. This transition very clearly indicates that Luke has in mind complete material deprivation when he employs the word *πτωχός*. Fitzmyer goes uncharacteristically astray when he suggests that Luke uses *πενιχρά* and *πτωχή* synonymously in 21:2 and 21:3 (1983:1322). On the contrary, by a very deliberate redactional change to his Marcan source Luke reveals that his understanding of the distinction between *πενιχρά* (here equivalent to *πένης*) and *πτωχή* is the same as that of Aristophanes, *Plutus* 552-553. This textual feature also reveals precisely what Luke means by *πτωχός* on every other occasion he uses the word in his Gospel.

Furthermore, when Luke quotes Isaiah in 4:16-18, this is not a reason to import an Isaianic theology of the *נָזִיר* but rather cause to recognise an oracular use of scripture (to employ Esler's term in his forthcoming social identity commentary on 2 Corinthians for largely decontextualised Old Testament quotations) use of scripture to legitimate his material view of destitution. In the book of Acts, the table-service rendered to widows (Acts 6:1-6) in the early stages of the Christ-movement signifies the Lucan concern for widows, which particularly portrays their economic condition and vulnerability.

The episode of Jesus and the rich young ruler (Lk 18:18-23 // Mt 19:16-22 // Mk 10:17-22) has been interpreted in terms of renunciation and the monastic idealization of poverty (cf. Seccombe 1982:118). This passage and the story of Zacchaeus (19:1-10) mention *πτωχοί* as the receivers of benevolence. The question here is whether Lk 18:18-23 indicates a particular view of poverty; if so, what is the significance of these inferences?

In both Marcan and Lucan pericopes, the subjects are illustrated as being from the elite of society. Luke modifies the identity of the Marcan *a certain man* (εἷς; Mk 10:17), who was very wealthy (Lk 10:22), to a ruler (ἄρχων; Lk 18:18) who was very rich (Lk 18:23), whereas the Matthean version identifies him as just “a young man” (νεανίσκος; Mt 19:20). Bacon (1895:347) assumes him to be a representative of the righteous scribes and Pharisees. This person, however, is a Jewish religious leader, possibly a member of the Sanhedrin or a leader of the Pharisaic movement (Tannehill 1986:187). For our understanding of the πτωχοί, the response of the young man indicates how his wealth weighs upon his identity. Luke describes him as he becomes περίλυπος (“extremely depressed”; Lk 18:23), whereas Mark uses λυπούμενος (“grieving”; Mk 10:22). This Lucan redaction could be an indication of the young man’s secure attachment to possessions and position. Based on the Lucan redaction, the rich young ruler may represent those on or near the top two layers of the power pyramid.

In contrast to the Marcan account, however, the ἄρχων in Luke does not go away. The Lucan redaction, omission of the Marcan description ἀπῆλθεν (“he went away”; Mk 10:22), could indicate that the ruler keeps following Jesus. Metzger (2007:178) observes, a little optimistically, perhaps “Having said goodbye to his possessions, he has become Jesus’ disciple and successfully passed through the eye of the needle into God’s kingdom (Lk 18:24-25) and acquired inexhaustible treasure in heaven (Lk 12:33).”

In the story of Zacchaeus (Lk 19:1-10), the Lucan Jesus invites himself to a rich man’s house. Though Jesus’ welcoming attitude brings joy to Zacchaeus, the onlookers’ “grumbling” (Lk 19:7) encourages him to make a substantial statement: “half of my possessions, Lord, I will give to the πτωχοί” (Lk 19:8). Luke uses the verb δίδωμι in present indicative active which according to the context expresses a customary or habitual action (just as the Pharisee’s recount in Lk 18:12). Luke presents Zacchaeus as he justifies his intended generosity and solidarity with the needy in his community (a section in Chapter 4

of this dissertation has more investigation on Lucan treatment on the story of Zacchaeus concerning concern towards the destitute).

In the light of the socio-economic context of the first century CE, Luke portrays economic deprivation as one of the causes for destitution which drove the underprivileged to beg but also allows for wealthy people who may or will do something to help them. The rich ruler is perhaps also a Lucan model for this sort of person. The rich person represents those who have not yet decided to join the Lucan audience but are possibly thinking about it, whereas Zacchaeus reflects Theophilus. However, the invitation is still open, according to Luke.

So far, we have discussed the material dimensions of poverty and destitution, and the following section will investigate their cultural dimensions in a world where honour and shame were dominant values.

5. CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF DESTITUTION AND POVERTY

As discussed above, poverty and destitution were a continuing reality in a peasant society, to be precise, a reality fully familiar to inhabitants of the Lucan world. In addition, it is requisite to investigate the cultural dimensions of destitution in that society. Hence, the following section will attempt to analyse these in the light of Mediterranean anthropology. As already discussed, the models of Mediterranean anthropology play an essential role in the investigation of biblical texts by exposing the oppressing systems and the dehumanised situation of the vulnerable. The following section will use socio-cultural anthropology in understanding poverty and destitution within the broader cultural patterns of honour and shame, limited good society and reciprocal relations.

5.1. Destitution in an Honour-Shame Society

An interconnected variety of themes characterizes the anthropology of the Mediterranean world. However, this section starts with understanding the honour-shame script. Malina, following Pitt-Rivers and Peristiany, defines honour as “the value of a person in his or her own eyes (that is, one’s claim to worth) plus that person’s value in the eyes of his or her social group,” the latter point indicating that honour has to be publicly acknowledged worth (Malina 1993:30; cf. Pitt-Rivers 1965:21). In his model of honour and shame, Malina compares honour to wealth, meaning that it can be “ascribed” or “acquired.”⁶⁸ Hence, it is worth examining the patterns of honour-shame behaviour in the world of destitution/poverty in Luke-Acts.

The following section will also seek to examine destitution in the light of honour as displayed in the place or space where the physical body is located (Malina & Neyrey 1991:34-38). Being poor, captive or oppressed in the socio-economic context of the Mediterranean antiquity, as discussed above, would mean to be vulnerable and unable to preserve his/her heritage. The person who fails to maintain their inherited status would eventually fall into unfortunate circumstances, such as by becoming diseased or disabled, widowed, captive or immigrant (cf. Malina 1993:106; Reinstorf 2004:332).

As discussed in the previous section, the *πτωχοί* in the Third Gospel represent this kind of vulnerable person whose honour was challenged negatively. In the Gospel, the *πτωχοί* are not among those with either ascribed or acquired honour. An individual’s honour depended on his or her social status, wealth dominance, ability or power over others, and at the same time, shame is described by the reverse characterisation. Since ascribed honour derives either from kinship and family background or by gifts from a patron, Luke puts higher weight on *πτωχοί*, who lacked these benefits and were unable to defend their honour.

⁶⁸ Ascribed honour usually comes as default that someone gets by birth, in that someone is either born with it or obtains it on the basis of family, lineage and heritage. Malina explains “Acquired honour, on the other hand, is the socially recognized claim to worth that a person acquires by excelling over others in the social interaction that we shall call challenge and response” (Malina 2001:33).

We can explore πτωχοί as connected with the experience of migrants (Lk 15:13-16; Acts 6:1; 7:3-7), physical infirmity (Lk 6:20-22; 7:22; 14:13; 14:21; 16:20-22), and socio-religious oppression (Lk 21:3).

Green, in his study on 1 Peter, argues that Anatolia (Asia Minor/Asia – modern Western Turkey) was greatly Romanized and was a “home to civilizations of impressive antiquity,” a homeland for the migrant groups forming a cosmopolitan population (Green 2007:192). Though Green’s claim is based on 1 Peter, the same was the reality of the whole Greek East.⁶⁹ Hence, we understand πτωχοί, in part, as the migrants and non-Judean outcasts who, mostly, have no kinship relations or family background, and these represent those socio-politically alienated who had no ascribed or acquired honour. Besides, in the Lucan version of the beatitudes, the object group in the four blessings (Lk 6:20-22) relates to the oppressed and dishonoured, specifically, beggars, the hungry, those who weep and those who are hated, excluded and reviled.

The second group represent the dishonoured individuals who displayed that condition on their own body. As mentioned above, Luke portrays them in four passages, among which two are unique to Luke (Lk 14:13 & 16:20-22). In the passage about Jesus’ mission, both Luke and Matthew follow the same order of the diseased group: blind, lame, lepers, deaf, and poor (Lk 7:22 // Mt 11:2-6). Nevertheless, the Lucan Jesus, in the parable of the Great Banquet (Lk 14:15-25 // Mt 22:1-14), undermines the norms of the honour code, which was embedded in social stratification, and he encourages the host to send an invitation to the beggars, the crippled, the lame and the blind (Lk 14:13), the destitute of the society, whereas Matthew just labels them under two terms “bad and good” (Mt 22:10). Matthew spiritualizes, where Luke depicts the material reality, his concern toward the destitute.

⁶⁹ Heather (2016: 220-242) claims that up to the mid-fourth century CE, the language of refuge frequently occurs in Roman sources in the context of neighbouring country management. The Theodosian Code, a compilation of the laws of the Roman empire talks about migrants “Even when not directly seized by invaders, the inhabitants of the overrun provinces might still find themselves enslaved as, apparently, happened to refugees from barbarians in Illyricum” (Codex Theodosianus 10.10.25) (cf. Mendelsohn 1978:16f).

Furthermore, Luke pictures Lazarus as “desiring to be filled” (ἐπιθυμῶν χορτασθῆναι, Lk 16:21) from the crumbs from the table. The Lucan description of Lazarus resembles the younger son’s situation in the foreign land (Lk 15:16), who wanted to get satisfied from the pods intended for the unclean swine. It is worth noting that χορτάζω is an important word for Luke. Luke uses the same verb χορτάζω (literally “feed”) in both the passages. Moreover, it features in the Lucan Beatitudes (Lk 2:21) and the feeding of the 5,000 (Lk 9:17) where Luke portrays Jesus’ concern towards the hungry. In both cases, the desire is the result of extreme privation which illustrates the dishonoured personalities in terms of hunger. The following chapter will discuss these accounts in detail.

The Lucan Jesus redefines honour by inviting the beggars to meals (Lk 9:10-17; 14:13) and eating with them, and his exhortation concerning the meal context signals the scarcity of food that is associated with destitution. The Lucan Jesus’ redefinition signals the inclusion of those excluded by the rulers, which will be analysed in the following chapter in detail. Along with the above interpretation, the parable of Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31) is a revealing example of honour-shame which is displayed through the specific place where the destitute person was located, in this case, at the gate of the rich man (cf. Malina & Neyrey 1991:34). In this parable, the Lucan Jesus brings the rich man and Lazarus together, who were apart in reality. As discussed, the gate constitutes the displayed distinction between honour and shame which functioned as a social barrier between the urban elite and expendables and replicates the position and space of the destitute (cf. Neyrey 1991:281-285). Moreover, this external boundary marker designates the rich man’s honour and the destitute man’s shame.

In addition to these, the third significant example is the episode of the widow who offered two λεπτά at the Temple (Lk 21:1-4). In addition to her economic situation displayed through her possessions (i.e., two λεπτά), Luke contrasts her with the rich in two ways. Luke describes the scribes as having the power to devour the widow’s house and desiring honour

by seeking the best seats in synagogues and at banquets. They are honourable; she is not. The Lucan Jesus' comment on widow's offering, "she out of her ὑστέρημα⁷⁰ (lack) has put in all she had to live on" (Lk 21:4), reflects the experience and struggles of the widow. Her economic situation portrays her lying near the bottom of the honour register.

In a limited-good society, as discussed in Chapter 2, people believe that all the world's goods, such as wealth, land, happiness, and honour, are limited in supply and have already been distributed in accordance with one's inherited status (cf. Foster 1965:296; Malina 1993:103-107). People's concerns in society, especially those of peasants who perceived that goods existed in a finite amount, primarily focussed on "subsistence, daily and annually" (Oakman 2015:4). Biblical scholars have investigated the link between cultural beliefs and the conditions of agrarian economic production and acknowledge that biblical texts yield a variety of limited good material (Malina 1978, 1981; Neyrey 1988; Rohrbaugh 1991, 1993; Esler 1994; Neyrey & Rohrbaugh 2001; Oakman 2018). The following section will discuss whether Luke offers any evidence for limited good beliefs and his stand on them.

As noted, advanced agrarian farming techniques meant surplus production in the first-century Mediterranean world. However, the word surplus would mean "decrease of village edibles" in the world of limited good where the elite extracted much of the surplus in taxes and interest payments; in antiquity, one person's wealth was gained at the expense of someone else (Malina 1981:104; Oakman 2018:102). The book of Ecclesiasticus has a good example of the negative attitude to trade one expects in a world of limited good: "As a stake is driven firmly into a fissure between stones, so sin is wedged in between selling and buying" (Eccl 27:2). A Mediterranean proverb that has been familiar since St. Jerome also attests to this: "The rich person is either unjust or an heir of an unjust person" (Jerome, *In*

⁷⁰ The Greek term ὑστέρημα, very rare in ancient literature, occurs only here in Luke-Acts, and means what is lacking, need, absence. Paul uses the same word to define the physical suffering, the financial need of the early Christ-followers in Jerusalem (2 Cor 8:14). Interestingly Paul uses πτωχεία, a similar word in illustrating the condition of Macedonians.

Hieremiam 2.5.2). In this essay on the parable of the talents in Lk 19:11-27, Richard Rohrbaugh (1993) sees the third servant's charge, "you take what you did not deposit, and reap what you did not sow" (Lk 19:21), as a refusal by the servant to participate in profit-making schemes by defrauding others (Rohrbaugh 1993:36-38). The parable of the unjust steward (Lk 16:1-13) and the story of Zacchaeus (Lk 19:1-10) serve as a model for dishonest wealth and transformed relationships.

The unequal distribution and greed for accumulation of wealth often leave peasants in a state of deprivation (cf. Foster 1956, 1972). The rich man's abundant stock in Luke 12:16-21 and the disparity displayed in the parable of Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31) heighten the tension of deprivation, absolute not relative deprivation. But a Lucan beatitude offers hope to the deprived peasants: "Blessed are you who are hungry now, for you will be filled" (Lk 6:21). Moreover, the request for three loaves in the parable of the friend at midnight (Lk 11:5-8) illustrates the deprived condition of a peasant. Oakman (2014:3) observes that the commercialization of agriculture reflected the peasantry's relation to the land, as "absentee landlords owning large estates drive traditional peasants into tenancy or off the land altogether; commercialization leads to the production of agrarian products that do not serve the peasant family's daily or annual food needs."

At the same time, peasants who could not reimburse the obligations due them (debts) were incapable of defending their status, and eventually, would lose their honour, which in turn was a catastrophe for any person in the first-century Mediterranean world, where honour was the core value of society (see Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:76-77; Malina 1993:28-62). Consequently, peasants whose crops failed or were insufficient were obligated to depend on a patron, if they had one, to get themselves out of their debts unless they had kin who could help (see below). Consequently, if they received a loan from a patron, that led them into a position that enhanced the honour of the patron. At the same time, the destitute/beggars did not have patrons since they were considered a social burden in that there was nothing they

could offer to a patron.⁷¹ These considerations reveal the intersection of limited good and honour and shame.

Thus far, we have discussed the material and cultural dimensions of destitution; hence, the following section will investigate the alleviation of this social struggle, particularly the Lucan advocacy of assisting the destitute and hungry. Concern for the destitute is an underlying primary theme all through the Scripture, of which Gods' self-revelation in Exodus is a significant example. His self-revelation, "I am the Lord your God" and statements similar to it are often associated with the affliction of the people (Exodus 3:7-8).⁷² God's self-designation and the described reality of the people illustrate his concern for the destitute. The same view is reflected in parts of Luke's Gospel, including his infancy narrative.

6. AMELIORATION OF DESTITUTION AND POVERTY

In line with the aim of the present research into the Lucan concern for the destitute and hungry, the above discussion directs us into possible solutions or institutional responses to the cry of hunger in the Greco-Roman world. In light of the above, we cannot neglect the following questions: Was there any institution set up to help the poor, the hungry, and most disadvantaged of people? Was the institution of patronage a possible response to poverty/destitution and hunger? Did the Lucan Jesus advocate a programme for transcending the boundaries and feeding the hungry? And does Luke-Acts provide grounds for a theology of hunger and hospitality?

⁷¹ According to Plautus, giving to a beggar is to do him an ill service. Plautus gives these words to one of his characters, Philto: "He deserves ill of a beggar who gives him what to eat or to drink; for he both loses that which he gives and prolongs for the other a life of misery" (Plautus, *Trinummus* 2.2.339).

⁷² Exo 22:20-25. See also Lev 25:35-38; Deut 8:7-10; 10:17-19; 14:28, 29; 15:10, 11; 16:11,12; 23:19- 25; 24:17; 26:10-13.

Out of the ten occurrences of πτωχός in the Third Gospel, four references relate, whether directly or indirectly, to meal scenes (Lk 4:16; 14:13; 14:21; 16:20, 22) and two occurrences come in connection with hunger (Lk 6:20, 21; 16:20, 22). The above references illustrate complete destitution that forces the person to lead the life of a beggar for his livelihood, especially concerning food. The Lucan Jesus is being presented as empowered by the Spirit to bring “good news to the destitute,” εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοί (Lk 4:18), and this Lucan assertion is entirely consonant with his infancy narrative. Though the term πτωχός is not present in the Lucan infancy narratives, the idea is very much evident in the *Magnificat* (Lk 1:46-55). Mary, in her song, speaks twice of being of a lowly estate, herself (Lk 1:48) and people at large (Lk 1:52). Furthermore, in verse 53, she exalts God as the one who fills (ἐμπίλημι) the hungry. It is strange to see the Lucan use of the verb ἐμπίλημι not χορτάζω in the context of hunger, because none of the other uses of ἐμπίλημι or πίμπλημι in Luke-Acts concern being filled with food.⁷³ Nevertheless, that it is a quotation from Psalm 106 (107):9 probably explains Luke’s use of this term here, even though the Psalmist uses the term χορτάζω in the previous clause. Starvation is the dominant deprivation of the destitute. Thus, the announcement of Gabriel, the “Holy Spirit will come upon” her and that her child “will be called holy, the son of God” (Lk 1:35), resonates with the Nazareth account that the Lucan Jesus has been anointed to proclaim good news to the πτωχοί.

There are similarities between the songs of Mary and Hannah (1 Sam 2:1-10). Both songs demonstrate God’s care toward the lowly, such as the weak, the hungry, the barren, and the poor (1 Sam 2:4-9; Lk 1:48, 50, 52-54). Scholars recognize the political/economic meaning of the Magnificat (cf. Nolland 1989: 72; Balch 2015: 342-374). Luke illustrates the social conflict with his use of contrasting terms. The δυνάσται (“powerful”) are lowered, and the powerless and the lowly, ταπεινοί, are lifted up; the hungry are filled with good things and the rich are sent away empty (Lk 1:52-53). Luke expands God’s concern towards

⁷³ Lk 1:15, 23, 57, 67; 2:6, 21, 22; 4:28; 5:7, 26; 6:11, 25; 21:22; Acts 2:4; 3:10; 4:8, 31; 5:17; 9:17; 13:9, 45; 14:17; 19:29.

“lowly” from Mary (Lk 1:48) to the people (Lk 1:52). The root word, ταπεινός, means “cast down,” “oppressed,” and primarily reflects the political and economic status of the deprived.⁷⁴ Furthermore, Mary’s declaration, that her spirit rejoices ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρί μου (“God my saviour”; Lk 1:47), points towards a patronal role in the patron-client system. Mary’s state of ταπείνωσις (Lk 1:48) triggers God’s favour, as do the “lowly” hungry.

As discussed in Chapter 2, in the reciprocal economy of peasant society, the production and exchange of goods were influenced by kinship relations and supplying local needs was the primary goal. In other words, during a time of crisis, mutuality, that is, assistance within the kinship group as expressed in generalised reciprocity, was an essential factor for survival since there was an obligation between members of a kinship group to assist by distributing wealth that was produced and sustained among their members (Meggitt 1998:164). Reciprocity relations in the Lucan narrations display the dichotomy between the economy of negative reciprocity managed by the elite of the first century Greek East and the traditional reciprocal economy of the peasantry in the rural contexts.

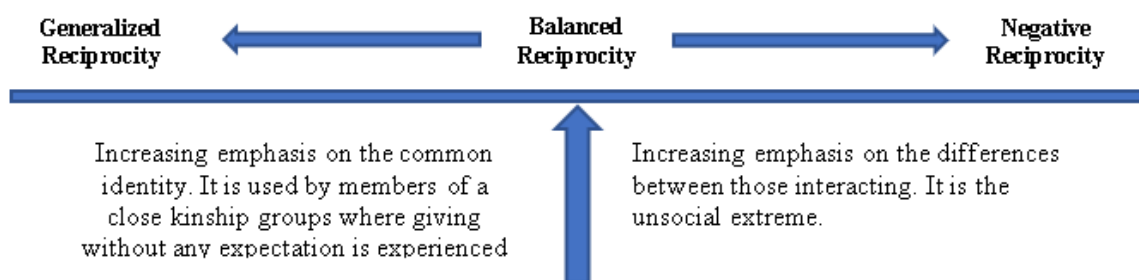


Figure 5 Degrees of Reciprocity. Diagram based on Geddes (2020)

⁷⁴ Hermann Cremer (1985), *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, trans., William Urwick (Edinburgh: T&T. Clark/ New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 4th ed.), p.539.

One of the main mechanisms in ameliorating destitution is generalized reciprocity which was usually operated within the context of familial relationship. The kinship relationship itself is an extensive system, and it determines the social order and status of a person in the family. People bound by this relationship depend on each other in times of crisis and for any other kind of support, which can be defined as generalized reciprocity, where mutual assistance and relations of authority governed by kinship norms are crucial components. In generalized reciprocity, possessions belong to the household rather than to the individuals of the household. Through the family depicted in the parable of a father and two sons (Lk 15:11-32), Luke illustrates two extreme kinds of reciprocity.

The younger son sold his property in the parable and wasted the money in loose living in a far-off country. The younger son's fall was complete, and he was in a state of desperation, but neither family nor community was at hand. The younger son begged to be allowed to work, probably for nothing more than some food. Willing to do whatever was necessary or required, the son indentured himself (see below) to one of the citizens of the land, although the text does not specify the obligation of either the employer or employee. Some scholars argue that the younger son found himself as a day-labourer who had the assurance of some wages for his labour (Rohrbaugh 1997:153; Schottroff 2006:141). However, the text does not say that he was a hired labourer.

At this juncture, Luke pictures him as a man indeed who "attached himself" (ἐκολλήθη) to one of the citizens of that country" (Lk 15:15). Out of twelve occurrences of this verb in the New Testament, the Lucan narratives have seven occurrences.⁷⁵ The word ἐκολλήθη comes from the verb κολλάω and tells us graphically that the younger son "glued" himself to a citizen of that country. The desperation of the indigent leads him to attach himself like glue to any potential employer. Plummer, Nolland and Green assume that the "hiring out" itself needs no detailed discussion and give importance to the *pros and cons* of

⁷⁵ Lk 10:11; 15:15; Acts 5:13; 8:29; 9:26; 10:28; 17:34.

the “hiring out” (Plummer 1992:373; Nolland 1993:34, 783; Green 1997:581-581). Harrill (1996:714), on the other hand, argues that the Hellenistic institution of παραμονή (indentured labour) may provide insight into the kind of “joining” the ἐκολλήθη indicates and this is the basis for the translation “indentured” above. In the Greek East, the noun παραμονή had a technical usage best translated as “indentured labour” which required a free person to do whatever services were ordered, making the agent a general labourer (cf. Westermann 1948:24).

The younger son’s relation to the citizen is best understood as παραμονή, not as hired agricultural employment or bonded slavery. The parable does not portray the younger son as he sought any particular job or made a request to the master to allow him to feed the pigs. He has been driven to seek any employment, indenturing himself as a general labourer to the “citizen” and receiving his initial task of feeding pigs. He glued himself to a citizen expecting to get something for his livelihood, and that citizen sent him to feed the pigs. Feeding pigs was particularly offensive to Judeans. Luke depicts him as desiring to feed on the pods that the pigs ate (Lk 15:16). The imperfect usage of ἐπεθύμει shows that “it was an unfulfilled desire.” Luke portrays the present condition of the younger son as he wished to share the pigs’ food, which is a low point of degradation for a human being. Thus, Luke exposes negative reciprocity, which was the experience of the destitute in their daily life. This suggestion lends support to the view that Luke could articulate his theology in the language of ancient economics.

The pig feeding job practically deprived the younger son of his previous social identity as a respectable villager – now he is an outcast, an indentured labourer. The Lucan Jesus portrays the fallen victim and the ease with which persons could experience downward mobility in an agrarian society through the younger son of this parable. In addition to that,

his association with the unclean animals,⁷⁶ as Jeremias (1963:129) reasons, could have restrained him from observing the Sabbath, the regular Judean practice. The general effects of a depressed economy amidst the famine might be reason enough for Jesus' observation that "no one was giving (ἐδίδου) him anything" (Lk 15:16). This is the concluding comment that fills in the picture. The use of the imperfect tense in the verb may well mean that he tried his hand begging and failed even at that. Luke described the younger son's social degradation through his deprived economic condition. The far-off land to which he travelled (Lk 15:12) was a place where the cry of the beggar went unheeded; it perhaps symbolizes outgroups of the likely readers of Luke-Acts. At the same time, if we take Luke identifying the younger son as sharing negative characteristics with tax-collectors and sinners, it is clear that Luke emphasises the hospitable nature of Jesus, who came to save the lost with his immeasurable forgiveness and satisfying nourishment (Lk 5:32; 19:10).

Luke uses an idiom in Luke 15:17, "to come to himself" (εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθὼν), to an extent meaning "he repented," although Bailey (1976:173f) argues the word is only linked to "repentance" in a weak sense. The word here also means "he came to his senses" in that he saw the folly of his ways. Lucan use of the phrase "coming to one's senses," symbolizes the younger son's self-awareness and shows that in that far country the younger son had lost his senses and identity. Starvation that threatened death and the degrading job of the indentured labour system had erased his individual and social identity. However, now he "came to himself."

Secondly, in contrast to the previous negative reciprocity, the welcoming attitude of the father exemplifies generalized reciprocity. The younger son's homecoming, in rags, apparently, and shoeless (Lk 15:22), is a challenge to the system and shames the family in the eyes of the community and probably elicited an expectation of punishment. Rohrbaugh's

⁷⁶ Lev. 11:7; M. Ba. Kam. viii.7, "no one may raise swine in any place"; "at the approach of the Messiah, pigs, the natural abode of devils, must hide themselves and pig keepers must fear for their safety".

(1997) study suggests the parable undermines, to an extent, family solidarity in peasant society in that the father disregarded peasant values in the way he took back his disgraced son. The younger son brought shame to the family by his rejection of kinship and family heritage (Lk 15:12), but still, his father took him back. It is interesting to notice the reversals in understanding the system exemplified through the father's action. He not only accepts the younger son, but he orders his servants to honour him as a son of the house. Bailey (1976:183-185) observes that by dressing him in the father's best robe, the father confirms and seals the restoration. The father's action in honouring his younger son is a more striking feature in the ancient world, where issues of honour and shame were of considerably higher importance; the fact that the younger son brought dishonour to the whole family is more striking in the ancient world, where issues of honour and shame were of considerably higher importance. Weatherhead (1953:90) observes that "It is so undignified in Eastern eyes for an elderly man to run." The father breaks the boundaries and runs towards him. According to Rohrbaugh (1997:156), the father's running, embrace and kiss are "signs of protection" towards his younger son before the angry villagers. The father of this parable exhorts others to join him in his act of reconciliation of his son to the whole community. The fattened calf indicates the participation of the whole village in that feast. The entry of the older son further complicates the scene, as we will now see.

Some scholars see the relationship between the older son and his father not as parent-son but as master-servant (Park 2009:511; Bailey 1973:71-72; Nolland, 1993:787). Nevertheless, this could be from the elder son's perspective. His self-portrayal as δουλεύω ("I do the work of a slave"; Lk 15:29), displays his attitude: I "have slaved for you." His accusation, regarding his father's failure to provide a young goat to celebrate with his friends, also resonates with the same spirit of a slave, which Bailey observes as an "atmosphere of a labour dispute" (Bailey 1976:197). Also, in the assurance of the father to the elder son, "all my things are yours" (Lk 15:31), he underlines that he has every right to enjoy his

possessions, so there is no point complaining about a calf. The father also reminds the elder son of his relationship with his brother; “this brother of yours.” Thus, the feast in this story illustrates the generalized reciprocity that envisages a community of equals which the older son rejects. The following chapter has a further investigation of this parable (Lk 15:11-32) in relation to hunger and hospitality.

Another example of negative and generalized reciprocity is the parable of the good Samaritan (Lk 10:29-37). In this parable, the ethnicity and the social status of the wounded traveller are not explicitly disclosed by Luke; that is, he does not state whether the wounded man is a Judean, a Samaritan, or some other non-Judean, or whether he is poor or rich. Yet he plainly had something to steal, so he could not have been completely destitute. Bauckham (1998:477) argues that the priest passed by because contact with a dead body would make him impure (Lev.21:1-4,11; Num.19:11-13). The text, however, clearly states the traveller was ἡμιθανῆ (“half-dead”; Lk 10:30). Helping the wounded traveller would not have made the priest or the Levite impure, unless, we might concede, the wounded traveller had died whilst in their priest’s care. But this latter factor would hardly have exculpated them from not taking the urgent action needed to save the man’s life.

Esler (2000:337-340) postulates that the stripped body of the traveller presumably narrowed the options on his ethnicity. For his nakedness would have revealed whether he was circumcised, and so a Judean or a Samaritan, or uncircumcised, and so a non-Judean of the idol-worshipping type, and the priest and the Levite might have no compunction in passing by if he was not circumcised. Regarding his clothing, the text does not explicitly state he was naked. However, it says that the thieves stripped him, ἐκδύσαντες (Lk 10:30), and this means he was left naked. The thieves most likely took away all his clothing, especially, but not only the costly outer garment. The loss of the outer garment would make it harder to determine his ethnic identity since clothing was one of the ethnic-religious identity markers of the Mediterranean culture (Bailey 1980:42). If the ethnic and religious

beliefs are not the reasons for the “passing by” of the priest and the Levite, what would make them avoid the wounded traveller deliberately?

The context suggests that helping the wounded traveller would increase the economic burden on the priest and the Levite. To them, the wounded traveller was a burden and not a source of income. They failed to see the wounded traveller as their fellow brother who was worthy of receiving generalized reciprocity. The aorist participle of ἰδὼν and the aorist of ἀντιπαρέρχεσθαι (Lk 10:31-32) indicate that the wounded traveller was deliberately avoided by both the priest and the Levite, which is a clear sign of negative reciprocity. However, his desperate situation meant that he was, at least for a time, in a situation approximating to destitution, even if his being wounded was his primary problem. The deliberate neglect of both the priest and the Levite suggests that the plight of the traveller would have resonated with notions of total vulnerability current among the Lucan audience.

Another passage about destitution associated with hunger is the parable about the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31). Luke graphically pictures the plight of hunger and destitution in this passage. Lucan Jesus begins the parable with descriptions of the rich man and Lazarus: the rich man lives in a villa, and Lazarus stays out at the gate (πυλὼν; Lk 16:20), such a gate indicating the entrance to the compound in which the rich man’s house was located. The author used this term in other places to indicate gates into a city or temple (Lk 7:12; Acts 3:10; 9:24) (Bock 1996:1366). The description makes it very likely that the rich man never paid much attention to Lazarus. The Lucan Jesus depicts him as a person who is engrossed in his own life and pleasures, oblivious to the needs that were practically at his doorway; thus, the parable is a perfect example of social inequality and injustice. Luke presents Lazarus as an “expendable” of the society by identifying him with the term πτωχός, meaning someone who has experienced absolute downward social mobility. In this parable, Lazarus hungers for the bits and pieces falling from the table of the rich man (something which dogs were “allowed to do”; Mt 15:27; Mk 7:28) but never receives them. The

language, ἀπὸ τῶν πιπτόντων (Lk 16:21b) “from the things falling,” reminds us of the desire of the craving younger son (Luke 15:16). The fact that even the dogs came to lick his sores vividly evokes the terrible state in which Lazarus found himself. Not only was he famished, but he was also attracting the attention of dogs. As Miller has observed, dogs “were the scavengers of the ancient East ... scavengers which run about the streets” (2008: 488). In view of the things such dogs would have had to eat, their licking Lazarus marked him out as unclean. Thus, his contact with the dogs makes Lazarus impure, unable to contact other people. It is widely accepted that dogs in the ancient Near East were not considered among household pets, but were counted among unclean and loathsome animals that scavenged for food (cf. Exod 22:30; 1 Kgs 14:11; 16:4; 21:23-24; 2 Kgs 9:10, 36; Homer, *Iliad* 17.127; 22.42-43, 66-70, 335-336, 339; 23.21; 24.211; *Odyssey* 3.258-260; 21.363-364; 22.476; cf. Malina 1981:164). Miller (2008:487-500), in his reassessment of the place of dogs in ancient Israel, however, brings a positive view on dogs and argues that the domestication of dogs dated back to 10,000 BCE. Hence, the question arises as to whether it is possible to consider that dogs were not so negatively perceived in Luke’s world as is generally believed. Miller suggests a distinction between wild dogs and sheepdogs: wild dogs or street dogs ate carcasses found in the countryside, whereas a shepherd’s sheepdogs consumed carcasses in the field to keep him away from defilement. Miller’s argument allows us to ask whether this might be a case of poor marginalised creatures (= dogs) giving comfort to another poor marginalised creature (= Lazarus) whose sores probably made him ritually unclean. If the latter is the case, Fitzmyer is wrong in suggesting: “the attention of the dogs has only added to his miseries” (Fitzmyer 1983: 1132).

Furthermore, the Lucan portrayal of Lazarus as a person who can only resort to begging for his day-to-day existence, sick and hungry, subject to abuse and afflicted with sores, represents the life of the most vulnerable layer of the community. The author presents the social distance between the powerful and the powerless through a telling vignette that

entails placing Lazarus at the gate (Lk 16:20), then, later, by situating him far away from the rich man (Lk 16:23) and by mentioning the great chasm fixed between them (Lk 16:26). These Lucan juxtapositions, such as “table and gate,” “linen and sores,” and “feasts and crumbs,” play a vital role in mapping the society and the place of the destitute in the power-status pyramid of this society. Through the connection between *πτωχός* and hunger, Luke exemplifies his concern, and this echoes the relationship of this parable with the position of the disadvantaged groups. In the text, Lazarus is not fed in this life; hence, it is plausible to think the Nazareth manifesto did not help him. However, by naming the beggar of this parable as Lazarus, which is from *Ελεαζαρος*, “God a help” and by not mentioning the name of the rich man, Luke presents a narrative which shows that a beggar is, unexpectedly and admittedly in the next world, the recipient of God’s help. Furthermore, Luke presents this parable as an exhortation to the early Christ-movement to bring good news to the underprivileged and marginalized in taking care of the destitute. A Lucan beatitude (Lk 6:21) also echoes Lucan concern for the *πτωχοί* in terms of hunger and starvation. The more detailed investigation of how Luke understands the amelioration of destitution will be discussed in the following chapter, which analyses the Lucan meal scenes.

6.1. The Early Christ Movement in Acts and ‘no needy’ People

Luke does not use the term *πτωχοί* in Acts. Why is there no explicit mention of *πτωχοί* in Acts? Is this to be explained on the basis that the members of early Christ-movement, in the Lucan perspective, exercised a destitution alleviation programme? First of all, it is interesting to note that Luke uses another word, *ἐνδεής*, which means “needy” or “impoverished” (Acts 4:34). The statement “there was not a needy person (*ἐνδεής τις*) among them” is likely to be a recognition of the fulfilment of Luke 4:18 in the early Christ-movement. Hence, the question arises as to whether this is to be accounted for because of Luke’s explanation that some early Christ-followers sold their property and used the money in common with the needy people in order to reduce material shortages (Acts 2:24-25)?

Cassidy tries to explain the absence of πτωχοί in Acts by saying that while the gospel of Luke concentrates primarily on the poor, Acts considers the needy, the material misery in the society, rather than the destitute generally (1978:22-24). Cassidy's argument is unconvincing because Acts has some references to destitution. While the term πτωχοί does not occur in Acts, a few references indicate the existence of πτωχοί: (i) the lame man πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ("at the gate of the temple"; Acts 3:2); (ii) the paralyzed man Aeneas's situation that he had been bedridden for eighteen years (Acts 9:33); and (iii) the crippled man who was lame from birth (Acts 14:8). In the first instance, Luke clearly describes the lame man sitting at the gates of the Temple and asking for alms, so he is undoubtedly a πτωχός.

Furthermore, the other two references talk about disabled individuals who could have no access to work, one man for eighteen years and the other from birth. In the first instance, Luke records that Peter commands Aeneas ἀνάστηθι καὶ στρώσον σεαυτῷ ("Get up and spread [your bed] yourself"; Acts 9:34). If Aeneas was already at home and had his family to assist him, it is improbable that Peter would give such an instruction. Secondly, in the case of the crippled man at Lystra (Acts 14:8), Luke never mentions his identity and the place. However, it is plausible that Paul would have been preaching in a public place (market place? cf. Acts 17:17), and the man might have been sitting at the market (alongside the road?) and asking for alms (Dunn 1996:189). It is thus reasonable to view them as πτωχοί. Then, it is essential to raise the question: why Luke does not identify them as πτωχοί? Perhaps the answer is that their transformation happened after their encounter with the apostles. The miraculous healing turns their destitute situation and transforms disabled people

The failure to mention πτωχοί within the early community in Acts is probably due to the fact that Luke wants to convey the impression that the early community of goods (Acts 2:44-45; 5:34-35) solved this problem, although even he had to concede that this idyllic period soon passed, with the emergence of hungry Hebrew widows (Acts 6.1). The early verses of Acts 6 introduce a significant conflict between Hellenists and Aramaic speaking Judean Christ-followers over the daily distribution of food. Esler (1987:131-163) posits the crisis as a social conflict arising over Hellenists' table-fellowship with Gentile Christ-followers. Scholars interpret the *Sitz im Leben* behind Acts 6 and argue Lucan redactional elements in justifying the official commissioning of the Seven, including Stephen by the Twelve and positioning them as guardians of the poor (cf. Haenchen 1971:259-269; Lienhard 1975:228-236). In the light of previous references to a community of goods (Acts 4:32) and bread-breaking at common meals (Acts 2:42-46), it is reasonable that Luke is painting a picture where there were no needy (Acts 4:34). The members of the early Christ-movement shared their material possessions and ate their meals in common. Jeremias (1969:131) concludes that almsgiving was an integral part of the early Christ-movement in Jerusalem: "It is likely that the fellowship meal that was held daily by the Christian community entailed of itself a daily distribution of aid for its poor members."

So far, we have investigated poverty/destitution and its cultural dimensions reflected in Luke-Acts. Our discussion of πτωχοί and the mechanisms involved in the alleviation of destitution will lay the foundation for our investigation of the Lucan meal scenes, which are the distinctive features of Luke-Acts relating to poverty and riches. Given the above discussion, the next chapter will focus on analysing Lucan meal narrations with insights from social and cultural codes that influence, guide, and constrain social interactions in the first century CE. It will critically examine Lucan meal narrations from the perspective of the Mediterranean concepts of "honour and shame" with relation to the customs of hospitality where honour is evident by invitations to meals (Bailey 1980:88-113). Since meals are a

potential source of information about a group's symbolic universe (Neyrey 1991:368), the research will analyse the classification system replicated in meals and table-fellowship, such as maps of persons, things, places, and times in appraising the reversals done by Lucan Jesus. This research will also read the text from the generalized reciprocity model for understanding asymmetrical relationships between human beings. In contrast, patron-client relations were generally understood as balanced reciprocity, illustrated in meal scenes.

This chapter underscores the importance of the socio-cultural and economic background of Luke-Acts in understanding the practice and theology within which it evolved. Our discussion understands the plight of destitution within its material and cultural dimensions. Furthermore, it also discloses the plight of the destitute in a stratified society and the Lucan attitude towards possessions and relationships. It also explores the theme of hospitality towards the destitute which is woven throughout Luke-Acts. This dissertation attempts to explore the meal narrations in Luke-Acts as a source for the theology of hunger and destitution to ascertain Lucan concern for the poor, the homeless, the hungry, the outcasts and the destitute and his concept of hospitality and food justice. Throughout this dissertation, we aim to build a bridge from historical interpretation to theology to offer a coherent response to the question of food insecurity in India.

It is interesting to see the Lucan use of the term ἐπιγινώσκω (“to come to know”) twice in the meal scene of Emmaus story (Lk 24:16, 31), both in a positive and negative connotation, which serves as a fulfilment of the purpose statement in Lk 1:4. Jesus' hospitable praxis at meals, building upon his teaching on feeding the destitute, becomes the location for recognising him (Lk 24:31) and the truth about him (Lk 1:4). Luke presents the closest integration of meal praxis and theological truth. As discussed, Luke presents Jesus as a person who cares for the destitute and provides for human needs, especially sustenance: “Give us each day our daily bread” (Lk 11:3; cf. Lk 9) and Jesus' attitude towards the destitute was reflected in the praxis of the early Christ-movement. A church that honestly

recites this petition has to have a profound theology in relation to the destitute and must become a praxis-oriented church in its engagement with the suffering world which struggles for sustenance.

A theology shaped by the practice of Jesus' table-fellowship and seriously concerned with hunger and hospitality will greatly amplify the importance of caring for the destitute. Letty Russell (2009), Mendez-Montoya (2009), Newlands and Smith (2010), Norman Wirzba (2011), and Chris Allen (2016) are some of the prominent representatives of the recent theological movement to relate food, hospitality and theology. There are two streams of approaches in doing theology concerning food: the charity approach and the social justice approach. While Chris Allen (2016) and Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) argue for food charity, Robertson, Brunner and Sheiham (1999), Hawkes and Webster (2000), Russell (2009) and Newlands and Smith (2010) legitimate it from the justice viewpoint.

As noted in the chapter1, although Letty Russell's posthumously published work (2009) does not have a profound theology of hospitality, it appraises just hospitality in the practice of God's welcoming attitude by reaching out across difference (Russell 2009:101). Newlands and Smith, who see salvation as hospitality, argue for a dialogue of hospitality that should be raised from the "silenced people" and suggest a long-term structural plan for the deprived community that embraces justice (Newlands & Smith 2010:129, 143, 155). They point out the failure of traditional theology in terms of injustice and human rights issues. In addition, they demand an alternate transformative paradigm in the understanding of God. In line with the Bishop Desmond Tutu, they argue for raising one's voice against injustice and emphasise the connection between preaching and practice which is the "transmission of truth to the world" (Newlands & Smith 2010:170). In line with them, this dissertation aims to assist the church with a theology shaped by the Lucan meal scenes and a communal predisposition in favour of the destitute.

Hence, the following chapter will analyse Lucan meal narrations as influenced by the Greco-Roman symposium tradition and Judean banquet traditions. At the same time, it will pay attention to the insights from research into the social and cultural dimensions that influence, guide, and constrain social interactions in the first century CE.

CHAPTER 4

MEALS IN LUCAN NARRATIVES

In his emphasis on the poor and marginalized, Luke exposes his concern with the social structures of his day. Table-fellowship in Luke-Acts is one of the prominent themes, and the meal scenes have a significant role in the interpretation of Luke-Acts. Luke has given more attention to both households and meals than any New Testament writer (Neyrey 1991:361-362). The Lucan Jesus is often at meal scenes; just as Robert Karris states, Jesus is either going to a meal, at a meal or coming from a meal. Karris observes, “the theme of food occurs in every chapter of Luke’s Gospel ... the motif that God in Jesus provides for a hungry creation occurs in all significant contexts in the Gospel of Luke” (Karris 1985:5-6).

Moreover, he postulates that the way Jesus eats even leads to his death, and he argues that the meal setting in Luke-Acts is a vehicle for the Lucan message. Hence, this present chapter aims to explore the historical and social context of the Lucan meals and investigate the Lucan meal narrations with the help of the models and theories of social-scientific interpretation which have been discussed above to assess the role of hospitality in addressing the plight of hunger.

1. PERSPECTIVES ON DESTITUTION IN LUCAN MEALS

It is undeniable that Lucan meal scenes are significant in understanding his narrative, as well as the purpose and theology behind his redaction. Meal traditions in Mediterranean antiquity were loaded with social, cultural, and religious meanings, such as social bonding, social obligation, social stratification, and social inequality (Smith & Taussig 1990:31-33). Moxnes (1991:257) observes patron-client relations (one means of ameliorating social inequality) in two spheres: the centre-periphery (city-village) and God-human beings. Mary’s song highlights a characteristic motif of Luke that God acts as a benefactor-patron towards the poor and the lowly (Lk 1:51-53), including concerning food (Lk 1:53). In addition, Jesus gives access to God through proclaiming the kingdom, through healing the

sick and delivering those afflicted by evil spirits. Also worth mentioning is the Lucan portrayal of women as clients as well as patrons. Women are shown as followers of Jesus and also as ministering to him out of their means (Lk 8: 1-3; 10:40). The term διακονία in New Testament times enclosed a wide range of services, including financial assistance. Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna and the other Galilean women “provided for” Jesus and his disciples “out of their resources,” ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς (in connection with ὑπάρχω, διακονία connotes monetary resources; Lk 8:3) (cf. Bauckham 2002:110-114). Women exercise an active part in the establishment and ministry of the early Christ-movement almost equal to that of men (cf. Acts 8:3; 9:2; 16:14-15; 17:11-12). Generosity and hospitality are village ideals (Lk 6:38; 11:11-13; 10:8, 38; 24:31-31). At the same time, suspicion and mistrust towards strangers are common in rural areas (Lk 9:5, 52-56; 10:10).

Furthermore, the table-service mentioned in Acts 6 can be seen as an ample instance of commensality, almsgiving, poor relief, and wealth redistribution. In the light of previous references to the community of goods (Acts 4:32) and bread-breaking at everyday meals (Acts 2:42-46), it can be argued that Luke wants to present an early Christ-movement in Jerusalem where there are no needy (4:34) because possessions are shared, and meals are eaten in common. Even though a deficit is observed, the testimony of John Chrysostom of Antioch (c. 4th Cen. CE) supports the unconditional benefaction of the early Christ-followers and this tradition may go back to the picture in Acts.⁷⁷

Given these reflections, the subsequent investigation will focus on analysing the Lucan meal narrations with insights from social and cultural codes that influenced, guided and constrained social interactions in the first century CE. It will critically examine Lucan meal narrations from the concept of Mediterranean ‘honour and shame’ concerning the customs of hospitality where honour is evident by invitation to meals (Malina 1993:33;

⁷⁷ John Chrysostom of Antioch in the fourth century says that the poor in need of support were one-tenth of the population but that the church could look after only a fifth of those in need, a figure he put at three thousand (PG 58.630). Cited in C. R. Whittaker (1993). The Poor. In Andrea Giardina (Ed.), *The Romans* (pp. 272-299). (Lydia G. Cochrane, Trans.). Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press), 276.

Bailey 1980:88-113). Since meals are a potential source of information about a group's symbolic universe (Neyrey 1991:368), my research will analyse the classification system replicated in meals and table-fellowship, such as maps of persons, things, places, and times in appraising the reversals done by Lucan Jesus. The research will also read the text from generalized reciprocity for understanding asymmetrical relationships between human beings illustrated in meal scenes.

The social world of Luke-Acts is one of honour-shame and is gender-biased. So reading the text through the lens of honour-shame helps us to understand the Lucan world and to interpret the conflicts. Neyrey observes that meals and table-fellowship are complex social events. Moreover, he postulates that meals are possible grounds of information about a group's symbolic universe. According to him, meals need to be examined as to the following five areas: (a) ceremony, (b) mirrors of social systems, (c) body symbolism, (d) reciprocity, and (e) social relations (Neyrey 1991:362-368). This present section limits its investigation of meals to the models of kinship relations and reciprocal relations in the context of a limited good society, and the complex features of meals and hospitality will also be considered. Luke depicts Jesus' "open commensality," a model of hospitality which radically creates or reconstructs the peasant community on several ideas from honour and shame, patronage and clientage, and reciprocal relations. Since meals confirm values and structures in institutions, the present investigation will analyse the meals in Luke-Acts concerning the pattern of household relations and the ethos of the Christ-movement.

The factors included in the meal scenes, such as participants, the existence of reciprocity and purpose, disclose the social meanings comprised in Jesus' table-fellowship (Neyrey 1991:362). Investigation of the Lucan editorial and creative approach in the treatment of meal narrations in the Luke-Acts will further our research in appraising Lucan concern for those suffering destitution and hunger and how it connects faith, food, human dignity in contributing to the present debate on hospitality and hunger. Furthermore, this

dissertation will also appraise the Lucan theology of hunger and hospitality for which the person and work of Lucan Jesus is central. It is noteworthy that throughout the Gospel the Lucan Jesus is presented as a wayfaring stranger, especially in the travel narrative (Lk 9:51-Lk 19:47) which identifies him as an itinerant preacher (Samaria (Lk 9:52), Bethany (Lk 10:38-42), between Samaria and Galilee (Lk 17:11) and Jericho (Lk 19:11)). In the Lucan meal narrations, he is always a guest and homeless, at the same time, yet Luke highlights the hospitality of Jesus and his concern towards the destitute. Through the theological perspectives of hunger and hospitality, this dissertation will argue that hospitality towards the destitute is central to the Christian faith and characteristic of the church while offering a line of analysis into the nature and implementation of legislation in India aimed at producing a just distribution of food to the population.

Hence, the following section will exegete Lucan meal scenes to determine the impact of the text within various contexts. This investigation will employ the perspectives, presuppositions, modes of analysis, comparative models, theories and research of the social sciences (especially sociology, anthropology, and social psychology) in assessing hunger, hospitality, and food justice.

2. SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PASSAGES IN LUKE-ACTS

Our investigation in Chapter 3 disclosed the social reality experienced by the audience of Luke-Acts, where the majority suffered in terms of socio-economic and, although to a lesser extent, religious factors. By investigating the ideals, social structures, and practices of the Lucan readers, this dissertation discovers the significance of meals written in Luke-Acts. Hence it is appropriate to analyse the social and cultural dimensions of the Lucan meal narrations by raising the following questions: who are the audience, and how is their situation portrayed in Luke? How are the reflections of and responses to the situation presented in Luke? Our investigation will explore how Luke diagnoses and evaluates the situation, what

kind of response to the situation he urges, and determine if any dominant symbols have been used to characterize the identity and action of the audience and author. As stated, our investigation will utilise historical-criticism (including redaction criticism) enhanced by social-scientific ideas and perspectives to interpret the selected meal narrations in Luke-Acts.

2.1. The Feast at Levi's House (Luke 5:29-39)

The first meal scene in Luke takes place at the house of a tax collector named Levi,⁷⁸ who left everything to follow Jesus (Lk 5:27-28). This incident is narrated in all three Synoptic gospels. The Synoptic tradition places this account between the healing of a paralyzed man and the pericope on fasting, and all accounts find Levi preparing a banquet after he accepts Jesus' call (cf. Mk 2:15; Mt 9:10). However, it is undeniable that there are some significant Lucan variations, mostly additions, which play a vital role in understanding this narration. Luke utilizes this meal scene to illustrate the dynamics of "the acceptable year of the Lord," which brings a reversal of values notably demonstrated in social and religious stratification.

The Lucan arrangement of stories after Jesus' announcement at Nazareth illustrates the Lucan concern for the poor and the destitute: references to non-Judeans (Lk 4:25-27), healing of the man with an unclean spirit (Lk 4:31-37), healings at Simon's house (Lk 4:38-41), cleansing of a leper (Lk 5:13-15), healing of a person with paralysis (Lk 5:17-26), table-fellowship with tax-collectors and sinners (Lk 5:27-39). In this account, Luke gives more information on Levi's positive response in specifying that he "left everything" (καταλιπὼν πάντα) to follow Jesus, (Lk 5:28; contra Mk 2:14; Mt 9:9). Furthermore, Luke describes him as giving a "great banquet" (δοχὴν μεγάλην). Along with the chief guest Jesus, a large crowd of tax collectors and "others" are gathered for the feast (Lk 5:29).

⁷⁸ Luke named him Levi (Lk 5:27); he is Levi son of Alphaeus in Mark (2:14) and Matthew in Matthew (9:9).

The Lucan Jesus is often identified as dining with Pharisees, disciples, and sinners and tax-collectors. Tax-collectors and sinners are grouped in Luke's Gospel.⁷⁹ Luke, uniquely, highlights Jesus' association at the table with tax-collectors and sinners for his recurrent theme of the controversy stories between Jesus and the Pharisees in Lk 5:17 – 6:11.⁸⁰ The Lucan setting of the story raises the following questions: Through the act of "leaving possessions," does Luke promote a negative attitude towards possessions? Is it mandatory to leave possessions to follow Jesus? Moreover, if Levi has left everything, how can he manage to prepare a great banquet? What does Luke want to communicate to his readers through Levi's "great banquet" in the context of leaving everything? What is the significance of the Lucan clubbing together of the two groups "tax-collectors and sinners" at the table (Lk 5:30; 7:34; 15:1)? In our attempt to answer these questions, it is necessary to investigate the fundamental issues behind the controversy, especially concerning the Pharisees, tax collectors and sinners, who occupy a significant portion of meal accounts in the Lucan narratives (cf. Lk 5:29-39; 7:36-50; 11:37-54; 14:1-24; 15:1-32; 19:1-10).

As already discussed in Chapter 1, scholars agree that a theology of poverty and wealth is one of Luke's concerns. It is noteworthy that Luke uses a tax collector and a meal for his teaching (Lk 5:27). Luke identifies the host of the banquet as a tax collector. In Chapter 3, we saw that they were part of "retainers" in society. They were Judea's middlemen employed by the Roman state or by Herod Antipas in Galilee, and they were generally despised in the literature for their customary practice of overcharging in order to accumulate wealth (Tannehill 1996:108; Hultgren 2000:469). Two Lucan texts support this criticism (Lk 3:13; 19:8).⁸¹ The Lucan Jesus often discourages the accumulation of wealth

⁷⁹ Fitzmyer (1981:591) notes, "The juxtaposition of these two groups is noteworthy."

⁸⁰ In Luke 5:17 – 6:11, Luke presents five stories of controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees. The other four are: Jesus' power to forgive sins (Lk 5:17-26); concerning fasting (Lk 5:33-39); eating on the Sabbath (Lk 6:1-5); healing on the Sabbath (Lk 6:6-10).

⁸¹ In Luke 3:13, John the Baptist exhorts the tax collectors not to collect a greater amount than prescribed; Zacchaeus promises that he will repay in fourfold, if he has defrauded anyone of anything (Lk 19:8).

and urges his followers to renounce dependence on their wealth (Lk 6:24-25; 12:13-21; 18:18-29) (cf. Fitzmyer 1981:247-251).

Prior to the narrative concerning Levi, Luke records another narrative that exhibits a similar scenario (Lk 5:1-11). Simon and his fellow fishermen leave their vocation and boats along with a miraculous catch of fish to follow Jesus: ἀφέντες πάντα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτοῦ (Lk 5:11). The Lucan word πάντα illustrates the significance of what they left, all those things they considered as valuable, economically, and their business (Plummer 1992:146; Green 1997:235). Coming back to the account concerning Levi, Levi's vocation (Lk 5:27-32) is described according to the same schema: Levi's immediate response follows Jesus' initiative in the call to follow. Luke notes that "leaving everything (καταλιπὼν πάντα), he got up and followed him" (Lk 5:28). There is a similar literary schema to be found in the narrative of Elijah's call of Elisha (1 Kings 19:19-21).

In the Lucan sections on following Jesus, Luke clearly states the cost of following him (cf. Lk 14:25-33; 18:18-30). The Lucan redaction, adding καταλιπὼν πάντα (Lk 5:28) in response to Jesus' calling, intensifies the action. Καταλείπω in the Lucan narratives carries the sense of "leave behind," and Luke might have used this term to express the significant action of Levi which is "leaving behind" something in favour of another (cf. Lk 5:28; 10:40; 15:4; 20:31; Acts 18:19; 21:13; 24:27). Luke heightens the sense of a completely new beginning by writing καταλιπὼν πάντα, "having left all." Luke emphasizes the act of leaving in his choice of words and grammar; καταλιπὼν πάντα, "having left all" where using an aorist participle denotes the "finality of the act." Moreover, the imperfect use in ἠκολούθει (Lk 5:28; whereas it occurs in the aorist form in Matthew and Mark) supports this claim, in that they "went on following" him. Our discussion above points out that Levi's act of leaving everything is connected with the reorientation of his life.

Furthermore, the life of the early Christ-movement portrayed in Acts illustrates that they shared everything they had and claimed nothing as their own (Acts 2:44-46; 4:32-37), not the literal disposal of possessions (cf. Nolland 1992:764). There is no requirement or command to follow Jesus, like Zacchaeus, the wealthy tax-collector who donates half his wealth (Lk 19:1-9); perhaps it is a voluntary act by Levi. It is ambiguous as to what is encompassed by the “everything” he leaves in order to follow Jesus. If the statement was to be taken literally, the question would arise, as noted above, as to how he prepares a banquet for a great crowd. It is justifiable to suggest that “leaving everything” could indicate the immediate action of Levi in the context of his encounter with Jesus; hence, it could be a reference to his work and workplace (cf. Fitzmyer 1981:390; Bauckham 220:110-114). Scholars have many opinions on Levi’s abandoning of his possessions as a “symbolic of response to God’s visitation,” as well as on how his life is reorientated towards the mission of Jesus (Lk 18:22) (cf. Johnson 1991:97; Green 1997:246). Levi left behind his tax collection booth and everything associated with it to follow Jesus as one of his disciples.

Luke states that Levi prepares a great banquet for Jesus (a detail not found in Mark 2:15), and has tax-collectors and sinners as guests. Luke specifies that Levi prepares a banquet (δοχή) in his own house (ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ (Lk 5:29). The Greek term δοχή is unique to Luke (only here and Lk 14:13), and δοχή indicates a meal that is linked with hospitality, with the addition of “great” indicating exceptional hospitality. Moreover, it is interesting to observe the second occurrence of δοχή (Lk 14:13) where Luke attributes this term to Jesus himself as he gives instructions for table etiquette. In the context of invitations to a banquet, the Lucan Jesus describes the custom of that age where the guests were primarily the social equals of the host: friends, brothers, relatives, and rich neighbours (Lk 14:12). Aristotle states that friendship was ideally a relationship between equals: the friendship between good men (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1157b:36); friendship is based on equality, “Amity is equality” (*Eudemian Ethics* 7.1241b:13). Our discussion on Greco-Roman friendship and banquet

invitations suggests that Levi, a tax collector, would have invited his relatives and friends of fellow tax collectors. Balch (1995:232) contends that Luke does not introduce a new social morality to his non-Judean readers, but rather “... is reinforcing these Gentiles’ pre-Christian values.” Balch’s suggestion attributes the origin of these values to non-Judeans which is inappropriate because it was also a feature of Judean tradition. In a recent study, Olyan (2017) emphasises the existence of friendship in the Hebrew Bible and suggests that the paradigm for friendship is familial love (Prov 18:24; Deut 13:7; cf. Olyan 2017:10-37). At the same time, it is essential to note the Judean attitude towards wealth and poverty, which has social concerns governed by covenantal obligations (Deut 14:28-29; 26:12). At this juncture, it is appropriate to investigate the identity of Levi’s guests and the tension between Jesus and the Pharisees.

In mentioning the members at the table, we must note the Lucan redaction: Luke states that Jesus is sitting at the table with *τελωνῶν καὶ ἄλλων* (“tax-collectors and others”; Lk 5:29), whereas Mark and Matthew name them *τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ* (tax collectors and sinners; Mk 2:15; Mt 9:10). However, in this account, the term *ἁμαρτωλῶν* is found on the lips of Pharisees in labelling the partners at the table (Lk 5:30) as they prefer to name the group as *ἁμαρτωλῶν* (sinners) rather than labelling them as just *ἄλλων* (others). Who are the *ἁμαρτωλῶν* (sinners) Luke refers to here? Scholars suggest various interpretations of the sinners and their social standing. While an exhaustive treatment of the subject would be out of place here, it is appropriate to highlight a few suggestions. Some scholars, based on rabbinic literature on dining partners, identify them as *עַם הָאָרֶץ*, literally “the people of the land” (cf. *m. Hag* 2:7; *m. Dem* 2:3; Jeremias 1971:112; Sanders 1983:7-10).

On the other hand, it has been suggested that “sinners” is a term that refers to a subset of people who are living “in conscious or witting opposition to the divine will,” including both “those who live a flagrantly immoral life (murders, robbers, and deceivers)” and those who “follow a dishonourable vocation” (Rengstorf 1964:327). Therefore, the term “sinners”

could refer to a variable group, and the context plays a role in defining the meaning. Here in the banquet of Levi, the inclusion of non-Judean was not the basis of controversy because those at the table were probably all Judeans. The question is whether the previous association of the Judeans with non-Judeans marks them as sinners? Borg says that the tax collectors were at the risk of defilement because of their continual contact with non-Judean inhabitants and traders. At the same time, their quisling behaviour, particularly in rendering their loyalty to the Roman administration, threatened the “community goal of holiness which required separation from Gentile uncleanness and rule” (cf. Borg 1998:98-100). However, the combination of tax collectors with sinners needs investigation.

In this account, the controversy relates to the conventions of sharing at the table. The Lucan Jesus accuses the Pharisees of their hypocritical religious practices by saying that they are “full of greed and wickedness” and “neglect justice and the love of God” (Lk 11:39, 42). The question regarding the role of Pharisees in Luke-Acts, whether positive or negative, is a broad topic, about which scholars disagree (cf. Sanders 1985; Carroll 1988; Gowler 1991). Rabbinic purity concerns reject an association with tax collectors (*m. Hag.* 3:6). Furthermore, a few references associate them with murderers and highway robbers (*m. Ned.* 3:4; *M. BaQ* 10:2). The above rabbinic references show the poor reputation of tax collectors in their society on moral grounds. Moreover, tax collecting was considered a shameful trade in Greek literature (Lucian, *Pseudologista* 30-31). Hence, it is reasonable that the term “sinners” here could be a general reference to immoral and dishonest persons. In addition to purity concerns, Jesus’ willingness to associate himself with the disregarded and lowly-esteemed tax collectors provoked the Pharisees to disagree with Jesus’ actions.

There is no reference in the text indicating that Pharisees are among the invited guests of the banquet. It is worth noting the difference in mentioning the criticizers. Matthew just mentions the Pharisees, whereas Mark 2:16, on the preferable reading of a textually uncertain verse, has “the scribes of the Pharisees”, which Luke alters to “the Pharisees and their

scribes”, clearly to leave no doubt that the Pharisees themselves were present. Morris (1999:132) suggests two options: “Perhaps the house was open, and they perceived what was going on, or Luke may be giving us a later reaction when they came to hear what had happened.” However, the identity and the criticism of the Pharisees and their associates require investigation.

Luke presents a variegated picture of the Pharisees, but a full discussion of them is beyond the compass of this dissertation. Nevertheless, certain major characteristics of the Pharisees⁸² must be addressed. Pharisees were neither wealthy nor of the priestly class. The name Pharisee means “separated one,” and Pharisees were members of a movement within Judaism. Meier (2001:297), using Josephus, claims that “ordinary Jews were much impressed by the widespread reputation on the Pharisees’ exact knowledge of the Mosaic Law” (cf. *BJ* 2.8.14:162; *AJ* 13.10.5:288; 13.15.5-13.16.1:401-406; 18.1.3:15; 18.1.4:17). They were highly respected people who were the teachers of the Torah and emphasized the strict observance of the Torah and maintaining ritual purity (cf. Culpepper 1995:127; Friedrichsen 2005:106-107, 110). The Pharisees’ were much concerned about the observance of the laws of ritual purity even at home, since the “setting for law observance was the field and the kitchen, the bed and the street,” besides, ritual purity was a pivotal obligation in every meal (Neusner 1975:46; 1984:57-58). They are portrayed as being very cautious about with whom they shared their table; they considered eating with “sinners” as breaching the purity code (cf. Dunn 2002:465).

⁸² Luke presents the character of the Pharisees in complexity. He mentions them in fifteen pericopes (Lk 5:17-26; 5:27-32; 5:33-39; 6:1-11; 7:24-30; 7:36-50; 11:37-52; 11:53-54; 12:1; 13:31-33; 14:1-6; 15:1-7; 16:13-15; 18:9-14; 19:36-40). Only in Luke, we find Jesus as sharing table with the Pharisees which illustrates Jesus’ friendliness with them (Lk 7:36-50; 11:37-54; 14:1-24). At the same time, the Lucan Jesus condemns them for their hypocrisy (Lk 11:39, 42; 12:1), lack of compassion towards the needy (Lk 11:43; 14:7, 12-14), greed (Lk 16:14), and self-justifying attitude (Lk 10:29). Likewise, the Pharisees were also at odds with the Lucan Jesus’ absolution over sins (Lk 5:21), his association with tax collectors and sinners (Lk 5:30; 7:34; 15:1-2), concerning fasting (Lk 5:33); and Sabbath laws (Lk 6:7; 14:1,3). The positive portrayal of the Pharisees also continues in Luke’s second volume: Pharisaic identity of Paul (Acts 5:34; 23:6; 26:5); the Pharisaic Christ-followers (Acts 15:5); friendliness of the Pharisees with the members of Christ-movement (Acts 23:9-10).

The Pharisees' question on eating and drinking with tax collectors and sinners reveals an existing cultural reality: they have an underlying expectation that Jesus should not be doing this. Sharing the table with a tax collector, for them, might be a potential source of ritual defilement; hence, the attitude of Jesus and his disciples, concerning ritual purity, provokes queries from the Pharisees. The Pharisaic ritual purity surpassed the barriers such as family, caste and class distinctions, and it established a new "... limited polity in the old society of village and town" and it represented "a considerable complication" in the urban order (Neusner 1960:128-129). Such purity concerns had the potential to disintegrate customary social relationships. The Lucan Jesus perceives the Pharisees as showing an exaggerated concern for ritual purity while neglecting the more fundamental demands of ethics and piety.

Morris (1988:132) suggests that "participating in table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners indicated 'friendship' and 'full acceptance' of those at the meal." To share a meal with another person was, in effect, to extend an offer of friendship and acceptance. According to Jeremias, sharing a meal was "an offer of peace, trust, brotherhood, and forgiveness; in short, sharing a meal meant sharing life" (Jeremias 1971:115). Anthropologist Mary Douglas regards food as a "code" that exposes the pattern of social relations in defining hierarchy, inclusion, exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries. At the same time, breaking the rules applicable to meals at the table "involves the attack on the whole system of rules, rituals, personal identity and community" (Douglas 1973:261; 1975:249). Green (1997:246) observes that in the ancient world "shared meals symbolized shared lives." The Lucan Jesus overturns the boundary markers of Pharisaical table-fellowship and re-draws the boundaries around the people of God with the inclusion of the outcasts and the neglected.

Thus, this kind of meal-sharing would be considered as crossing certain social boundary markers of purity. The meal scenes of the early Christ-movement reflect this inclusive feature. Luke presents Jesus' practice of eating with the social outcasts as foreshadowing the act of eating with non-Judeans by the members of the early Christ-movement (Lk 6:1-6; 10-11; 15:1-29; 16:25-34; 20:7-12; 27:33-38). Esler (1987:108-109; 1998:94-97), taking a cue from Mary Douglas, interprets the shared meals of Jesus in the light of anthropological insights in terms of group identity and group boundaries and argues that the table-fellowship between Judeans and non-Judeans forms a vital bridge in the Lucan symbolic universe. Furthermore, by sitting at a table with outcasts, the Lucan Jesus exemplifies inclusiveness in his association with the people of low social ranks.

In light of our discussion above, this dissertation proposes that the banquet at Levi's house foreshadows the inclusive community exemplified in Acts by bringing together Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers. The "great banquet" at Levi's house with a large crowd (ὄχλος πολὺς) is a Lucan attempt to illustrate Jesus' views on hospitality. Moreover, the Lucan Jesus extends the boundaries beyond socio-religious discriminations by ensuring "food" for all across the distinctions, which foreshadows breaching ethnic boundaries of the early Christ-movement. In terms of contemporary theology, Newman claims that robust practice of hospitality should aim for a "truthful communion with God and others" (Newman 2007:24). Through the calling of Levi and the Lucan Jesus' shared table with the tax-collectors, Luke lays a foundation for his theology of hospitality grounded in the love of God, which accepts everyone irrespective of boundaries. At the same time, inclusiveness in receiving guests at the table implies an ecclesiological exhortation for the practice of hospitality.

2.2. The Meal at a Pharisee's House (Luke 7:36-50)

A meal scene associated with the anointing of Jesus by a woman is recorded in all the four canonical Gospels,⁸³ and it is the first meal scene of the Lucan Jesus' three meals with Pharisees (the other two references are Lk 11:37-54 and 14:1-24). Luke introduces the host of this meal as a Pharisee (τις ... τῶν Φαρισαίων; Lk 7:36), and worth noting are the frequent Lucan references to hosts as Pharisees (Lk 7:36a, 36b, 37b, 39a). In this particular account, the name of the host "Simon" is put on Jesus' lips (Lk 7:40). Luke tries to portray this host as a representative of a group, like one among the characters described in Lk 7:29-35, namely, as a representative portrait of one who rejects "the purpose of God" (Lk 7:30) by rejecting God's prophet. Luke also brings out some issues regarding the social consequences of purity laws by emphasizing Pharisees in this meal account. The repeated meal accounts with the Pharisees illustrate Jesus' friendliness with them, which is unique to Luke's Gospel. During the meal scenes, however, the development of conflict is evident. At the same time, in the very next verse (Lk 7:37), Luke introduces another character identified as a "sinner" and the second half of the meal scene focuses on this unnamed woman.

In this second meal account involving Pharisees, Luke continues to address Pharisaic purity concerns and takes up the issue in relation to the love of God and forgiveness. These two characters, Simon, a named Pharisee, and the unnamed sinner woman, play a vital role as representatives of socio-religious and reciprocal relations. Hence, this Lucan narrative setting raises possibilities and concerns, along with two related propositions. First, concerning the issues of ritual purity, the Lucan narrative style highlights issues of discrimination. Second, in the consequent actions, the unnamed woman's act of anointing Jesus' feet with ointment brings challenges to reciprocal relations. Therefore, based on the above two associated concerns, the following section will explore the structure of the Lucan meal account to demonstrate the reversals displayed in the text.

⁸³ Mt 26:6-13; Mk 14:3-9; Lk 7:36-50; Jn 12:1-8.

Luke notes that the host recognizes the possibility that Jesus is a prophet (προφήτης, Lk 7:39) and acknowledges that he is a teacher (διδάσκαλος; Lk 7:40). The Lucan depiction of the (possible) reclining (κατάκειμαι) posture of Jesus and the presence of the Pharisee illustrate Jesus' teaching in a "symposium genre" that centres on table talk (Smith 1987:614). Luke includes table-talk in this meal account based on the criticism of the Pharisee for whom meals are ceremonies that reinforce group boundaries. Meals are ceremonies that embody the purity rules in defining the group's basic social system of mapping persons (cf. Neyrey 1991:362-368). With this understanding, we can assume that Luke presents the host in this narrative as a representative of the symbolic world of the purity code.

Furthermore, Luke disturbs the picture with the entry of an uninvited (possibly unwanted) female guest, who is a sinner, and this identification is from the host's point of view, as the text says (Lk 7:39). Luke labels her a ἁματωλός⁸⁴ ("sinner", Lk 7:37); however, the details of what type of sin she has committed are not mentioned in the text.⁸⁵ There is an ambiguity in the usage of the term ἁματωλός, namely whether Luke regards the woman negatively concerning the religious and moral life. Although Luke describes her as "a sinner in the city" in verse 37, that certainly suggests she had some local notoriety as a sinner, yet it is not clear that he endorses that negative assessment. At least she is sinful in the eyes of the host, Simon the Pharisee. Since the woman is not a guest, a question arises as to how she manages to enter the Pharisee's house. A few scholars suggest that some virtuous Judeans opened their houses to the needy on many other occasions; hence this could explain how she managed to get herself into the house here (cf. Bailey 1980; Koenig 1985:16-17). Given Simon's extremely negative view towards her, this may be an unrealistic explanation in this case. At the same time, it is reasonable that Luke could have had in mind the house's

⁸⁴ Luke's frequent references to those identified as ἁματωλός (Lk :8, 30, 32; 6:32-34; 7:34, 37, 39; 13:2; 15:1-2, 7, 10; 18:13; 19:7; 24:7) show his concern towards them.

⁸⁵ This research maintains the unnamed woman just as a "sinner." Nevertheless, for a discussion of the details of the sinfulness of the woman: Fitzmyer 1981:688-689; Schüssler-Fiorenza 1983:129-30; Nolland 1989:353; Johnson 1991:127; Corley 1993:52; Mullen 2004:114.; Blomberg, 2005:132-33.

triclinium, the architectural space where the traditional Greco-Roman banquet occurred. Wallace-Hadrill (1994:8ff) suggests that anyone could gain access to the triclinium, knowledge of which could have been abroad in Galilee or in whatever context Luke was writing from houses built by Romans locally, and this highlights the substantial structural overlap between private and public space in the Roman house.

Luke uses the reaction of the host to juxtapose these two figures, Simon the Pharisee and the unnamed sinner-woman. Luke emphasizes the sequence of her actions and portrays her as a person in a submissive position. It is interesting to note the Lucan description of the woman's rather awkward standing position: she stands "behind, beside his feet" (ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ), washes and dries "his feet" (τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ) with her tears, and kisses and anoints his feet with an ointment (Lk 7:38-39). Her behaviour resembles the work of a slave (Morris 1988:162). Through an elaborated illustration of her status and actions, Luke portrays her as a social deviant. The Pharisee's reaction echoes the purity regulations of the Torah, which talk about the risk of defilement from physical contact with a sinner (Deut 5:1-5). Jesus lets himself be defiled by allowing the woman to touch him. According to the Pharisaic view, personal/individual defilement has affected the whole social system. Mary Douglas (1984:41) states that "Defilement is never an isolated event. It cannot occur except in view of a systematic ordering of ideas...." Luke does not give an explicit reason for the worry of the host; however, our above discussion suggests that it could be related to protecting himself from defilement.

In the context where individualism was not considered as a pivotal value, the purity laws of the Pharisees had an impact on community ethical values where there were shared moral views. The emphasis on purity concerns echoes the Pharisaic ideology of the establishment of social boundaries. In any case, the host's judgement on the "sinner" exposes his failure to share the intimacy and friendship of table-fellowship with marginalised people which is one of the prominent themes of Lucan table-fellowship. Besides, the host fails in

his role as a host; as Pitt-Rivers suggests, in antiquity, the host made temporary room for other guests, whose “status ... stands midway between that of hostile stranger and that of community member” (Pitt-Rivers 1968:16).

According to this view, the host of this particular meal, Simon the Pharisee, would have been expected to act as an intermediate person between Jesus and the sinner-woman, whether she is invited or not, but he fails in his role. The Lucan Jesus produces a boundary-crossing friendship by allowing her to touch him. It is a great challenge, not only to the host of this meal account but also to the Lucan audience concerning their cultural and religious assumptions. The Lucan Jesus once again crosses the boundaries of the established religious purity laws by accepting the action of the sinner-woman. From Jesus’ point of view, the woman’s actions are her way of expressing her grateful heart.

But Jesus criticises the host’s failure in hospitality. Many scholars find the three charges recorded in verses 44 and 45 (namely, no water for feet, no kiss, no olive oil) as required elements of hospitality. They interpret them in terms of shame and intentional insult, as the denial of mandatory marks of hospitality to the chief guest, Jesus (Bailey 1980:8; Neyrey 1991:57-58; Tannehill 1996:136). Some scholars, however, argue that all three mentioned gestures might not have been mandatory in the first-century Mediterranean world.⁸⁶ However, the host, more precisely a Pharisee, should have provided some water for washing Jesus’ hands, which was essential. However, the listed actions taken together are symbols of intimate affection and emotional gestures of reverence. Luke emphasizes this through the insertion of a parable in the story which exposes the inadequate response/hospitality rendered by Simon. Canoy (2019:313) finds the meal invitation extended to Jesus by a Pharisee as itself a way of shaming Jesus who could not reciprocate the favour. At this stage, the question raised is whether Jesus compares the hospitality

⁸⁶ *Foot washing* is not indicated in Jewish literature to be a normal provision for guests (Marshall 1978:312); *Kiss* is an accepted form of greeting (Lk 22:48; 2 Sam 15:5); *Anointing with olive oil* is a sign of respect which is rarely mentioned and for which there is little evidence (such as at Ps 23:5).

rendered to him by these two figures, the host and the sinner-woman. Hence, the issue in this meal account is not just related to hospitality elements, but the invitation of the Lucan Jesus to the audience to attend to something much more than just hospitality.

The investigation of the Lucan Jesus' parable in this meal narration throws considerable light on our discussion. This parable of the two debtors (Lk 7:41-43) suggests that the woman is already free from her great "debts," and that her actions are an expression of her gratitude for the forgiveness received. Moreover, Luke uses the term ὀφείλημα (debts) as an interchangeable term with "sin" in Lk 11:4, in expressing the obligation/gratitude to God or other people. Commentators assume that the absence of love or the charges made against the Pharisee must include that he is pardoned or less conscious of the need for forgiveness (Johnson 1991:127; Culpepper 1995:172). The Lucan Jesus makes clear that greater cancelling (χαρίζομαι) of debts leads to greater loving (ἀγαπᾶν; Lk 7:42,43), and greater forgiving (ἀφίημι) leads to greater loving (ἀγαπᾶν; Lk 7:47). Luke illustrates her love and gratitude to Jesus through washing his feet with tears, by drying his feet with her hair, and by anointing and kissing his feet. Mullen (2004:117) assumes that the host has fewer sins than the woman to respond with less thankfulness. Bovon (2002:297) rightly states that without reciprocity there is no divine love, and the discussion is not about who is first in the direction of God. Instead, it identifies the person who finds a mutually loving relationship with God and with Jesus. Reading this story in the light of patron-client relationships, Jesus receives the hospitality given by two hosts, a Pharisee and the woman; the host provides balanced reciprocity. In contrast, the woman renders "general" or unlimited reciprocity. The extraordinary devotion extended to Jesus by the woman infers the extraordinary forgiveness she has received.

The Lucan mention of the controversy concerning Jesus' authority over the forgiveness of sin (Lk 7:49) echoes an earlier account of healing the paralytic man (Lk 5:21). In both accounts, the Pharisees were astonished by Jesus' absolution and questioned his authority. In this account, however, Luke intensifies the charge of the Pharisees which is direct and specific, Τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ἁμαρτίας ἀφίησιν ("Who is this who even forgives sins?"; Lk 7:49). Unlike the earlier account, the Lucan Jesus assured her forgiveness with εἰρήνη ("peace"; Lk 7:50) which connotes a wholeness in human relations. Almost all the New Testament writers use the term εἰρήνη.⁸⁷ According to Foerster and von Rad, εἰρήνη "denotes the 'whole' state of [hu]man which cannot be overthrown by any violence or misfortune" (Foerster W. & von Rad 1964:402) (parenthesis is mine). In the context of the *Pax Romana* (the Roman peace or the imperial peace), it is a challenging statement from Jesus. Epictetus' claimed that the *Pax Romana* of Augustus was a profound peace (*Discourses* 3:13.9-10). According to Wengst, *Pax Romana* was a power-centre order, created and preserved by armed forces accompanied by bloodstreams and tears (1987:4, 13). Although Rome might have tried to provide peace by its military power, the common population still desperately needed peace, even if of a different sort.

Furthermore, the Lucan Jesus' announcement of peace echoes Zechariah's words about the promised Christ: Christ will guide our feet into the way of peace (Lk 1:79). Robert Karris (2006:35-36) regards it as a Lucan balancing act in identifying Jesus as the forgiver for all, irrespective of gender differentiation. In this meal account, forgiveness plays a significant role in connection with the Lucan Jesus' Nazareth announcement. Moreover, the Lucan choice of the term ἀφίημι recalls the Nazareth proclamation, which highlights the Lucan Jesus' programmatic purpose "Good news to the πτωχοί." Also noteworthy is the

⁸⁷ In the epistles it is used either in the salutation (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:3; 2Cor 1:2; Phil 1:2; Col 1:2; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:2; 1 Tim 1:2; 2 Tim 1:2; Titus 1:4; Phlm 3; 1 Pt 1:2; 2 Pt 1:2; 2 Jn 3; Jude 2; Rev 1:4) or in the final greeting (3 Jn 15) or both in salutation and in final greeting (Gal 1:3; 6:16; Eph 1:2; 6:23; 1 Pt 1:2; 5:14). In the Gospels, apart from the teachings, it is used for greeting (Lk 24:36; Jn.20:19, 21, 26) or as departing salutation (Mk 5:34; Lk 7:50).

Lucan description of the after-meal account which illustrates that Jesus was (i.e., the twelve were not doing this) κηρύσσων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (“preaching and proclaiming the good news of the kingdom of God”; Lk 8:1) in every city and village.

The Lucan Jesus’ remarks concerning the anonymous woman demonstrate a radical transformation of society. At the same time, Jesus’ appreciation of the woman’s deeds is the symbol of the inclusion of all in the early Christ-movement. She is a representative of the group of tax-collectors and sinners whom Jesus is accused of befriending. By accepting her, the Lucan Jesus dismantles distinctions and discriminations between people. He brings to the centre a woman who has been pushed to the periphery in terms of socio-religious degradation and discrimination. As already discussed, this inclusive feature is also a foreshadowing of the shared table of Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers. This meal also plays a vital role in the Lucan progressive paradigm on “Good news to the marginalised.”

Through this, Luke attempts to establish a theology of hospitality in his presentation of Jesus. In addition to the love of God illustrated through the Lucan Jesus’ acceptance of the unnamed sinner, Luke develops a redemptive element that offers much to a contemporary theology of hospitality. The Lucan Jesus provides εἰρήνη, the reconciliation with God, to that unnamed sinner woman, and by acknowledging her act, he brings the marginalised to the centre and rebukes the unwelcoming attitude of the host (Simon). The theology of hospitality does not just restrict itself to experiencing the love of God, it demands that everyone “provide hospitality” (cf. Pohl 1999:17-18).

2.3. Feeding the Five Thousand (Lk 9:10-17)

Luke records only one feeding miracle, which is parallel to the Marcan feeding of the 5,000 (Mk 6:34-44). All four canonical Gospels include this miracle of the multiplication of loaves and fishes with minor differences (Mt 14:13-21; Lk 9:10-17; Jn 6:1-14). Moreover, all of them mention the number of loaves and fishes (five and two, respectively), the number of people (5000 men), and the number of baskets carrying the leftovers (twelve). The Synoptic writers place this meal account after the execution of John the Baptist and Herod's enquiry about Jesus' ministry (Mt 14:1-2; Mk 6:14-16; in Lk 9:7-9, just a reference to the death of John the Baptist). All three Synoptic gospel writers record the Eucharistic words in this meal account: he takes (λαμβάνω) the bread, blesses (εὐλογέω) it, breaks (κλάω) it, and gives (ἐπιτίδωμι) it to them (Mt 14:19; Mk 6:41; Lk 9:16). Moreover, it is the only meal in Luke that does not occur in the context of a prepared-meal or banquet.

Furthermore, it is important to note the Lucan placement of this meal account within the narrative structure. This account is preceded by the question of Jesus' identity (Lk 9:7-9) and followed by Peter's confession of Jesus' identity (Lk 9:18-20). Three issues demand our attention: (i) the significance of the Lucan redaction of Marcan material in highlighting socio-economic concerns; (ii) the Lucan treatment of food and the use of the Eucharistic words with which the members of the Christ-movement celebrated the remembrance of the Last Supper; (iii) the fact that this meal scene happened in an isolated place where we cannot expect rituals of religious purity and hospitality. These factors suggest that a socio-anthropological reading will assist in analysing the status and reality of the people partaking in the meal.

To understand the significance of the Lucan redaction, we need to investigate the immediate context of the account. The Marcan and the Lucan accounts differ in their location of this narrative. Luke indicates that Jesus withdraws himself along with his disciples (Lk 9:10), whereas Mark places Jesus and his disciples in a boat sailing to the wilderness to have

rest, in order to escape the crowd (Mk 6:31). Based on some instances (Lk 4:42-44; cf. 5:16; 6:12; 9:28-29; 22:39-46), Green (1997:362) suggests that Jesus' withdrawal is to get away from the crowd. Though he suggests the purpose is for prayer, his suggestion is unconvincing. If Jesus would like to retire himself from the crowd, he could have gone to the unnamed wilderness, as Mark suggests. But the Lucan Jesus chooses a place near to the city Bethsaida so that people can follow him.

Furthermore, Luke elaborates the event and presents Jesus as a host in his act of welcoming the crowd. Luke places Jesus as the subject by introducing the term ἀποδεξάμενος (as giving a friendly reception to someone welcome/receive favourably; Lk 9:11) here. In contrast, with Jesus, the same word is used of his reception by the Galilean people (Lk 8:40). This Lucan choice of ἀποδεξάμενος occurs in the apocryphal literature (1 Macc 12:8; 2 Macc 3:9; 4:22; 13:24), where it is used in the sense of “friendly reception” with honour and jubilation, while also moderating the suggestion of “need” with acceptance. The Lucan redaction of a term related to hospitality here indicates Lucan special interest in meals in his narratives.

Furthermore, the Lucan portrayal of Jesus' welcoming act is advanced by his concern for the destitute. On the other hand, Mark says, “they were like sheep without a shepherd” (Mk 6:34; Matthew makes a similar comment in Mt 9:36), which shows Jesus' compassion for the crowd, and states that Jesus begins to teach them many things. Moreover, there is no interest in the content of Jesus' teaching in Mark (cf. Mk 1:21-22; 2:13), whereas the Lucan Jesus speaks concerning the kingdom of God (Lk 9:11). Luke furthers his account of Jesus' proclamation by stating that Jesus continued his ministry by taking care of the physical needs of the people (Lk 9:11). The Lucan use of the imperfect form in speaking of Jesus' action (ἐλάλει and ἰᾶτο in Lk 9:11) is probably an illustration of the continual action that happened as Jesus went on teaching about the kingdom of God. In his redaction, Luke adds κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (“to proclaim the kingdom of God”; Lk 9:2, 11) and εὐαγγελιζόμενοι

(“proclaiming the good news” Lk 9:6). He omits the Marcan emphasis on repentance (μετανοῶσιν, “should repent”; Mk 6:12) and his statement of Jesus’ compassion. However, Luke illustrates Jesus’ compassion in his healing those in need; Jesus’ healing at a macro level with a major crowd is a clear parallel of Jesus’ Nazareth proclamation which was also followed by the healing of many people (Lk 4:40). As discussed in Chapter 3 (4.1.2), the people with sickness and physical disability are associated with the πτωχοί. This Lucan redaction establishes his concern which is the central motif of the Lucan Jesus “Good news to the πτωχοί.” Through his redaction, Luke maintains his concern towards the destitute in this meal account, even though not all the 5,000 were likely to have been destitute, since from Luke 9:12, it is clear that some of them had the money to purchase food and accommodation.

At this stage, the Lucan omission of another meal account of feeding the 4000 (Mt 15:32-39; Mk 8:1-10) needs to be investigated because this particular meal scene in Mark probably includes non-Judean participants, which is one of the Lucan concerns. Surprisingly, the so-called Lucan “Greater Omission” (Lk 9:17 and Lk 9:18 // Mk 6:45-8:26) contains several references to Jesus’ mission to non-Judeans that includes healing at Gennesaret (Mk 6:53-56), healing of a Canaanite woman (Mk 7:24-30), healing of a deaf-mute and many other (Mk 7:31-37), and feeding the 4000 (Mk 8:1-10). Scholars differ in their solutions to this issue. In his classical statement (1930:172-178), Streeter suggests that Luke made this omission because of the length of the narrative, whereas Chilton (1994:129) considers he found the material in it redundant. Müller (2016:109-110) offers a convincing suggestion that Luke could have reserved this decisive step in the non-Judean mission for the apostolic period.⁸⁸ However, this research assumes that Jesus’ role in feeding the multitude, either 5000 or 4000, exemplifies his concern for the marginalized and needy; it foreshadows the

⁸⁸ For more discussion on this issue: Kümmel 1973:62,150; Fitzmyer 1981:770ff; Lennart 1980:44-49; Bock 1994:950-951; Pettem 1996:35-54.

missional activity of the early Christ-movement, especially in feeding the widows and healing the sick.

Luke presents the disciples as they sense the crowd's need and ask Jesus to send them away to find their food, but the Lucan Jesus asks the disciples to feed the crowd themselves (Lk 9:12-14). At this juncture, it is necessary to note the Lucan choice of the term ἐπισιτισμόν ("provisions"; Lk 9:12).⁸⁹ Since this term is related to journey, it is likely that a large number of people travelled to listen to Jesus and to be healed by him. The crowd is a mixture of people who have made a journey for this gathering. The disciples express their inability to find food for the crowd. The disciples' response to Jesus' enquiry regarding food, οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡμῖν πλεῖον ἢ ἄρτοι πέντε καὶ ἰχθύες δύο ("We have no more than five loaves, and two fishes"; Lk 9:13), clearly portrays the people's experience in a limited good society where the haves enjoy and the rest suffer (cf. Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:324). But Jesus' action reveals that a limited good economy does not define the kingdom.

The disciples gather the leftovers in twelve baskets. The Lucan description of the collection is an excellent illustration of saving leftovers amidst food scarcity, which is imperative for such a society, perhaps to distribute to the destitute. Luke names the place of the account as ἔρημος ("desert"; Lk 9:12). He notes the blessing of the food as occurring after Jesus looked up to heaven (Lk 9:16), which resonates with the Old Testament event of the feeding of Israelites with manna in the wilderness (Exodus 16). The statement ἔφαγον καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν ("ate and were filled"; Lk 9:17) echoes the Lucan beatitude where he uses the same verb χορτάζω concerning hunger ("the hungry will be filled"; Lk 6:21).

⁸⁹ There are thirteen LXX uses of this word in relation to the provisions for a journey (Gen 42:45; 45:21; Exodus 12:39; Jos 1:11; 9:5, 11, 14; Jud 7:8; 20:10; 1 Sam 22:10; Judith 2:18; 4:5; Ps 77 (78):25).

Moreover, the Lucan placement of the account clearly has a Christological dimension. The immediate context of this account, the question of Jesus' identity (Lk 9:7-9) and Peter's confession (Lk 9:18-20), suggests this proposition, that is Jesus as the provider and host, which connects this meal with two other Lucan meals (Luke 22, 24). As discussed in Chapter 3, the majority of the population in the world of Luke-Acts were living on the edge, and the economy of the Luke-Acts was a limited good economy where it was believed that commodities existed in a finite amount. Furthermore, prosperity and wealth were seen as gained at the cost of others. In a world operating on a limited good perspective, the Lucan Jesus' generosity reflected in his instruction of free food distribution would have challenged the economic system that sought to suppress the peasantry with a maximum amount of taxes and debt. Thus, Luke illustrates Jesus as mounting a radical challenge to the "limited good" perspective.

Although the feeding does not follow the typical banquet pattern, the Lucan presentation of the blessing of the loaves and fishes parallels two other meals (the Last Supper, Luke 22 and meal at Emmaus, Luke 24), especially the Last Supper. In all these three meals, Lucan Jesus plays the role of the host before his disciples. Moreover, the Lucan use of a sequence of verbs is evident in all these meals, which foreshadows the institution narrative of the Last Supper. Luke writes that Jesus *having taken* the loaves and the fishes, *blessed* them, *broke* and *gave* them to the disciples (Lk 22:19; cf. Lk 24:30). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Gospel of John mentions the time the event happened, that is, during the days of the Passover (Jn 6:4), whereas the Synoptic tradition does not mention it. The question here is whether Luke prefigures the Last Supper or the later celebration of the Lord's Supper in the early Christ-movement. In his study on the Mishnah, Green (1997:364-365) observes that the sequence of the action, taking, blessing, breaking and giving, are the customary practice "at any meal among pious Jews, in preparation for the eating of the food

itself.” Paul also uses the same liturgical formula in the celebration of the Lord’s Supper which testifies to this act as a prefigurement of the eucharistic meal (1 Cor 11:17-34).

It is worthwhile to observe Lucan Jesus’ words and actions in his role of host. The order of the meal described in the rabbinic literature specifies that the servants serve their guests by providing water to wash their hands and then by bringing them the three courses (the appetizer, the main meal, and the dessert; cf. *t. Ber.* 4:8). Serving the guests is exclusively the duty and job of the servants. The Lucan Jesus’ image of serving the crowd echoes the role of a servant who serves the guests in the eschatological banquet (1 Enoch 62:13-14). Besides, the Lucan Jesus instructs his disciples to distribute the loaves and fishes to the crowd, which also prefigures Jesus’ instruction during the Last Supper (Lk 22:26-27).

Furthermore, the Lucan setting of this meal discloses a reversal of usual practices. The meal takes place in a desert which connotes the absence of facilities for ritual washing. Moreover, Luke says nothing concerning the ritual preparation of the meal, which is a challenge to Pharisaic purity concerns. The Lucan presentation of this meal transcends purity boundaries and breaks the regulatory rules of hierarchy in demonstrating inclusiveness among the members of the early Christ-followers. Also, the desert is unsuitable for formal table-fellowship and rank-ordering at a table (Lk 9:14). Here we should note the Lucan redaction in his choice of a term to indicate the sitting position of the crowd. The Marcan account uses *συμπόσια* (Mk 6:39) to show how people are assembled for the meal, and this term resonates with the Greek symposium, where social hierarchies have been established through seating plans and other non-verbal signals. These arrangements were strictly observed in the context of a community meal as a whole (cf. Nevett 2010:143). However, Luke uses the term *κλισίας* (“to recline in groups”; Lk 9:14), which illustrates a group of people sitting together and enjoying a meal with company. The Lucan redaction erases the social stratification that differentiates the people and challenges the classification of value and the honour system of that age.

Moreover, the Lucan choice of κλίσια (this being its only occurrence in Luke) requires attention. In LXX, this term occurs only once, in 3 Maccabees 6, in the context of the restoration of Judeans in Egypt when Ptolemy IV commanded a grand celebration for seven days to commemorate the deliverance of Judeans from his persecution (3 Macc 6:31). Josephus also uses this term to illustrate a feast ordered by the King (*AJ* 12.2.12:96). Another such kind of feast is found in Onasander's *Strategicus* in the context of a feast to the victorious soldiers given by their general (35:5). The usage of the term κλίσια ("a place or structure for reclining in") in ancient literature suggests that it could have been used in a specific sense in relation to post-war victory/deliverance celebrations. The theme "deliverance" is evident in both references. Luke places this meal after Jesus' work of releasing the sick from their diseases which echoes the Nazareth proclamation. Besides, the feast prefigures the great eschatological banquet (Lk 14:16-24). Furthermore, Jesus' instruction to the disciples for the distribution anticipates the table-fellowship, the community of shared resources, and the table-service of the early Christ-movement (Acts 2:46; 4:34; 6:1-7).

The message in the story of the five loaves and two fishes is that the Lord Jesus can feed the hungry people miraculously. At the same time, it also personifies the identity of Jesus and foreshadows the early Christ-movement which engages itself with feeding the hungry and embraces the marginalised. Therefore, it is clear that feeding the 5000 reinforces and provides a new standard of the kingdom of God through the reversals furnished by the Lucan redaction. Through this meal narration, Luke develops Christology in a manner relevant to a modern theology of hospitality by presenting Jesus as the one who feeds the hungry, as he becomes a provider of sustenance for all. The Lucan Jesus condenses "spiritual, social, and physical dimensions of life into one potent practice" to the benefit of the poor, the broken and the destitute (Pohl 1999:33). In addition, with his illustration of

people sitting together side-by-side, irrespective of the haves and have-nots, Luke lays a foundation of breaking boundaries for his ecclesiology.

2.4. The Hospitality of Martha and Mary (Lk 10:38-42)

The hospitality offered by Martha and Mary is only recorded in the Gospel of Luke. It is found in the context of the Lucan travel narrative (Lk 9:51-19:47), the “central section” of Luke’s Gospel, which relates the journey of Jesus and his disciples heading towards Jerusalem after their Galilean ministry. This particular account narrates what happened in the house of Martha and Mary.

There is some debate as to whether this particular incident included a meal since Luke does not explicitly state a meal occurred in this passage, e.g., by use of words for “food” or “eating”. However, the Lucan language, in the context of ancient Israelite social practices, strongly implies that meal took place. Luke says Martha “received” (ὕπεδέξατο) him (Lk 10:38). The word ὑποδέχομαι appears in the New Testament in Luke here, in 19:6 and Acts 17:7 (of Jason putting up Paul and Silas in Thessalonica), and in James 2:25 (of Rahab who took Joshua’s messengers into her house in Joshua 2, messengers who, Jos 2:1 states, “lodged there” [MT: וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ-שָׁמָּה: LXX: καὶ κατέλυσαν ἐκεῖ]). According to BDAG, ὑποδέχομαι is “to receive hospitably, receive, welcome, entertain as a guest” (BDAG, 1037). In the ancient Near East, it is inconceivable for such “receiving hospitably” not to entail the host sharing food and drink with the guests. Thus, the use of ὑποδέχομαι in Martha’s reception of Jesus indicates a meal occurred in her house. Furthermore, Luke uses the words διακονία and διακονεῖν (v. 40) in Martha’s complaint that Mary was not helping her with the service. In the Lucan narratives, particularly in the Gospel, these words typically refer to service at the meal table.⁹⁰ Beyer (1964:81) noted that the term retains the association with service at the table throughout all periods and levels of Greek usage. Biblical scholars and

⁹⁰ Cf. Lk 12:37; 17:8; 22:27; Acts 6:2. For a detailed discussion on διακονία, see Beyer, διακονία, *TDNT*, Vol.2, 81-93.

commentators accept that a meal is in view (Fitzmyer 1983:894; Morris 1988:209-210; Goulder 1989:494; Plummer 1992:290, 291; Green 1997:436, 437; Smith 1987:622). Evans suggests Martha might have been preparing an “elaborate meal” (Evans & Sanders 2001:210). Hence, it is appropriate to view a meal occurred here.

New Testament scholarship interprets this account based on the overarching theme of the travel narrative, of hearing the word and loving God (cf. Marshall 1978:439, 451; Fitzmyer 1981:826; Talbert 1982:120; Schweizer 1984:167; Tannehill 1986:136-137; Green 1997:433-434). Tannehill, however, discusses this account in relation to Jesus’ ministry to the oppressed and excluded (1986:132-139; 136-137). Some scholars, moreover, interpret the passage in the light of the ministerial practice of the early Christ-movement where the male followers of Christ exercised full ministry which highlights this narrative as an instruction narrative. In line with this approach, the “silence of Mary” has been seen as Jesus advocating a passive role for women, i.e., listening to the word, rather than a leadership role as an active preacher (cf. Fiorenza 1987:53; Corley 1993:133-144; Dowling 2007:165).

Despite the above interpretations, situating this account in the socio-cultural context of Mediterranean antiquity, particularly in the context of the meal, though the text does not explicitly mention dining, will enhance our understanding. This section will investigate the passage by raising the following questions: First, how might this account assist reflection on the table service practised by the early Christ-movement? Socio-economic considerations will help in reading this account in its analysis of a *κόμνη* in viewing the social stratification of the Lucan countryside. This first question will provide the basis for the second question, does this narrative have anything to do with the role of women in a peasant society? Moreover, as most scholars interpret the silence and submissive role of Mary with gender differentiation (as also the woman in Lk 7:36-50), does the Lucan Jesus attest the traditional, cultural practice of that period?

Luke specifies the setting of this account as a κώμη (“village”; Lk 10:38). This reflects the Lucan practice of placing much of Jesus’ mission in villages. Out of its 17 instances in the New Testament (only the Gospel writers use this term), nine instances are found in Luke’s Gospel.⁹¹ As discussed in Chapter 3, the social condition of the people living in the countryside was stratified. Hence, the following section will analyse the table service in this socio-economic context. The prevailing view concerning the economic reality of the peasant society, namely, that peasants were living at the margins of subsistence and facing forceful demands of taxes and debt that drove them towards downward mobility, is plausible. In keeping with this situation, the villages in Luke are sometimes revealed as sites of economic stratification (Lk 11:5-8; 16:1-9). At this juncture, it is necessary to question a proposal concerning the alleged stinginess of peasant society: “Most villagers in Jesus’ rural environment would have been stingy, as are most peasants under the pressure of subsistence and village envy” (Oakman 1991:175). For his argument, Oakman uses passages such as the good Samaritan (Lk 10:25-37), the father and two sons (Lk 15:11-32), and the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31). His argument, however, is unconvincing since the Lucan purpose of these parables encompasses various themes, and these parables talk not about the stinginess of the peasant but rather illustrate the existence of scarcity and the realities of living in a deprived state.

To explore this further, we observe that Luke presents many instances of Jesus and his disciples being rejected by the crowd, and the reasons behind these rejections are social and religious, but not connected to food (cf. Lk 4:28-30; 8:37; 9:53). The references regarding inhospitality (Lk 9:5-6; 10:10-12) concern the rejection of the proclamation of the good news, and the Lucan Jesus pronounces judgement upon the people who reject the good news (Lk 10:16). At the same time, it is possible that there were a few people among the poor who sometimes behaved in a way which was self-interested or “stingy.” Hence, it is

⁹¹ Lk 5:17; Lk 8:1; 9:52, 56; 10:38; 17:12; 19:30; 24:13; 24:28. Other instances Mt 10:11; 21:2; Mk 8:23, 26; 11:2; Jn 7:42; 11:1, 30.

inappropriate to extrapolate from statements regarding poverty to the alleged miserliness of peasant society. Instead, Luke presents Jesus as welcomed by the crowd (Lk 8:40) and Martha (Lk 10:38), which indicates the welcoming attitude of the villagers (cf. Rohrbaugh 1991:137-149).

The story of Martha and Mary falls within the broader context of the Lucan travel narrative, in which Jesus and the disciples rely on the villagers for their daily living. In essence, Jesus' instructions regarding the dependence upon the villagers for food (Lk 10:7) indicate that meal hospitality happened in welcoming homes. Martha's house could also be one among the homes of welcoming people (Lk 9:1-6; 10:1-12), and the Lucan setting of the scene in her house supports this opinion (cf. Jn 11:1-12:8). There is textual uncertainty as to whether the words "into the house" or "into her house" appear in 10:38. Besides, there is textual support for adding the words "into the house."

Moreover, a few variants add a possessive genitive αὐτῆς ("her") to "the house".⁹² Metzger (1971:153) suggests the shorter reading, which supports the deletion of the phrase "into her house." At the same time, it is essential to note the term ὑποδέχομαι ("received"; Lk 10:38), which needs a qualifying object. As discussed, the meaning of the term ὑποδέχομαι ("welcome/receive"), which infers a meal or banquet, is a clear indication of the physical location of the scenes as houses (Zacchaeus's house; Lk 19:6; Jason's house; Acts 17:7). The phrase here ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν (Lk 10:38) connotes the house of Martha, and the physical location of this meal account that plays a role in this present investigation. Furthermore, in sending his disciples, both twelve and seventy-two, the mission demands vulnerability and insecurity (cf. 9:1-6; 10:9). Jesus directs them to rely on welcoming homes for food and lodging, implicitly hospitality (Lk 9:4). The Lucan Jesus' instruction indicates shared meals between both parties.

⁹² Westcott & Hort (1881): αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ('him into the house') (P3 & C* L); Tregelles (1857): αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς ('him into her house') (A D W Γ Δ Θ).

This story is immediately followed by Jesus' teaching on prayer that has a petition regarding the daily provision, "Give us each day our daily bread" (Lk 11:3). In this account, the Lucan use of ὑποδέχομαι ("welcome" or "entertain hospitably"; Lk 10:38), clearly indicates Martha's care towards her guest, in particular, food as a part of hospitality. Luke confirms his intent concerning food with another unique term συναντιλαμβάνομαι (Lk 10:40), which means to assist in supporting (cf. Num 11:17). Luke portrays Martha as busy with meal preparation for their guest Jesus without servants. The "no servant" situation indicates the socio-economic reality of their house, which is a non-elite house. Luke records as these words from the lips of Martha, and this Lucan technique demonstrates the intense duty in preparation and the centrality of food in entertaining/honouring the guests/strangers.

At this juncture, it is worth noting the points raised by Boyd and Esler (2004). They indicate the failure of most commentators to identify two social issues raised in this story: Jesus' visit to the home of the two sisters and Mary's leaving the women's quarters to listen to Jesus' words (cf. Boyd & Esler 2004:26). The women's quarters in the Greek East are called γυναικωνίτις or γυναικεία, where the women "could oversee the running of the home and have very little contact with the male world" (Pomeroy 1995:80).⁹³ Hence, Mary sitting at the feet of Jesus (Lk 10:39) could be a challenge to the gender-biased honour of the Mediterranean culture where the women were expected to be in the kitchen in meal preparation, or otherwise in the women's quarters of the house. Furthermore, Martha's accusation (Lk 10:40) also reflects the Mediterranean societal expectation about the roles and statuses of women.

⁹³ Neyrey quotes words of Cornelius Nepos (a Roman biographer, 110 BCE - 25 BCE): What Roman would blush to take his wife to a dinner-party? What matron does not frequent the front rooms of her dwelling and show herself in public? But it is very different in Greece; for there a woman is not admitted to a dinner-party, unless relatives only are present, and she keeps to the more retired part of the house called "the women's apartment" (*gynaeconitis*), to which no man has access who is not near of "kin" (Cornelius Nepos, *praefatio*. 4-7). Neyrey, Jerome H. 'Teaching You in Public and from House to House' (Acts 20:20): Unpacking a Cultural Stereotype. Retrieved from <https://www3.nd.edu/~jneyrey1/acts2020.htm>.

Luke also describes Mary as she was listening to Jesus' teaching in the dining area. Concerning women at meals, Corley (1993:109) suggests that the Lucan presentation of women remaining in private and submissive roles reveals the Lucan attitude towards maintaining the culture and practice of the Greco/Roman public/private gender dichotomy. As was argued above, women in the East were not allocated room for themselves during meals; except for the musicians and dancers, no women were allowed to attend these gatherings in Greece (cf. Corley 1993:143-144; Pomeroy 1995:80-81). As seen in the quotation (mentioned above) from Cornelius Nepos, however, women were allowed more latitude in this respect in Rome; but Luke was writing mainly in and for the Greek world. Besides, Mary's posture and her silence are seen as a reflection of a "traditional, matronly role" (Corley 1993:143). Coming to the posture of Mary portrayed in the text, scholars (Plummer 1989:211; D'Angelo 1990:454; Corley 1993:137-138; Green 1997:435) interpret the phrase παρακαθεσθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ κυρίου (Lk 10:39), as Mary positioning herself sitting "down" at the feet of the Lord Jesus and thus identifying her as a disciple. Ellis (1966:161) is unsure about the meaning of the position. However, it is interesting to note the Lucan reference to the sitting posture of Mary. While talking about the posture of the woman in the meal scene at Simon's house, Luke describes her as having stood behind, besides Jesus' feet (καὶ στᾶσα ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ (Lk 7:38) where Jesus κατεκλίθη ("reclined"; Lk 7:36) at the table. Hence, Luke illustrates the position of the woman as she prepares herself for a straightforward approach to Jesus' feet. Here in this account, Luke describes Mary as παρακαθεσθεῖσα (Lk 10:39), having seated herself beside the feet of Jesus (aorist passive with a reflexive meaning "have taken one's place beside"). Since the scholarly consensus identifies a meal scene in this account, Jesus is likely in a reclining position.

Moreover, the Lucan use of *πρός* illustrates the significance of Mary's posture. The proposition *πρός* with the accusative indicates "a motion toward a person or a thing." In a culture that discouraged respectable women's participation in meals and restricted them to the women's quarters, Luke describes Mary sitting with Jesus in the dining area, which is a striking example of breaching social conventions. Furthermore, the Lucan portrayal of Mary's posture as sitting "beside" towards Jesus' feet in the dining area is significant. As discussed above, by accepting her presence in the public area, the Lucan Jesus denounces socio-political structures that promote gender inequality. The Lucan Jesus liberates Mary from her socially defined status of gender inferiority.

Coming to the role of Martha, Luke presents her as busy with the service. According to Smith (1987:622), however, and in line with our discussion above, the Lucan choice of the Greek term *διακονία* (service) both in noun and verb form (Lk 10:40) indicates a table service. It is also difficult to see what else Martha could be busying herself about. Corley, following Schüssler Fiorenza, argues that "the original Lukan intent was to discourage women from taking on Martha's role" in the context of the women leadership issue in the early Christ-movement. They propose this argument concerning the Lucan choice of the term *διακονία*, which primarily identifies male leadership in preaching the good news (cf. Corley 1993:140-141). Their argument is unconvincing, in that they fail to extend their investigation to the occurrence of this term in its verbal form, *διακονέω*. The New Testament writers use the words, *διακονία* and *διακονέω*, to refer to various types of services. As noted earlier in this section, the term *διακονέω* typically refer to the preparation of and participation in a meal.

Here in this account, Luke describes Martha busying herself with the service. Martha's service has to be seen in the context of women's partnership in the ministry of the early Christ-movement. Luke joins her with the fellowship of Mary and Anna (Lk 1:46-55; 2:36-38) who preach the good news, the four women prophetesses (Acts 21:9), women

patrons Mary and Lydia (Acts 12:12; 16:15), and Priscilla the missionary and teacher (Acts 18:18; 18:26). The above references indicate that Martha could have found her place in the company of women who are active partners in exercising a leadership role in the early Christ-movement. Following Witherington, Boyd and Esler (2004:29) argue for gender equality in hearing and obeying the word. In Lk 8:21, the Lucan Jesus intends his followers, both men and women, to study and act on his terms, and he affirms women's role in listening and acting on what they learned. Furthermore, Lucan presentation of Jesus' role reversal, guest to host, suggests that Lucan Jesus' praise for Mary could have been an invitation to Martha to receive his hospitality. Mary ought to sit beside Jesus to listen and to learn what is important in life. The Lucan Jesus' appreciation (Mary has chosen the better part; Lk 10:42) echoes the sinner-woman (Lk 7:36-50) who received forgiveness from Jesus. The mysterious reversals in the guest-host relationship, as Koenig claims, is the joy of hospitality which both parties enjoy (Koenig 1985:7).

Table service, as argued, is an honourable activity; at the same time, through meals, the Lucan Jesus promotes breaking social conventions. Thus, the Lucan Jesus elevates the socio-cultural view of women of his time and alleviates the gender restrictions placed upon them. Through this meal scene, Luke promotes gender equality in his theology of hospitality.

2.5. A Meal for a Friend at Midnight (Lk 11:5-8)

The parable of the Friend at Midnight is a story about a peasant villager, his unexpected guest, and his neighbour. This pericope is preceded by the Lord's Prayer (Lk 11:1-4), and followed by Jesus' three "ask-receive" sayings (Lk 11:9-13), which most scholars interpret in terms of persistence in praying/asking. At the same time, some argue that this particular story is paralleled with the parable of the Unjust Judge (Lk 18:1-8), which talks about persistence in making a request (Jeremias 1972:159-160; Fitzmyer 1985:910; Hendrickx 1986:215-233; Plummer 1989:298; Snodgrass 2008:437-440). Given the Lucan placement of this story and the proposal of twin parables, most scholars interpret Jesus as teaching

something about prayer (Jeremias 1972:159; Marshall 1978:462; Fitzmyer 1985:910; Hendrickx 1986:215-233; Nolland 1993:626; Green 1997:445; Snodgrass 2008:437-440). However, this parable will be investigated here from the cultural aspects of the first-century Mediterranean world. Though it is a short parable consisting of just four verses, it talks about the countryside and customs of peasants. It revolves around a stranger who made a journey and a peasant host who sought loaves from his friend to feed his guest. The broader context of this story, the Lucan travel narrative (Lk 9:51-19:47) is replete with journeys, hospitality, food and meal scenes and allusions. Furthermore, this particular story is preceded by references to hospitality; for example, the radical character of following Jesus (Lk 9:57-62), relying upon villagers for food and lodging (Lk 10:1-9), the hospitality of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:29-37), and hospitality at the house of the two sisters (Lk 10:38-42). So, investigating this parable in the light of hospitality concerns will connect with the realities of society. Relevant issues include food, limited good and hospitality.

In this story, a peasant traveller visits his friend's house. Though the text does not explicitly expose the need of the traveller, it is apparent that he requires food and lodging. So, the owner of the house, the host, goes to his neighbour-friend to request bread for the unexpected guest. He asks his neighbour-friend (φίλος) for three loaves of bread (τρεις ἄρτους) in the middle of the night (μεσονυκτίου; Lk 11:5) because he had nothing to set before his unexpected friend who came by travelling (παρεγένετο ἐξ ὁδοῦ, "came out of a way"; Lk 11:6). Receiving a guest at midnight was not an uncommon event for first-century Judean peasants. In order to avoid the heat of the sun, travellers probably took evening and night journeys (cf. Marshall 1978:464).

Furthermore, providing guests more than was needed was considered a mark of respect in antiquity.⁹⁴ In his request to his neighbour friend, the words of the host, “I have nothing to set before him” (Lk 11:6), picture the condition of this particular peasant as having no food prepared/preserved for unexpected guests. The host’s request for the three loaves indicates the appropriate number of loaves for an evening meal. The request of the host is based upon the need. The host desires to honour his unexpected guest with an unbroken loaf and an ample quantity of bread. So, he asks his neighbour-friend, whom he believes would have them. Through the representation of two peasants, one without three loaves and the other who has them, Luke depicts economic disparity among the peasant society of his time. The scarcity of food challenged the traditional value of hospitality.

In the story, the host addresses his neighbour as “friend” and makes his demand: Φίλε, χρησόν μοι τρεῖς ἄρτους, (“Friend, lend me three loaves”; Lk 11:5). Arnold (2011:466) observes that the absence of the preface “please,” indicates the intimacy and affinity between the host and his neighbour. Noteworthy are the repeated occurrences of the term φίλος, (four times in this story; Lk 10:5 [2x], 6, 8) concerning two pairs of friendships: the first is between two friends living in the same village (the host-the sleeper) and the second is between the traveller and the host of that village. Moreover, food or hospitality connects the three individuals in both relationships: traveller – host – sleeper. The repeated references to friend and friendship suggest that this parable has something essential to say about friendship. Hence, it is appropriate to analyse friendship in terms of the exchange of goods or gift-giving.

⁹⁴ For more discussion on honouring guests with food in the first century Mediterranean world, see Bailey (1976:121-123).

Friendship is a voluntary act in which individual members of society come into a group out of mutual concern for each other. In Greco-Roman social conventions, friendship played a vital role, among both social equals and unequals, in ensuring mutual and reciprocal advantage. Stambaugh and Balch argue that friendship was built on reciprocity in the forms of gift-giving, hospitality, and political support; it solidified in the forms of honour, prestige, and loyalty (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:63-64). In *Laelius de Amicitia*, Cicero defines a much more comprehensive range of meaning. Cicero states that friendship is rooted in *caritas* (“love”; *Ami.* 26, 27, 100) in association with *benevolentia* (“goodwill”; *Ami.* 23, 26) and friendship would be strengthened through reciprocation with *beneficia* (*Ami.* 29-32, 49-51). In his definition on the boundary of friendship, his character Laelius explains that “when the characters of friends are blameless, then there should be between them complete *communitas* (‘community’) of opinions and inclinations in everything without any exception” (*Ami.* 61). At the same time, it also happened between unequal relationships in the form of *patronus* and *cliens*. However, these words were not preferred for reasons of politeness; instead, the more positive term *amicus* (“friendship”) was used to denote this relationship (Saller 1982:15). Since this parable speaks about three peasants and their relationships, it is plausible to assimilate Saller’s argument to this present parable. Furthermore, extending hospitality is part of friendship, and it is considered a sacred duty, even if the visitor is an unknown person (Hultgren 2000:229). Concerning the need, one would supply whatever was required “to uphold the honour of a friend” (Herzog 1994:208; cf. Schottroff 2006:189; Bailey 1976:122). Our discussion above expounds that Luke forges these two pairs of friendship in terms of goodwill and honour in this parable.

In the story, both the traveller and the host rely upon their friend for food, essential subsistence. Both the host and his neighbour friend are challenged to protect the honour of their friends in fulfilling their requests. Thus, food, which is essential for subsistence, plays a vital role in this story in illustrating the relationship between individuals. The neighbour-

friend sees the host's request as a burden (Μή μοι κόπους πάρεχε, "Do not give me trouble;" Lk 11:7) and offers some lame explanations as to why he cannot get up and help his friend: the door has already been locked (ἤδη ἡ θύρα κέκλεισται; Lk 11:7) and he is in bed with his children (τὰ παιδιά μου μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην; Lk 11:7). The Lucan reference to father and children in the one bed illustrates the single-roomed peasant's house (cf. Mt 5:15) where the whole family sleep together.⁹⁵ The refusal of the neighbour-friend has been emphasized with the phrase οὐ δύναμαι (Lk 11:7). Marshall suggests that the negative phrase οὐ δύναμαι is tantamount to "I won't" (Marshall 1978:465; cf. Manson 1946:267). However, in the end, he gets up and gives his friend as much as he needs (ὅσων χρήζει; Lk 11:8). Jesus states his ἀναίδεια (his shamelessness/persistence; Lk 11:8) as the reason behind the change of mind. Besides, the preposition διὰ and the accusative articular infinitive with accusative general reference indicate the causal clause in the phrase "because of his ἀναίδεια" (Lk 11:8). The Lucan use of this construction underlines the urgency and importance of the request. However, there is an ambiguity interpreting the term ἀναίδεια which generally signifies a "lack of sensitivity to what is proper, carelessness about the good opinion of others, shamelessness, impertinence, etc." (BDAG 63), with an example of "shamelessness" at Sir 25:22 (its only instance in the LXX). Scholars find it challenging to understand the meaning of the term ἀναίδεια as to whether it means "shamelessness" or has any connotation of "persistence," and this leads to another interconnecting issue, to whose ἀναίδεια is Jesus referring, the one who asks or the one who is asked?

Luke is the only author who uses the Greek term ἀναίδεια in the New Testament, and it occurs only here in this story. The Lucan use of the enclitic particle γε adds emphasis in sharpening the contrast to "even if ... yet (certainly)" and enhances the thrust of the term. Furthermore, the person connected with ἀναίδεια, that is, the referent of αὐτοῦ, is

⁹⁵ In Mediterranean antiquity, men generally let their wives run domestic life and this was their source of power (Gilmore 1990: 960). Luke's failure to mention the man's wife in this parable raises a question about his marital status. Hence, it is reasonable to assume him as a widower who struggles to raise his children.

ambiguous, and there are two ways *διὰ γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ* (Lk 11:8) has been interpreted. While it has been understood as a positive term meaning “persistence” or “to avoid shame,” some interpretation goes with the negative idea of shameful behaviour.

Firstly, assuming that prayer is the subject of the story, some critics identify the pronoun *αὐτοῦ* (“his”) with the host of the story, thus arguing that *ἀναίδεια* should be positively rendered as “persistence,” “shamelessness” or “importunity” (Snodgrass 1997:510, Johnson Alan 1979:125-127). It is interesting to note that most English translations understand this term as follows: persistence (NKJ-1982, NRS-1989, NAU-1995, NAB-2011); importunity (KJV-1611/1769, RSV-1952); impudence (ESV-2011). Secondly, the frequent occurrence of the term *ἀναίδεια* in legal proceedings connotes a negative idea. Snodgrass gives an example of the legal use of the term in Pausanias’s *Description of Greece*, which talks about two unhewn stones, a stone of outrage (*ὑβρίς*) and a stone of shamelessness (*ἀναίδεια*), on which the prosecutors and defendants stand (*Description of Greece* 1.28.5; cf. Snodgrass 1997:508). Plutarch also uses it in a negative sense, saying that shamelessness (*ἀναίδεια*) and jealousy rule men (*Moralia* 31.2). A few LXX references also indicate a negative connotation.⁹⁶ Van Eck and Van Niekerk (2017:137) observe that Josephus uses *ἀναίδειαν* and its derivatives (seventeen times) in a negative sense. Although both interpretations are plausible, it is undeniable that the ambiguity in the meaning of the term is directly related to the person to whom it is associated. Hence, this dissertation will investigate the meaning of the term and the person associated with it by analysing the cultural concepts of antiquity.

Coming to the subject for the term *ἀναίδεια*, some scholars understand it in a negative sense and ascribe the *ἀναίδεια* to the neighbour-friend. Bailey (1976:128) relates the term *ἀναίδεια* with the neighbour-friend based on the following two observations: (i) since there is no evidence of a repetitive request made by the host in the story, the understanding of

⁹⁶ Deut 28:50; I Sam 2:29; Pro 7:13; 21:29; 25:23; Eccl 8:1; Isa 56:11; Dan 8:23; Dan Th 2:15; Sir 23:6; 25:22.

ἀναίδεια could not mean “persistence;” (ii) the entire verse (Lk 11:8) talks about the neighbour-friend. He furthers his argument and interprets the term as “avoidance of shame” of the neighbour-friend (Bailey 1976:131-132; cf. Jeremias 1970:158). He suggests a mistranslation of an original Aramaic logion, *kissuf* (the Greek equivalent ἀναίτιος or αἰδώς) used of shame as a negative quality and a Lucan addition of an alpha privative to make it a positive. In this reading, Luke uses ἀναίδεια to mean “avoidance of shame” (Bailey 1976:131-132). Bailey’s argument seems a probable solution.

Bailey (1976:122) states that in antiquity, the entire village would have taken the responsibility of caring for the unexpected guest with food and lodging because the unexpected guest was considered as a guest to the whole village, not just to an individual. According to this observation, neighbour-friend could have acted in terms of ἀναίδεια; his fear of being shamed by the community would have driven him to act accordingly. Nevertheless, he would eventually get up from his bed and be willing to provide his friend (the host) with the three loaves of bread. Furthermore, in this honour-shame culture, the neighbour-friend acts honourably to avoid shame to himself, his family and his entire village (cf. Johnson 1979:129-131; Nolland 1993:624-627; Herzog 1994:209; Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:351).

Suppose we connect the term to the host/petitioner. In that case, it carries two strands of meaning: firstly, to avoid shame for not being able to feed his guest (the traveller), he turns to his neighbour-friend and asks for the essential elements of a meal; secondly, if we take the negative understanding shamelessness is reflected in his lack of sense of what is proper in disturbing his neighbour-friend at the middle of the night. In both cases, honour is central. In the light of our earlier discussion on friendship in antiquity, and the host’s expression of his intimacy in addressing his neighbour-friend (Lk 11:5), it is implausible to apply shamelessness to the host/petitioner. Besides, the Lucan redactional formula, by introducing the story with καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς and starting with the phrase formed in a

rhetorical question τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν, leaves the audience to decide which person is connected with ἀναίδεια. This research, however, will keep alive the meaning “to avoid shame” which is applicable to both the host/petitioner or the neighbour-friend.

Even though the immediate context of this pericope is prayer, the importance of food in hospitality which relates to commitment and honour exposes the community to the idea of sharing. Thus, this parable challenges the audience to identify with the needy and to participate in their living reality.

2.6. Eating with a Pharisee (Lk 11:37-54)

Luke narrates three occasions where Jesus dines with the Pharisees, and Luke 11:37-54 is the second (the other two are Luke 7:36:50 and 14:1-12). A Pharisaic invitation to Jesus for a meal occurs in all three accounts (Lk 7:36; 11:37; 14:1), with the invitation expressed in the first two and implied in the third. All three Synoptic Gospels have passage similar to this incident (Mt 15:1-20; Mk 7:1-23; Lk 11:37-54). Fitzmyer (1985:943) argues that Luke 11:37 is a takeoff on Mark 7:2, a passage omitted from “Mark” as a result of the Big Omission, and Marshall suggests a Lucan special source (Marshall 1978:491). Because of some significant peculiarities in this Lucan account, this dissertation treats this passage as a unique event influenced by Mark 7.

Luke situates Jesus as reclining at a table. The Greek word ἀναπίπτω is used to indicate such a posture (cf. Lk 14:10; 17:7; 22:14). Luke does not mention οἶκος as the setting for the actual meal. However, the Lucan use of terms like εἰσελθὼν “having gone in” (Lk 11:37) and the position of reclining (ἀνέπεσεν “he reclined”, Lk 11:37) implies the place of the meal, i.e., the Pharisee’s house, and sets the stage for Jesus’ radical attacks. Luke records that Jesus accepts a Pharisee’s invitation to have a meal, ἀριστάω (Lk 11:37). The Lucan redaction in setting the scene as a meal scene indicates Lucan concern with meals and table-fellowship.

Along with Jesus, three other groups of guests (who fall within the categories of retainers and the non-elite of the society), are found in this account: Pharisees, scribes, and lawyers (also note Pharisees and scribes in Lk 7:36-50, and Pharisees and lawyers in Lk 14:1-24). Apart from these, Luke mentions no other participants as being invited to this meal. Hence, we may assume that the Pharisee wants to maintain the *status quo* in his association with his friends. Furthermore, the Lucan depiction of Jesus' breaching of the host's purity concerns and the astonishment of the Pharisee (Lk 11:38) contribute the point of departure for the whole narration on various themes.

According to the text, it is clear that Jesus accepts the invitation of a Pharisee and reclines at a table and starts eating, failing to wash, which is handwashing (Green 1997:470). Jesus' failure to wash before eating leaves the Pharisee astonished (ἐθαύμασεν; Lk 11:38), rather than just surprised. The custom of washing hands before eating had no direct biblical basis; however, the oral traditions demanded this practice. Furthermore, the Pharisees wanted to apply purity concerns in the temple to the layman in their everyday life, including eating. They sought everyone to observe ritual purity even concerning their ordinary everyday meals (Neusner 1979:83). The handwashing tradition might have been inferred from Lev 15:11, and it would have developed during the Second Temple period (cf. *m. Hul.* 106a; *m. Yad.* 4:6-8; *m. Ber.* 8:1-2).⁹⁷ Morris (1988:222) states that before meals, "scrupulous Jews" washed their hands by pouring water over them to remove the defilement caused by their contact with a sinful world and to preserve the purity of the people eating the food (cf. Furstenberg 2008: 189-190). Besides, association with the Greeks could also be a reason behind this custom: making themselves clean and pure from any perceived defilement caused by association with non-Judeans who were believed to be religiously defiled (cf. Klawans 1995). Here in this narration, there is no evidence for Jesus' association with non-Judeans. In addition, Luke places this meal scene after Jesus' healing of a blind,

⁹⁷ For more details refer the article by Rav David Brofsky "The Laws of Berakhot." Retrieved from <https://www.etzion.org.il/en/shiur-06-netilat-yadayim>.

mute demoniac (Lk 11:14), and this might have provided an additional reason for the Pharisee to have thought Jesus should have washed before eating. The Pharisaic purity concerns made him to regard Jesus as defiled because of his contact with the demon-possessed man/boy.⁹⁸ Hence, there are two interrelated possibilities for the Pharisee's unspoken amazement: first, the Pharisee could have wished Jesus to confirm the Pharisaic system of duties and expectations concerning purity laws; second, the Pharisees would have drawn boundaries in relation with the sick (cf. Neusner 1979:83; 2007:301; Borsch 2016:264).

In a setting which takes up the Pharisaic concern for purification before meals, it is essential to investigate Jesus' response addressed to both the Pharisees and scribes. Some scholars (Ellis 1974:168-169; Bock 1996:1126) find Jesus' action as deliberate: he wanted to correct the hypocritical behaviour of the Pharisees and scribes. In other ways in this passage the Lucan Jesus' reaction and offensive remarks reach "an unprecedented height" (cf. Lk 11:53-54; Green 1997:468). The Lucan Jesus calls them "fools" (Lk 11:40) and "unmarked graves" (Lk 11:44) and associates them with murderers (Lk 11:48). This hostile situation pushes them to find fault with Jesus. In any case, the Lucan Jesus uses the Pharisee's inner thoughts, though the text does not tell us that explicitly, to critique their behaviour, particularly in sharing their table with others. Some scholars suggest this pericope is a modified form of a Hellenistic symposium, where lively table-talk is expected (Steele 1984; Smith 1987: 621, 634-635). However, Jesus' divisive comments and reproachful charges illustrate an unexpected scenario. The Lucan Jesus uses the controversy over handwashing as his point of departure to explore the more significant questions related to real purity.

⁹⁸ Belief in demons is related to the concept of impurity. The Levitical instructions caution the Israelites not to associate with mediums or wizards because it may make them unclean (Lev 19:31). Besides, Deuteronomy connects the disobedience to the Law and physical ailments (Deut 28:29, 61), and Leviticus forbids disabled persons to become priests (Lev 21:17-20). According to Zoroastrianism all the sickness and health issues are related to demonic origin which is the "chief cause of pollution" (Boyce 1975:306).

The Lucan Jesus denounces the Pharisees as being full of ἀρπαγῆς καὶ πονηρίας (“greed and wickedness”; Lk 11:39) and exposes their wickedness by using vessel imagery. Jesus uses familiar things like cups and plates to illustrate their inner defilement, which contrasts with their outward rigid purity concerns. Christopher Hays (2010:385) states that “Ironically, the fastidious Pharisaic attention to external purity avails for nothing since they are already inwardly profane. No amount of washing will purify them.” In the light of our earlier discussion on ritual purity, it is reasonable that Jesus’ opting-out of washing hands and then eating with unwashed hands was a provocative act of defilement, and through his action, the Lucan Jesus identified himself as an outsider as far as the Pharisees and those who followed their teachings were concerned. Hence, this meal account could be an encouragement to the Lucan audience concerning their table sharing with non-Judean Christ-followers rather than just condemning the Pharisaic rituals and external identity markers (for example, circumcision and table-fellowship in the case of Jerusalem Council; Acts 15:5).

Furthermore, the second part of Jesus’ denouncement of the Pharisees is a Lucan redaction. For the Lucan Jesus, the Pharisees were meticulous in the details of the Law, and they were very fastidious in keeping the Law in their tithing according to the regulations that were later recorded in the Mishnah (*m. She.* 9:1). However, the Lucan Jesus charges that they are “full of greed and wickedness” (Lk 11:39). The Pharisees portray themselves as very much faithful in their tithes, but when it comes to exemplifying God’s love and mercy to others, they fail in “justice and love for God” (Lk 11:41-42; cf. Deut 6:5; Mic 6:8). By emphasizing ethical behaviour, Luke turns the table on the Pharisees who criticise Jesus’ action concerning ritual behaviour. After making substantial reproachful charges, the Lucan Jesus issues a command regarding almsgiving. Here, Jesus’ exhortation underscores what is real purity. The Matthean parallel explicitly confines its meaning about the cleanliness of the cup to mean internal purity, which should precede external observance (Mt 23:26). But Luke relates it to almsgiving. Hence, it is necessary to investigate the much-debated terms

τὰ ἐνόντα and ἐλεημοσύνην (Lk 11:41) to understand the meaning of the Lucan redaction: does the Lucan Jesus propose a new way of being ritually pure? Does the act of almsgiving make the defiled clean?

Three different approaches have been taken in interpreting the phrase, τὰ ἐνόντα δότε ἐλεημοσύνην (Lk 11:41). Firstly, some scholars propose that Luke misread an original Aramaic source by reading נָתַן (“give alms”) rather than כִּבֵּשׁ (“cleanse”). They argue that Matthew correctly translates this as “cleansing of heart” (Lk 11:41 with Mt 23:26),⁹⁹ but Bock argues that the Matthean verse is an independent verse, not parallel to this Lucan Jesus’ exhortation (cf. Bock 1996:1115). Besides, Casey suggests that it is a deliberate reinterpretation of the saying (Casey 2002:82; cf. Marshall 1978: 496). The second option is, translating τὰ ἐνόντα as an adverbial accusative (“give alms inwardly,” i.e., from the heart), and this interpretation connects to the person’s character, caring and benevolent act. Though this interpretation offers an improved understanding, still the third option could define the phrase’s exact meaning. This is that here we have a double accusative construction. On this view τὰ ἐνόντα (substantival participle) is the direct object of the verb δότε (“give”; Lk 11:41) and ἐλεημοσύνην (“alms”; Lk 11:41) complements the object (cf. Culy, Parsons & Stigall 2010:402). Hence, the translation would be like this: “give the things which you have as alms” or “what you have, you give as alms.” Furthermore, this reading matches Jesus’ accusation against the Pharisees, that they are wicked inside (Lk 11:39) and τὰ ἐνόντα, the things they possess, could be retained by them because of their greed. BADG (Bauer 2000:334) suggests that τὰ ἐνόντα means “what is inside, the contents”; however, Liddle and Scott (1996:563) note the word can mean the cargo of a ship or the contents of a basket which suggests a meaning “possessions” (cf. Plato, *Republic* 488c). Hence, the third option fits. The question that now arises is whether Luke says that alms-giving makes everything defiled pure and clean.

⁹⁹ For a detailed discussion cf. Marshall 1978:495-496; Plummer 1989:310-311.

According to Downs, verse 41 is one of the two frequently quoted New Testament texts advocating the idea of atoning almsgiving. He argues that the care for the poor “cleanses human sin” (Downs 2016:125, 127). He takes the story of Cornelius (Acts 10) as an example for atoning almsgiving. Cornelius may practise almsgiving and merciful deeds (Acts 10:2), but he is being cleansed/saved by the Holy Spirit as he responds in faith to Peter’s message (Acts 15:8–9). Luke emphatically relates salvation with faith in the story of Cornelius. The Third Gospel also has two examples where Jesus appreciates the faith of non-Judean members: “your faith has saved you” (Lk 7:50; 8:48). Johnson’s (1991:189) argument assists the clarification of this issue. He argues that “Luke uses possessions language consistently to symbolize internal responses.” Based on a reference from Liddell and Scott, and assuming that Jesus is talking about alms-giving, Johnson’s argument is plausible, especially in terms of possessions. It is reasonable to believe that the Lucan Jesus encourages almsgiving to the destitute by sharing possessions, which is an expression of inward cleanliness and removal of greed (as in Mt 23:26). The Lucan Jesus’ exhortation concerning benevolent acts illustrates generalised reciprocity. Besides, the immediate context illustrates the Lucan concern towards the πτωχοί, because they are the ones who need alms. Scheffler (2006:90-113) observes that the concern towards the destitute is interconnected with other aspects of human suffering. Like many Lucan accounts, this meal account also testifies to the Lucan Jesus’ extending his table to the destitute (Lk 5:27-29; 7:36; 11:37; 14:1) along with the retainers of the society.

Hence, we may conclude that the setting of this meal scene was an encouragement to the members of the early Christ-movement in two ways. Firstly, the Lucan Jesus’ challenge to the Pharisaic purity concerns was a legitimization of table-fellowship between the Judean and the non-Judean Christ-followers. Secondly, it was a motivation for the Lucan audience to share their possessions in almsgiving rather than giving attention to unnecessary outward-facing and honour-enhancing practices.

2.7. A Meal with Pharisees and the Great Banquet (14:1-24)

Luke sets the parable of the “Great Banquet” in the context of Jesus’ meal at the house of an ἄρχων (chief or ruler) of the Pharisees. The same setting includes the healing of a man with dropsy on the Sabbath. This is a story found only in Luke, and it is one of the five Sabbath day healings recorded in Luke (see also the demoniac at Capernaum in Lk 4:31, Simon’s mother-in-law in Lk 4:38, a man with the withered hand in Lk 6:6, and the crippled women in Lk 13:14).

The meal account in Luke 14 is the third and last meal that Jesus shares with the Pharisees (cf. Lk 7:36-50; 11:37-54), and it is the second occasion Luke brackets together the Pharisees and the lawyers (Lk 7:30; 14:3). Of considerable moment are the reactions of Jesus to Pharisaic behaviour. In the first account (Lk 7:36-50) the host Pharisee was probably humiliated by Jesus’ forceful comments on hospitality behaviour. In the second account (Lk 11:37-54), the Lucan Jesus robustly denounces not just the host but the whole Pharisaic community which turns the setting into a hostile situation. Like Jesus’ earlier two meals, this account also revolves around controversy. In this meal scene, Jesus appears to be lord over the discussion; however, with a question from one of the guests (Lk 14:15), Luke brings a lively dialogic character to this meal scene. Furthermore, Luke records this account at length and differentiates three distinct units: (i) Sabbath healing (Lk 14:1-6); (ii) criticism of the social order (Lk 14:7-11); (iii) instruction on banquet invitations and the parable of the Great Banquet (Lk 14:12-24). Hence, the Lucan special material (Lk 14:1-14) and the Lucan redaction of the parable (Lk 14:15-24 // Mt 2:1-14) require close attention.

Firstly, Luke describes Jesus entering the house of a ruler of the Pharisees on the Sabbath (Lk 14:1), even after his criticism of and woes against the Pharisees in his previous meals with them. Amidst this strained relationship between Jesus and the Pharisees, it is surprising to see Jesus going to share a meal with a chief/ruler of the Pharisees. Luke does not explicitly record the invitation; however, it is implied in the text and requires analysis.

Is it a deliberate invitation to find fault with Jesus? Luke does not tell us that the Pharisees and scribes were looking for an opportunity to trap him either in his actions or words (unlike in Lk 6:7). However, Lucan use of the verb παρατηρέω (“watch closely with malicious intent”; Lk 14:1) pictures them as hoping that Jesus would break the Sabbath law. Moreover, there are many noticeable similarities with another Sabbath day healing story, that of a possessed crippled woman (Lk 13:11-17) in the previous chapter. Both stories detail the presence of religious leaders (chief of the synagogue and chief of the Pharisees, Lk 13:14; 14:1), the healing (Lk 13:12; 14:4), and the analogy of treating animals on the Sabbath (Lk 13:15; 14:5). Luke does not mention that the man with dropsy is a guest to the meal (Lk 14:2), so perhaps we think he had come hoping to be healed by Jesus. Whether the Pharisee arranges to find fault with Jesus or not, this scene echoes the earlier controversial Sabbath healing (Lk 6:6-11).

According to Fitzmyer (1985:1041), dropsy (ὕδρωπικός; Lk 14:2 is “an abnormal accumulation of serous fluids in connective tissues or cavities of the body accompanied by swelling, distention, or defective circulation.” Plummer (1989:354) identifies this disease with the curse associated with sexual immorality (Num 5:21-22; Ps 109:18; cf. Marshall 1978:578-579). On the other hand, Stuart Love (1998:139-140) suggests that Luke could have used the Cynic metaphor for avarice and points out quotations from the Cynic and Stoic philosophers. Braun interprets dropsy as a metaphor for “insatiable desires,” and he equates this desire with “need for release” in the proclamation of the good news (cf. Braun 1995:30-42). The occurrence of this term in Horace’s *Carmina* (Hor. *Od* 2.2) strengthens Braun’s interpretation. According to the context of the poem, swelling disease (dropsy) is an analogy for greed. Horace uses it to indicate destructive growth; however, the idea of limitless growth is also a plausible connotation. In the light of our discussion above, dropsy’s insatiable craving for more water could have been parallel to the Pharisee’s acquisitive desire for more honour.

The emphasis of this pericope, however, is the healing “on the Sabbath.” Luke uses this account to describe the Pharisaic view towards the Sabbath healing, which is a violation rather than a compassionate act. Luke illustrates the conflict in Jesus’ two rhetorical questions, which challenge the Pharisees and the lawyers (Lk 14:3, 5). The Lucan Jesus initiates the conversation with a rhetorical question as an answer to their (the lawyers’ and the Pharisees’) unspoken thoughts. Here, notably, Luke reverses his earlier order; in a previous reference, Luke mentions them as “Pharisees and lawyers” (Lk 7:30). The Lucan redaction, in placing the order in his linking “lawyers and Pharisees,” indicates a controversy that centres around the Law. The Lucan Jesus asks them about a matter of principle, Ἐξεστὶν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεῦσαι ἢ οὐ (“Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath or not?”; Lk 14:3). What meaning is conveyed by ἐξεστὶν? Foerster proffers a legal connotation of his term. He suggests that in the New Testament this term (ἐξεστὶν) occurs in its relation to the Law and the will of God (cf. Foerster, W. *TDNT* 2:560-561). With this term, Luke presents Jesus as he is speaking in their language. Jesus’ question left them silent (Lk 14:4). Luke uses the verb ἡσυχάζω (“to remain quiet”; Lk 14:4).

After the healing incident, the Lucan Jesus again poses another question on the matter of actual practice (Lk 14:5). Again, they are unable to answer (Lk 14:6). Johnson (1991:23) observes that the silence of the Pharisees and the lawyers is strange because “silence was generally taken for consent in legal affairs.” There are two major streams of thought concerning Sabbath laws, one present in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the other in the Mishnah. The former seems to be more rigid. For example, a ruling from the Damascus Document in the Dead Sea Scrolls forbids helping an animal out of a pit or ditch (*Damascus Document* XI, 13), whereas the Mishnah grants that right (*m. Sha* 15:1ff; *b. Sha* 128b).¹⁰⁰ Thiessen (2020:168-171) takes this ruling and a reference from Qumran literature (4Q265 6 5-8) and argues that “legal defence coincides with some of his contemporary arguments.” His aim is

¹⁰⁰ The rabbis were more liberal than the Dead Sea community. The primary references are cited from Kimbrough (1966:483-502).

to present Jesus as the one with priestly concerns. However, our discussion above indicates the intention of the Pharisees and scribes in exposing Jesus as a lawbreaker, but Jesus' intention, successfully implemented, is to expose their hypocrisy and not to make a case for the validity of the law. Through his rhetorical question related to their permitted practice, the Lucan Jesus equates family members and possessions (Lk 14:5) with the vulnerable. The Lucan Jesus' question brings out their inflexibility in relation to the marginalized (exemplified in the man with dropsy) by pointing out an example of how quickly they would drop their rules to save one of their domestic animals.

According to the table etiquette of the Mediterranean antiquity, *who eats with whom*, and the purity concerns of Pharisees, the diseased man could not be an invitee of the meal. With the phrase "let him go" (Lk 14:4), he might probably have entered into the Pharisee's house curious to see Jesus. However, in the light of the Lucan use of the term παρατηρέω, as discussed above, the Pharisees could probably have brought the man with dropsy into the house with an intention to entrap Jesus (Morris 1988:251-252). The text does not talk about the status of the diseased man. As discussed in Chapter 3 (4.1.2), however, it is justifiable to identify him with the πτωχοί, dishonoured, and marginalized, to whom Jesus refers later this pericope (Lk 14:13, 21). The Lucan Jesus emphasizes the importance of caring for the sick and needy. Thus, the preliminary healing account sets the themes for Jesus' exhortation on banquet arrangements and invitations.

Secondly, Luke exposes the social order in illustrating the guests of the Pharisee (probably retainers, including mostly Pharisees and lawyers (Lk 14.3)) as jockeying for positions of honour at tables (Lk 14:7-11; cf. Lk 20:46). Aspiring for "special honour" and the "seat of honour" was a widespread desideration in Mediterranean antiquity (Tannehill 1996:229). Jesus' teaching in the parable speaks rather to the issue of Judean (including Pharisaic) immersion in the usual ancient Mediterranean patterns of competitive striving for

honour. The guests in this pericope choose the seat of honour at the table. Luke utilizes this meal account to describe the guests' desire for special honour.

Meals in antiquity are "a potential source of information about a group's symbolic universe", and meals affirm or legitimate roles and statuses of persons (Neyrey 1991:368; cf. Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:367). Eating with persons of similar rank is considered necessary in preserving one's honour and social status. The seating arrangements of a meal in a particular way affirm the guests' social status; in other words, the dining positions are a direct representation of honour, status and power. Hence, the attitude of choosing prominent places indicates their inclination towards a higher social rank. At the same time, the host invites those who can reciprocate and help him to improve his social status.

Furthermore, as discussed, meals in antiquity build relationships between social equals and people invite their peers to "cement a valuable friendship" (Esler 1987:176). This observation suggests that the meal in elite/retainer society is balanced reciprocity that helps to maintain social relations and status among social equals. Furthermore, questions like, *who eats with whom? And who sits where?*, assists them to maintain boundaries. Even though cultural conventions concerning meals weigh on honour and shame, the Lucan Jesus challenges the norms of social stratification and reciprocity by replacing them with a sense of inclusiveness.

In a culture where the seating arrangements were designed to display the diners' honour and status in society, the Lucan Jesus exhorts the guests to prefer the lowest places in the sense of identifying with those seated there, who may well have been marginalized persons, which is certainly a status reversal. The Lucan narratives have many references to the association of Jesus and his disciples with retainers: Pharisees (Lk 7:36-50; 11:37-54; 14:1-24; 17:20-21), tax collectors (Lk 5:27-39; 19:1-10), lawyers (Lk 7:30; 11:45-52; 14:3), and Roman centurions (Lk 7:1-10; Acts 10:1-48). Through this pericope, Luke encourages them to transfer their affinity from the elite to the socially downcast people. Thus, the Lucan

Jesus' exhortation echoes the proclamation of the good news (Lk 4:18-20) and foreshadows the practice of communal sharing in the early Christ-movement (Acts 2:2:45; 4:34-36).

Thirdly, the Lucan Jesus continues his instruction on meal etiquette through directions regarding the proper choice of guests for a banquet (Lk 14:12-14) and the parable of the great banquet (Lk 14:15-24). Through his guidelines, the Lucan Jesus attacks the whole system of reciprocity and social relations.

Meals between social equals, "peer-group dinners," was a common practice in antiquity, for example, Levi's banquet (Garnsey 1999:137-138). At the same time, the host invites those who can reciprocate and help him to improve his social status. The host of this meal, the chief of the Pharisees who belongs to the retainer's class, prepared a meal for his social equals to maintain/improve his honour and social status. In Lk 14:12, Luke mentions four types of guests, φίλοι, ἀδελφοί, συγγενεῖς, γείτονες πλουσίοι ("friends, brothers, relatives, rich neighbours"; Lk 14:12). The etiquette of the Greco-Roman meal and the Lucan list of guests suggest that the host of this particular meal (chief or ruler of the Pharisees) would probably have invited his social equals for this meal.

The Lucan Jesus discloses the attitude of his host, in fact, the whole Pharisaic group, and the lawyers who are representative of the retainer class. The construction of the present active imperative of φωνέω ("call"; Lk 14:12) with a negative particle clearly describes the intended break from a practice that was already in operation, which suggest that the Lucan Jesus' statement (Lk 14:12) is a rejection of an emic custom which in this dissertation has been described etically as "balanced reciprocity." With the adjective πλούσιος ("rich") to describe neighbours, Luke is referring to relationships based on economic strength. In the world of balanced reciprocity and social status through meals, the Lucan Jesus directs his followers to invite "destitute, crippled, blind and lame" (Lk 14:13), those who could not repay. It is worth noting that this list is rather similar to those who are excluded from the

Qumran congregation (1QSa 2:5b-9a),¹⁰¹ and recalls the Lucan Jesus' proclamation in Nazareth (Lk 4:18; cf. 7:22). Thus, the Lucan Jesus diametrically overturns the common practice of that period and encourages generalized reciprocity and inclusiveness in breaking socio-economic barriers. Furthermore, the parable of the great banquet (Lk14:16-24) is another example.

The parable of the great banquet (Lk14:16-24) is an illustration of Jesus' teaching on the fellowship expected in meals and banquets. Fitzmyer (1985:1049) sees the parable as a climax of this meal account (Lk 14:1-24). The Lucan identification of the host in the parable (hereafter "the host") should be noted. Matthew describes him as a "king" (Mt 22:1), whereas in Luke and Thomas (*logion* 64), the host is called an ἄνθρωπος ("a certain man," lit. "human being"; Lk 14:16). Moreover, in a later section of this parable, Luke identifies him as κύριος ("lord"; Lk 14:21-22), and οἰκοδεσπότης ("house owner"; Lk 14:21). Apart from this occurrence, the term οἰκοδεσπότης occurs thrice in the Gospel and Luke uses all occurrences in a context of wealth and ownership (Lk 12:39; 13:25; 22:11). The Lucan choice of the terms and his placement in a meal at the house of an ἄρχων of the Pharisees prompt us to equate both the hosts, the Pharisee and the host of the parable (cf. Rohrbach 1991:138-139).

At this juncture, of great significance is the Lucan insertion of a beatitude "Blessed is he who will eat bread in the kingdom of God" (Lk 14:15) which could be a summing-up of all the Lucan beatitudes.¹⁰² The Lucan beatitude begins with announcing the kingdom of God to the πτωχοί, and it ends with ensuring their sustenance in the kingdom of God.¹⁰³ Out

¹⁰¹ 1QSa 2:5b-9a: "No one physically afflicted, either struck with deformed feet or hands, lame, or blind, or deaf, or dumb, or physically afflicted with any defect that can be seen, or an old man who is tottering and unable to keep still in the midst of the congregation, none of these shall enter to stand in the midst of the congregation of the m[e]n of renown, for holy angels are [in] their [congregation]" (cf. Hempel 2013:61).

¹⁰² Lk 6:20, 21(*2), 22, 23; 10:23; 12:37; 14:15.

¹⁰³ Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ is a much discussed and disputed topic, which this research will not discuss in detail. However, this research assumes this phrase as a future eschatological event, but also as in some sense already present (Kümmel 1957:151-155; Perrin 1963:185ff; Ladd 1964:144, 213).

of its 14 occurrences in Luke, μακάριος (“blessed” or “happy”) is used 11 times¹⁰⁴ concerning the lowly and marginalised. Yet, does the Lucan Jesus say who the blessed person in the banquet is?

In this parable, the host invites many guests to his great banquet (δοχή; Lk 14:16), and they appear to be his social equals. Moreover, in a limited good society, the invitation to a great banquet indicates that the host must be a wealthy person, such as a member of the elite, retainers, and landowners (Jeremias 1972:176; Rohrbaugh 1991:140). The fact that the first invitee to refuse had just bought a field and the second five yoke of oxen indicates that these were reasonably well-off people. Inviting social peer group members to a meal was a custom based on social recognition where reciprocal relations played a vital role in their honour or shame status. He invites his peers for a great banquet to solidify his measure of social approval and to maintain his position of honour among his wealthy peers. These are clear indications of balanced reciprocity (Rohrbaugh 1991:362-363). Worthy of note is the Lucan choice of the term δοχή (“banquet”). Outside the New Testament, the LXX has six references to δοχή (Gen 21:8; 26:30; 1 Esr 3:1; Esth 1:3; 5:4, 5, 8, 12, 14; Dan 5:1) and the term is used as a reference to a feast. Except for a banquet of Abraham (Gen 21:8), all of these references talk about banquets made for wealthy persons, nobles, governors, and king. In his exhortation, the Lucan Jesus undermines the norms of social stratification. He encourages the host to invite the destitute, the crippled, the lame and the blind (Lk 14:13), the lower rungs of the society, those who are unable to reciprocate. Matthew, in stark contrast, has the host bring in “whomever you may find” (Matt 22:10). Green (1997:553) observes the Lucan Jesus’ exhortation as their inclusion into an extended kin group.

The Lucan redaction is significant. In the Lucan parable, the host sends his slave twice to bring such kinds of people to his great banquet, whereas the king in Matthew sends his servants only once (Mt 22:9). The Lucan host sends his slave to “the streets and lanes of

¹⁰⁴ Lk 1:42(*2), 45, 48; 6:20, 21(*2), 22, 23; 12:37; 14:15.

the city” for the first set of guests mentioning the identity of people, and “the roads and lanes” (Lk 14:21) for the second set of guests. The list here recalls Jesus’ exhortation on whom to invite to a banquet (Lk 14:13). Rohrbaugh (1991:144) suggests that the places listed in Luke reflect the structure of the outlying precincts of pre-industrial cities. The places such as πλατεῖαι (“streets”) and ῥύμαι (“lanes,” lit. “narrow streets”; cf. Acts 9:11; 12:10) where the destitute go to beg.

Moreover, in his second direction (Lk 14:23), the host sends his slave to ὁδοί (“roads”), which refer to the roads that run to the areas outside the city where one could find strangers and travellers, and to φραγμοί. Plummer suggests “the public roads inside the city” for φραγμοί, which is inappropriate. The other occurrences of this term in the New Testament suggest the meaning “fence” (cf. in relation with a vineyard; Mt 21:33; Mk 12:1). Hence, the word probably refers to the paths and lanes of the countryside, the place of the truly neglected and unwanted destitute and many people with diseases. Those who were in need were fed in the banquet. Feeding the needy in the meal account surpasses the host’s initial social inclination and social expectations.

The inclusion at the table echoes the messianic banquet recorded in Lk 13:29, where the people from “the east, west, north, and south” recline in the kingdom of God. Furthermore, the Lucan choice of terms in the invitations highlights his concern. In his first invitation, the host sends his slave to εἰσάγω (“bring”; Lk 14:21) the guests, and this has been intensified in his second invitation: for now, he sends the slave to ἀναγκάζω (“compel, force”; Lk 14:23), which describes a persistent action. However, Matthew records that the king ordered his servants to καλέω (“call”; Mt 22:9) many for the feast. The Lucan choice of terms in the invitations emphasizes his concern for the πτωχοί. Through the radical reconstruction of the meal scene, the Lucan Jesus redefines honour. He offers a new paradigm that counters the first-century honour-shame culture and encourages generalised

reciprocity, giving without expecting a return. The host breaches social boundaries to make his banquet perfect. This is in close compliance with the vision of Lk 4:18.

Initially, the host prepares a great banquet to maintain his social status by acquiring honour among his peers, but in the end, Luke presents him as a person transformed to belief in a different social order. Hence, it is evident that the host crosses social boundaries. However, there is something more. Sharing the table with people such as these demands that the host identifies himself with those he shares the meal. Through his sharing the table with the *πτωχοί*, he identifies himself with the expendables and the social outcasts.

Consequently, he probably falls in the estimation of his peer group, and loses honour in their eyes. Rohrbaugh (1991:146) observes this in the light of the life of early Christ-followers as the rich Christ-followers are put at risk of being cut off from their wealthy fellow non-Christ-followers. However, the book of Acts testifies to their exemplary life as they share some, at least, of their possessions with the needy.

Thus, this meal narration portrays the identity of Lucan vision of the early Christ-movement, which breaches social boundaries with its radical inclusivity by ensuring food for the outcasts, the underprivileged, destitute, unwanted and unnoticed. It is undeniable that this parable has been interpreted in relation to the election of God. Sanders (1974:245-271) suggests that this parable, perhaps the entire central section of Luke's Gospel (9:43b-19:48) may be a redefinition of the Jewish belief in the election of Israel or the election of certain righteous individuals within Israel. Such an interpretation is meagre because this parable demands a human response in order to be accepted into the eschatological banquet.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the invitation extended to the poor, the crippled, the blind, and the lame (Lk 14:13) contrasts with the exclusiveness of the Qumran community (cf. 1 QSa 2:6-10; 1QM

¹⁰⁵ According to Downs (2016:130), it is Lucan exhortation towards Pharisees.

7:4-6). In any case, this parable challenges the doctrine of election and exhorts the early Christ-followers for inclusivism and generalized reciprocity.

2.8. Eating with Tax Collectors and Sinners (Lk 15:11-32)

Luke records three parables in this chapter, and the story of a Father and Two Sons is unique to Luke. N. T. Wright (1996:126; 2002:188) views this parable as the “story of Israel,” with regards to the exile and the restoration of the nation. He relates the exile of the younger son to the story of the Exodus and the Babylonian exile. His interpretation fits with Exodus, where the socio-political settlement is evident, because the immediate readers of Luke-Acts were a mixed group of Judeans and non-Judeans, and the inclusion of non-Judeans in the Christ-movement is a major theme of Luke-Acts. When it comes to the Babylonian exile, he interprets the parable in terms of God’s love, which is the theme of this parable. However, it is difficult to square Wright’s interpretation with the wider scheme of Lucan theology where Israel’s exile and return are not really an issue. Accordingly, this section will investigate the parable in light of the broader Lucan picture and the immediate context, which concerns table sharing with the excluded groups.

Luke precedes this narration with the grumbling of Pharisees and scribes against Jesus’ table-fellowship with tax collectors and sinners (Lk 15:1-2), which they consider shameful and dishonourable. In this context, the Lucan Jesus narrates three parables as a challenge to them. The schematic theme that connects these parables is lost-found-rejoice/celebrate, as well as an invitation for celebration. Luke artfully arranges these parables from a wide to a narrow range: 100 sheep; 10 coins; two sons. In Chapter 3, we discussed salient aspects of reciprocity illustrated in this parable. In line with this discussion, this section will investigate the cause and effect of the reciprocity that is exemplified here. Also, there are two significant scenes concerning food which are worthy of investigation: First is the eating of the food of pigs in a foreign land by the younger son, and second, in contrast to the first is a great banquet prepared by the father for the whole village.

Furthermore, the actions of the father need investigation because they challenge the customs of that period.

In the parable, Luke depicts the younger son as he spends all his possessions in ἀσώτως living (Lk 15:13). This adverb does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament or LXX, but it is common in extra-biblical literature. The noun form ἀσωτία appears in a few New Testament books in the sense of “dissoluteness” or “recklessness” (cf. Eph 5:18; Tit 1:6; 1 Pet 4:4). The elder son reveals its meaning here when he complains that his brother has spent his possessions on prostitutes (Lk 15:30). A reference in the LXX (2 Macc. 6:4) indicates ἀσωτία as immoral behaviour of a kind similar to that in view here: ‘For the temple was filled with debauchery (ἀσωτία) and revelling by the non-Judeans, who dallied with prostitutes. Some scholars read ζῶν ἀσώτως (Lk 15:13) as “unhealthy” or “disease” (Fitzmyer 1985:1088; Stiller 2005:115). Either way, it is reasonable to understand this term in the sense of the younger son’s “recklessness,”¹⁰⁶ which renders him destitute. His wasteful spending dissipates his possessions, and the severe famine in the country puts him in a pathetic situation of starvation. Luke unambiguously pictures this as ἐγένετο λιμὸς ἰσχυρὰ ... καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξατο ὑστερεῖσθαι (Lk 15:14), as the severe famine leads this penniless younger son into the state of need. It is interesting to see the Lucan negative portrayal of wealth in this parable with regards to the younger son. In a culture where wealth is related to honour, here Luke portrays the display of the wealth of the younger son as not bringing him honour or status, but rather loneliness, shame and hunger.

In the first scene, Luke portrays him as a person who is longing to fill his stomach with κέρατια (“carob pods”; Lk 15:16), which was pigs’ food. Carob pods are the bitter-tasting fruit with little nourishment of a Palestinian wild shrub, sometimes eaten by the poorest of the poor (cf. Bailey 1976:171-173). In Second Temple Judaism, Rabbi Acha mentions this fruit to illustrate how terrible circumstances could bring a change in one’s

¹⁰⁶ Cf. W. Foerster, TDNT I, 507.

circumstances: “When the Israelites are reduced to carob pods, then they will repent” (Leviticus Rabbah 35 (123c), cited in Marshall 1978:609). The Rabbinic usage indicates the level of destitution that drives the destitute to eat κεράτια of meagre nutritional value. Moreover, if we take κεράτια as the food for poor/destitute during their struggle to survive, it is evident that the destitute are undernourished people because of the calorie value of the κεράτια.¹⁰⁷ It is believed that food stress and malnourishment in Mediterranean antiquity were the results of the unhealthy, monotonous diets of the vulnerable classes of the population (Garnsey 1988; 1999; Sippel 1987:51-52). The desperate situation of the younger son drives him to desire to fill his stomach with this less nutritional food, even reducing him to the extent of sharing the meal with the pigs, unclean animals for Judeans. Luke further describes his miserable situation by depicting him as a beggar, οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ “no one was giving him [anything]” (Lk 15:16), which implies that he asked them to, like a beggar. Luke paints him as a person reduced to the lowest of the low. Through the life of the younger son in a far land, Luke illustrates the struggle and the plight of the expendable in Mediterranean antiquity. Having asked his share of the property and spent it in debauchery, the younger son was a social outcast. The context of the parable represents the same with whom Jesus eats and drinks (Luke 15:1-3), tax-collectors and sinners.

When the younger son “comes to himself” (Lk 15:17) in a far-off land, he desires to return to his house, not as a son, but as a servant. This would be shameful before the eyes of the villagers because he brought shame to his family, both in requesting his father to divide the property and in spending it dissolutely. However, Luke’s portrayal of the father is radically different from the societal expectation of him now as well as in antiquity. It is significant to note the reversals that the Lucan Jesus attributes to the returning younger son. In antiquity, the punishment of delinquent sons was expected to be inflicted by their father (O’Roark 1999:53-81). The institution of *patria potestas* in Roman Law is often

¹⁰⁷ The energy value ranges from 280.17 to 286.07 kcal/100 g in carob pods (Papaefstathiou et.al., 2018; cf. Alumot et al., 1964).

characterized as a disciplinary power over the children and control over the family's property (cf. Plutarch, *De liberis educandis* 9.1; Gardner 1998:269-270). Luke's audience was likely to have been familiar with this institution, but fathers across the Greek East had great power over their children even if they were not. The father in this story does not exercise paternal power in punishing his son; instead, he honours him. The Lucan construction signals the father's love and compassion towards his younger son. The text says that the father notices his returning son, ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος εἶδεν αὐτόν "while he was still a great way off" (Lk 15:20). In this genitive absolute construction, the locative adverb μακρὰν modifies ἀπέχοντος meaning: while he was yet holding off a distant way. This Lucan expression demonstrates both the son's very natural reluctance to return home and the father's concern in that he has been scanning the far distance for him to come back and even seeing him at this very moment as he comes into sight. The aorist participle of the verb τρέχω, δραμὼν ("running rapidly"; Lk 15:20) denotes the eager looking and longing of the father which made him run. Bailey (1976:181) also mentions a famous quote from Aristotle: "Great men never run in public" (undocumented). It is not only undignified, as Rohrbaugh suggests, "it also indicates lack of control (cf. Rohrbaugh 2006:156). Luke illustrates the father as breaking expected social boundaries and rejecting the conventions of the society in his running towards his returning son because of his compassion (ἐσπλαγχνίσθη; Lk 15:20).

Furthermore, the Greek root word σπλάγχχνον ("innards") indicates his inward affection. In the East, the Greeks and the Judeans thought the seat of the emotions was in the abdomen, which was the centre of kindness and compassion (Bailey 1973:55). The Lucan language illustrates the father's compassion as his intestines were convulsed in compassion for him. He runs towards him and kisses him again and again, as shown by κατεφίλησεν, an iterative imperfect (Blass & Debrunner 1961:169, §325). The Lucan phrase ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν (Lk 15:20; cf. Acts 20:37) is a visible demonstration of compassion, reconciliation, restoration, and re-establishment of the younger son's status

(cf. Marshall 1978:610). The father re-establishes his relationship with his younger son. It is interesting to contrast the father's action with a similar story from the Buddhist text *Saddharmapundarika Sutra* 4, where the father asks the son to work for twenty years to earn back his status and place in the family as well in society (cf. Eng 2019:197). The Lucan narration is entirely different: in return, the younger son asks his father to consider him one of his hired servants; instead, he is recognized as a son. This Lucan Jesus' radical portrayal of the father advances in the next scene.

The father then orders a feast with the fattened calf (Lk 15:23) for his returned younger son. The father furthers the honouring of his son by making a feast for the entire community. Bailey (1976:187) suggests that a fattened calf would have been kept for a special occasion and fed over a hundred guests. The banquet catered by the father signifies his intention that the entire village should know the restoration had happened. Through the feast, the father declares their reunion and the restored status of his younger son.

Furthermore, the fattened calf on the table is juxtaposed with the younger son's state of hunger before the pigs. The feast at the father's house is a celebration where the whole community enjoys abundance. At the same time, the father not only invites his younger son along with the entire village, but he also comes out from the feast to engage his elder son (Lk 14:28). The father deliberately leaves the banquet hall and the guests, humiliating himself before all, to plead with him. The Lucan use of the iterative imperfect form of παρακαλέω ("to entreat" "to appeal to" "to beseech to") indicates his continual pleading, "he kept on beseeching him" (Rogers & Rogers 1998:149). The father goes back and forth, interacting with his elder son and erasing the borderline.

Moreover, it is not just an invitation to join the common feast but also a challenge to reshape his social views on outcasts and the marginalized. Rindge (2014:409) interprets this as an invitation to the Pharisees, which suggests an allegorical nature to the parable. However, the suggestion of an allegory that associates the Pharisees with the elder son of

this parable is improbable because the father does not acknowledge the negative portrayal of the elder son. Rather the gentle, soft words could be an exhortation to the Judean Christ-followers who despised the inclusion of non-Judean Christ-followers (cf. Jerusalem Council, Acts 15). The Lucan Jesus intimates that greatness accrues from recognizing the worth and importance of lowly members of society. Humility and service are Jesus' presuppositions for criticizing political relationships of domination and oppression.

There can be no doubt that the main point of this parable is to make a significant statement about the character of divine forgiveness, in short, about the merciful nature of God. Yet, the forgiveness of God only emerges in the way that Luke tells the story about this particular family. Richard Rohrbaugh's highly perceptive essay "A Dysfunctional Family and its Neighbours" (1997) opens up our understanding of God's mercy in relation to the honour and shame dynamics in an ancient Palestinian family. My aim here is to highlight and analyse the social and economic dimensions of the parable in line with the overall argument of this dissertation. Yet, at the same time and somewhat similar to Rohrbaugh's approach, this investigation also allows one to see what God's mercy is like in relation to the father's generous use of his possessions and his expressing his joy at his prodigal son's return through a show of lavish hospitality to this family and neighbours. *Divine love is thus modelled on table-fellowship*. Luke surely intended, moreover, that in writing about the father's attitudes and behaviour as a way of speaking about God, he is offering a prototype of what the openness to the marginalised looks like that Jesus announced in the synagogue in Nazareth (Luke 4). So, while generous-hearted hospitality might not be the main point of the story, it is an essential concomitant of how the narrative is crafted. At the same time, in terms of contemporary theology of hospitality, through portraying the father as he is stepping out from the expectations of a stratified society, Luke builds up the theology of hospitality through his construction of a community of equals where there is no distinction between "haves" and "have-nots," shameful and honoured, and freedom for all. The boundaries of

differentiation and discrimination are levelled, and as a result, love, compassion and inclusion are established. The Lucan Jesus challenges the socio-economic relation of antiquity and exhorts his sensitive listeners through the unexpected visible demonstrations of the father. The open invitation to join the feast at the end of the parable foreshadows the communal meals practised by the early Christ-followers. Furthermore, the Lucan Jesus' concern towards the destitute is reflected in the unconditional love of the father.

2.9. Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man (Lk 16:19-31)

The parable of the Rich man and Lazarus is from the Lucan special material. There are similar stories of life and afterlife and reversals in extra-biblical, Jewish, Greco-Roman, and Egyptian literature, although with significant differences (cf. Bultmann 1963:197; Jeremias 1963:183; Scott 1989:155-156; Bauckham 1991:225-246; Kreitzer 1992:139; Hughes 1993:30). Most scholars regard this parable as a moral lesson about the rich and poor concerning the use of wealth (cf. Bultmann 1963:203; Talbert 1982:156-159; Nolland 1993:825; Hays 2010:391). Based on our previous investigation, it is evident that the Lucan placement of this parable signals a thematic link with earlier passages that concern wealth and social status, particularly in the travel narrative. The Lucan Jesus' characterization and the choice of terms illustrate the class disparity and discrimination that existed in antiquity, and the immediate context reveals it in a more specific way. Worthy of note is the progress in the reaction of the Pharisees. They grumble against Jesus for his fellowship with the tax-collectors and sinners in Lk 15:2, while here in this chapter, they mock him. For after the parable of the Unrighteous Steward, Jesus states that no one can serve God and wealth, for which the Pharisees ἐξευκτῆριζον αὐτόν ("ridiculed him"; Lk 16:14). Luke labels them φιλάργυροι ("lovers of money"; Lk 16:14). Furthermore, the rich man plays the dominant role in dressing up, feasting and carrying on a conversation with Abraham. On the other hand, Lazarus never speaks or acts. He does not even stand up; he just lies down at the gate

and longs for the crumbs. Hence, it is easy to form the idea that Luke has a negative attitude towards wealth and riches.

In the last part of the parable, Luke says Lazarus rests in Abraham's bosom in his afterlife, and this parable finds its place in a Lucan Jesus' meal with Pharisees and the πτωχοί. According to the Pharisaic belief, they are the descendants of Abraham (cf. Jn 8:33). At this juncture, it is appropriate to raise the following questions: does the reference to Abraham and the imagery of Abraham's bosom have any significance in Jesus' exhortation? Moreover, does this parable have any reflection on topics like power, class, status and economic exploitation by the elite?

Luke begins the parable with a description of the figure of the rich man whose clothes and food are described as expensive. The Lucan use of imperfect middle indicative of ἐνδιδύσκω ("to dress") indicates that this was his regular clothing. Furthermore, the description of the clothing as of "purple and fine linen" places him among the wealthy and princes. Fitzmyer (1985:1130) sees him as a royal person, "... that he lived like a king" (cf. Jeremias 1963:183; Marshall 1978:635; Fiensy 2007:91). In other occurrences in the Gospel, Luke uses εὐφραίνω in the context of feasting (Lk 12:12:19; 15:32; 16:19; cf. Bultmann, *TDNT* 2:774). Using the participle of this verb in this parable, Luke illustrates that this luxurious life was his everyday affair (Bultmann, *TDNT* 2:774). At the same time, the occurrence of this term in Luke 15:23 describes how the father prepares a feast on the return of his younger son, which is a special event.

Moreover, the adjective λαμπρῶς (Lk 16:19) occurs only here in the New Testament. The word means "splendidly, sumptuously" and pertains "to living in ostentatious luxury." Dupont (cited in Nolland 1993:827) notes that the phrase εὐφραινόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς ('making merry sumptuously every day'; Lk 16:19) is a unique phrase to Luke,

which he uses to describe the extravagant life of the rich people.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, there is a use of the term λαμπρῶς in a papyrus of the Babatha archive. In P.Yadin 15 of 125 CE, Babatha, in her charges against the two guardians of her son Jesus for their maladministration, states her wish concerning the lifestyle of her son: “wherewith my son may be raised in splendid style...” (line 26 in P.Yadin 15 (Lewis, Yadin & Greenfield 1989:60-61). Hence, it is reasonable to assume that Luke uses the term λαμπρῶς to denote the extravagant lifestyle of the rich man. The question here is how this rich man affords his luxurious lifestyle?

The text does not talk about his source of income. However, it is worth noting Garnsey’s argument. Garnsey (1975:102, 198) argues that the elite in the preindustrial cities depended on the countryside for their economy, and they controlled the rural smallholders. Moreover, a market economy disadvantages peasants.¹⁰⁹ As noted in Chapter 3, the rich man’s wealth could have been gained at the expense of the poor. Luke presents this social distance and the deprivation it causes through a graphic and contrasting picture by placing Lazarus at the gate (Lk 16:20), unnoticed and ignored. The rich man lives inside, while Lazarus stays out at his gate. The Lucan presentation of their locations conveys the stark contrast that was manifested in the forms of power, wealth and the oppression of the non-elite. Herzog (1994:120) argues that the gate “shuts out Lazarus and symbolizes the social barrier between the elite and the expendables.” Lazarus is described as a πτωχός whose body is covered with sores. Scholars identify him as a person who has paralysis (Jeremias 1972:183), or leprosy (Malina 1993:106). His condition is pathetic. Luke illustrates his helpless situation with a passive verb ἐβέβλητο (Lk 16:20), literally “thrown down” at the gate.

¹⁰⁸ Diogenes’ “pleasures of the many” must be equivalent to the “pleasures of the profligate” listed by Epicurus at Men. 131–2: drinking, partying, fish-eating, feasting, sexual enjoyment of boys and women (cf. Diogenes Fr. 29 Col. II).

¹⁰⁹ “A good harvest might, paradoxically, be a special disadvantage to peasants, who would be forced to make hurried sales in a glutted market in order to raise money for their taxes” (Barnish, Lee & Whitby 2000:195).

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 3, he desires to be fed with bits and pieces from the rich man's table, just as the younger son desired the pods fed to pigs (Lk 15:16); this is also an unfulfilled desire. In contrast, dogs in this parable could satisfy their hunger with the falling crumbs from the rich man's table (cf. Mt 15:27; Mk 7:28). The Lucan description of Lazarus' unfulfilled desire makes him lower than the animals. He has no strength to ward off the dogs by chasing them away, unless Luke wants to convey that he and the dogs share the common misery of the marginalised. Furthermore, through the vivid picture of the silence of Lazarus, Luke depicts the powerless and voiceless situation of the *πτωχοί* in the social order (cf. Herzog 1994:128). Thus, Luke portrays Lazarus as diseased, unclean, unnoticed, unwanted, vulnerable, and starving.

The second part of the parable (Lk 16:22-31) is filled with many characters apart from the rich man and Lazarus, such as Abraham, the rich man's brothers, Moses, and prophets, while Luke continues his meal theme in the afterlife. In the afterlife, Luke places Lazarus with Abraham and the phrase *κόλπος Ἀβραάμ* ("bosom of Abraham"; Lk 16:22) is unique to Luke. Luke also includes three places where the rich man addresses Abraham as "father" (Lk 16:24, 27, 30), and even Abraham calls him "child" (Lk 16:25). Accordingly, we need to consider Abraham and the significance of the bosom of Abraham. Does Luke depict the latter as a place of honour, as Herzog (1994:121) suggests, or, as most scholars interpret it, as a sign of the reversal of Lazarus and the rich man by their new respective positions (Fitzmyer 1985:1132; Bock 1996:1368).¹¹⁰ Plummer (1992:393) does not interpret it in term of paradise but views the place of Lazarus as being among the righteous. Esler (1987:193) argues that the bosom of Abraham refers to the messianic banquet as it represents a reclining posture at a table (Jn 13:23; cf. Meyer, *TDNT* 3:825). Furthermore, it echoes Lk 13:28-29, where Luke describes a messianic banquet where people from everywhere recline/dine in the kingdom of God (Lk 13:29). Luke does not mention the presence of

¹¹⁰ There are few extra biblical references that identifies the bosom of Abraham as a place of honour and a heavenly place (Jubilees 22:26 – 23:2; Testament of Abraham 20:14) (cf. Meyer, *TDNT* 3:825-826).

Abraham in verse 29; however, it is presumable because Luke notes the presence of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God (Lk 13:28).

In line with Esler's view, Luke presents the theme of reversal by illustrating two banquet tables, the table of the rich man and Lazarus' table with Abraham. In the former, Lazarus is described as a person longing for food, but the rich man is suffering from thirst in the latter scene. Scott (1989:87, 153-154) identifies Abraham as the representation of hospitality (Gen 18:1-15; cf. Herzog 1994:130). Luke was probably aware of the Old Testament Abraham and his hospitality, and perhaps his audience was too. Furthermore, it is significant to note a similarity between these two tables, the table of the rich man (Lk 16:19, 21), the table of Abraham (Lk 16:24), which conveys negative reciprocity in both cases, a complete failure to share. Both tables do not fulfil the need or plea of a person in the scene for sustenance. In his request, the rich man gives Abraham the "father" title; however, his request has been denied. This leads to the questions of negative reciprocity in eternal punishment and the "father" title of Abraham.

There are seven passages in Luke-Acts where Abraham is referred to as a father of Israel (Lk 1:55, 72; 3:8, 23-38; 13:16, 28; 16:22-31; 19:9; 20:37; Acts 3:25; 7:2, 17; 13:26) and two passages that talk about him in the afterlife (here and Lk 20:37-38). At the same time, the ethical exhortation of John the Baptist (Lk 3:8) reflects the fact that the phrase "sons of Abraham" is common among Judeans: "Bear fruits worthy of repentance. Do not begin to say to yourselves, 'We have Abraham as our father'" (cf. *m. B. Met.* 7:1; *B. Rab.* 53:11). In fact, all Judeans thought of Abraham as their father (cf. Jn 8:23). Luke depicts the relationship between Abraham and the rich man as kinship, a father-son relation, which reflects the role of Abraham as the progenitor of Judeans (a central feature of their ethnic identity). At the same time, kinship has not been extended to Lazarus and the rich man; the Lucan presentation of his relationship with Lazarus depicts him as a person who is unwilling to accept his neighbour as his brother (cf. Herzog 1994:124). At this point, the chasm plays

a role (Lk 16:26). Luke presents the social distance between the powerful and the powerless through a graphic picture by placing Lazarus at the gate (Lk 16:20), then far away (Lk 16:23) and the vast chasm fixed between them (Lk 16:26). Luke uses a unique term χάσμα (“gulf” or “chasm”) (Occurs only here in the New Testament).

Furthermore, he heightens the gap with an adjective μέγα (“great”) and perfect tense of στηρίζω (Lk 16:26; ἐστήρικται “has been fixed”). Luke uses στηρίζω in two other passages: in Lk 9:51 he uses this verb to describe Jesus’ journey to Jerusalem; in Lk 22:32, it is used to illustrate Peter’s return to a former state. In both cases, a sense of irrevocability exists. The Lucan language evokes an unchangeable situation that no one could overcome (cf. Fitzmyer 1985:1133-1134), which is not so in the earlier case (i.e., the gate that divides the rich man and Lazarus). The rich man fails to address the plight of Lazarus, who lies at his gate, not even with his table scraps. So, the chasm between Lazarus and the rich man can be bridged, but not between the latter and Abraham. He has been depicted as a person who does not want to share his wealth with others. He is a replica of the rich in the parable of the Rich Fool (Lk 12:13-21).

Thus, this parable is a clear message to the Lucan audience to adopt a benevolent attitude towards suffering Christ-followers. At the same time, they are expected to confront the selfishness of the rich (cf. the case of Ananias and Sapphira; Acts 5:1-11). Besides, it exhorts kinship relations amongst the members of the Christ-movement in building their relationships with others, especially the marginalized and the destitute.

2.10. Meal at the house of Zacchaeus (Lk 19:1-10)

According to the Lucan travel narrative, the implied meal at the house of Zacchaeus is placed at the end of Jesus’ Galilean ministry. Luke does not explicitly state that a meal occurred in this passage by using words for “food” or “eating.” However, there are ample arguments on the language Luke uses here in the context of ancient Israelite social practices for believing it as a meal scene. Firstly, Luke uses the term ὑποδέχομαι in stating Zacchaeus’ response to

Jesus' call Zacchaeus hurried down out of the tree "and received (ὑπεδέξατο) him rejoicing" (Lk 19:6). As discussed in the story of Martha and Mary (Lk 10:38-42), the term ὑποδέχομαι indicates a hospitable reception (receiving someone as a guest with food and drink). Jesus' call ("Zacchaeus, hurry and come down. For today I must remain in your house"; Lk 19:5) and the meaning of the term ὑποδέχομαι signal a meal scene. Furthermore, the use of aorist here (ὑπεδέξατο; Lk 19:6) indicates food was provided. Secondly, Jesus tells Zacchaeus, "come down; for I must stay (μεῖναι) at your house today" (Lk 19:5). The verb μένω ("stay") occurs twice in the Gospel (here and in Lk 24:29). For such a "stay" at someone's house it is conceivable in the ancient Near East always implies that a meal has taken place. In addition, Luke uses the term καταλῦσαι ("to be a guest"; Lk 19:7; cf. Lk 9:12) twice in this story. The verb καταλύω usually means "destroy" (BDAG, 522). The word καταλῦσαι thus necessarily, in this context, also conveys the meaning of someone being provided with food by a host, as in Jos 2:1 (noted above in Lk 10:38-42). The noun κατάλυμα gives a meaning of "an inn" or a "guest room" or "dining room", e.g., at Lk 2:7 (possibly), 22:11 and Mk 4:14. BDAG notes the connection of κατάλυμα with its cognate καταλύω in reference to hospitality (BDAG, 521). The Lucan choice of terms μεῖναι and καταλῦσαι strongly indicates that Jesus has dined with Zacchaeus at his house. Thirdly, Luke uses the verb ἵστημι ("stood up"; Lk 19:8) to describes the posture of Zacchaeus when he makes a declaration. Ellis and Marshall suggest that the natural way to interpret such "standing" is toward the end of the meal (Ellis 1974:221; Marshall 1978:697). Although this passage makes no obvious references to a meal, the arguments above strongly suggest that Jesus shares a meal in the house of Zacchaeus.

It is essential to note the Lucan symmetrical structure of Jesus' table-fellowship outside Jerusalem, which starts and ends at a tax-collector's house: a feast at the house of Levi (Lk 5:27-32) and an implied meal at the house of Zacchaeus (Lk 19:1-10). In both accounts, in addition to the presence of tax-collector, there is murmuring (cf. Lk 5:30 & Lk

19:7). Luke does not identify those who murmur here, unlike Levi's banquet. Nor are these people guests at the meal as they murmur after Jesus has gone inside (Lk 19:10).

In this story, Luke describes Zacchaeus as a wealthy chief tax-collector (Lk 19:2), a profession commonly perceived as sinful (cf. O'Hanlon 1981:9). At the same time, the Lucan Jesus calls him as "son of Abraham," so he is a Judean. The following questions arise: First, how does Luke legitimate his concern for the πτωχοί with his favourable portrayal of tax-collectors? Second, at the end of this account, Jesus states that "he (Zacchaeus) too is a son of Abraham" (Lk 19:9). The Lucan use of adverb καὶ (too/also) is ambiguous; whom was the Lucan Jesus referring to here with the title "son of Abraham?" And what does it mean to the Lucan audience?

Firstly, the Lucan placement of this account is noteworthy. Luke situates this meal scene at the end of Jesus' discourse on "leaving everything for the sake of the kingdom" (Lk 18:18-30) and "healing of a blind beggar" (Lk 18:35-42). There are parallels between this Zacchaeus narrative and the episode of the rich ruler (Lk 18:18-23). Thus, there are the similarities in the terms used by Luke to describe these two figures in both accounts; both characters are described as ἄρχων ("ruler/chief"; Lk 18:18 // 19:2) and πλούσιος ("rich"; Lk 18:23 // 19:2). In addition, both accounts deal with following Jesus in relation to possessions (πάντα ὅσα ἔχεις "all that you own"; Lk 18:22 // μου τῶν ὑπαρχόντων "my possessions"; Lk 19:8). At the same time, a notable difference is the explicit response of Zacchaeus, where Luke silences the reaction of the rich young ruler, although Luke does not state that he turns back to following Jesus. In an honour-shame society where one's wealth plays a vital role in acquiring friends, honour and status, Luke presents Zacchaeus, who shares his possessions with the needy and the πτωχοί, as a visible demonstration to Jesus' exhortation on wealth. In his choice of words and grammar, details of the Lucan redaction will now be noted in illustrating Zacchaeus' response.

Luke introduces Zacchaeus as ἀρχιτελώνης (Lk 19:2). The term ἀρχιτελώνης (Lk 19:2) occurs nowhere else in the New Testament and Greek literature. The Lucan use of this term is ambiguous: what does Luke want to communicate to his audience using it? Luke describes a man who encounters Jesus in the previous chapter identifying him as an ἄρχων (Lk 18:18). There is no extra explanation of the term there, but it occurs five times in Acts where Luke uses this term in the sense of a high official, the one invested with power and dignity (Acts 7:27, 35[*2]; 18:8; 23:5) and to refer to Beelzebub (“ruler of the demons”; Lk 11:15). Apart for these occurrences, Luke uses it as a prefix to refer to the leader of the synagogue (ἀρχισυνάγωγος; Lk 8:49) and chief priest (ἀρχιερεύς; Lk 9:22; 19:47; 20:1, 19; 22:2, 4, 52, 66; 23:4, 10, 13; 24:20; Acts 4:23; 5:24; 9:14, 21; 22:30; 23:14; 25:2, 15; 26:10,12). Furthermore, scholars believe that the term ἀρχιτελώνης indicates Zacchaeus’ position, head of a group of tax-collectors of the region of Jericho, which was apparently a centre of Roman regional tax collection (cf. Marshall 1978:696; Bock 1996:1516; Michel, *TDNT* 8:98, 104-105). In addition, Luke uses the term πλούσιος (“rich” Lk 19:2) to illustrate the economic status of Zacchaeus. The Lucan usage of the term πλούσιος (Lk 19:2) demonstrates the theme of possessions in connection with table-fellowship (Lk 14:12; 16:19, 21, 22). The concern for possessions and its association with table-fellowship is also evident in earlier meal scenes (Lk 7:22ff; 14:12ff). Consequently, the Lucan portrayal of Zacchaeus probably puts him into the group of the urban elite, 2% of the total population who controlled and enjoyed 50-58% of the annual wealth (Herzog 1994:61). Based on the discussion above, Luke could likely have coined this term to illustrate the positivity of riches and wealth, and also power, in order to balance the negative portrayal of wealth.¹¹¹

As noted earlier, the crowd begin to murmur against Jesus’ association with a sinner, which could be interpreted as Jesus partaking in his sin. But Luke describes the transformed nature of Zacchaeus in his declaration. We have already discussed the verb ἵστημι (Lk 19:8)

¹¹¹ Cf. the woes to the rich (Lk 6:24-26); the Parable of the Rich Fool (Lk 12:13-21); the parable of the Unjust Steward (Lk 16:1-13); the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31).

in terms of Zacchaeus' posture as he stands up from the reclining position. Some scholars, however, interpret it as an attitude, a viewpoint (cf. Lk 18:11; Plummer 1989:434; Marshall 1978:697; White 1979:95). Luke presents Zacchaeus' response as a radical declaration. The text does not mention the exact timing of this declaration. But, verse 11 states that Zacchaeus makes his statement before the crowd outside watching Jesus go in. Luke presents Zacchaeus pledging to give half of his possessions to the πτωχοί.

In addition, the tree named by Luke is highly significant. Luke pictures Zacchaeus climbing into a sycamore tree to see Jesus. The sycamore tree (συκομορέα) mentioned in Luke 19:4 (and nowhere else in the New Testament) is probably to be distinguished from the tree mentioned in 17:6, the συκάμινος, which is most likely to be identified with the mulberry, especially as Luke "seems to make a distinction between the two" (so Hunzinger, *TDNT*, 7:758). The sycamore is "a species of *Ficus* not unlike the fig tree in its fruit", yet "much inferior in taste and sugar content to the true fig", which was "in ancient times widely consumed by the poor and even marketed" (Zohary 1982:68). Amos 7:14, as noted by Zohary (1982:69), mentions a herdsman who was also a dresser of sycamore trees, so this is a biblical passage confirming a connection between the sycamore and the non-elite. Thus, the Lucan detail of Zacchaeus sitting in a tree associated with poor people signifies something very interesting. Getting into a sycamore tree foreshadows Zacchaeus' act of detachment from affiliation with possessions and symbolizes his inchoate solidarity with the lowly. Secondly, it is necessary to investigate the following verbs in Zacchaeus' declaration: δίδωμι ... ἀποδίδωμι (Lk 19:8). If we interpret these verbs in the present tense form, it would be a descriptive verb for Zacchaeus's current behaviour (Fitzmyer 1985:1220, 1225). According to this, it locates Zacchaeus in the place of vindication who denies the public charges and boasts himself before Jesus (Lk 19:7) (Plummer 1986:435). At the same time, Zacchaeus' statement about giving back fourfold signals a future action.

The context of the murmuring crowd suggests the futuristic use of the present tense.¹¹² Through Zacchaeus' resolution to share his half of the possessions with the πτωχοί, Luke illustrates the generalized reciprocity of Zacchaeus and encourages his elite audience in a benevolent attitude towards the marginalized and the destitute. The term aorist active use of συκοφαντέω ("to secure something through intimidation") connotes the fraud he committed in the past. The Lucan use of the term ἀποδίδωμι (Lk 19:8) in relation to ἐσυκοφάντησα ("I have defrauded"; Lk 19:8) indicates the "U" turn that Zacchaeus has made. Zacchaeus' statement could be a present resolution to restore what he damaged in the past, which signals his transformation.

Jesus publicly affirms his salvation with a statement, καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐστιν (Lk 19:9). The causal conjunction καθότι appears only in the Lucan narratives (Lk 1:7; 19:9; Acts 2:24, 45; 4:35; 17:31). Except Acts 2:45 and 4:35 that talk about the practice of the early Christ-movement, in all occurrences, καθότι is employed in an explicative purpose; i.e., using the causal conjunction to introduce an antecedent reason rather than a subsequent proof (Marshall 1978:698; Fitzmyer 1985:1226). After his transformation, Zacchaeus is called "son of Abraham." He was previously seen as a lost, a social outcast, but now he is found, and his status is declared as the son of Abraham. In addition, the expression of "to seek and save the lost" (Lk 19:10) echoes Jesus' pronouncement at Levi's house ("I have come to call not the righteous..."; Lk 5:32) and the theme of the parables in Luke 15 (lost-found). Especially in the light of Amos 7:14, Zacchaeus' association with the sycamore tree is an excellent illustration of Jesus' parable of the Lost Sheep (Lk 15:3-7). Furthermore, the title "the Son of Man" comes in the healing story of a lame man (Lk 5:24) followed by the feast at Levi's house.

¹¹² Blass and Debrunner (1961:168-169; §323) say there that "In confident assertions regarding the future, a vivid, realistic present may be used for the future; a counter-part to the historical present ... Ordinarily a temporal indication of the future is included."

Finally, Luke uses the infinitive of μένω (Lk 19:5) as Jesus invites himself to Zacchaeus' house. And with the use of an infinitive of purpose, Luke illustrates the ultimate reason for Jesus' self-invitation, which is to bring a new identity to Zacchaeus and group solidarity with the suffering community in the presence of Jesus. Thus, this last meal scene at the end of Jesus' public ministry encompasses many themes. Luke encourages his audience, especially those of the urban elite, by typifying Zacchaeus as an example in their use of wealth in solidarity with the poor (Lk 18:23). At the same time, Zacchaeus' identity as tax collector echoes an earlier meal (Lk 5:27-39) controversy over purity concerns. Accordingly, this passage illustrates Luke's concern for the marginalized and social outcasts, but also with wealthy people who change their ways. Through Zacchaeus' promise of sharing his possessions with the πτωχοί, this meal scene clearly illustrates the practice of generalized reciprocity in the early Christ-movement.

2.11. The Last Supper (Lk 22:14-30)

This meal scene is a much-debated text in the Lucan narratives. Fitzmyer (1985:1392) regards this as a climatic meal of the six earlier Lucan meals (Lk 5:29-32; 7:36-50; 9:12-17; 10:38-42; 11:37-44; 14:1-24). As discussed in the meal scene of the Feeding of the 5000, Jesus' use of the Eucharistic words reflects this Eucharistic institution (cf. Lk 9:16). However, all the meals in Luke foreshadow the meal of Luke 22, but Luke continues the theme in the post-resurrection appearances (cf. Lk 24:30-35, 42-43). The meal scene for our discussion (Lk 22:14-30) is situated in a larger setting (Lk 22:7-38). The earlier section of Luke 22 covers the plot to kill Jesus (Lk 22:1-6), and from Lk 22:39 onwards, the setting is different. This investigation will follow the longer text of Luke, which is found in most manuscripts and is similar in relation to the Eucharistic words to those of Paul in 1 Corinthians (1 Cor 11:23-26).¹¹³

¹¹³ There is an issue concerning two readings in the Last Supper account (Lk 22:17-20). Concerning the cup, all variants mention a cup to be divided among the disciples (verses 17-18). Codex Bezae and five Old Latin manuscripts attest a shorter reading which reports only the breaking of bread and limits its version with "This

The Last Supper is a much-debated subject in terms of its relation to the Passover. Indeed, according to the Synoptic Gospels the meal that Jesus shared with his disciples occurred during Passover (Mt 26:17-19; Mk 14:12-14; Lk 22:7-17).¹¹⁴ Scholars, however, differ in identifying this meal account with the Passover. Some, on the basis of the references in the Gospels (Mt 26:17-19; Mk 14:12-16; Lk 22:1, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15), accept a relationship to the Passover (Jeremias 1966:26-36; Marshall 1978:789-791; Fitzmyer 1985:1389; Morris 1988:331-333; Green 1997:749). On the other hand, Johnson (1991:341) observes ambiguity concerning the nature of the meal that Jesus celebrated.

Several explicit references in Luke indicate the period of the meal was Passover. In his extensive study, Bock (1996:1960) researches the arguments for and against identifying the Last Supper with the Passover. From the words of the Lucan Jesus concerning this meal (Lk 22:15), it is clear that it does have a connection with the Judean Passover (Lk 22:1, 7, 8, 11, 13, and 15). Hence the question that arises is whether Luke has any significant reason for relating it to the story of Exodus. What is the “new covenant” that Jesus refers to in this meal scene? Both Matthew and Mark identify Jesus’ Last Supper as a Passover (Mt 26:17-30; Mk 14:12-26; Lk 22:7-38; *AJ* 16.6.2 §§163-64); bread and wine, however, not other customary Passover dishes like lamb and bitter herbs, are the only items recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. The investigation on this is beyond the scope of this research. Still, it is worthwhile to consider a few arguments which confirm that Luke intended to portray this meal as a Passover meal despite the absence of these features.

The Hebrew scriptures outline the observance of the Passover: the sacrificial lamb, how to cook it, and how to eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (Exodus 12-13 and Deut 16). The Exodus tradition commands that the Passover meal should be eaten in haste (μετὰ σπουδῆς; Exodus 12:11). In addition to the absence of these actions in Luke, scholars

is my body” (Lk 22:19a; omitting Lk 19b-20). Jeremias 1967:133-53; Marshall 1978:799-801; Metzger 1971:175-176; Ellis 1974:254-256.

¹¹⁴ For more discussion of the issue of the relation between the Passover and the Last Supper, see Jeremias 1967:15-88; Marshall 1980:57-75; Morris 1971:774-786.

point to the drinking of wine during the meal, which is not prescribed in the Old Testament instruction.

The following arguments are in favour of a Passover meal. Firstly, one argument against the claim for a Passover is the absence of the sacrificial lamb in this meal account. Concerning the Passover sacrificial lamb, several references indicate that the Passover lamb was eaten within the courts of the Temple (2 Chr 35:11-13; Jub 49:16-21; 11QTem. XVII:6-9). A few New Testament references, including Acts, identify the lamb with Jesus himself (Acts 8:32; cf. 1 Cor 5:7; Rev 12:11). Furthermore, in the Lord's Supper institution, Jesus' use of bread instead of lamb may provide a justification for the more frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper in the early Christ-movement. Secondly, a reference from the book of Jubilees indicates that the Old Testament regulation that the Passover meal should be eaten in haste should be understood to be restricted to the first Passover, which the Israelites observed in Egypt (Jub 49:23).¹¹⁵ The word "until" acts as subordinating conjunction to connect the action "hastily" to the crossing of the sea, and it suggests that *eating hastily* was not in practice during the time of the *Book of Jubilees* (100 BCE). Thirdly, there are references from Jubilees and the Mishnah that describe the drinking of wine during the Passover meal (Jub 49:6; *m. Pesh.* 10). Lastly, Luke alone records Jesus' desire for having the Passover meal "I wanted to eat this Passover" (Lk 22:15), and it is not like this: "I wanted to have a meal with you during Passover" (cf. Lk 22:7, 11). This further strengthens the case argued above that Luke wanted his audience to know that the penultimate Last Supper was a Passover meal. In addition to having a Passover identity, this research identifies this penultimate meal as a ceremony that strengthened group-identity in an arranged social roles and social relationship between members (Neyrey 1991:375).

¹¹⁵ "For you celebrated this festival hastily when you were leaving Egypt until the time you crossed the sea into the wilderness of Sur, because you completed it on the seashore" (Jub 49:23) (Translation James C. Vanderkam, in Vanderkam 1989:325).

There is a scholarly consensus regarding the historical relationship between the two festivals, Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, that by the early post-exilic period, they were celebrated together, and Passover had been made into a pilgrim festival.¹¹⁶ The Jerusalem Temple was the centre of this pilgrim festival. However, the references regarding the meal eaten in individual homes (Mt 26.17) or family groups at the Temple courts (Deut 16:6; 2 Chr 35:5, 12) signify it as a family celebration (Jeremias 1967:15-88; McConville 1984:109). Hellerman (2001:67) argues for Jesus' positive attitude towards family structures. Paul explains that this meal is a proclamation of the gospel made by the followers of Christ whose identity is shaped by the gospel (cf. 1 Cor 11:17-34). The Lucan Jesus expresses his wish to celebrate the Passover meal with his disciples, and Luke records this in three verses (Lk 22:8, 11, 15), which is a clear depiction of fictive kinship relations within the group. These Lucan words illustrate Jesus' acceptance of his disciples as a fictive kinship group. Hence, it is reasonable to interpret the Lucan Passover meal as a family celebration. Through his depiction, Luke illustrates the kinship relationship between Jesus and his disciples (Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:335-336, 402). This brings us to the significance of the breaking of bread and the use of Eucharistic words.

In Lk 22:19 Luke repeats the Eucharistic words of his previous meal (Lk 9:16) which he will repeat in Lk 24:30: he takes (λαμβάνω) the bread, blesses (εὐλογέω) it, breaks (κλάω) it, and gives (ἐπιδίδωμι) it to them. Referring to the fellowship of the early Christ-movement (after Jesus' death and resurrection), Jeremias (1967:232) observes that "at every common meal the constitution of the table fellowship is accomplished by the rite of the breaking of bread." The practice of the early Christ-followers, perhaps, was a reflection of Jesus' table-fellowship with all. The words of the Lucan Jesus (Lk 22:15-18) reflect the

¹¹⁶ In Exodus, the Feast of Unleavened Bread is mentioned without the Passover (Exod 23:15; 34:18). Hence, it seems that both the festivals were clubbed together later. This could be the result of the Deuteronomic reforms that happened during the reign of Josiah who restored the celebration of Passover (2 Chr 35:1-6; cf. 2 Kings 22-23; 2 Chr 34-35 & Deut 12-26). In this pilgrim festival, people brought Passover lambs to the temple and after the ritual of sacrifice the blood of the lambs was sprinkled onto the altar, rather than painted onto doorposts as in Exodus (cf. 2 Chr 35:6; Ezra 6:20). Cf. Schauss (1986:38-43); McConville (1984:102-110).

eschatological kingdom. Besides, the Eucharistic words indicate the significance of bread concerning its relation to the destitute, as will now be argued.

It is essential to note the phrase λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν (“having taken bread, having given thanks, he shared”; Lk 22:19), that is, after giving thanks the Lucan Jesus shares it with his disciples. The New Testament occurrences of “breaking the bread”¹¹⁷ use κλάω (“to divide” or “to share”) in the sense of dividing up bread at a meal (cf. Behm, *TDNT* 3:726-743). Jesus plays the role of the host. By sharing his bread with his disciples, the Lucan Jesus identifies himself with them and demonstrates the kinship relations between them through sharing at the table. In the blessing of the cup, Jesus commands his disciples to “divide up” or “distribute” (διαμερίσατε, an aorist active 2nd person plural of διαμερίζω which means “to divide”; Lk 22:17) the cup, a command which is not in the Marcan tradition (Mk 14:23). The Lucan Jesus’ instruction on sharing the cup among themselves strongly foreshadows the mutual distribution practised in the early Christ-movement: communal living (Acts 4:32), common ownership (Acts 4:32) and distribution according to the need (Acts 4:35). Bock (1996:1723) sees the common cup as an intensification of “the oneness that is central to the meal” (1 Cor 10:16-17). The Lucan Jesus exhorts the disciples to a communal sharing. The Lucan use of the adjective καινή before διαθήκη (Lk 22:20) is a significant redaction. There are four more occurrences of the phrase καινή διαθήκη in the New Testament (1 Cor 11:25, 2 Cor 3:6, Heb 8:8; 9:15). Marshall (1978:806) interprets the adjective καινός in its relation to the covenant as an “eschatological beginning.” Neyrey (1985:11) offers a few insights on Luke 22:14-38 from the seminal work by Feeley-Harnik (1981) and states that “bread/food are a clear and unmistakable symbol of Torah-instruction” because God gives both to his covenant people. Neyrey furthers his argument in interpreting the bread that is given by Jesus to his disciples saying that the Eucharistic bread “serves to reinforce specific group identity” and “the covenant gathered in his name is constituted as a

¹¹⁷ Cf. Lk 24:30; Acts 2:46; 20:7, 11; 27:35; 1 Cor 10:16; 11:24; Mk 8:6, 19; 14:22; Mt 14:19; 15:36; 26:26.

distinctive group.” At the same time, it also reflects the context of a momentous Lucan beatitude (Lk 14:15), the parable of the Great Banquet, which exhorts inclusiveness and ensures food for outcasts and the destitute. Thus, the Last Supper was a modification of the Passover with eschatological and social dimensions.

In Lk 22:24-30, Luke records the disciples’ argument regarding who is the greatest among them (Lk 22:24). Green (1997:766) observes that this dispute “is transformed into a profound pedagogical moment.” The Lucan Jesus exhorts his disciples with two reversals: the theme of serving one other (Lk 22:24-27) and the notion that they are a community of equals representing the twelve tribes of Israel (Lk 22:28-30). Tannehill (1961:200) argues that these two sections are combined by their frequent reference to the death of Jesus. Scholars, on the basis of its location and structure, mostly agree that the discourse (Lk 22:24-27) is Lucan special material, though it also resembles Marcan and non-Markan material (Mk 10:41-45; Mt 20:24-28; 23:11) (cf. Neyrey 1985:25; Fitzmyer 1985:1407-1412; Nolland 1993:1062-1063; Nelson 1994:609-612). The Marcan influence, however, cannot be ruled out. At the same time, the question about greatness is addressed in Luke and Matthew (Lk 22:26; Mt 23:11), while in Mark a path to greatness is revealed or revealed to those who seek to be great (cf. Nolland 1993:1062-1063). For its near parallel with Matthew 20:24-28, Bock (1996:1736-1737) doubts the difference in the Lucan wording and argues for two occasions since the topic of greatness and place of honour were often addressed by Jesus. On the whole, the debate is still open as to whether this discourse is Lucan special material or his treatment of Marcan tradition. This dissertation, however, plausibly assumes that Luke could have relocated the Zebedee tradition and developed Marcan wording since he locates this discourse in Jesus’ penultimate meal with his disciples. This dispute comes after the Last Supper and Jesus’ talk about his betrayal and suffering (Lk 22:15-16). What is Luke seeking to convey?

As we have seen, the problematisation of “seeking for honour and greatness” was a major theme reiterated in Jesus’ ministry. On hearing the dispute about greatness, Jesus rebukes his disciples by referring to the social institution of patron-client relations. This necessitates investigating the Lucan use of εὐεργέτης (“benefactor”; Lk 22:25),¹¹⁸ which Luke puts on the lips of Jesus. Jesus notes that the non-Judean rulers “are called” (καλοῦνται; Lk 22:25) benefactors. As discussed in Chapter 2, in the society of limited good and patron-client relationships operated between unequal partners in that the elite, in general, used their wealth to earn their honour (cf. Malina & Neyrey 1991:25-65; Moxnes 1991:241-268). Benefactors made their benefactions (that depended on their vast wealth) so as to win honour and used the title “benefactor” as the mask to cover their oppressive power and domination (cf. Danker 1982:294, 324). Here Luke employs καλοῦνται which can be translated either as passive form (“they are called”) or reflexive form (“they call themselves”). Some scholars argue that καλοῦνται is a middle form in the sense of claiming the title for themselves: “call themselves” or “let themselves be called” (Plummer 1989:501; Nolland 1993:1064). Whatever the use of the voice may be, passive, middle or reflexive, it is clear that the Lucan Jesus’ implication is negative and critical concerning the title. The question is, in what sense Luke uses this term: whether the Lucan Jesus criticizes the benefaction system or the title “benefactor”?

The Lucan Jesus appears to be critical both of the power and wealth they possess but also their investment in the honour system. The Lucan Jesus exhorts his disciples to undertake a role reversal (for more discussion on this issue, see Esler 1987:207-208). In the light of our discussion on “benefactor” and Lucan Jesus’ use of ἔθνος (Lk 22:25a) provide the strongest support for the dichotomy between the title and the kind of service to which the disciples are called. Danker (1982:324) suggests that verse 26 “does not refer to the role

¹¹⁸ The title “benefactor” was a title of princes and other outstanding men in the Greco-Roman world, and εὐεργέτης occurs only here in the New Testament. There are cognates in Acts 4:9; 10:38 and 1 Tim 6:2 (cf. Bertram, *TDNT*, 2:654f; Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:402).

of a benefactor but to the interest in domination that is evidenced by many rulers who try to mask their tyranny with a flourish of public works.” Lucan Jesus contrasts the use of power in the existing social institutions, benefaction and honour system with his exhortation on service.

In his response to the disciples’ dispute about “greatness” (Lk 22:24), the Lucan Jesus illustrates the reversal of roles by associating himself with those who serve at the table, as a table-waiter which is the role of the slave (Lk 22:27). Moreover, Jesus furthers this theme of reversal at the eschatological table which prefigures the table of the Last Supper where Jesus plays the role of host/servant (cf. Smith 1987:629-632; D’Arms 1991:171). Hence, Jesus exhorts his disciples with a counter-cultural model of leadership, which does not regard leadership as a source of honour but of service.

The second reversal is closely related to the new covenant (Lk 22:20) and διατίθημι (“assigning” or “covenanting”; Lk 22:29). There are a few references in the New Testament where this verb occurs along with διαθήκη (Lk 22:25; Acts 3:25; Heb 8:10; 10:16) with the meaning of “making a covenant.” Furthermore, the ἵνα clause in Luke 22:30 serves as a purpose clause for διατίθημι. Hence, based on earlier reversal, we are justified in maintaining that the Lucan Jesus establishes a new covenant with the disciples, which is sharing the table in the kingdom. The Lucan Jesus covenants with the disciples that they ἔσθητε καὶ πίνετε (“eat and drink”; Lk 22:30) in the kingdom. The covenant language brings everyone together at the table. The exemplification in eating and drinking together foreshadows early Christ-followers’ shared tables.

Danker (1982:489-490) describes the Lucan Jesus as the benefactor (εὐεργέτης) *par excellence* and a benefactor especially of the oppressed. This dissertation, however, would like to attach the expression “slave-benefactor” to the Lucan Jesus. Through his exemplary behaviour at the table, the Lucan Jesus encourages the Christ-followers to break the social boundaries to create an inclusive community in which they exercise and enjoy kinship

relations among themselves. Furthermore, in his exhortation, he challenges the approved social institutions in favour of a radical transformation of the disciples in their leadership role. Through this penultimate meal, the Lucan Jesus teaches that if anyone wishes to exercise authority, he/she must give up some control and subject himself/herself to servitude which reflects Paul's Christology (κένωσις) that we find in Philippians 2. Pope Francis (2013) reflects this at the beginning of his papacy as he states, "True power is service. The Pope must serve all people, especially the poor, the weak, the vulnerable." I suggest this meal is a text of the theology of hospitality as leadership which encourages the model of a servant-leader.

2.12. Eating with Disciples After the Resurrection (Lk 24:28-35)

The Emmaus meal is a Lucan record of Jesus' private meal with his disciples, and it is different from the Last Supper principally because the person at the table is the resurrected Jesus. This meal takes place at the culmination of a journey in which two disciples and Jesus are travelling from Jerusalem to Emmaus. Moreover, Luke presents them as being unable to identify Jesus (Lk 24:16). Scholars differ in their understanding of the passive form of the verb ἐκρατοῦντο (Lk 24:16), which Luke deploys in reference to the disciples being prevented from recognising Jesus. Some understand it as a divine passive (Marshall 1978:893; Fitzmyer 1985:1563; Tannehill 1986:282), while Nolland (1993:1201) argues it is a result of Satan's activity. Nolland's argument is unconvincing because there is no reference to Satanic activities in the resurrection narrative of Luke. At the same time, some earlier passages (Lk 9:45 and 18:34) indicate the disciples' blindness. In both passages, such blindness is probably caused by God (Fitzmyer 1985:1563). Here again, Luke depicts a reversal of a prevailing condition in a meal scene (Luke 24:31), when their eyes were opened. Hence, this section will analyse the meal scene to answer the following questions: is it appropriate to investigate the disciples' "ignorance" and their ensuring "recognition," and enquire whether the use of Eucharistic words in this meal scene has any association with this

recognition? Furthermore, we need to investigate the Lucan use of “stranger” in its relation to the meal scene at Emmaus in understanding the relationships in antiquity.

Luke begins the Emmaus narrative with a journey of two disciples towards Emmaus. In their journey, they discuss past events, particularly the stories they have heard about the resurrection of Jesus. On the road, they meet a “stranger” (Lk 24:15-16), and along with him they discuss the events that happened in Jerusalem concerning the death of Jesus. Luke describes them as failing to recognise the identity of the person walking with them; besides, they do not understand the person and work of Jesus. This is not an isolated incident in Luke concerning the disciples’ failure in understanding the sufferings of Jesus, since other incidents are to similar effect (cf. Lk 9:20, 22, 44-45; 18:31-34). In this narration, Luke uses “eyes” and “sight” metaphors to illustrate their ignorance which is frequent in Luke-Acts (Hamm 1986). The “stranger” Jesus explains to them the necessity of suffering and death in the ministry of Christ. It is interesting to note the Lucan symbolism here. Luke symbolically indicates their inability to understand the suffering and death of Jesus through their failure in recognizing Jesus (Lk 24:16, 26-27). Their discussion comes to an end when they arrive at the village.

The time of their arrival is significant. Luke indicates the time as it is toward evening (ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστὶν; Lk 24:29). There are similarities in the Lucan choice of words in two meal accounts, feeding the 5000 and the meal at Emmaus: *ἡμέρα ... κλίνειν* (Lk 9:12) // *κέκλικεν ... ἡμέρα* (Lk 24:29); eucharistic words of Jesus *λαβὼν ... εὐλόγησεν ... κατέκλασεν ... ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς* (Lk 9:16) // *λαβὼν ... εὐλόγησεν ... κλάσας ... ἐπεδίδου αὐτοῖς* (Lk 24:30) (cf. Nolland 1993:1205). Hence, the question is: what does Luke want to communicate with this time setting? Presumably, everyone ate in the evening, whether rich or poor. However, in a context of the elaborate and affluent evening dinners of the wealthy, the Lucan time setting of these meals raises the question of the state of destitution in antiquity where a vast majority of the population might not have access to adequate food.

In the feeding of the 5000, the people are depicted as needing food. The Lucan Jesus asks his disciples to feed them. Hence, the Lucan purpose of using similar terms could perhaps to emphasise the necessity of food. In the episode of Emmaus, Luke presents him as a stranger. Luke says that Jesus was about to make his journey further as the day draws to a close (Lk 24:28), perhaps because he knew no one in that village. Indeed, the disciples urge the “stranger” to μένω (“stay”; Lk 24:29) with them, probably because it is unsafe to travel at night because of threats from bandits and robbers (cf. Lk 10:30; Fitzmyer 1985:1567; Bock 1996:1919). All three travellers, the resurrected Jesus and the two disciples, might have been tired when they reached Emmaus. Through Jesus’ attempt to journey on (Lk 24:28), Luke presents him as a wayfaring stranger who did not know anyone from that village with whom he might take rest and have dinner. Through depicting Jesus as a journeying stranger, Luke presents him as vulnerable.

The words they παρεβιάσαντο αὐτὸν (“urged him strongly” “constrained him”; Lk 24:29), describes the urgency in their invitation. This Lucan description is a clear depiction of village hospitality in antiquity (Oakman 1991:163, 166; Nolland 1993:1205). As discussed in the parable of a Friend at Midnight (Lk 11:5-8), the peasants in antiquity extended their hospitality to outsiders, unexpected guests, and strangers. It is plausible that the notion of Jesus as “stranger” here could point to the condition of the πτωχοί. The hospitality extended to strangers who cannot reciprocate is an excellent illustration of generalised reciprocity.

Coming back to the story, the disciples invite Jesus to spend the night with them. The phrase μένον μεθ’ ἡμῶν (“stay with us”; Lk 24:29) connotes that the place of this meal scene was more likely their home, rather than the “inn” so often mentioned in devotional retellings and artistic representations of this scene (e.g., by Rembrandt and Caravaggio, with a waiter in attendance). If so, we have yet another example of a domestic meal in this Gospel. The verb μένω (“stay”) is used twice in Lk 24:29. Luke uses the imperative form of μένω to

denote their invitation: μεῖνον μεθ' ἡμῶν (“stay with us”; Lk 24:29). As discussed in the story of Zacchaeus, the Lucan Jesus presumably accepts their invitation for a purpose.

As in the previous meal scenes in Luke, one purpose behind Jesus’ acceptance is to exemplify social solidarity (Malina & Rohrbaugh 1992:411). Luke places the climax of the discussion, especially their ignorance, at a table (Lk 24:30). The invited “stranger” reclines (κατακλίνω) with them at a table to share their meal. By sharing their table, the “stranger” and the disciples enjoy fellowship. Secondly, the acceptance of Jesus illustrates his imagery of the shepherd who came to save the lost (Lk 15:3-6) (Neyrey 1991:292). Here, the Lucan Jesus agrees to stay with them in order to restore their faith and fellowship and to reveal “himself.” As just noted, the four actions listed here (“taking bread” “blessing it” “breaking it” and “giving it to them”) are most closely paralleled with two other meals in Luke (Lk 9:10-17; 22:7-30). Tannehill (1986:290) observes this repetition and sequence of Jesus’ acts as symbols of continuity in fellowship with Jesus. The resurrected Jesus plays the role of the host at the table. Through depicting Jesus as he distributes food to the disciples, Luke presumably presents him as a servant/slave to the readers of Luke’s Gospel because slaves were the persons who brought food to the table and serving the food was their role in Graeco-Roman banquets (cf. Smith 2013:27-28).

Furthermore, Jesus’ action of breaking the bread at the table and distributing it to them reflects his acts and exhortation on serving others at the Last Supper (Lk 22:15-20 & 27). The resurrected Jesus plays the role of host-servant as he played in his penultimate meal with his disciples. The “stranger” guest who reclines at the table plays the servant role in his act of distributing bread. In the Emmaus story, as Luke powerfully describes, ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου (“in the breaking of the bread” Lk 24:35) the disciples recognize the identity of their guest which restores their fellowship with Jesus and strengthens their hope (cf. Lk 22:19). Lucan Jesus’ act of breaking the bread serves as the continuing link between the meals in Luke-Acts.

Furthermore, the Lucan sequence in narrating the following events is significant: teaching and dining. In two other meal accounts, the meal scene is followed by Jesus' teaching his disciples regarding his suffering and death (cf. Lk 9:22; 22:15), but they are ignorant of the meaning of his explanations. In this post-resurrection account, Luke reverses the order. The resurrected Jesus educates the disciples first (Lk 24:25-27), and then he shares a meal with them (Lk 24:30). This order becomes the practice of the early Christ-movement (cf. Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7-11).

The meal scene in the post-resurrection narrative at Emmaus comprises the acts of communion and identity with the vulnerable. Luke records this meal account as a consummation of the Gospel in the identity of Jesus. The disciples' invitation transforms the "stranger" on the road (representing the vulnerable) into a guest. This transformation erases his anonymity, and the newly established fellowship ensures him with food. Pope Gregory I's (c. 540 - 604 CE) feeding twelve destitute people every evening might be a continual reminiscent practice of the early Christ-movement, a sign of how the Emmaus narrative fed into later Christian traditions of hospitality.¹¹⁹ The breaking of bread at the table in this account enlightens the Lucan audience and encourages them to experience Christ in the life of the Christ-movement. The fact that it is in the act of Jesus' taking, blessing, breaking and distributing the bread they recognise him is quite momentous. Luke suggests that deep knowledge of the identity of Jesus and the daily routines of the hospitable sharing of bread are inextricably entwined.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Howorth (1912:197-198). Accessed online:
<https://archive.org/details/saintgregory00howouoft/page/n10>

2.13. Waiting at Tables (Acts 6:1-3)

Luke records that there was a conflict in the early Christ-movement (Acts 6:1-6). As discussed in Chapter 3, there are no needy among the Christ-followers in the earliest Jerusalem church, because the Christ-followers meet their needs, and caring for the widows is one among them. Acts 6 starts with a conflict that emerged between Hellenists and Hebrews regarding the treatment of Hellenist widows in the daily distribution (Acts 6:1). Critics examine this passage in the light of cultural and theological issues which divided the Greek and Hebraic Christ-followers. Scholars differ on the identity of the Ἑλληνισταί (“Hellenists”) and the Ἑβραῖοι (“Hebrews”). Luke uses the term Ἑλληνιστής in Acts 9:29 and Acts 11:20 (some manuscripts have textual variations). Apart from its usage in Acts, there is no reference in contemporary Greek literature. However, this research accepts those who consider the linguistic preferences (Greek- or Aramaic-speaking) to be the primary distinguishing element (Haenchen 1971:260; Bruce 1952:151; Brehm 1995:180-199; Hengel 1974:2, 105; 1983:6-26).¹²⁰ Hence, the first major conflict is between Greek-speaking and Aramaic-speaking Judean Christ-followers. The dispute over the daily distribution is perhaps one of many related conflicts¹²¹ between these two groups. The conflict should be seen as exposing hidden tensions within the emerging Christ-movement in which language (and other dimensions of ethnic identity) plays a vital role. Here the question is, what is being distributed? Scholars have come up with various possibilities, ranging from the Lord’s Supper to alms-giving to food distribution. Hence, it is essential to investigate the following issues: Who are the people addressed in this daily distribution; what kind of διακονία (“service”; Acts 6:1) has caused this conflict, and the significance of the conflict.

¹²⁰ Gutbrod (*TDNT* 3:389) understands it in socio-religious terms and argues that the term Ἑλληνιστής refers to the people from outside of Israel. For more discussion on the issue on identity see Pao (2011:127-128). Lüdemann (1989:74) argues the presence of Hellenist widows from historical point of view saying that many pious Judean Christ followers settled in Jerusalem in their last days in order to be buried in Jerusalem.

¹²¹ Cf. table sharing with Gentiles (Acts 10:1-4), concerning circumcision (Acts 15:1, 5), and the Old Testament food restrictions (Acts 15:20, 28-29).

Almsgiving was an integral part of the early Christ-movement in Jerusalem. Jeremias (1969:131) states that “It is likely that the fellowship meals that were held daily by the Christian community entailed of itself a daily distribution of aid for its poor members.” In light of our earlier discussion on the plight of widows, the term *τράπεζα* likely refers to the meal table, and the phrase *διακονεῖν τραπέζαις* (“to serve on tables”; Acts 6:2) could be a reference to the daily distribution of food, not money. Kim (1998:199-200) equates the daily distribution with almsgiving without any critical claims, and in the later stage, he equates it with the communal meals of Qumran and Pharisaic communities (Kim 1998:250). With his attempt, Kim devalues the early Christ-movement’s practice which is the reflection of the Lucan Jesus’ exhortation on the good news to the *πτωχοί*.

Luke does not specify the status of the neglected Hellenistic widows in detail. Are these widows destitute? Schussler Fiorenza (1983:165) postulates that the table service “was most likely the eucharistic ministry,” and asserts the economic sustainability of the Hellenist widows. Concerning the wealth status of Hellenist widows, Schottroff and Stegemann (1986:118-119), in line with Fiorenza (1983:162-168), assert the “prosperous and respectable” status of Hellenists in the Roman province and argue that the Hellenist widows did not need economic support. They suggest a Hellenist Christ-followers’ fellowship at the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, possibly a widow (Acts 12:12-14). The condition of women patrons of the early Christ-movement (as already noted in section 2.4. of this chapter) provides some support for their argument.

Nevertheless, the references to *χῆραι* in Acts portray their lowly status. Luke uses the term *χῆραι* twice in Acts: the Hellenist widows (Acts 6:1), and the group of widows at Dorcas’ house (Acts 9:39,41). In both occurrences, Luke presents the widows as being in a vulnerable situation. Furthermore, there is no comparable description of a high economic position for widows that could influence how we view those mentioned in Acts 6 (cf. Scott 1994:728-729). As discussed in Chapter 3, widows are socially oppressed people who often depend on others for their subsistence and a few New Testament passages also record the

plight of widows (1 Tim 5:9-16; James 1:27; cf. Cogan 2001:427). Hence, it is reasonable to suggest that the Hellenist widows were in a state of dependency for their survival.

In line with Fiorenza, Thurston treats this conflict in a broader context of the women's roles in the early Christ-movement and suggests that the tension could be reordering the women's active roles in the early Christ-movement (Fiorenza 1983:164-168; Thurston 1989:28-35). However, in this account, Luke uses the term διακονία ("service") in association with the men's service (Acts 6:4). Besides, Luke does not mention any women in the solution (Acts 6:5). Hence, the conflict in Acts 6:1-6 could not be an issue of leadership modification in relation to gender identity. These considerations support the view that with the διακονία of "waiting at tables" Luke is addressing the issue of hungry widows.

In the text, Luke records that the Hellenist are murmuring (γογγυσμός; Lk 6:1) against the Hebrew. The occurrences of the cognate form of this term highlight a significant controversy which is the Lucan Jesus' table-fellowship with the outcasts and the marginalized (cf. γογγύζω; Lk 5:30; διαγογγύζω; Lk 15:2; διαγογγύζω; Lk 19:7). Both the terms διακονία ("service") and τράπεζα ("table") appear in the Lucan account of the Last Supper (Lk 22:21, 26, 27, 30). Moreover, Luke uses the term τράπεζα in most of his meal accounts (Lk 16:21; 22:21; Acts 16:34). Furthermore, it is useful to compare a reference from the *Testament of Job* (12:1-2) in which both the terms appear together along with πτωχοῖς ("destitute") in the context of food serving ἤσθιεν ("to eat"): Βούλομαι μέντοι κἄν διακονῆσαι τοῖς πτωχοῖς ἐν τῇ σῇ τραπέζῃ... καὶ συγχωρηθεὶς ὑπηρετῇ καὶ ἤσθιεν.¹²²

According to Israelite law,¹²³ helping the destitute was a requirement. As discussed in Chapter 3 and also in the above passages, generalized reciprocity as encouraged by the Lucan Jesus is also exercised in the life of the early Christ-movement (Acts 2:44-45; 4:35:7). In the light of previous references to the community of goods (Acts 4:32) and bread-breaking at common meals (Acts 2:42-46), it can be assumed that there were no needy people (Acts

¹²² Translation: "I wish to serve the destitute at your table. And having agreed, he was serving and eating."

¹²³ Deut 14:27-29 explains the agricultural tithe of every household.

4:34) because possessions are shared, and meals are eaten in common. This was Luke's portrayal of the earliest phase of the Jerusalem Christ-movement. The daily distribution to both Hebrew and Hellenist widows presupposed prior to the events in Acts 6.1-6 is part of that happy period. But although Luke was perhaps presenting a rather idealistic picture of those early days, he was not able to hide the fact that fairly soon there occurred a very troubling rift in the movement focusing around ethnic and linguistic issues. In Acts 6.1-6, we see that the Hellenists' widows were a casualty of this rift. They needed food but were not getting it. Luke writes of the reinstitution of the distribution to them. The serving of food to widows is one of the acts of benevolence in the early Christ-movement. When the issue arises concerning the neglect of Hellenist widows, the chosen Seven are asked to "wait at tables." This act reflects Jesus' table-fellowship, which breaches social boundaries, embraces outcasts in a kinship relation, and emphasizes the importance of serving. Hence, the conflict leads to the re-assertion of the need for the acceptance of outsiders, in this case, the Hellenist widows by the Aramaic-speaking branch of the movement. In particular, the Lucan Jesus' act of inclusion demands that the Christ-followers accept outcasts in their kinship relations.

Furthermore, the issue between the Greek and Hebrew widows was a Lucan replication of Jesus' controversial table-fellowship with tax collectors, those who were considered social outcasts. Scott (1994:728) postulates that these Hellenist widows are immigrants to Jerusalem who do not have any relations in Jerusalem (cf. Hengel 1983:16). Being cut-off from their kin, they have to depend on Aramaic-speaking Christ-followers. Esler (1987:160) argues that the primary issue between these two groups was a concern on the part of the Aramaic-speaking Judeans that they might incur impurity by serving bread to Greek-speakers who were in contact with non-Judeans (which is really an issue of ethnic boundaries). He posits the crisis as a social conflict arising over Hellenists' table-fellowship with marginalized Christ-followers (for more discussion on this issue, see Esler 1987:131-163).

Some scholars argue that these are Lucan elements in justifying the official commissioning of the Seven, including Stephen, by the Twelve and positioning them as guardians of the poor (Haenchen 1971:259-269; Lienhard 1975:228-236). Here, it is not entirely clear whether the chosen Seven are Greek-speaking or Aramaic-speaking persons. Nevertheless, there is a scholarly consensus that the chosen Seven are Hellenists. In so arguing, commentators refer to their Greek names. Besides, the chosen Seven are probably the recognised leaders of the Hellenists in the church (cf. Bruce 1990:121-122; Bock 2007:260-261; Keener 2014:334-335). In the light of our discussion on purity concerns, the description of the Seven with their Greek names was a Lucan attack on social discrimination.

Furthermore, in this account, they were commissioned to serve at tables, which reflects Jesus' act and his exhortation on serving others where everyone was treated equally (Lk 22:21, 26-27; Lk 9:10-17). Thus, Luke describes Jesus' inclusive table-fellowship in the life of early Christ-movement.

In sum, the issue and the remedy exercised in Acts 6:1-6 nicely exemplify the Lucan Jesus' exhortations on table-fellowship: feeding the destitute, breaking boundaries, extending the fellowship as kinship relation, and significantly emphasizing the servant attitude of Jesus. At the same time, the shared table in Acts 6:1-6 is between Judean Christ-followers, which is revealed to be divided into ethnic groups Judeans and non-Judeans, in our next passage.

2.14. Peter at Joppa and Caesarea (Acts 9:36 – 11:18)

Luke records some substantial events related to the early stages of the Christ-movement in this extended narration. It has been widely recognized that the inclusion of non-Judeans into the Christ-movement is a prime concern for Acts (cf. Esler 1987). Luke places Peter at Simon the tanner's house in Joppa where Peter has stayed for a considerable number of days, which was not uncommon in the early period.¹²⁴ Thus, Peter's stay at Simon's house becomes the setting for the narrative, which consists of many events. Many significant shifts are provided in the text: (i) amidst a fruitful ministry in Joppa Peter accepts hospitality in a tanner's house, tanning being a notoriously impure trade; (ii) a non-Judean centurion who is depicted as a "God-fearer" is doing charitable works, for the Judean people (λαός) (Bruce 1990:252-253); (iii) Peter's vision makes him declare "no person is κοινός" ("profane"; Acts 10:28); (iv) three table-fellowship between social and ethnic unequals (Simon - Peter [Acts 9:43], Peter - three guests [Acts 10:23], and Cornelius and his family - Peter [Acts 11:3]).

With the conversion of Cornelius and his household, which is the climax of this more extended narration, Luke depicts the birth of the first mixed Judean/non-Judean Christ-followers group. Esler (1987:93) asserts that the central issue of this more extended narration is "...that Peter had lived and eaten with them." At this juncture, it is worth noting the repetition of Peter's vision in this narration: in its original setting (Acts 10:9-16), in Peter's speech at Cornelius' house (Acts 10:28), and in Peter's report (Acts 11:5-10) which indicates its importance for Luke. Furthermore, Luke uses the word μένω to describe Peter's stay at the house of Simon, the tanner: "he remained (μένω) many days in Joppa with Simon the tanner" (Acts 9:43). As discussed, the Lucan choice of the term μένω indicates a purpose or purposes behind Peter's stay. Hence, the question is: by choice of this term what does Luke want to communicate to his audience? Furthermore, with the conversion of Cornelius and his household, Luke depicts the birth of the first mixed Judean/non-Judean Christ-followers

¹²⁴ The Didache states that the apostles and prophets are to be hosted until their next lodging (Didache 11:1-9).

group in Caesarea, which is the climax of this more extended narration. At the same time, the three shared table scenes recorded or alluded to in this extended narration is worth noting. Hence, my focus here is on food and human relationships which are probably related to disputes between Judean and non-Judean Christ-followers.

Luke specifies two cities, Joppa and Caesarea Maritima,¹²⁵ for the events of this more extended narration. The setting of the places explicitly depicts the Lucan concern for illustrating socio-religious problems. Luke situates the following events in Joppa: hospitality of Simon the tanner (Acts 9:43); Peters' vision (Acts 10:9-20); and hospitality of Peter (Acts 10:21-23). The city Joppa was itself a Hellenistic town where Greco-Roman culture prevailed (Schürer 1979:110-114). Furthermore, he describes Peter's stay at the house of Simon, a tanner by profession (Acts 9:43) whose profession was considered dishonourable and impure because human urine was used to soften the leather.¹²⁶ People also believed that "tanning was an unclean trade" because tanners handled the skins of dead animals (cf. Harnack 1909:85; cf. Jeremias 1989: 310). Recently, Litwak (2006:470) interprets the issue from the Mosaic law and states that "a tanner would have been almost perpetually unclean" because the Mosaic law defines defilement by touching the carcass of even a clean animal (Lev 11:39-40). In antiquity, tanners were not considered as welcome citizens, and a tanner suffered a low status and a marginal communal living (cf. Forbes 1966:50-51). Rohrbaugh labels them as "the degraded and expendables" and places them along with prostitutes, blind, and lame (Rohrbaugh 2006:27). The tanneries were isolated from the towns, which is the reality of today also in India. At the same time, Luke's situating Peter in a tanner's house represents a dismissal of matters related to ritual purity concerns. F. F. Bruce (1954:213)

¹²⁵ There were two cities/towns called Caesarea in the New Testament, Caesarea Philippi and Caesarea Maritima. Caesarea Philippi, a city of Greek-Roman culture at the southwestern base of Mount Hermon, is mentioned in the Gospels (Mt 16:13-20; Mk 8:27-30). Caesarea Maritima, also known as Caesarea Palestinae, was an ancient city on the coast of the Mediterranean.

¹²⁶ <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/from-gunpowder-to-teeth-whitener-the-science-behind-historic-uses-of-urine-442390/>

suggests that “Peter’s lodging with such a man was a mark of his increasing emancipation from ceremonial traditions.”

Oliver (2013:50-60) argues that there is no single rabbinic passage that views the profession of tanning as ritually defiling. Nevertheless, a few references forbid Judeans to enter these places (*m. Sha* 1:2),¹²⁷ and the prohibition is based on purity concerns. His trade of tanning even allows a woman to divorce her husband (*m. Ket* 7:10). Ritual impurity may not be the cause for the divorce; however, the filthy work involved in his tanning vocation makes him an “unwanted” person. In light of the discussion above, sharing the table with tanners might be a prohibited practice. Peter’s extended stay with a Judean tanner illustrates that he has already come to the position of negating Judean purity concerns (Talbert 1997:104).

Moreover, the text specifies (Acts 9:43) that he stayed there for many days. Peter’s choosing Simon’s house for his stay during a fruitful ministry at Joppa in breach of Judean purity boundaries will soon extend to a disregard for the boundary between Judean and non-Judean. Luke uses the present passive form of the word ξενίζω (Acts 10:6) to refer to Peter’s stay at Simon’s house. Peter dwells as a guest and is entertained by the host. The Greek term ξενίζω (“to dwell as a guest” “to stay” “to lodge”) occurs seven times in Luke-Acts out of its ten occurrences in the New Testament. Furthermore, Luke uses this term four times in Acts 10, which illustrates the significance of hospitality in this extended narration.¹²⁸ Hence, it is clear that Peter receives hospitality from Simon the tanner and shares his table with him. Luke places Peter as a recipient who enjoys the provisions given by the host, who is expendable in society. He may be reasonably well-off, but the dirty job involved in his tanning profession drives him out from the city/town and places him at the bottom of the social ladder. With his fellowship with an expendable, Peter breaches the social boundaries to enjoy the generalized reciprocity of the tanner. Thus, Luke extends the table in breaching

¹²⁷ “... nor must one enter the tannery (to look after the process, shortly before Sabbath.”

¹²⁸ Acts 10:6, 18, 23, 32; 17:20; 21:16; 28:7; Heb 13:2; 1 Pet 4:4, 12.

the boundaries of ritual purity laws and social exclusion; however, here it is exercised between Judeans.

At this point in the narrative, another place is mentioned, the city of Caesarea. Luke identifies this place for the story of Cornelius and his encounter with Peter (Acts 10:1, 24-48). Caesarea¹²⁹ was a Roman city built by Herod, who founded it in 22 BCE, wishing to promote the political and cultural ambitions of the Romans in the East (cf. Foerster 1975:11). Caesarea has been identified as a place of controversy between Judeans and Greeks which eventually led to the Jewish revolt against Rome (*AJ* 20.8.9; *BJ* 2.14.4; cf. Levey 1975:45). Josephus states that Caesarea served as the winter-quarters for the Roman army during the Jewish War (*BJ* 3.9.1). The Cornelius of this story was himself a centurion, a Roman commander of a hundred soldiers. Luke identifies him as a centurion of the Italian Cohort (Acts 10:1), who would, accordingly, have been understood by Luke's audience as one among the powerful and wealthy Roman citizens in Caesarea. In addition to their non-Judean identity, it is reasonable to assume that Luke's audience would have understood what this prominence of Cornelius meant within this profoundly stratified society. Here the question is how Luke legitimates breaching the above discussed socio-economic and ethnic boundaries? What is the role of the vision of Peter (Acts 10:9-16) in extending the boundaries?

As already noted, the vision of Peter is repeated thrice in this extended narrative, and in two accounts, Luke narrates the whole episode of the vision: one as the original narration and the other in his report to the apostles and brethren in Jerusalem. In the narration Luke presents Peter as a person who becomes hungry at the sixth hour praying (Acts 10:10). While Peter is waiting for his provision of food, he sees a vision in which a square sheet full of all kinds of animals, reptiles and birds of the air is lowered down before him from the opened

¹²⁹ Luke identifies this place as home for Philip, the first evangelist to Gentiles (Acts 8:40). Luke mentions that Paul visited this place on many occasions, especially in relation to the facts that Paul was tried here and, Paul set sail to Rome from here (Acts 9:30; 18:22; 21:7-8; 23, 24, 25, 27:1-3). In modern times it is called as Caesarea Maritima which means "Caesarea by the sea".

heaven. Many commentators identify the “opened heaven” as an apocalyptic motif (cf. Barrett 1994: 506; Witherington 1998:349; Fitzmyer 1998: 454; Johnson 1992:184). Luke does not make clear the kind and nature of animals presented, whether all the animals are forbidden creatures or a mixture. However, Peter’s immediate refusal with two negatives proves that it contains at least some prohibited creatures: Μηδαμῶς, κύριε, ... οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον (“Not so, Lord ... I did not eat”; Acts 10:14).

The Lucan choice of words in the instruction that comes from a voice out of heaven saying θύσον καὶ φάγε (Acts 10:13) is significant. The two Greek terms used here, θύω (“to kill” “to slaughter”) and ἐσθίω (“to eat”), make this vision appropriate to Peter and the early Christ-movement. Fitzmyer (1998: 455) translates θύω as “slaughter,” while Barrett (1994:507) interprets in terms of “sacrifice” which has a religious connotation. To indicate the act of killing, Luke uses three other Greek terms; ἀναιρέω¹³⁰ (“kill”), φόνος¹³¹ (“killing” “murder”), and σφαγή (“slaughter”; Acts 8:32). At the same time, there are 14 occurrences of the Greek term θύω in the New Testament.¹³² Furthermore, Luke uses this in seven places and, except for the three occurrences found in the parable of the younger son (Lk 15:23, 27, 30), with the meaning of “sacrifice” (Lk 22:7; Acts 14:13, 18). The above references suggest a religious meaning to the term θύω. Interestingly, both narrations end with a voice from heaven: “The things which God has made clean, you must not consider unclean!” (Acts 10: 15; 11:9). The critical question is clear: what does God make clean? Does it refer to unclean food, or non-Judeans, or both? Hence, it is necessary to investigate how the religious connotation of θύω relates to the context of Peter.

¹³⁰ There are 18 occurrences of this term found in Luke-Acts in relation to murdering a person (1+17 respectively): Lk 22:2; Acts 2:23; 5:33; 7:21; 7:28; 9:23; 9:24; 9:29; 10:39; 12:2; 13:28; 16:27; 22:20; 23:15; 23:21; 23:27; 25:3; 26:10. In two places Luke uses this term in the meaning “to put away” (Acts 5:36; 7:21).

¹³¹ In 3 places Luke uses this term to indicate murder: Lk 23:19, 25; Acts 9:1.

¹³² With the meaning of ‘killing’: Mt 22:4; Lk 15:23, 27, 30; Jn 10:10 (5 times). And to denote ‘sacrifice’: Mk 14:12; Lk 22:7; Acts 10:13; 11:7; 14:13, 18; 1Cor 5:7; 10:20 (*2) (9 times).

Luke says that the vision occurs at the sixth hour, the time of the tamid sacrifice in the Temple. The specific reference to the time signals that Luke was well informed concerning Judean fixed hours of prayer (cf. the third hour [Acts 2:15]; the sixth-hour prayer [Acts 10:9;] the ninth-hour prayer [Acts 3:1; 10:3, 30]). However, the setting of the vision does not take place in the Temple, rather in Simon the tanner's house. In the house of Simon, Peter is asked to perform a sacrificial act in relation to the animals lowered from heaven. Through this assertion, Luke legitimises the house gatherings of the early Christ-movement.

Furthermore, Smith (1914) argues that a sacrifice is an act of communion between man and god (cited in Pongratz-Leisten 2007:6). Pongratz-Leisten (2007:6-7) argues that the purpose of sacrifice “was to re-affirm the union between the social community and their deity.” In Peter's vision, there is a blanket full of all kinds of animals which are “unclean” in the sight of Peter. Luke depicts Peter as he is διενθυμούμενου (“pondering on”; Acts 10:19) the vision, that is, seriously thinking about its meaning of the vision. Some scholars observe ἀλλὰ (Acts 10:20) in terms of adversative force, and the word ἀλλὰ along with μηδὲν διακρινόμενος (“without hesitation”; Acts 10:20) could mean “you might object, but go without hesitation” to have “unlawful” association with non-Judeans (Acts 10:28) to illustrate how Peter must overcome his disinclination to have an association with non-Judeans. The Greek term ἀθέμιτον occurs only here and in 1 Pet 4:3, and both in the context of association with non-Judeans. Some scholars prefer the meaning “taboo” rather than “unlawful” (Bruce 1990:259; Witherington 1998:353).

On the other hand, Esler (1998:95, 104-108), based on a study of sources in extra-biblical literature, identifies close fellowship of Judean and non-Judean with idolatrous practices. He suggests that these sources evidence a prohibition on mixed table-fellowship (cf. 2 Macc 6:5; 7:1). No Old Testament law prohibits the association of Judeans with non-Judeans. However, the references concerning the ritual purity laws forbade Judeans to share

their table with the non-Judeans (cf. Dan 1:8-16; Tob 1:10-13; Jdt 10:5; 12:1-20).¹³³ Hence, it is plausible that the Lucan choice of *θύω* could be a symbol of inclusion of the “forbidden” in the communion of Christ-movement. At the same time, the Greek term *ἐσθίω* (Acts 10:13) in Peter’s vision could be an exhortation to an inclusive table-fellowship.

Coming back to the text, Acts 10:17-23, Peter is visited by three people who are sent by Cornelius (two house servants [*οἰκέται*] and one soldier). Peter (a guest himself in Simon’s house) invited them in and received them as his guests. Here Luke uses the same verb *ξενίζω* (Acts 10:23) in the active form along with *εἰσκαλέομαι* (“to invite”) to illustrate Peter’s act of extending an invitation to his unexpected guests. As discussed in the story of Peter and Simon, the terms *ξενίζω* (Acts 10:23) and *ἐπαύριον* (Acts 10:9, 23) illustrate that the three messengers from Cornelius enjoyed table-fellowship with Peter. Peter, the guest, has now assumed the role of the host and extends a welcome to others. This transformation resembles Jesus’ Last Supper and the post-resurrection meal with his two disciples at Emmaus, where Jesus plays the host’s role at the table by breaking the bread. Besides, it could also be a Lucan depiction endorsing the welcoming attitude of the peasant community in antiquity. Peter, who is the object of benevolence from Simon the tanner, now has been transformed into a host. Peter, who relies on Simon for his food, receives strangers from afar. The three guests have travelled a long way from Caesarea to Joppa, approximately 30 miles (Acts 10:1, 8). The Lucan use of adverb *ἐπαύριον* (“tomorrow”; Acts 10:9) illustrates that they would have spent the more significant part of the first day in travelling in scorching daylight hours. Hence, it is likely that they were tired and in need of care. Peter would have provided them with food and allowed socio-ethnic intrusion into Simon’s house. Through the act of Peter, Luke encourages his audience in extending their hospitality to the needy though they are strangers.

¹³³ Cf., *Mishnah Hullin* 1:1 states that “That which is slaughtered by a non-Jew [even though the slaughtering was performed according to ritual in the presence of a Jew,] the animal [nevertheless,] is regarded as *neveilah* and may not be eaten; [but may be used for any other purpose] and defiles by carrying (see Leviticus 11:40).”

Besides, Luke does not expose their identity, whether they are Judeans or non-Judeans; however, it is reasonable to assume them as non-Judeans (at least the soldier, whose description as “devout” suggests he was a God-fearing non-Judean like Cornelius himself [Acts 10.2]; 10:7). Peter’s interpretation of the vision based on the pronouncement “that which God has cleansed” (Acts 10:15) could perhaps encourage him to have table-fellowship with non-Judeans. On the other hand, the Spirit told Peter that three men were looking for him and that he must accompany them, for he had sent them (Acts 10:19-20). Esler (1987: 93-94) interprets this divine intervention as the primary motivation for Peter’s entering into table-fellowship with non-Judeans. Luke extends early Christ-followers’ table-fellowship to non-Judeans; his subsequent stay at Cornelius’ house exemplifies this transformed viewpoint.

Although the table sharing between Peter and Cornelius is not explicitly mentioned in the text, the Lucan phrase ἐπιμεῖναι ἡμέρας τινάς (“to stay for several days”; Acts 10:48) necessitates table-fellowship between Peter and the family of Cornelius. Luke records a controversy raised by apostles and brethren in Jerusalem over this very issue (Acts 11:3). Through Peter’s encounter with Cornelius, Luke describes Peter’s role in breaching the socio-ethnic boundaries by his intrusion into non-Judean space “without objection” (Acts 10:29), which is worth noting. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the Lucan portrayal of the “intruding Peter” could be an example to his audience in participating and initiating Judean/non-Judean commensality.

Through the table sharing, both Simon the tanner and Peter exemplify extending hospitality and kinship to outsiders. Through his association with an expendable (Simon), Peter accepts him as his kin (Acts 9:43). In the second scene, through extending generalized reciprocity to the strangers, the unexpected guests are called to enjoy kinship relations (Acts 10:23). The table sharing between two pairs, “Simon the tanner and Peter” and “Peter and the unexpected three guests,” illustrates Jesus’ boundary-breaking commensality and exemplifies the act of generalized reciprocity. Furthermore, Peter’s table sharing with

Cornelius' messengers illustrates Judean/non-Judean commensality, which has been advanced in Peter's table with Cornelius and his house members.

Through the meal scenes in this extended narration, Luke encourages his audience to extend their relationship to expendables by including them in kinship relations. At the same time, generalized reciprocity is also encouraged in the Christ-movement irrespective of socio-religious and ethnic discriminations. Thus, Luke presents Peter as breaching the socio-religious boundaries in his table-sharing with the expendables and non-Judeans in the life of early Christ-movement.

2.15. The Meal Onboard (Acts 27:33-38)

Luke places the meal scene of Paul within a section that is dominated by a non-Judean setting and characters (Acts 27:1-28:16). Luke narrates the episode of Paul's journey to Rome in the style of Hellenistic sea-travel adventures.¹³⁴ Greek and Roman authors used sea-voyages symbolically to present the hero's quest for identity (cf. Marguerat 2002:231-256). Here we must ask: what does Luke intend to tell his audience with a meal scene during a sea-voyage?

Luke begins this narration with the time of the event, that is, just before daybreak and depicts Paul as speaking to his shipmates. Paul urges all on board to take food if they wish to survive. Luke describes their state as they have not taken food for fourteen consecutive days (Acts 27:33). Some scholars suggest that the mention of days could be hyperbole, and by exaggerating the event, Luke tries to make the situation clear (Haenchen 1971:706; Bock 2007:739). However, it is evident that the shipmates, irrespective of their social standing, have not eaten anything for a long time. Natural calamities have eliminated any chance of taking food. In verse 37, Luke gives the number of persons on board, two hundred and seventy-six.¹³⁵ At this juncture, Paul encourages all those present in the ship to eat food for their nourishment, while assuring them that not one hair will be lost from their

¹³⁴ Homer's *Odyssey* and Hesiod's *Works and Days* are good examples of Greek literature in the 8th century BCE which describe the long sea voyages.

¹³⁵ Some manuscripts give variant numbers which are mostly smaller. Josephus mentions a shipwreck on the Mediterranean Sea in which he gives the number six hundred (*Life*, 15). Hence, the larger number is possible.

head. Luke uses this statement about hair to convey that no physical harm will come to them (cf. Lk 12:7; 21:18). In his exhortation, Paul declares, “for the purpose of your salvation” (γὰρ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει; Acts 27:34). It is necessary to consider the Lucan choice of σωτηρία, and the word can either focus on the physical aspect and mean “deliverance,” “preservation,” or on the transcendent aspect and mean “salvation” (BDAG 985-986). Here, for some scholars, the context of physical survival suggests that Paul is referring to their physical safety (cf. Johnson 1992:455; Dunn 1996:340-341; Witherington 1998:772). The absence of any proclamation of the Gospel supports this argument.

The meal described here is an ambiguous one. In this short narration, Luke uses the four variations of the phrase μεταλαβεῖν τροφή (“to receive nourishment” “to receive food”; Acts 27:33, 34, 36, 38). The repeated food references evoke the meal scenes from Luke’s Gospel. Paul exactly follows what Jesus does in feeding the 5000 and the Last Supper: taking bread (Lk 9:16; 22:19); giving thanks to God (Lk 9:16; 22:17, 19); breaking the bread (Lk 9:16; 22:19); and eating together (Lk 22:15). Jipp (2013:255) observes that this sequence of actions is a motif of divine hospitality and a symbol of Jesus’ continuing presence and revelation. According to the text, all onboard shared their food. Concerning the nature of the meal, Bruce (1990:525) leaves it to the perception of the partakers: “... for Paul and his fellow Christians, it was indeed a eucharist”, but to the majority, it was just ordinary food. For Bock (2007:740), the meal is neither an everyday meal nor a Eucharist, but a sacred moment in which he observes some elements of divine intervention. Some scholars think that the meal shared between Paul and his shipmates was likely to be an ordinary meal (Johnson 1992:455; Dunn 1996:341; Witherington 1998:772-773). It is necessary to investigate the nature of the meal, focusing on the Lucan choice of the term εὐχαριστέω (Acts 27:35).

The Greek terms εὐχαριστέω and εὐχαριστία occur in seven places. Apart from its occurrences in the Last Supper (Lk 22:17, 19), Luke uses this term in the sense of thanking individuals (Lk 17:16; Acts 24:3) and God (Lk 18:11; Acts 27:35; 28:15). The blessing or prayer of thanksgiving before meals was common among Judeans (*m. Ber.* 6:5; Ferguson 1993:527; Green 1997:364-365). Some New Testament references indicate the prevalence of this custom among Christ-followers also (Rom 14:6). In addressing the issue of eating the food offered to idols, Paul uses this term εὐχαριστέω (1 Cor 10:30) in his exhortation on eating food. Furthermore, there is a statement in Josephus, which reflects Paul's thanksgiving attitude amidst a dangerous voyage with a connotation of prayer for travel mercies: "(Gratitude) is a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past but also by way of invitation of future favors." Josephus uses this thanksgiving phrase in the context of instruction for daily prayers (twice, morning and before sleep) (*AJ* 4:212). The context and the absence of Christ-followers (in significant numbers) do not support this spiritualizing of the actual events. For Tannehill (1990:335), Paul does not share a meal with the non-Judeans; he suggests that Paul breaks and celebrates Eucharist before all. Tannehill's argument is unconvincing because of the Lucan emphasis of the adjective ἅπαντας ("everyone" "the whole"). Luke uses the term ἅπαντας ("everyone") twice in this short account (Acts 27:33, 36), which needs investigation. In Greek, the intensive form of πᾶς ("all") denotes the totality of something. But in the plural form, it means "all together" (BDAG 98). Hence, it is likely that the Lucan use of ἅπαντας covers "everyone" on board. Besides, the choice of ἅπαντας instead of παντας illustrates that there was a variety of people on board, including soldiers, sailors, fellow passengers and prisoners. Paul urges everyone, ἅπαντας (Acts 27:36) to partake in the meal, and everyone on board, all of them together, eat and are encouraged by the meal (Acts 27:36).

Concerning Paul's breaking of the bread in Acts 27:35, this motif occurs five times in Acts (Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7, 11; 27:35). In Acts 2:42, 46, Luke uses this phrase in illustrating the everyday life of the early Christ-movement, which is the communal sharing between members (Tannehill 1990:44-46; Johnson 1992:58-59; Witherington 1998:160-163; Bock 2007:150-151). Dunn (1996:35) assumes that the meals are mundane table-fellowship; however, on some occasions, they might include a "shared commemoration of the Last Supper." The story in Acts 20:7, 11 talks about Paul's visit to Troas, which happens during the days of Passover (cf. Acts 20:6). Notably, the gathering occurs on the first day of the week, Sunday (the Lord's day). The reference to "breaking bread" appears twice in this account (Acts 20:7, 11). Scholars interpret "breaking bread" in verse 7 in terms of the enacted memory of the Last Supper (Bruce 1990:425; Johnson 1992:356; Dunn 1996:268). However, concerning the "breaking bread" in verse 11, Johnson is silent, whereas Dunn (1996:268) views it as an ordinary meal since Luke states that it happens after midnight. The meal could possibly be aimed at appeasing hunger (cf. Witherington 1998:607-608). In light of the above discussion, it is plausible that the phrase "breaking bread" without any association with the Lord's day references everyday communal table sharing. This observation supports our argument concerning Paul's breaking bread on board. Besides, the table-fellowship extended to the non-members of the Christ-movement (Acts 27:33-38).

The meal scene here reflects Jesus' inclusive table-fellowship in Paul's invitation to ἅπαντας (Acts 27:33) in the ship. By sharing a meal with ἅπαντας (Acts 27:36), Paul includes his shipmates who represent varied social strata, from sailors to passengers and traders to prisoners. By extending an invitation and exemplifying a shared table, Luke illustrates the inclusive kinship group of the early Christ-movement, consisting of members from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Luke uses this episode to give a new social identity to the shipmates of Paul by including them within the realm of early Christ-movement boundary-breaking table-fellowship. The Lucan phrase μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς (Acts 27:34) suggests that Luke uses Paul's meal to recall the early Christ-followers' foundational act of sharing their

wealth (Acts 4:32-35). The sharing of possessions in the early Christ-movement is a symbolic representation of the community of common goods, generalized reciprocity in exercise, especially in addressing the hunger issue of the fellow members.

3. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

We have investigated the socio-religious and economic reflections and their implications in the selected meal scenes of Luke-Acts. Historical-criticism (including redaction criticism) enhanced with social-scientific tools has been used in this chapter to explore the social and cultural dimensions of the Lucan meal narrations. For our investigation, the discussion in Chapter 3 throws light on the values, social structures and conventions of the Lucan audience. Our investigation of the Lucan meal scenes has exposed the socio-economic and religious disparities which were the everyday experience of the Lucan audience. In particular, the Lucan presentation of meals unveils the reality of the *πτωχοί*. The schematic locations of the meal setting and Lucan redaction indicate the message Luke sought to communicate. Our exegetical analysis of meal scenes in Luke-Acts exposes how Luke addresses basic human needs through a substantial transformation of those suffering destitution and the plight of hunger. The proclamation of the “Good news to the destitute” is a key to Luke’s meal narrations. Luke uses this proclamation to address the issue of the socio-religious and economic outcasts, the destitute because the “Good news” is not good news “... unless it offered them immediate relief for their physical misery and gave them a sense of their own dignity as human persons” (Esler 1987:199).

As previously stated, this research aims to understand what Luke was saying about human needs concerning meals, especially the issue of hunger. Food is one of the basic needs of society, and food insecurity “affects people who cannot access adequate food irrespective of food availability” (Devereux (2001:246). Our discussions expose the multifaceted real-life experience of the destitute and the impoverished conditions of the people under socio-

religious and economic pressures. Thus, the cry of the destitute for their sustenance is distinctly recorded in the meal scenes of Luke-Acts.

3.1. Centrality of Food

The table is one of the most common elements in the Gospel of Luke, whereas the other Synoptic Gospels do not have nearly so much on meals and table-fellowship. Lucan meal scenes are significant in interpreting Luke-Acts. In this section, we have analyzed fourteen meal accounts from Luke-Acts, although only ten meal scenes are directly connected to food which is the objective of this research. Entertaining guests and strangers with food are considered part of honouring them, and some Lucan meal accounts reflect this concern (Lk 10:40; 11:5-8; 24:30; Acts 9:43; 10:23, 48). However, the grave situation of hunger is illustrated in many accounts. Luke does this explicitly in the story of Feeding the 5000 (Lk 9:12). It is significant to note six accounts that directly relate hunger with the plight of destitution. As discussed in Chapter 3, the story of the Zarephath widow (Lk 4:25-26) is a classic example of the hunger issue related to widows, and the same issue is also recorded in Acts as Greek-speaking widows are being overlooked in the table service (Acts 6:1-2). The Great Banquet parable invites the beggars to its table and the places from where they are being brought clearly describe the marginalized state of the πτωχοί (Lk 14:21, 23). In all the accounts listed above, it is evident that social factors are behind the issue of hunger, whether it is regarding widows or the destitute from the margins.

The story of Lazarus is a typical illustration of a destitute person. Lazarus is not only a person who is economically deprived but is also diseased and cannot scratch himself or move. In Luke 15, the Lucan Jesus describes the state of hunger in the younger son's "table" before pigs, which portrays complete destitution. Famine is one of the many reasons for his condition. Both stories (Luke 15, 16) describe the unfulfilled desire of the destitute to possess a full stomach. Lazarus is placed at the gate of a rich man, who perhaps knows Lazarus' condition, but withholds compassion from him. The parable of Great Banquet that includes

the crippled, blind and lame along with the πτωχοί is an excellent description of the hungry in relation to their physical infirmities. Thus, Luke exposes the social realities behind the issue of food as economic deprivation and physical disabilities. In addition, the Lucan depiction of the younger son in a faraway land where he finds no even minimally remunerated employment during famine illustrates the plight of the hungry. In addition to his economic disadvantage, the famine plunges him into near starvation. Luke reflects the same kind of deprivation due to natural disaster in the Pauline sea voyage where the passengers onboard are starving for fourteen days. There is food on board, but they are hungry.

Furthermore, two Lucan references allude to the malnourished condition of the πτωχοί: the meagre nutritional value of the κέρατια (Lk 15:16) and the sycamore tree (Lk 17:6). The earlier reference illustrates the younger son's desires to appease his hunger with food for the pigs, whereas the latter evokes less calorific fruits, which were the food of the poor. Luke has graphically illustrated the restricted accessibility of food in antiquity. Thus, Luke tells the problem of starvation in various dimensions, from malnourishment to total deprivation. Hence, it is apparent that hunger and destitution are a product of socio-economic denial as well as a natural disaster.

3.2. Redefined Relationship

Food is a universal language. Using meals as a vehicle, Luke shifts external boundaries that segregate people regarding socio-religious and economic concerns. The Lucan meal accounts play a social function in gathering people of varied social strata. Lucan table-fellowship redefines the socio-religious and economic relations in the process of eating. Jesus' commensality demonstrates radical inclusiveness by his eating with the tax-collectors and sinners and "formally signals that God extends an inclusive invitation to non-observant and sinful outsiders for covenant membership and for status as forgiven persons" (Neyrey 1991:378). The Lucan meals are used as an occasion to reverse roles and statuses.

The Lucan Jesus is one who strives to include those who had previously been excluded in terms of socio-religious realities, and his table etiquette and exhortations embrace everyone under one umbrella and unite them in a kinship relation. The meal accounts we analysed, except Luke 22, 24, display the Lucan Jesus' association with tax-collectors and sinners, which become a source of conflict with Pharisees in terms of socio-religious concerns. Interestingly, Luke mentions a Pharisee by name, Levi (Lk 7:40), whereas in Matthew and Mark, the Pharisees are a nameless group. In Luke, we find three meal accounts where Jesus is a guest of a Pharisee (Lk 7:40; 11:37; 14:1), and all three are controversial meals. The Pharisees have criticized the Lucan Jesus because he violated their oral laws (Lk 11:38; 14:1-3) and because of his association with tax collectors and sinners, which makes them consider Jesus ceremonially unclean (Lk 5:30; 7:39; 15:2). However, the tax collectors are portrayed as faithful followers of Jesus; in fact, Luke illustrates them as very generous people who share their house and possessions with outcasts and the destitute. Zacchaeus' association with the sycamore tree (Lk 17:6) illustrates a vivid example of extending kinship relation with the *πρωτοί*. The Lucan Jesus transforms the exclusive meal table into a symbol of inclusiveness with his tablemates. He breaches the religious boundaries and establishes harmony, even establishes gender equality (Luke 10).

Moreover, the continuation is evident in the book of Acts. The Christ-followers in Acts practise this boundary-breaking meal. Peter's table-fellowship with Simon the tanner (Acts 9:43), the messengers from Cornelius (Acts 10:23), and Cornelius (Acts 10:48 // 11:3) depicts the breach of ethnic and religious boundaries. In Acts 6, meal sharing plays a vital role in bringing together Greek-speaking Judeans and Aramaic-speaking Judeans, and this inclusiveness is extended to non-Judeans in the episode of Cornelius. Luke furthers this motif and illustrates an inclusive picture of Paul in his meal sharing with shipmates, who mostly do not belong to the Christ-movement. Furthermore, through meal sharing, Luke erases the boundaries drawn based on socio-religious concerns and redefines the relationship

as a kinship relation. Socio-religious outcasts are brought into a kinship relation through the Lucan meals.

Furthermore, the Lucan Jesus exhorts his followers to practice boundary-breaking in terms of socio-economic concerns. In the story of Levi, the Lucan choice of *δοχή* (“banquet”; Lk 5:29), which foreshadows the Great banquet, probably illustrates the presence of expendables. The parable of the Great Banquet (Lk 14:15-24) shows a vital reversal concerning the position of honour. The Lucan Jesus exhorts a radical inclusion of the lowly who are socially and economically marginalized. In the Great Banquet, with his instruction to invite the poor, crippled, blind and lame (Lk 14:21) and the people from the roads and lanes (Lk 14:23), the host breaks the external boundaries and treats everybody as his kin, without being afraid of being shamed by his social equals. The host transcends the social, economic boundaries that the world considers acceptable and comfortable and brings the economically deprived and socially alienated to the table.

Moreover, Zacchaeus, by sharing his possessions with the *πτωχοί*, implements an association with the destitute. In Luke, the elite and retainers breach socio-economic boundaries. In the Last Supper, the Lucan Jesus challenges the established social institution through his exhortation (Lk 22:26-27). Significantly, Feeding the 5000 is an illustration of egalitarian fellowship where there is no distinction and discrimination in terms of social, religious, economic and gender bias.

3.3. Reformed Reciprocity

Concerning reciprocal relations, it is appropriate to recall Lk 6:36-38, which illustrates God’s compassionate identity in Jesus’ encouragement of generosity: “Be merciful ... Give ... Good measure pressed down, shaken together, running over, will be put into your lap.” The Lucan schematic location of God’s providence towards the Zarephath widow (Lk 4:25-26 // 1 Kings 17:14-16) in the context of Jesus’ proclamation of good news to the *πτωχοί*, exemplifies God’s abundant mercies towards the lowly. The Lucan meals epitomize

generalized reciprocity in all the realms of life exceeding the limits such as kinship relations and social equals, which is strange in relation to Greco-Roman friendship maxims (cf. Esler 1987:176, Mitchell 1992:267; Oakman 1996: 129). Those who have had an encounter with Jesus, exercise generalized reciprocity irrespective of socio-economic considerations.

Both the tax collectors named in Luke - Levi and Zacchaeus - open their house to the πτωχοί. Though the term πτωχοί does not occur in Lk 5:29-39, the meal at the house of Levi is a great δοχή (“banquet”). It connotes that all sorts of people would have been invited, including expendables. It is possible that Luke intended his audience to understand that both tax-collectors he names – Levi and Zacchaeus- opened their houses to πτωχοί. The evidence for this is weaker for Levi. Nevertheless, though the term πτωχοί does not occur in Luke 5:29-39, the meal at the house of Levi is a great δοχή. This suggests a big crowd being present and in the context of a socially disreputable person like a tax collector, it becomes possible to imagine people as lowly as the destitute being invited. In the case of Zacchaeus (19:1-10), the case is much stronger. The meal that is implied here (see section 2.10 in Chapter 4 of this dissertation) occurs in the context of Zacchaeus announcing that he is giving (present tense) half his goods to the πτωχοί (v. 8). This makes it is probable that such people were present at this meal.

Luke places the episode of the Great Banquet (Lk 14:1-24) at the apex of his theme of generalized reciprocity. The personalities of the guests listed in the text (Lk 14:21, 23) illustrate the host’s use of wealth. In the great feast prepared by the father (Lk 15:23), the fattened calf (Lk 15:23) indicates that the whole village is invited to the banquet, and as discussed, the πτωχοί might also be among the crowd before the table. In the story of Zacchaeus, Luke depicts him as a friend of the πτωχοί; in fact, an associate of them. The elite and retainers in Lucan meals practise generalized reciprocity with those who cannot reciprocate. In addition, three Lucan meals have references to “strangers” in their account. It is interesting to see that those “strangers” have been placed on a journey. Besides, the Lucan references to the timing in two accounts depict their vulnerability; midnight

(μεσονύκτιον; Lk 11:5) and [noon?] of the next day (ἐπαύριον; Acts 10:9). In the third case, Luke places the stranger (the resurrected Jesus) on a journey towards the evening (πρὸς ἑσπέραν; Lk 24:29), which also indicates the risk in the journey. The strangers in the Acts account arrive at Joppa after a daylong trip from Caesarea (Acts 10:17, 23). In Luke 24 and Acts 10, Luke illustrates that the strangers are welcomed even though their identity is obscure. Honouring guests with food is evident in all accounts.

The early Christ-movement exercises Jesus' teaching in everyday life (Acts 2:42-47 and 4:32-35). The members of the movement hold all things and share meals in common. Luke records three events of a regular meeting and sharing common meals (Acts 2:42; 6:1-2; 20:11). The dispute of Acts 6:1-2 describes caring for the destitute in the context of meals and placing the account of feeding the widows in the early stage of the Christ-movement echoes Luke 4. In the context of patron-client relations in the Graeco-Roman world, Christ-followers' generalized reciprocity and their communal sharing transform everyone as in kinship relationships. This transformation is a radical illustration that drives the movement towards the holistic development of the destitute.

In sum, it is clear that Luke pays attention to the social, economic and cultural dimensions of destitution in his two-part narrative. Our investigation of the Lucan meal scenes exposes the social order of that period and exemplifies the radical reforms of the Lucan Jesus at the table. Considering the issue of destitution that we have seen in the Lucan meals has drawn attention to the potential for Lucan thought to fertilize a contemporary theology of hospitality. The Lucan presentation of Jesus, stranger – guest – host – servant, compels us to re-appraise our Christology in terms of a theology of hunger and hospitality, which is an objective of this dissertation. At the same time, the life of the early Christ-movement breaches the boundaries by extending its relationship with the marginalized and outcasts and exemplifies the Lucan Jesus' radical hospitality to the socio-economically marginalized. Hence, the coming chapter will attempt to integrate the results of our exegesis of Lucan meal scenes into a modern theology of hospitality that endorses yet critiques recent

legislation in India to promote food justice, while encouraging Indian Christians, inspired by Luke, to put their shoulders to the wheel of this great task of justice and compassion.

CHAPTER 5

THE LUCAN THEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO HUNGER

The exegetical investigation in Chapter 4 suggests that Lucan meal scenes serve to build a radically inclusive society in reaching across the margins and partnering with strangers, particularly in the context of sharing food. According to Elizabeth Newman (2007:24), robust hospitality will aim “for truthful communion with God and others.” Her proposition suggests that hospitality is central to theology and essential for our practical living in this world. The following two chapters are the culmination of this dissertation and they analyse and theologically apply Lucan approaches to destitution. As stated in Chapter 1, the purpose of this research is to aid the Church with Lucan theological perspectives on hospitality in its fight against hunger and destitution. This chapter will argue for a theological basis as an implemented approach through seeking answers to the following questions: does the Church need theology to address the issue? What are the imperatives concerning hunger and destitution given by the Lucan Jesus to his followers? What understanding from the Lucan theological perspective should inform the Church to assist in alleviating hunger and destitution? This chapter seeks to discuss contemporary theology relating to hunger and hospitality to connect with the exegetical findings of our previous chapter and move forward to address issues of food insecurity in India. Hence, it is appropriate to start the discussion with the existing approaches to alleviating hunger and food insecurity.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ The term “food insecurity” is explicit in recognising food as a basic human right which relates the individual to policy and social security/insecurity (Dowler & Lambie-Mumford 2015). Furthermore, part of this research deals with an Act passed in the Parliament of India which itself states “National Food Security Acts 2013,” hence, food insecurity and hunger are synonymous in this research. Furthermore, Chapter Six has a brief discussion on the term “security.”

1. APPROACHES TO HOSPITALITY AND FOOD INSECURITY

Hospitality, in our contemporary world, includes welcoming the stranger. In welcoming the stranger, hospitality demands development in our mindsets, habits and character (Newlands & Smith 2010:5). It is extending our boundaries and entertaining them in meeting their physical needs. Here I use entertaining in the sense of fulfilling/meeting out their needs such as food, shelter and protection. In the Mediterranean antiquity, hospitality was usually practised in a balanced reciprocal relationship, but, as we will see, a more encompassing perspective of generalised reciprocity was also available.

Drawing on Pitt-Rivers (1977), Malina (1996) suggests a hospitality model in the ancient world that involves three stages. Stage one involves “evaluation” of the stranger who has previously been looked upon with suspicion and evaluated concerning whether this person would threaten the security and purity arrangements of the group. In stage two, the evaluated stranger was “incorporated” into the group as a guest or client in a liminal phase where there were obligations and rules for both guest and host. Finally, the guest departed the house of the host as a “transformed” stranger in the third stage, and this stage affects the future relationship between the host and the guest, whether that parting was in harmony or hostility (cf. Malina 1996:228-234). Hence, this hospitality model emphasises the reciprocal exchange of resources and demands rules and regulations in treating strangers. But the hospitality in Luke-Acts encourages generalised reciprocity, and it encompasses the marginalised and the destitute without any expectation. At the same time, Lucan reciprocity implies that we experience hospitality that is also rewarding; in other words, it creates space for the host to be transformed as a guest (cf. Pohl 1999:187). Theology and society are intertwined in the form of hospitality which matches Newman’s description (2007:24) of hospitality as a “faithful communion with God and others.” Newlands and Smith (2010:14) claim, “if the link is weakened between theology and community, and also between theology and society, much of the strength of the vision of a hospitable, unconditionally loving God

inevitably begins to fade.” Hence, this dissertation suggests the importance of the theology of hospitality, especially in its relation to food and destitution, and the following section will discuss two main dimensions of the approach towards food insecurity, namely charity-giving and social justice.

The following section discusses significant approaches to food insecurity and hunger to achieve the purpose of this chapter. A few attempts and initiatives have been begun to articulate the faith and life of the Church concerning the emerging consciousness of food insecurity. Theologians such as Norman Wirzba, Angel Méndez-Montoya, Christine Pohl, Elizabeth Newman and Chris Allen are some of the prominent persons who figure in this theological movement of relating food and theology. This section will discuss two main dimensions of the approach towards food insecurity, namely charity-giving and social justice.

1.1. Charity Approach

Food is essential for our growth and survival. In addressing the issue of hunger, material poverty plays a dominant role in the impoverished condition. Material poverty in this research refers to “lack of food” resulting from economic deprivation. Material poverty challenges a person in relation to his/her subsistence. It is evident that charity, which is the philanthropic approach, has been a means to alleviate material poverty over the ages. The benevolent activities of the Church have addressed material poverty which is related to inequality through the centuries. Henry Ronald Sider observes that biblical texts highlight God’s bias towards care for the impoverished and he is the ultimate owner of all things (1977:60-61, 101-104). In alleviating poverty, the Church has a history of service that is to be found in many social action projects. The Church’s ethical behaviour underpins its benevolent attitude in poverty alleviation. Chadwick (1973:56) plausibly argues that charity was a primary driver of the rapid expansion of early Christianity. Clement of Rome, writing at the end of the first century, expresses the benevolent attitude of the early Christ-followers

in his letter: “We know that many among us have had themselves imprisoned, that they might ransom others. Many have sold themselves into slavery, and with the price received for themselves have fed others” (1 Clement 55:2; cf. Holmes 2013:713).

In practice, the theological perspective on food is expressed in sharing it. Pohl (1999) suggests that the focus of hospitality is “the welcome of strangers,” which invites others to the table for sharing of food. Partnership at the table is the pinnacle of welcoming strangers. Norman Wirzba (2011:11) argues for a theology of eating in terms of sharing and nurturing life. In his answer to the purpose of creation, Wirzba (2011:49) returns to the image of gardening and observes that God was the first gardener, and gardening is a form of hospitality that is “the character of humanity.” Both these observations on sharing food imply the act of charitable giving. This kind of charitable approach exists in the form of soup kitchens, food pantries, and food banks. Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) explore eight mechanisms that drive charitable giving.¹³⁷ These mechanisms focus on individual donations of money to an organisation, and this can be equated with food donations or food charity. Food charity is beneficial to both the individual and society. These food redistribution agencies are promoted to feed needy people; however, a few studies critique the food redistributions and charity approaches for their negative impact (Mulquin, Siaens, & Wodon 2000; Horst, Pascucci, & Bol 2014). For example, charities aim to address the issue of hunger with their food aid programmes, but the way they operate, such as using queues and food aid centres, makes the recipients, or at least for some of them, feel low self-esteem.

The whole ecclesial apparatus of charitable giving is open to critique. Allen (2016:361) observes that the charitable practice emerges from “a privileged theology that reflects the privileged nature of the church voices that promote it.” At the same time, emotions need to be taken into account. Philanthropic acts of food charity keep the hungry dependent, which could be demeaning, embarrassing, and degrading from his or her point of

¹³⁷ (i) awareness of need; (ii) solicitation; (iii) costs and benefits; (iv) altruism; (v) reputation; (vi) psychological benefits; (vii) values; (viii) efficacy.

view. Besides, it fails to satisfy the moral challenges outlined in contextual and liberation theologies concerning the “preferential option for the poor,” particularly in attacking the root causes of the problems and promoting radical change (Allen 2016:366; cf. Gutierrez 1973; Astley 2002).

Furthermore, the challenge in food charity is rooted in its practice which offers a short-term solution rather than addressing the long-term endemic problem of food insecurity. This observation indicates that the food charity approach seems questionable when it comes to transforming the deprived state of the destitute, which includes socio-economic factors. Hence, the following section will discuss the social justice approach, which focuses on deprivation from a philosophical perspective emphasizing human rights.

1.2. Social Justice Approach

Some sociologists propose that food and food insecurity are political questions (cf. Robertson, Brunner, & Sheiham 1999). Hawkes & Webster (2000:20-23) argue that food charity and food redistribution do not address the underlying structural causes of food inaccessibility. In alleviating food insecurity, the social justice approach aims to eliminate the root cause of food insecurity. The social justice approach identifies food insecurity as a lack of access to food. From this perspective, hunger is “the inability to obtain sufficient, nutritious, personally acceptable food through normal food channels or the uncertainty that one will be able to do so” (Davis & Tarasuk 1994:51). In other words, the poor and destitute lack resources to get access to healthy, fresh, nutritious food, which suggests that food insecurity is related to the struggle for resources.

According to Chris Allen (2016:361), this approach has been “derived from human rights discourse” and promotes “the idea of minimum incomes... that enable people to secure food in socially acceptable ways, i.e. from food retailers.” On the other hand, there is no systematic theological approach to food insecurity from a (secular) social perspective. Drawing on Milbank (2006), Chris Allen (2016:369) observes that the Church’s messages

shaped by the political discourse of capitalism could not be considered theological, and the social justice approach removes the Church from its role in promoting an alternative order. He also argues that the social justice approach heavily emphasises consumerism rather than encouraging food production, which may negatively impact the inhabitants in the food-producing countries (Allen 2016:361-362). According to him, the modern human rights perspectives is “anthropocentric,” and “there is no autonomous space outside of God in which Christian can operate” (Allen 2016:370-371).

Some scholars argue that the language of faith and the language of rights have some roots in common and that “the concept of human rights comes from the Bible,” especially from the Old Testament and the Ten Commandments (René Cassin quoted in Ishay 2004:19).¹³⁸ Rowan Williams (2012:154), in his discussion on human rights, speaks of “the theological insights that have moved us irreversibly in the direction that leads to universal doctrines of rights” and argues that human rights claims stand upon the foundations provided by theological perspectives. At the same time, it is also necessary to understand the phrase “communism of being,” which Allen takes from Méndez-Montoya (2009:93). The phrase “communism of being” is found in the Russian theologian and economist Sergei Bulgakov’s *Philosophy of Economy* (2009), in which he used this phrase to describe the system of the universe. Bulgakov (2000:95) postulates that the universe is an organic system in which “nothing exists apart,” but everything is “mutually connected.”¹³⁹ Méndez-Montoya (2009:93-95) theologises Bulgakov’s “communism of being” and postulates that through the incarnation of Christ and the Eucharist, the boundary between “living and non-living is removed in food” (Bulgakov 2000:102-103). Méndez-Montoya aptly relates food to sharing,

¹³⁸ René Cassin is one of the UN Human Rights Commission members, and he participated in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Cassin, René (1972). *Amicorum discipulorumque liber: Méthodologie des droits de l’homme*. Paris: Editions A. Pedone.

¹³⁹ Bulgakov (2000:96) intends the essence of being is mutuality: “The unity of the universe, the physical communism of being, means that, physically, everything finds itself in everything else, every atom is connected with the entire universe; or, if we compare the universe to an organism, we can say that everything enters into the makeup of the world body.”

mutuality, hospitality, and reciprocity; however, hunger is not adequately dealt with in his theologising of food.

2. LUKE AS SOURCE FOR A THEOLOGY OF HUNGER AND HOSPITALITY

The primary affirmation of the Lucan theology of hunger and hospitality (LTHH) is that it is a theology “for” and “of” the destitute in their liberation from hunger. In observing the various programmes regarding the alleviation of hunger and destitution, it is evident that there is a particular need for a theology of hunger. This focus is necessary to contrast the privileged dominant cultural or theological traditions from above to accommodate and include the deprived and destitute by addressing human needs and making the biblical text relevant to them (Astley 2002:13-14). Hence, the following section will discuss the arguments for the foundational value of the LTHH.

Theologians recognise the need to make theologies mirrored in Christian history and based on the pain, struggles, and hope of the poor (cf. Philip Berryman 1987:205). Liberation theology is a good example. Gutiérrez (1983:36-37) claims that theology is the reproduction of the faith of a Christian community pertaining to the context: “Theology is a Christian community’s awareness of its faith at a given moment in history.” This dissertation seeks to apply a theology of hunger as it expounds biblical texts to strengthen the Church in its faith commitment to address the destitute’s contextual need. One of the significant sources of the theology of hunger is the suffering and hardship of the disadvantaged, deprived and destitute. There have been many attempts, as discussed above, made in addressing the issue of alleviating hunger.

In his addressing food poverty in Britain, Chris Allen proposes “radical alternatives” to the Church’s actions and exhorts the Church to alleviate food poverty outside of capitalism actively. Allen emphasises the Church’s role in preaching the gospel of Jesus, participating in land activism, and hospitality and observes that “communism of being” is Jesus’ emphasis

concerning food (Allen 2016:362, 373). However, his methodology and propositions suffer from certain shortcomings. Firstly, he treats the Gospel of Matthew as an example in his appraisal of Christian hospitality. The previous discussions in this dissertation, especially chapters three and four, highlight the Lucan concern towards the destitute and hungry, a concern that is barely present in Matthew. The exposition of Lucan meal scenes exposes the plight of hunger and destitution and exemplifies a multi-faceted attempt to alleviate them, which underscores Luke as the natural evangelist in this subject. Secondly, Allen's propositions are exhortations that emphasise hospitality and an eco-centric approach to land use, rather than biblical-theological affirmations. Hence, a biblical-theological appreciation is the need of the hour in our fight against hunger and destitution.

At the same time, this research inevitably acknowledges the efforts of liberation theology. There is a conscious effort made by contextual and liberation theologians, especially Dalit theology, to address the oppressed and the marginalised. *Dalit Theology in the Twenty-first Century* (2010), published by OUP, is a helpful update that allows the reader to keep track the development of Dalit theology, especially in proposing some untapped areas like hermeneutics for Dalit Theology. However, a systematic theological understanding of the underprivileged concerning poverty alleviation and hunger is underdeveloped by the Church. Hence, this thesis argues that a theology of the underprivileged informed by Lucan thought could be part of the answer to the plight of the destitute. As a representative of the broader approach of Practical Theology, LTHH aims to address the plight of hunger, especially from Lucan meal scenes, and this attempt represents an intensified approach to the existing liberation theologies. The LTHH in today's context is a counter-class theology, and it is a narration of the Lucan Jesus' struggle against dominant oppressive socio-economic and cultural systems in liberating the hungry from deprivation and restoring their status and relations. Furthermore, the LTHH is both contextual and liberative; the former emphasises the experience of the destitute in a given context, and the latter accentuates alleviation and restoration.

3. THE ULTIMATE FUNCTION OF THE LTHH

In line with our discussion above, it is appropriate to underscore that the ultimate function of the LTHH is two-fold: (1) encouragement to act in solidarity; (2) encouragement to act for liberation and holistic restoration. The word “liberation” is envisaged as freedom of the deprived and the destitute from socio-economic and cultural oppressive structures. Besides, theological observations based on faith expression are means for liberation, which inevitably lead to action.

Firstly, bringing the deprived and destitute out of their isolation into the ordinary course of societal life is the essential aim in alleviation, which the LTHH proposes. The starting point for this section is a spirit of solidarity with the disadvantaged and needy, which is presented as the option for the poor in liberation theology (Gutiérrez 1988:xxv).¹⁴⁰ The theological principle of solidarity is about creating and maintaining reciprocal interactions with others. Rebecca Peters (2015:224) equates solidarity with accountability “to pursue concrete relationships with oppressed or marginalised communities that open us up to personal transformation and help us to live out our calling to transform the world.” According to Gutiérrez (1988: xxvii), a preferential option for the poor is a “prophetic option that has its roots in the unmerited love of God and is demanded by this love.”

Furthermore, it is a matter of “deep, ongoing solidarity, a voluntary daily involvement with the world of the poor” (Gutiérrez 1993:240 quoted in Naude 2007:168). Jesus’ incarnation is the best example for the exemplification of solidarity which challenges the Church to follow. On this basis, the LTHH proposes two-sided solidarity with God and with the impoverished society, which can be assisted through inclusivism and mutual relations. The solidarity that we celebrate with the deprived and destitute offers them hope

¹⁴⁰ During 1960s the concept “option for the poor” arose from the liberation theology movement in Latin America and other parts of the world. Though the Medellín conference (1968) of Latin American Bishops (CELAM) affirmed their duty to be in solidarity with the poor, the term “preferential option for the poor” explicitly appeared in the documents of CELAM III held at Puebla, Mexico, in 1979. In the final document, the Latin American bishops boldly proclaimed: “We affirm the need for conversion on the part of the whole Church to a preferential option for the poor, an option aimed at their integral liberation” (Puebla Final Document, part 4, chapter 1; Eagleson & Scharper 1979:264).

and transforms their societal relationships. It levels the playing field in that there are no more hierarchical prejudices and practices. Also, the Church's standing with the deprived and the destitute in their struggle empowers them for a sustainable living by breaking the oppressive socio-economic and cultural structures which underline the second function, which is the encouragement to act.

Inclusion and mutuality in the ethic of solidarity empower the Church to engage its relationship with the deprived and destitute so that reciprocity restores their societal relations. However, the restoration should be a holistic restoration for which the second function of the LTHH, "to act for liberation," is an answer. The second purpose of the LTHH extends the "preferential option" of being in solidarity to liberation, which does not confine itself to food insecurity victims but encompasses the whole system. Liberation in the LTHH sees food insecurity as an injustice that is to be terminated socially by transforming relationships and politically by social praxis.

In the Nazareth account, Luke shows that Jesus' mission is involved with the destitute, who are the victims of food insecurity. Many agree that Lk 4:18 stands as a programmatic introduction to Jesus' ministry (cf. Conzelmann 1960:221; Hanks 1983:97-108; Esler 1987:34; Ringe 1995). As discussed, "Good news to the destitute" is programmatic for Lucan Jesus' liberative mission of justice, which liberates the lowly, the outcast, and the destitute. Hence, the Nazareth proclamation plays a vital role in the thinking and articulation of the LTHH. For this theology, "Good news to the destitute" of the Lucan Jesus' Nazareth proclamation is the foundation of the new community and "paradigmatic" as an interpretative key to the Lucan meal scenes. The Lucan Jesus' work not only liberates the destitute physically but restores their societal relations in the hierarchical social order. As discussed in Chapter 2, people in an agrarian society were deprived and impoverished by society's dominant section, a situation that has many resonances in today's world. Hence, the LTHH also focuses on the Lucan Jesus' justice and therefore demands the Church to take a similar social role with a commitment to a transformative praxis. Furthermore, liberation

and restoration taking place in the existing social order, especially in the context of “the graded inequality of the Indian caste system,”¹⁴¹ also highlights the significance of psychological dimensions within the LTHH. This complex institution should be recognised as a critical aspect of the LTHH.

4. MAJOR AFFIRMATIONS OF THE LTHH

Our discussion shows that extending the table towards the marginalised and the destitute is the central focus of the Lucan meal scenes, and the Lucan Jesus’ hospitality concentrates and enriches the religious, social, and physical dimensions of life. The articulation of the LTHH, in this research, is not a fully-fledged systematic theological appraisal. Such a systematic theology is beyond the scope of this research. Instead, we are operating in the framework of Practical Theology by developing a theological framework to apply Lucan thought to a real-world issue. Accordingly, the following section will throw the theological light of the LTHH on mechanisms for hunger alleviation. With the support of the findings of our exegetical investigation of Chapter 4, the following section will appraise the affirmations of the LTHH concerning food insecurity in India.

4.1. The Lucan Jesus: The Liberator

We have shown how the Lucan Jesus breaches socio-economic, religious and cultural boundaries with a radically new perspective. The Lucan Jesus challenges the attitudes, practices, boundaries and structures that tended to exclude the destitute and the marginalised community.

The Lucan Jesus’ solidarity with the victims of deprivation is evident in the Nazareth declaration (Lk 4:18, 19), where he declares a complete liberation to the destitute who are in bondage, oppression, and destitution. In the Lucan meals, Jesus is presented as homeless, a

¹⁴¹ In his theory of caste violence, Ambedkar labels the Indian caste system as “graded inequality” in which “the sufferers under inequality are becoming unequal both in terms of the benefit and the burden there is no possibility of a general combination of all classes to overthrow the inequity.” Retrieved from: <https://ambedkarquotes.wordpress.com/category/equality-inequality/>

wayfarer, a stranger, and someone who is exposed to the welcome and the rejection of people. This is also evident in the infancy narrative, as Mary and Joseph were denied lodging in Bethlehem (Lk 2:7; cf. Lk 9:51-53). In addition to his Nazareth declaration, the Lucan Jesus relates the reign of God to the *πτωχοί* and announces good news (Lk 4:18; cf. Lk 6:20; 7:22). As discussed in Chapter 3, the term *πτωχοί* in Luke is an umbrella term for the blind, lame, lepers, deaf, and destitute who were the victims of socio-economic oppression and deprivation. By grouping them, Luke presents the above-listed group as an oppressed class struggling for subsistence. Besides, Lucan Jesus' liberative act in announcing/releasing them from socio-cultural and religious oppression spells out his work as a liberator.

Furthermore, through sharing his table with tax-collectors, the woman who is a sinner, the sick, and sinners, the Lucan Jesus identifies himself with the above-mentioned marginalised section of the society (Lk 7:33-39; 7:36-50; 10:3-9; 14:1-24; 15:1-2; 19:1-10). The Lucan Jesus' demonstration of kinship relationship through shared meals liberates the oppressed. His table etiquette exposes his reformative liberating action in breaking boundaries.

4.2. The Lucan Jesus, the Provider: Sustenance and Security for All

In addition to liberative elements in breaching socio-cultural boundaries, by giving importance to the fundamental symbol of life, food and bread, the Lucan Jesus challenges hunger and destitution, which is the product of socio-economic deprivation.

Feeding the hungry has been prefigured in the *Magnificat* (Lk 1:53), and it is exemplified in Luke 9:10-17. The feeding the 5000 is a miracle of superabundant food in which the Lucan Jesus unconditionally accepted all, including the *πτωχοί* (sick in Lk 9:13), into table-fellowship and assured them of food. As discussed, the feeding miracle in the Lucan context constitutes a decisive revelation of Jesus, which led Peter to make the Christological confession (cf. Chapter 4:3.3). The Lucan Jesus takes care of the immediate physical needs of the destitute. The parable of the great banquet (Lk 14:16-24) describes the

provision to the destitute of food and equality (cf. Chapter 4:3.7). Meeting physical needs and empowering everyone with radical inclusivism are also parts of the same process of liberation, which builds an egalitarian fellowship. This fellowship of a community of equals is also reflected in the Lucan Jesus' penultimate meal with his disciples, the Last Supper (Lk 22:14-38), which solidifies their kinship relationship. Furthermore, the bread in this meal echoes God's providence to his people, which again testifies to the Lucan Jesus' Christological statement: Jesus, the provider.

4.3. The Lucan Jesus' Mission: A Transformative Table Mission

The focus of the LTHH is not merely on the deprived and the Lucan Jesus' option for the destitute but also the new community of fellowship, love, equality, and justice. It envisages a new inclusive community under God in which all participate equally and fully. It emphasises the Lucan Jesus' call to humanity towards the new community of Christ-followers. In addition to Jesus' welcoming and inclusive act towards the marginalised and destitute, the Lucan Jesus is often pictured as accepting their hospitality (Lk 5:29-39; 7:36-50; 10:38-42; 14:1-24; 15:1-2; 19:1-10). Through his shared table-fellowship, the Lucan Jesus demonstrates his unmerited divine love towards the destitute and fulfils his mission of "Good news to the πτωχοί" in seeking the lost (Lk 15; 19:10).

Furthermore, in his solidarity with the πτωχοί, the Lucan Jesus expounds a radical transformation in relationships expressed in table sharing and creates connections through food. Through the act of preserving the leftovers in the miracle of the multiplication of food (Lk 9:10-17), the Lucan Jesus challenges us to consider the role of food and food management in our daily exchanges (Lk 9:17). Women are honoured at the table (Lk 7:36-50; 10:38-42). He levels the boundaries of socio-economic discrimination at the father's prepared table on his younger son's return (Lk 15:11-32).

The episode of Martha and Mary (Lk 10:38-42) is an example of the faithful practice of hospitality which expects to give up control by acknowledging that the guest can also be a host. In his institutional meal (Lk 22:14-38), the Lucan Jesus enforces a group identity to his followers and invites his followers into a new community in which everyone is equally treated and fully participates in all relations. His demonstrated servant role at the table illustrates Lucan Jesus' counter-culture model of leadership. It is interesting to note this counter-culture model in all three meals with Eucharistic liturgy (Lk 9:14-17; 22: 22:16-20, 26-27; 24:30).

In sum, the LTHH hails the Lucan Jesus' boundary-breaking table-fellowship, which challenges socio-economic and gender discrimination. Also, it affirms reformations in reciprocal relations and upholds communal sharing, in particular by bringing everyone into kinship relations.

4.4. The Church: An Inclusive Community

The early Christ-followers carried out the Lucan Jesus' liberative and reformatory mission in Jerusalem, and the Lucan meals provide a solid foundation in the early Christ-movement for an inclusive community towards a reformatory service. As Pohl (1999:6-7) argues, a theology of hospitality should not confine its sphere to meeting the physical needs of strangers, but it must also respond to the emotional needs of strangers by recognizing their worth and common humanity.

Our investigation of the selected passages from Acts stresses the core values of the new community. The communal sharing in the early stages of the Christ-movement illustrates the socio-economic inclusivism between the same ethnic group, which built a community of economic equals (Acts 2:44-47; 4:32-35). The extended inclusive feature in the shared tables of Peter (Acts 10, 11) furthers the fellowship by breaching ethnic boundaries, which forms a vital bridge in the symbolic universe (Esler 1987:108-109). Furthermore, the table service in Acts 6:1-6, once the problem besetting it has been solved,

exemplifies solidarity with the destitute and the care that must be shown towards them. Paul's shared meal on board the boat (Acts 27:33-38) encompasses every shipmate irrespective of faith, ethnicity, and social position and ensures the basic necessities of life: food. The meal onboard recalls the early Christ-followers' practice of a community of goods, especially in addressing the issue of hunger.

The early Christ-movement breaches the socio-economic and cultural barriers in its table sharing and translates the Lucan Jesus' liberative mission through the generalised reciprocity in communal sharing. Also, their service reflects the Lucan Jesus' exhortation of the counter-cultural model of servant-leader. Thus, the exemplary life of the early Christ-movement furnishes a profound theological affirmation to the Church for its active role in alleviating destitution and hunger through practices going to the root causes of destitution and starvation.

In sum, the discussion of this chapter shows that Luke is the right choice of the evangelist in addressing the issue of hunger and destitution. Furthermore, this chapter advocates the case for a Practical Theology concerning the hungry and destitute and locates that case in the LTHH. It is submitted that the LTHH outlined in this chapter will help to assist in reducing Indian food insecurity. The following chapter will bring the LTHH directly to bear on this problem in contemporary India. In particular, the issue of food security in post-independent India against the backdrop of the National Food Security Act (2013) of the Indian Parliament.

CHAPTER 6

POST-INDEPENDENT INDIA AND THE ISSUE OF HUNGER

“Every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop fully and maintain their physical and mental faculties. (...) Accordingly, the eradication of hunger is a common objective of all the countries of the international community, especially of the developed countries and others in a position to help.”¹⁴²

As stated in Chapter 1, this dissertation also aims to contribute to the ongoing debate on food insecurity and food justice, focusing on the Indian context. Hence, it is necessary to investigate the issue of food security in post-independent India, culminating in the National Food Security Act (2013).

1. THE AGRARIAN WORLD: LUKE-ACTS AND INDIA

The story of agrarian society in India continues the theme of chapters 2 and 3, which discuss the socio-economic and political context of Mediterranean antiquity. Those discussions expose the context of the Lucan audience, which was an advanced agrarian society. Rural life in India offers many similarities to the ancient Mediterranean agrarian context. In a predominantly rural society like India, land constitutes the most important asset. According to the World Bank, agricultural land in India was reported at 60.45 % (2016). Furthermore, the Indian economy is largely agricultural, and 70% of its rural households still depend primarily on agriculture for their livelihood. It is a source of livelihood to a large majority of India's rural population, but it also constitutes the major basis of their social relations. Hence, it is appropriate to discuss the similarities and differences of socio-economic and cultural characteristics of these two societies, ancient Mediterranean and modern Indian in order to achieve the purpose of using Luke for the issue of Indian food insecurity.

¹⁴² United Nations. 1975. Report of the World Food Conference, Rome 5-16 November 1974. New York.

1.1. Social Stratification

As discussed in Chapter 2, agrarian societies are especially noted for their extremes of social stratification. Indian society has been unique in its social hierarchy and composition, and it has been perceived as a static society due to the complex nature of the caste system. Social hierarchy in India is expressed through a caste system. Although emanating from Brahminical religion (commonly known as Hinduism), over time, the caste system has transformed into an endemic social system that has regulated India's social and economic life. Caste runs through India's entire social fabric and negates horizontal and vertical equality, and at the same time, it also denies fundamental human rights by promoting untouchability and discrimination against individual members of the lower strata (cf. Parker 2021:6-9). Through the ages, untouchability has impeded social mobility both horizontally and vertically by compelling a person to take up a traditional employment against his or her desire and ability.

In this constrained and hierarchical social institution, certain occupations are open to all castes, such as administration and military service. At the same time, certain traditional occupations such as weaving, agricultural labourers, artisans and people engaging in "unclean" occupations such as sweeping or leatherwork are put at the bottom, and a majority of this section belong to the Dalit caste who are considered as untouchables (Ghurye 1961:241-281). Ghurye also points out that such an arrangement extends to modern occupations as well. Furthermore, the caste system divides society into groups and subgroups that are mutually antagonistic and combative.

Women are considered as a disadvantaged group whose status is affected in the family and public life. Women once enjoyed considerable freedom and privileges. Ancient India was both a matrilineal and matriarchal society where the mother headed the family and held the supreme position in raising the family (cf. Patil 1973). On the contrary, women in present-day India are a targeted community and are subject to violence in the name of caste, community and creed. Women are treated as inferiors both in homes and in society. Post-

independent India still witnesses rape, dowry-related violence, female-feticide and female-infanticide (cf. Nandal & Rajnish 2014; Salagare 2015). At the same time, there are a few matrilineal societies that still exist in India, such as the Nair community of Kerala and the Khasi community of Meghalaya. It is interesting to note that in the Khasi society of Meghalaya, women enjoy comparative freedom and take part in trade, natural resource management, and environmental protection, which would be in the hands of men if they lived in a patriarchal village (Das & Bezbaruah 2011:1; cf. Nandal & Rajnish 2014). However, many are in danger of losing their traditions due to the increase of modern conveniences.

In addition to the caste factor, class differentiation also plays a vital role in determining the social stratification in India. The economic inequality is closely comparable with “agrarian society” as theorised by Gerhard and Jean Lenski in their macro sociology and utilised earlier in this dissertation in the explanation of ancient Mediterranean society.

The Indian economy witnesses an unequal distribution of wealth. SECC states that 133.9 million out of 179.7 million rural households have declared income of less than INR 5,000 a month (approx. GBP 50). At this juncture, it is necessary to discuss poverty in relation to income-based deprivation. In defining poverty, Amartya Sen argues that poverty is not merely insufficient income but also it is a lack of opportunities to participate in the economic and political system of the country (Sen 2000:3). His definition explains the economic vulnerabilities of the poor; at the same time, it also illustrates the reality of the poor in terms of social discrimination. His definition explains the economic vulnerabilities of the poor.

Inequality in the distribution of wealth and income refers to that situation of an economy in which the income of a small section of the country is larger than the average income of the nation, and the income of a large section is much smaller than the average national income. Furthermore, Nitin Kumar Bharti, in his working paper for World Inequality Lab (2018), has analysed wealth surveys (NSS-AIDIS) and identifies a sharp rise

in wealth concentration and states that “Economic inequality is working as a skin for caste inequality” in India.¹⁴³ His analysis claims that the top 10% of the population (i.e., the high caste group) possess 58% of wealth whereas the bottom 10% (the Dalits)¹⁴⁴ share less than 0.6% for all the years from 1981 to 2012 (WIL 2018:17). Wealth and the regressive Indian caste system are intertwined. In its recent study for the 50th Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum (WEF), Oxfam says that India’s richest 1% hold more than four times the wealth held by 953 million people who make up for the bottom 70% of the country’s population.¹⁴⁵

The diagram below (Figure 6) illustrates the distribution of average monthly income in households across India in 2015, and it more or less replicates the agrarian social structure defined by Nolan & Lenski (2009:171).¹⁴⁶

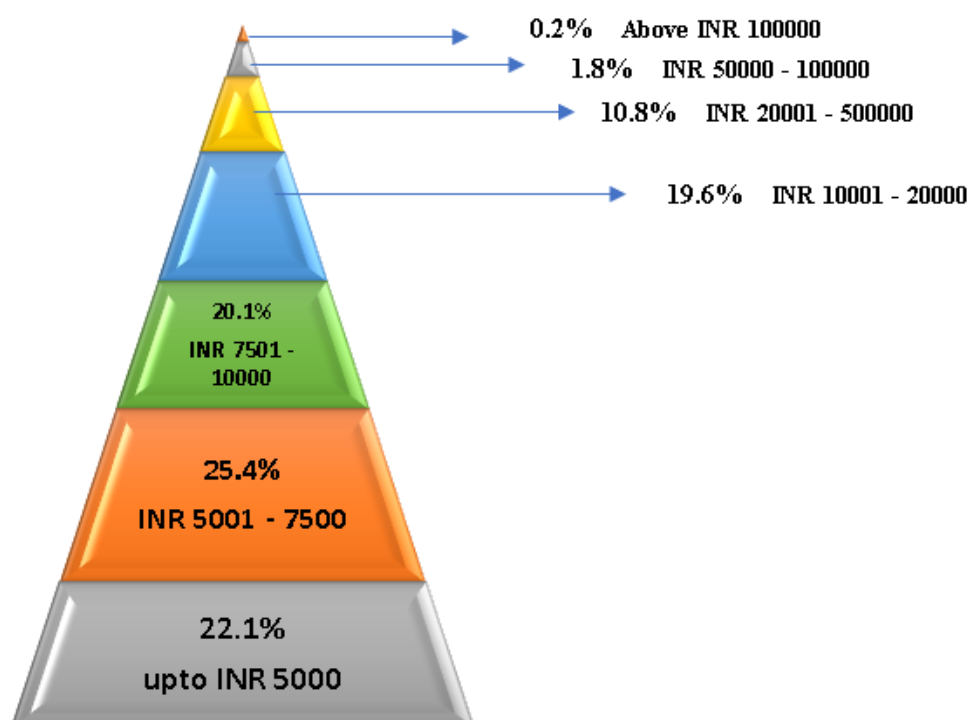


Figure 6 Share of average monthly income in Indian households 2015

¹⁴³ The NSS-AIDIS (NSS-All India Debt and Investment Survey) are decennial surveys for the years 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2002 and 2012. It is the primary data source for generating the wealth inequality series. Cf. Working paper from Paris School of Economics (2018, November).

¹⁴⁴ According to 2011 census, Dalits form around 16.6% of India's population.

¹⁴⁵ <https://thewire.in/rights/oxfam-inequality-india-rich-poor>

¹⁴⁶ The diagram is based on the data published by Statista Research Department. Retrieved from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/653897/average-monthly-household-income-india/>

1.2. Peasant Life and its Difficulties

In the Indian subcontinent, a massive proportion of its population is directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture. As discussed, the Indian caste system deprives the Dalits of their rights, and it is also reflected in the form of economic exclusion. A majority of the peasant population (more than 55% of the population) suffers from economic disparity. Studies have shown three significant factors in the economic exclusion of the disadvantaged groups: (1) unequal distribution of assets (land and capital); (2) unequal access to education and skill endowment; (3) discrimination in the labour market (cf. Thorat & Newman 2007). The studies on caste discrimination in economic spheres are minimal. However, using evidence on market discrimination, researchers observe the economic discrimination of the Dalits in employment and wages, in the purchase of input and sale of output by farmers and entrepreneurs (Thorat & Newman 2010). Researchers argue that exclusion and discrimination are the causes for the low income and high poverty of Dalits (Borooah et al., 2015:242).

The Socio-Economic and Caste Census (SECC) 2011 states that more than 62% of rural households (107.4 million) qualify as deprived. Of this group, Dalit households are the majority (71% SC and 74% ST). Over a third of the rural Dalit population (29.97% about 53.7 million) are landless labourers, and 67.27% of the rural Dalit households (overall 51% of rural population) rely on casual manual labour (including farm-work and scavenging) for their livelihood. Furthermore, the Dalits in 36% of the villages were denied casual employment in agriculture. Besides, the SECC reveals that 180,657 households engage themselves in manual scavenging for their livelihood. Amidst these hardships, the failure of crops and neck-breaking debts push farmers to commit suicides.

1.2.1. Farmer Suicides

In recent years a great deal of attention is indeed given to economic growth rates in the Indian economy. Despite that fact, the ongoing agricultural crisis is being ignored. The rising number of farmers' suicides and declining prices of several crops attest to the crisis in the Indian agriculture sector (cf. Mishra 2013). Since the 1990s, it is undeniable that Indian farmers commit suicide often by drinking pesticides or hanging themselves, which has often been referred to as a national catastrophe. Indian national crime statistics claim that farmer suicides account for 11.2% of all suicides.¹⁴⁷ Several reasons suggested explaining the farmers' suicides in India, such as crop failure due to floods and drought, debt, use of the genetically modified seed, decrease in yield due to lower investment (especially in pesticides and fertilizers), and public health. There is, however, no consensus on the leading cause or causes for the farmers' suicides; however, there are good grounds to believe that the inability to repay loans, primarily from landlords and banks, is the prime reason behind the farmers' suicides. (cf. Stone 2007; Panagariya 2008:153).¹⁴⁸

1.2.2. Debt bondage

The bonded labourer system is predominantly found in the informal and unregulated economics of India. Global Slavery Index 2018 (GSI) labels India among the top ten nations with the highest estimated absolute numbers of people in modern slavery, with a tenth of the world's current slavery, 6.1 (victims per 1000 population). It is believed that about eight million people live in modern slavery in India: domestic work, construction, farming, fishing, other manual labour, street vendors, scavengers, shoe shiners, junk collectors, sex workers, and workers under hazardous and exploitative conditions. In agriculture, debt bondage is most common in India. It is usually solidified through a loan and is embedded intricately in caste and India's class-based socio-economic system, and it is also in the form of forced labour in which compulsion into servitude is derived from debt (cf. Breman

¹⁴⁷ National Crime Reports Bureau, ADSI Report Annual – 2014 GOI, p. 242, table 2.11.

¹⁴⁸ Final Report Submitted to the Mumbai High Court on March 15, 2005: "Causes of Farmer Suicides in Maharashtra: An Enquiry" (pp. 35-37), Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Osmanabad.

2010:49). Farmers often pay more than 100% of the loan as interest. Siddharth Kara, an activist and expert on modern-day slavery and human trafficking, quotes an example for West Bengal which describes how a \$110 loan forced a family to work 14 or more hours a day for their landowner for 20 years.¹⁴⁹ This Indian scenario nearly replicates the slave labourers in the ancient world (Migeotte 2009:2; Finley 1973).¹⁵⁰

1.3. Struggle for Sustenance

The Indian economy is an economy in which agricultural development is the key to increasing food availability and also a significant employer in bringing rural people out of poverty. India is one of the largest rice and paddy producers of food in the world.¹⁵¹ But the reality is that India suffers from a severe level of hunger. This is quite ironic. Some of the worst violations of the right to food, with resulting hunger, can be seen in India today. Out of an estimated 1.27 billion population, a total of 77% are considered poor and most vulnerable, and millions of people fail to get two square meals¹⁵² a day. Furthermore, statistics reveal that women and children are vulnerable sections of society. Coffey and Hathi (2016) analysed the situation of pregnant and lactating woman in India and stated that they are extremely undernourished and suffer extremely poor maternal nourishment.

¹⁴⁹ <https://thecnnfreedomproject.blogs.cnn.com/2011/06/02/a-110-loan-then-20-years-of-debt-bondage/>

¹⁵⁰ On the other hand, Modernists claim that ancient craft industries and trades including slave trade played a central part in the ancient economy (cf. Rostovtseff:1941).

¹⁵¹ Data derived from FAOSTAT: <http://www.fao.org/faostat/en/#data/QC/visualize>

¹⁵² A square meal would mean a meal which provides all the necessary nutrients required by the human body to function properly.

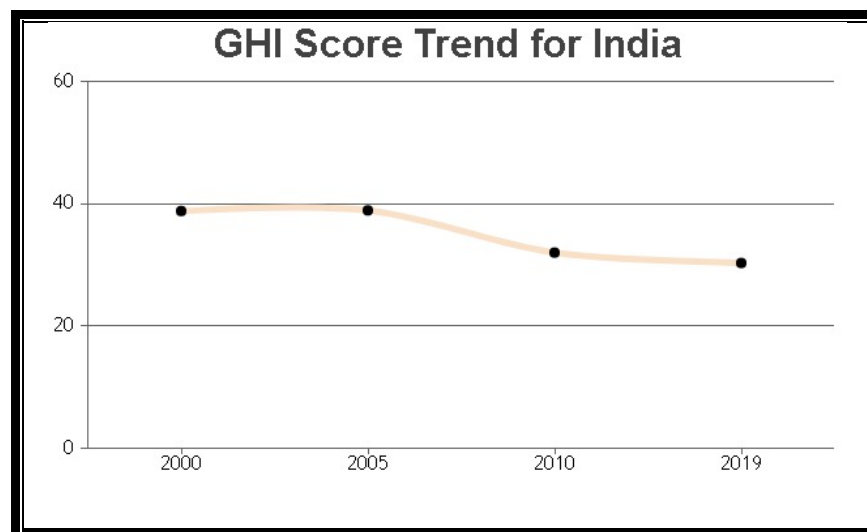


Figure 7 Global Hunger Index of 2019 India

According to *the State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World, 2019* released by FAO, India is home to 194.4 million people who go hungry every day, which is 14.5% of the population of India.¹⁵³ The Global Hunger Index 2019 comes up with a somewhat different (and bleaker) figure. It identifies India as a home to about 217 million undernourished persons, which indicates around 30% of the Indian population is food insecure, which is nearly 82 % of the food insecure population of overall South Asia.¹⁵⁴ According to its measure (Figure 7), India has a score of 30.3, and it suffers from a severe level of hunger ranking. With a score of 30.3, the graph suggests that this number is lower than it was in 2000 (38.8). After 2010, however, there is no significant improvement, and this is the period that includes the implementation of the NFSA. Moving to other issues, India ranks 102nd out of 117 qualifying countries based on three leading indicators: (i) prevalence of wasting and stunting in children under five years; (ii) under age five child mortality rate; and (iii) the proportion of undernourished in the population. Also, by this measure, 14.8% of the population is undernourished in India. Also, 51.4% of women of reproductive age between 15 to 49 years are anaemic (haemoglobin levels below 11.0 g/dl). 20.8% of children below five years suffer from wasting, meaning their weight is too low for

¹⁵³ Retrieved from: <http://www.fao.org/3/ca5162en/ca5162en.pdf>

¹⁵⁴ Global Hunger Index 2019: <https://www.globalhungerindex.org/india.html>

their height. In addition, 37.9% of children under five in India are stunted (too short for their age) according to the data. Children who are malnourished in their early years have a higher risk of death due to common childhood diseases, including diarrhoea, pneumonia, and malaria.

2. SUBSISTENCE HARDSHIPS IN INDIA

The problem of hunger is very much evident throughout human history, and the lack of food and other subsistence needs have constantly been among the causal antecedents of the brutishness and brevity of human life (Dreze & Sen 1989:257-258). In every country, food insecurity or lack of access to safe and nutritious food is present to some degree. The terms hunger and food insecurity have been diversely defined all through the ages. A food-insecure person, according to Merriam-Webster, is someone who is “unable to consistently access or afford adequate food.” In a Malthusian catastrophe, food insecurity is a natural tragedy and could result from the imbalance between population growth and food availability or production (Malthus 1798:61). Amartya Sen (1992:162) identifies the issue of undernourishment and starvation with the factors that contribute to an individual’s inability to acquire food.

The UN explains it in terms of dietary deficiency and suggests 1800kcal per day as the average minimum calorie requirement (FAO 2013). It is estimated that adult women need 1.600 to 2.400 calorie daily and adult males between 2.000 to 3.000 calories daily. For young children, the required varies from 1,000 to 2,000 calories per day and the range extends dramatically from 1,400 to 3,200 calories per day for older children and adolescents, with boys generally having higher calorie needs than girls. According to the FAO, food insecurity is “A situation that exists when people lack secure access to sufficient amounts of safe and nutritious food for normal growth and development and an active and healthy life.”¹⁵⁵ The US Department of Agriculture defines it from a socio-economic perspective and

¹⁵⁵ Retrieved from: <http://www.fao.org/economic/esa/seed2d/glossary/en/>

understands it as a situation of “limited or uncertain access to adequate food.”¹⁵⁶ At a macro level, food insecurity is a state of unavailability and inaccessibility of adequate food (Krishnaraj 2005).

Globally, poverty is conventionally defined in terms of income-based poverty definitions which are assessed based on an individual’s bare minimum income to obtain basic nutritional requirements. In determining poverty, scholars disagree and differ in identifying an appropriate definition befitting the context of India (Erenstein 2011:283-302). Krishna and Shariff (2011) state that poverty in India is defined both by income-based and consumption-based criteria. Amartya Sen, in his seminal study, identifies the issues of inaccessibility from the demand side. He argues that vulnerability to food insecurity of a person or group relies on what they are entitled to, “entitlements” (Sen 1981:155). It is not the low income that makes one poor, rather the perpetual deprivation of the “have-nots” by the “haves” (Sen 1999:87). In other words, in the world of limited good, the poor have less purchasing power who have a higher chance of hunger and malnutrition. The United Nations’ CESCRR states that scarcity of food is not the primary cause for hunger and malnutrition but the inability to access available food, usually due to poverty (WFP 1999; cf. Seatzu 2011:576-577).¹⁵⁷ Food insecurity in India is measured based on an individual’s income/consumption, especially by using the parameter of the poverty line. According to Rangarajan Committee (2014) definition, for a family of five at 2011-12 prices, according to this measure, it is INR 4860 per month in rural areas or INR 7035 per month in urban areas. The material dimension of food insecurity refers to economic access to food and nutrition. In addition to it, there are a few more dimensions of food insecurity in an individual's everyday life in his/her societal life, for example, cultural and social aspects of hardship.

¹⁵⁶ US Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service. Definitions of food security. <http://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/food-security-in-the-us/definitions-of-food-security.aspx>.

¹⁵⁷ It is found in point 5 of CESCRR General Comment No. 12: The Right to Adequate Food (Art. 11). Retrieved from: <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4538838c11.pdf>

In India, the caste social system is seen as a vital factor in the poverty rate (Rao 2010). In the hierarchical caste system, the Dalits are put at the bottom of the pyramid, and they are referred to as outcasts and untouchables, which are dehumanising words. Dalit food issues also seem to get in the middle of the politics of meat-eating in India (cf. Sathyamala 2019: 878-891). The father of the Indian constitution, Ambedkar (1948: 318–319) argues that meat-eating and beef-eating are the food taboos of the Hindus that divide the population in terms of untouchability. Among the 160 million Dalits in India, about 81% of them live in rural India, and they are not allowed to walk on certain roads and are restricted from drawing water from village wells in most villages (Teltumbde 2003:27).

The Dalits in India, along with the Adivasis, constitute 24.4% of the population (16.2 % and 8.2%, respectively).¹⁵⁸ While belonging to a broad class of have-nots, Dalits suffer an additional disability of social oppression in the form of purity-pollution. The “purity-pollution”¹⁵⁹ concept excludes them from the social, cultural, economic, political and religious dimensions of life. Their “impurity” has historically relegated Dalits to degrading occupations such as sewage collection and scavenging. Many of them are farmworkers. Their proportion in Indian agricultural holdings is minimal, and their irrigated land holdings are much less significant. About 75% of Dalits are considered entirely landless.¹⁶⁰ Most of the Dalits are agricultural labourers of whom about 50% are landless labourers, and more than 50% are illiterate (cf. Teltumbde 2003:27; Louis 2002:5).

The following statistics reveal the hard reality of this under-privileged population of India. Based on Tendulkar Committee methodology, over 45.3% of Scheduled Tribes (ST) and 31.5% of Scheduled Caste (SC) populations in rural India are living below the poverty

¹⁵⁸ The legal terms are Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and this figure is based on 2011 census: http://censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/India_at_glance/scst.aspx

¹⁵⁹ Article 17 of the Constitution of India abolishes untouchability (Bakshi, *The Constitution of India*, 32). The Untouchability Act 1955 and the Protection of Civil Rights 1976 could not improve the dignity of Dalits.

¹⁶⁰ “Hidden apartheid: Caste discrimination against India’s ‘untouchables,’” Retrieved from: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2007/india0207/india0207web.pdf>

line (BPL)¹⁶¹ in 2011-12; in urban areas, 24.1% of ST and 21.7% of SC populations are below the poverty line.¹⁶² Debt is also an aspect of material deprivation that worsens the sufferings of the population. The increase in the interest rate by landlords sometimes goes up to 200% and makes the farmers debtors (Agnivesh 2003:151). Debt bondage passes from generation to generation, which erases their self-identity. Of the 40 million bonded labourers in India, 15 million are children, and 90% are Dalits and tribal.¹⁶³ As discussed, bonded labour is the traditional expectation of free work or minimal remuneration for their employment.¹⁶⁴ Because of the poor wages, Dalits often failed to repay the loans which makes them indebted to their employers.

Moreover, life-threatening diseases like tuberculosis (TB) and AIDS¹⁶⁵ challenge food security and nutrition. People living with HIV/AIDS are gripped with the fear of death and confront social stigma. According to World Bank and UNAIDS, India has the third-largest HIV epidemic in the world, which numbers 2.1 million people living with HIV/AIDS (PLHIV), and Tamil Nadu has 0.14 million suffering PLHIV.¹⁶⁶ As stated in the WHO's *Global Tuberculosis Report* (2018), India is home to 27% of new cases in 2017.¹⁶⁷ They live

¹⁶¹ The World Bank standardises the poverty line as an income of less than \$1.90 per day per head of purchasing power parity. According to the World Bank (2019), 13.4% of the Indian population is below the poverty line (\$1.90 PPP), and 175.7 million people are living in extreme poverty. However, the parameters used to determine the definition of poverty vary from nation to nation according to their population. From the Tendulkar Committee (2005) to the Rangarajan Committee (2014), there are many methodologies have been employed to measure the poverty line of the Indian economy. An Expert Group under the Chairmanship of Rangarajan reviewed the methodology for measurement of poverty and has submitted the report on June 30th of 2014. The Rangarajan Committee (2014) redefines the poverty line and suggests increasing the parameter of the poverty line to INR 32 in rural areas and INR 47 in urban areas whereas the earlier parameter was INR27 and INR 33 respectively.

¹⁶² Government of India (2018). Hand Book on Social Welfare Statistics. New Delhi: Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment.

cf. <http://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/HANDBOOKSocialWelfareStatistic2018.pdf>;
<https://data.gov.in/resources/state-wise-percentage-st-population-below-poverty-line-tendulkar-methodology-during-2009>

¹⁶³ Cf. Agnivesh 2003:151; "Broken People: Caste violence against India's untouchables." Retrieved from: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/india/India994.htm>

¹⁶⁴ Article 23 of the Constitution and the Abolition Act of 1976 abolished the forced occupation of bonded labour, however, is not over. The Act required the release and rehabilitation of all bonded workers and the termination of their indebtedness. "Alternate report to the joint 15th to 19th periodic report of the state party (Republic of India): To the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination." Retrieved from: <http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/ngos/shadow-report.pdf>

¹⁶⁵ Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).

¹⁶⁶ Data retrieved from: <https://data.worldbank.org/country/india>; <http://aidsinfo.unaids.org/>

¹⁶⁷ Data retrieved from: <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/274453/9789241565646-eng.pdf?ua=1>

in economic despair, rejection and isolation. Their rights to medical care and dignified burial are denied. They are treated as the “untouchables,” the “new Dalits” of India. The relationship between these diseases and food security and nutrition is multidimensional. Since these are infectious diseases, socio-cultural factors make those suffering vulnerable because the supply of food to them is restricted. Furthermore, the burden of ill-health and the death of the bread-winner reduces human capital and disrupts social support to the affected family.

Furthermore, urbanization and the increasing slum population are also a few causes of food insecurity. The Government of India (GOI) promotes many schemes and programmes to help slum-dwellers. Such schemes, however, benefit only the inhabitants of identified slums. According to NSS 2013, about 59% of un-notified urban slums in India, 37% of total slum households, fall outside government schemes (cf. Nolan, Bloom & Subbaraman 2018:47). This inaccessibility of subsidized food made available through the public distribution system drives these non-notified slum dwellers to buy foodgrain from the local market at the prevailing price. Poverty, caste-gender discrimination, and social stigma arising from epidemic diseases are the significant factors for food insecurity in post-independent India. At this stage, it is necessary to answer the following question: what are food security and NFSA 2013 of India? If NFSA is to address the issue of hunger and malnutrition, does it accomplish its purpose and commitment?

3. FOOD SECURITY AND INDIA

Food security is a “multi-faceted concept” reflected in various efforts to understand and define the idea. Clay (2003) states that the concepts of food security have been reflected and advanced over the last quarter of the century in research and policy usage.¹⁶⁸ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (U.N. 1948), Article 25, states, “Everyone has the right to a

¹⁶⁸ Paper for FAO Expert Consultation on Trade and Food Security: Conceptualising the Linkages Rome, 11-12 July 2002.

standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food.” Article 11(1) of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* clearly states that the “right to an adequate standard of living includes food, housing, clothing.” Moreover, article 11(2) recognizes the “fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger.” The Hot Springs Conference on Food and Agriculture 1943 progressed the concept of a secure, adequate, and suitable food supply for everyone.

Moreover, the term food security “evolved, developed, multiplied and diversified” after the 1974 World Food Summit held in Rome (Maxwell 1996).¹⁶⁹ The Rome Declaration recognises poverty as a cause for food insecurity and highlights stable development in eradicating poverty to enhance access to food. Since then, the concept has been the subject of several redefinitions (Figure 8).¹⁷⁰

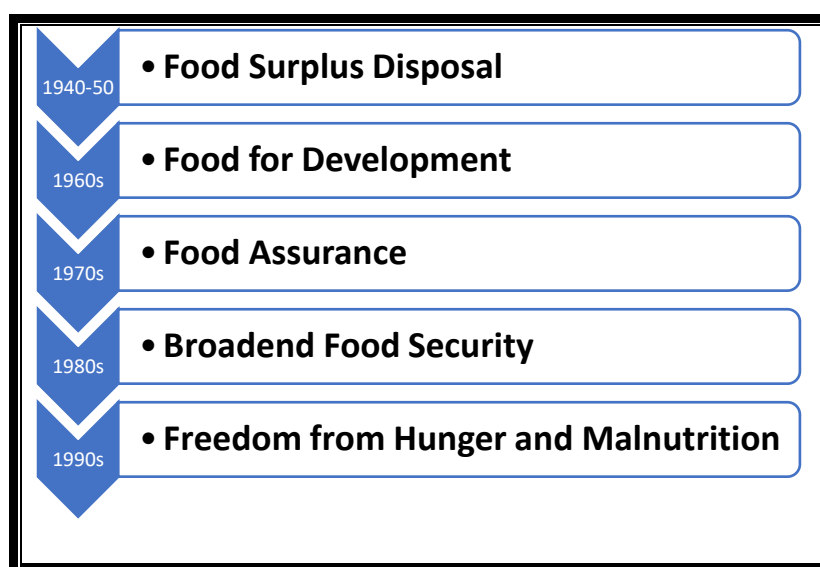


Figure 8 The Evolution of Food Security Concerns¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Cf. United Nations. 1975. Report of the World Food Conference; Rome, 5-16 November 1974. New York.

¹⁷⁰ Based on the study by George-André Simon (2012) “Food Security: Definition, Four dimensions, History.”

¹⁷¹ The chart is based on Napoli, Muro, & Mazziotta (2011).

Maxwell and Smith (1992) list some thirty varied definitions in writings published widely between 1975-1991. The 1996 World Food Summit has endorsed a statement in defining food security and declares the fight against food insecurity as one of its objectives:

Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.” ... “This Plan of Action envisages an ongoing effort to eradicate hunger in all countries, with an immediate view to reducing the number of undernourished people to half their present level no later than 2015, and a mid-term review to ascertain whether it is possible to achieve this target by 2010 (FAO 1996).¹⁷²

Concerning the accessibility of food, the 2002 summit adds the aspect of “social” in defining food security. This research will keep alive the definition adopted in FAO 2002, which highlights physical, economic and social factors in addressing food security.

As discussed, “food security” embraces a holistic approach to humankind which implies access to food and freedom from hunger and anxiety. The concept of food security includes both physical elements, namely, economical access to food in meeting an individual’s dietary needs and meeting the psychological needs of every individual. On the one hand, food security suggests the availability and accessibility of adequate nutritional supplies, and at the same time, it is also concerned with the psychological well-being of the individuals. The FAO recognises the four pillars of food security availability, accessibility, utilization, and stability (FAO 2009).¹⁷³ Concerning food availability, because of its agricultural success story India has sufficient quantities of food. Foodgrain production in India witnessed a record-breaking harvest of 275.11 million tonnes in 2016-17, whereas it was 217 million tonnes in 2006-07 (Kumar 2019:417). Hence, “food availability” in India is

¹⁷² Retrieved from: <http://www.fao.org/3/w3613e/w3613e00.htm>

¹⁷³ FAO 2009 defines its four pillars as follows: **Food Availability** – The availability of sufficient quantities of food of appropriate quality, supplied through domestic production or imports (including food aid); **Food Accessibility** – Access by individuals to adequate resources (entitlements) for acquiring appropriate foods for a nutritious diet. Entitlements are defined as the set of all commodity bundles over which a person can establish command given the legal, political, economic and social arrangements of the community in which they live; **Utilization** – Utilization of food through adequate diet, clean water, sanitation and health care to reach a state of nutritional well-being where all physiological needs are met; **Stability** – To be food secure, a population, household or individual must have access to adequate food at all times. They should not risk losing access to food as a consequence of sudden shocks (e.g., an economic or climatic crisis) or cyclical events (e.g., seasonal food insecurity).

not a problematic element in food security, as far as this dissertation is concerned. Simultaneously, food accessibility comprises all the spheres, including physical and economic access at all times; hence, it is reasonable to combine accessibility and stability into one particular parameter, “food accessibility.” Concerning utilization, this dissertation identifies it in terms of food affordability. Hence, this research will identify food security in relation to the following three parameters – affordability, accessibility, and adequacy – encompassing physical, economic, and social access to sufficient food to alleviate hunger and malnutrition.

Accessibility (economic) denotes the financial cost of buying food, implying the economic capability of an individual to buy good, safe and nutritious food to suit its dietary demands. Accessibility has to be understood in its physical and cultural terms. Everyone should be assured of adequate food irrespective of physical vulnerability (such as infants and young children, older people, the physically disabled, the sick) and cultural outcasts (for example, the Dalits and the ostracized like people with HIV/AIDS). Adequacy is the fulfilment of the nutritional requirement of an individual, the quantity of food and the quality of the accessible food in addressing the issue of malnutrition. Besides, it also includes the significance of the non-nutrient-values attached to food, whether it may be a cultural issue or the beneficiaries’ food style. Therefore, it would be reasonable to state that a nation or a community or a household is considered free from hunger and malnutrition if the above discussed three elements are met. At this juncture, it is relevant to raise the question: who is responsible for addressing food security? Does the State have any obligation to distribute food to all of its citizens?

The World Summit on Food Security (2009) emphasizes the State's responsibility for ensuring sufficient, safe, nutritious food to their citizens:

We reaffirm that food security is a national responsibility and that any plans for addressing food security challenges must be nationally articulated, designed, owned and led, We will make food security a high priority and will reflect this in our national programmes and budgets (WSFS 2009/2).¹⁷⁴

Based on the above discussion, it is apparent that it is the responsibility of the State to protect its citizens in fighting hunger and malnutrition. Hence, the question is: do all member states of the United Nations ensure food security to their citizens?

Out of 193 member states in the UN (except the Holy See and the State of Palestine), there are only 20 countries that protect their citizens with food security through their constitution (Figure 9).¹⁷⁵

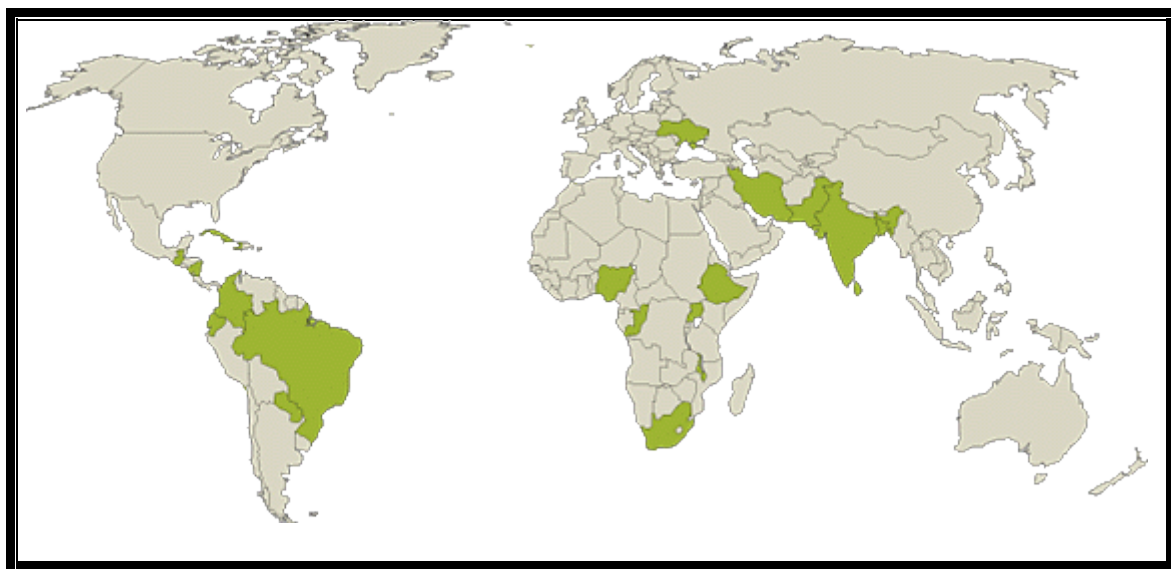


Figure 9 Countries with the Right to Food enshrined in their national constitutions

India has a long history in its activities in providing relief to the needy. However, the rationing system introduced by the British Government during World War II is the earliest existing record. The British Government introduced rationing in India due to the inflation caused by the famine of 1943 (Tauger 2009; cf. Knight 1954).¹⁷⁶ In post-independent India,

¹⁷⁴ http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/Summit/Docs/Declaration/WSFS09_Draft_Declaration.pdf

¹⁷⁵ According to FAO, the countries are Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, the Congo, Cuba, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Islamic Republic of Iran, Malawi, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Paraguay, Pakistan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Uganda, and Ukraine. Retrieved from: <http://www.fao.org/focus/e/rightfood/right2.htm>

¹⁷⁶ See also: <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1943/oct/20/food-situation-in-india>

the following are the two significant factors behind the food policies of the Government: firstly, the preamble of the Indian constitution itself entitles justice, equality and fraternity to its citizens; secondly, Article 47 of the Directive principle of state policy claims that ensuring food, nutrition, and health to everyone are its primary concerns.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, the Five-Year Plan (1956-61) and the many later schemes and policies aimed to assure social justice to every member of the country with adequate food, clothing and shelter.¹⁷⁸

In strengthening its attempts to address food insecurity, the Parliament of India has enacted the National Food Security Act, 2013 (NFSA). In achieving the purpose of this research, the following section will analyse NFSA 2013 to understand the ineffectiveness of the Act in addressing the fundamental issue of food and situate it in relation to the LTHH.

4. THE NATIONAL FOOD SECURITY ACT 2013

The UPA-2¹⁷⁹ government passed the NFSA in the Parliament on 22nd March 2013, intending to ensure provision to the public of foodgrains concerning accessibility, adequacy, and affordability at all times. The preamble states the objective of the NFSA, “to provide for food and nutritional security in the human life cycle, by ensuring access to an adequate quantity of quality food at affordable prices to people to live a life with dignity and for matters connected in addition to that and incidental to that.” The following section will analyse the NFSA. The first part of this section provides an introduction to the NFSA by discussing provisions for food security and the second part highlights key issues during rollout.

¹⁷⁷ The preamble of constitution states “WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Secular Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: JUSTICE, social, economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all; FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation.” Article-47: “State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and standard of living of the people and the improvement of the public health as among its primary duties.”

¹⁷⁸ For a more detailed discussion on food policies and programmes of the post-independent India see Modgal (2014).

¹⁷⁹ After the 2004 general election centre-left political parties in India formed a confederation, United Progressive Alliance (UPA), and it is led by the Indian National Congress party.

4.1. Provisions and Modes of Operation

The Parliament of India, through the NFSA, has adopted a paradigm change from a welfare-based to a citizen's "right to food" approach, which is an important part of the NFSA. Section 3(1) of NFSA vests in the people of India three legal entitlements: (i) the Public Distribution System (PDS) entitles the priority households to 5 kilograms of foodgrain and AAY¹⁸⁰ household to 35 kilograms of foodgrain per month at a subsidised price; (ii) Anganwadi and Midday meal schemes ensure children between 6 months to 14 years of age receive free hot meals, free education, and care; and (iii) all pregnant women and lactating mothers are entitled to a nutritious "take-home ration" of 600 Calories and a maternity benefit of at least Rupees 6,000 for six months (Section 3).¹⁸¹ In addition to these entitlements, the NFSA replaces the Above Poverty Line, and Below Poverty Line categories with a single 'priority category (AAY) and with this, the NFSA covers up to 75% and 50% of the rural and urban population through the targeted public distribution system (TPDS) [NFSA Section 3(2)]. Schedule 1 of NFSA entitles the targeted population to foodgrains at subsidized prices. All eligible households are entitled to three years from enactment to five kilograms of foodgrains per month at INR 3, 2, 1 (per kg) for rice, wheat and coarse grains (millet).¹⁸² Furthermore, Section 13(1) of the NFSA confirms women's entitlement to a ration card by treating women aged 18 years or older as heads of households. It is seen as an empowerment of women. Thus, with the help of the public distribution system (PDS), the NFSA aims to eliminate food insecurity and hunger from India.

Although we will soon see that there have been some problematic issues in the ambit of the NFSA and its implementation, the people of India can be rightly proud of its aim and aspirations. Although passed by a legislature containing representatives from a diversity of

¹⁸⁰ *Antyodaya Anna Yojana* (meaning "Uplifting the weakest with food scheme") is a funded GOI programme to supply millions of the poorest families with significantly subsidized food.

¹⁸¹ There are two types of ration cards under NFSA: priority ration cards are issued to household that meet the eligibility criteria set by their state government; AAY ration cards are issued to "poorest of poor" households. NFSA 2013: Section 3.

¹⁸² Refer. NFSA 2013: Section 3(1), 22(1), (3), and 24(2), (3).

religious, ethnic, tribal and regional affiliations, so that it can in no way be called a “Christian” act of Parliament, its intention is very closely aligned with the LTHH. The agrarian context to which it is largely directed corresponds closely with that characterising the Lucan context and its concern with the destitute, especially in relation to the starvation, illness and social dishonour resulting from extreme hunger, and its overall aim is very close indeed to a central concern of a Lucan Jesus. As noted above, the LTHH marks a movement away from hospitality as charity to something different, similar to that embodied in Latin American liberation theologies, namely, the recognition of duty on human beings to end the destitution of others by addressing the root causes of the problems. Although the NFSA operates at a macro and structural level in society and thus cannot embody the personal dimensions of Jesus hosting meals, the Lucan spirit of hospitality in the sense of the need to break existing social boundaries to do justice to the destitute (especially beggars in Luke and Dalits in India) lives in its admirable provisions. Nor is it too much to suggest that those provisions point to the presence of the incarnate Lord in our midst. Accordingly, the aims of the NFSA should be endorsed by advocates of the LTHH.

Even though the NFSA has been viewed as an opportunity to address hunger and malnutrition, some severe issues are evident in the Act itself. Our discussion in the next section will demonstrate this. Furthermore, the Supreme Court of India remarked in July 2017 that the NFSA 2013 had not been implemented as it should have been. Hence, it is appropriate to discuss some contentious issues in relation to the NFSA and its operational methods.

Turning now to the question of implementing the NFSA, this is indeed a challenging task in a country like India, which is a subcontinent with varied languages, people groups, and cultures. Understanding the *modus operandi* of the Act is necessary to identify the problems and shortcomings of NFSA; how and through which the GOI tries to implement NFSA.

The Indian PDS is the most extensive mechanism in the NFSA concerning the procurement and distribution of foodgrains to the targeted population. As mentioned, this system was introduced by the British Government during WWII to distribute major commodities like foodgrains and fuel through a network of fair price shops (Tauger 2009; cf. Knight 1954). Post the green revolution (1958), India has experienced an increase in foodgrain production, especially in major crops such as wheat and rice. In 1965, the GOI set up the Food Corporation of India (FCI) with its first District Office at Tanjavur, the rice bowl of Tamilnadu, to distribute foodgrains at a reasonable price to safeguard the interests of poor farmers.¹⁸³ The FCI procures foodgrains from farmers at affordable prices and maintains the distribution at a fair price. The GOI allocates and supplies foodgrains to the states at the designated FCI depots. The state governments must organize intra-state allocation for delivery and distribution through fair-price shops to the entitled individuals.¹⁸⁴ The state governments have the responsibility and authority to identify the beneficiaries.¹⁸⁵ Besides, PDS and other food-based welfare schemes are implemented and monitored by state governments by fair-price shops, ensuring food security for the targeted beneficiaries.¹⁸⁶ According to a report released from the Ministry of Consumer Affairs, Food & Public Distribution (India), nearly five million fair-price shops across India (505,879) serve the country's targeted population.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Acts of Parliament. New Delhi: Government of India Press Delhi. 1966. p. 300.

¹⁸⁴ Refer NFSA 2013: Section 24(1).

¹⁸⁵ Refer NFSA: Section 14-16.

¹⁸⁶ Refer NFSA: Section 24(1).

¹⁸⁷ <https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=74180>

4.2. Contentious Issues in the Ambit and Implementation of the NFSA

As noted above, the NFSA is an excellent initiative and in many ways closely consonant with the LTHH. However, it is not a sufficient measure and, in its current form, suffers from several contentious issues and challenges. First of all, the Act should go beyond piecemeal measures to comprehensively ensure food in addressing both immediate hunger and longer-term hunger, which calls for a life-cycle approach from child to old age. At the same time, it should adopt an inclusive approach to eradicating hunger, not just limiting itself with beneficiary methods, because the problem of poverty and hunger in India is not just material poverty. Secondly, scholars observe that there are contentious issues yet to be resolved between the Government of India and the state governments, including cost-sharing mechanisms for the proposed cash incentive scheme for pregnant and lactating mothers, the issue surrounding prices for the additional quantity of grains allotted to some states above original allocations (Varadharajan, Thomas & Kurpad (2014:262). Thirdly, the present operational method of PDS as a system lacks transparency, monitoring and control mechanism, and accountability which has resulted in under-performance and failure to achieve stated goals (cf. Mahalingam & Raj 2016).

Fourthly, Section 44 states that the provisions of the NFSA will not be applicable during times of war or natural calamities such as drought, earthquake, and flood. Scholars raise the question of the regular and adequate supply of grains from domestic production during times of natural catastrophes (Saini & Gulati 2015: ICRIER working paper). The issue of natural calamity is one of the most serious drawbacks of this Act. Irregular monsoons and changes in calamities are frequent in the Indian subcontinent, which annually threatens crops. Fifthly, the NFSA's guidelines for identifying beneficiaries are vague and ambiguous. As discussed above, many committees have suggested different guidelines for identifying poverty. Besides, the homeless, destitute, refugees have not been addressed in this Act. Sixthly, the distribution of foodgrains at subsidized prices may affect foodgrain production in India. As a result, foodgrain producing farmers will be negatively incentivised to change

their farming into horticulture or cash crops. Lastly, the NFSA needs to address the cultural dimensions of food insecurity and include a strategy for nutritional security.

“There are people in the world so hungry, that God cannot appear to them except in the form of bread” – these are the words of Mahatma Gandhi. As discussed above, the condition of food security in India is gloomy, and the majority of the food insecure population have been deprived of their subsistence in terms of material poverty and cultural deprivation. The GOI has taken the initiative to fight against hunger by ensuring food security with the NFSA 2103. However, our discussion exposes specific contentious issues. At this juncture, it is worth mentioning the words of Vishal Mangalwadi (1996:106) “the Church was meant to be a structure to ensure just relationships; therefore, by its very nature, it was intended to be the answer to social evils, a force for social reform, a threat to unjust oppression.” Hence the question is, what is the role of the Church (the body of Christ), armed with the LTHH, in addressing food insecurity? More specifically, how can the Lucan concern for *πτωχοί*, a central feature of the LTHH, contribute to the present debate on food justice? The following section will discuss the alternative measures to improve the situation in light of our earlier discussions and observations on Lucan exegesis and the LTHH.

5. THE LTHH AND INDIAN FOOD INSECURITY

The central argument of this dissertation is the importance of food and hunger alleviation mechanisms evident in the Lucan meals and incorporated into the LTHH as tools for the social welfare of individuals and society. Food insecurity in post-independent India is a multi-faceted issue, and the deprived population have not benefitted adequately from the implemented schemes. The exegetical investigation of selected Lucan meals, which provides the foundation of the LTHH, helps this dissertation deploy the Lucan theological understanding of hunger and offer alleviation mechanisms. At this stage, it is necessary to raise the following questions: to what extent does our study on Luke help in the ongoing debate on food justice in post-independent India? In such a situation, how the Church in

India can engage itself to combat hunger and destitution? In answering the above questions, this research proposes some practical applications to the Church in India.

This dissertation has provided biblical and theological reflection and suggested a model that encourage the Church in exercising the Lucan Jesus' proclamation of "Good news to the πτωχοί," particularly in addressing basic human needs. The Lucan Jesus confronts his followers ("you cannot serve God and mammon," Lk 16:23) and exhorts them to engage in social upliftment. Besides, the Lucan meals describe the exemplification of Jesus' concern towards the plight of the destitute. As the Lucan Jesus states, the Christ-movement is the "community amidst a violent world" ("lambs among the wolves" Lk 10:3) which fights for harmony, peace, and welfare in the context of injustice and oppression, especially the deprivation of food as far as this research is concerned. By discovering the significant features and the purpose of the Lucan Gospel that has allowed articulation of the LTHH, this dissertation nominates two distinct (and interlinked) contexts of praxis: Church action and theological education.

5.1. Church: Restored for the Restoration

I start with the words of bishop Lesslie Newbigin, the first bishop of the diocese of Madurai-Ramnad. He says that the ministry would become "irrelevant" when it looks after a "selfish and introverted congregation" with little concern for their neighbour (quoted in Laing 2012:230). As discussed, post-independent India is witnessing an increase in food insecurity resulting from multidimensional deprivation and discrimination. In achieving the goal of enlightening the Church with the LTHH, this dissertation proposes five positive applications in its journey with the oppressed, especially in fighting against food insecurity.

Firstly, the Lucan meal fundamentally reworks social order, values, and socio-economic and personal relations. Mangalwadi (1996:117) believes that the Church in the vision of Christ is a structure that, not through a collection of heroes but through a communion of love, can endure the powers of death. The Lucan Jesus' proclamation and

boundary-breaking activities at tables brought the marginalized population (economically deprived destitute, socio-religiously alienated tax-collectors, and socio-culturally segregated non-Judeans) to the centre and established their equal status in kinship relations. The restored kinship relationship exemplifies and exhorts equality in the reign of God where oppressive structures like narrow individualism, selfishness and social isolation are being breached. A core element of the LTHH, the Lucan Jesus' breaching of boundaries, sharing at the table (also possessions), and waiting at the table are persuasive examples to the Church and its ministry, especially to the Church in India, which is struggling against socio-cultural discrimination and differentiation in terms of caste and class inequality in society. The Church in India has to experience and exemplify equality among its members to revitalize and protect indigenous, marginalized and excluded individuals in their fight against power structures. Sharing and solidarity with the destitute in the newly established social fellowship in line with the LTHH will surely give them the strength to fight against their struggles. The term "solidarity" I am speaking of here does not merely have a spiritual connotation. However, it is also a political term, as the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace (2005:192-196) rightly pointed out: "living in solidarity" can be deciphered as "the willingness to give oneself for the good of one's neighbour, beyond any individual or particular interest."

Secondly, poverty and wealth have been issues of the Church. As stated in Chapter 5, economic inequality has been intertwined with a complex and regressive caste system that has become a significant issue in India. Hence, reducing poverty and a just, equitable distribution of wealth are the agenda of the hour for the Church in its combat against hunger. The Dalits of India are just as much recipients of Jesus' proclamation of the acceptable year of the Lord (Lk 4:19) as the *πτωχοί* of Luke's time. The problem of poverty does not reflect a lack of skills and resources but is the result of the unjust, strained relationships in society. The Lucan Jesus' exhortations on generalized reciprocity encouraged the members of the early Christ-movement to extend their tables through sharing their possessions (Acts 4:32-35) and continue to resonate in the LTHH. The Lucan Jesus intends for his followers to live

life in a new community where the gifts of some meet the needs of others. Communal sharing, which involves not just the distribution of goods but the demolition of boundaries that impact human existence and human dignity, will build God's household and family by breaking down the conditions of inequality. In its work on social transformation, the primary role of the Church is to enable its members to combat poverty and greed by allowing its members to take initiatives for a society where food insecurity has ceased to exist.

Thirdly, in the context of structural exploitation, the called-out community have to act as a mouthpiece of God in its voice against structural exploitation. With his reformatory attitudes at the table, Lucan Jesus challenges his followers to strive against the structures and values of the world. The adoption of the LTHH can inspire a movement of people that could become a powerful tool in addressing structural exploitation. Through meals, the Lucan Jesus exposes injustice, establishes new humanity, and exemplifies himself as a model to his followers. A central theme of the LTHH is that Jesus is today inviting his followers to be in solidarity with the *πτωχοί* and marginalized. Ulrich Duckrow (1984:51; 1987:91) calls the Church to confront not just the "economic, political, legal, technological, social and ethical problems agreeable to reason" but to fight against the economy of this age, which he calls the "twisted face of a demonic monster," where people are reduced to victims of starvation. The Church, in its commitment to the underprivileged, is challenged by the LTHH to be a voice for the voiceless amidst the oppressive power structures. The Catholic Worker Movement, which was founded to promote gospel-based justice and charity as an alternative to both communism and capitalism, gives some indication of what enactment of the LTHH might look like by continuing its commitment to the marginalized and poor in critiquing the oppressive social structures (Zwick and Zwick 2005). In its struggle for the deprived, the Church's participation in all social media could be a channel in exposing the real-life struggles of the destitute, for which today's technological advancement can help to reach a wider audience. A mass social media campaign and crowdfunding would probably be great aids in promotional activities.

Fourthly, the Catholic Worker Movement's idea of Houses of Hospitality could be a useful model for the Church's active involvement in alleviating hunger and destitution. The movement translates Thomas Aquinas' list of "Works of Mercy" which includes giving water to the thirsty, dressing the naked, offering hospitality to the homeless and vulnerable, caring for the ill, visiting the imprisoned, and burying the dead (Day 1952: 141).

At the societal level, fifthly, the Church should actively involve in politics. As Newbigin rightly states, reminding the civil government of its God-given responsibilities is the God-given duty to the Church, and the Church has "to reflect in all its ordering of society the justice of God" (Newbigin 1986:129). At the same time, the Church's participation in political agitation inspired by the LTHH is also the need of the moment. Furthermore, the Church has to encourage its members to participate in the political arena and to gain higher positions in the government administration, which are the higher bodies of India in policy making and execution, in order to channel "Good news to the *πτωχοί*" at large and in an effective manner.

To the destitute who are the victims of a complex and deteriorating social structure, the Church ought to embody the LTHH by being a channel of amelioration of the hungry and the destitute in liberating them from oppressive structures. The Lucan Jesus expects the Indian Church to extend its table through generalized reciprocity, inclusive relationships, and humble service in its ministry of liberating the oppressed, marginalized, and the socially ignored to ensure their necessities of life, especially food.

5.2. Theological Education

The scenarios of deprivation and socio-economic and political contexts of India challenge sponsors of theological education to take necessary steps to pursue advancement and relevance in their methods of education. The Second Vatican Council observes the dichotomy between faith and the people's everyday life situation as "one of the greatest

errors of our time.”¹⁸⁸ Theologies have evolved amidst socio-economic, political and religious injustice. As discussed, context plays a significant role; the context of oppression, marginalisation and deprivation inform the theological tasks. The social justice concerns of theologies provide guidance to praxis. Whilst there is clearly a distinction between PT and contextual theology, for example, in terms of methodology, as explained in Section 2.4. in Chapter 1, this thesis acknowledges that all theology holds a shared conviction for overcoming injustice and destitution. Hence, this thesis proposes that the primary objective of theological education inspired by the LTHH is the relevance for and impact on society and curriculum, which consists much more than an essential list of courses. At this juncture, it is essential to raise the following questions: does the curriculum used in theological institutions, which come under the umbrella of the Senate of Serampore College (University),¹⁸⁹ do justice to the primary objective of the LTHH by offering a syllabus on food justice? The answer is “No.” This dissertation proposes a syllabus entitled “Right to Food: Biblical, Contextual, and Ministerial Understanding of Hospitality” to the Senate of Serampore to educate theological students in setting out biblical and theological principles underlying the concept of food justice that valorises the LTHH, and applies it specifically to the Indian situation.

As stated, a primary objective of this thesis is to enliven the Indian Church to initiate and engage in ministries of compassionate justice along with the affected. This chapter has come up with the following conclusions: (1) Our discussion of the social and economic life of the people in India reveals that India is still a predominantly a rural and agricultural country which has many similarities with the advanced agrarian society in Luke-Acts, such as social stratification, modes of agricultural production, peasant life and its difficulties especially the reality of debt and debt bondage; (2) Our discussion of the unequal distribution

¹⁸⁸ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes* §43; English in Flannery (1975:943).

¹⁸⁹ In 1818, Christian missionaries Joshua Marshman, William Carey and William Ward founded the Senate of Serampore College with the aim of educating the Indian students in Arts and Sciences and giving ministerial training to aid the Church in India. At present, there are 52 theological Colleges and Seminaries affiliated to the Senate of Serampore College (University) all over India, and including Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

of wealth, socio-cultural discrimination, particularly in relation to Dalits, exposes the problem of food insecurity in India and its culmination in the NFSA 2013; (3) This chapter demonstrates the ineffectiveness of the Act by employing statistical analysis and hypothesis testing by Indian social scientists of the current situation; (4) With the articulation of the LTHH exegeses as developed in the light of our exegetical findings and modern theology in Chapter 5, this chapter encourages the Church to reflect on and interpret the Lucan concern towards destitute in her journey to ameliorate the food problem in India; (5) It has opened up a deep theological understanding to re-read biblical, especially Lucan theological, and ethical discourses in the light of deprivation and reclaim them for theological and ministerial reflections. Overall, this chapter encourages the churches in India to demonstrate the Lucan Jesus' exhortation towards the hungry and destitute by "truthing in love."¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ The Pauline phrase ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ (Eph 4:15) demands an unending and inseparable constant relation between truth and relational faithfulness. I am proud to say that this is the motto of the Union Biblical Seminary, Pune where I did my first theological degree (Bachelor of Divinity).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

“There are people in the world so hungry, that God cannot appear to them except in the form of bread” – Mahatma Gandhi

This dissertation began with whether Luke was alive to the negation of human identity, dignity, and hunger and, if yes, how his meal narrations reflect and address the issue of destitution and hunger. From a brief critical survey of the existing studies in the area of Luke’s social setting and his standpoint on meals, in terms of poverty and hunger and his theology of poverty and wealth, this research has concluded that there is a need to reread the Lucan meal scenes in the socio-economic, political and religious context of Mediterranean societies with the help of social-scientific tools. At the same time, the insecure food situation of India and the response represented by the Indian Parliament’s National Food Security Act, the implementation of which has been criticised by the Supreme Court, has required critical attention. The perusal of previous unsatisfactory scholarship has motivated this research to engage in a fresh investigation of the Lucan meals with social-scientific tools concerning the *πτωχοί* and from this to articulate a Lucan theology on hunger and hospitality that can then be applied in ways that will ameliorate food insecurity and destitution in India.

The investigation informed by social-scientific perspectives on the first-century Mediterranean world indicates that Luke located his audience in a heavily stratified society, while also exposing the socio-religious and economic pressures present in that society and the impoverished condition of the *πτωχοί* portrayed in Luke-Acts. The use of social-scientific tools in the exegesis of the selected meal scenes discloses the real-life experience of the destitute and describes the multifaceted Lucan concern with their plight. The following sections will summarise the contributions made by this dissertation.

As stated, this research has aimed to make an original contribution to Lucan scholarship on meals, particularly in addressing the issue of food insecurity. Firstly, by applying a historical-exegetical and redactional approach enhanced with social-scientific perspectives, models and theories, this dissertation demonstrated the values, social structures and conventions of the Lucan in its first century CE context. Lenski's model of an "advanced agrarian society" and works of Pitt-Rivers and Peristiany helped us to contribute a fresh presentation of the Lucan audience that was probably living in a stratified society that itself experienced socio-economic and religious disparities in terms of power, privilege and wealth (cf. Pitt-Rivers 1963; Peristiany 1965; 1968; 1976). Thus, this research helps to fill a long-standing gap in scholarship on the social milieu of Luke-Acts.

Secondly, this research builds on Esler's works on table-fellowship (1987; 1998) and Neyrey's statement that meals are a potential source of information about a group's symbolic universe (1991:368). This research contributes to scholarship on the Lucan table-fellowship theme by enhancing it with "Good news to the *πτωχοί*" to ensure that it does not overlook the plight of the destitute and the issue of food insecurity. Through the investigation of the Lucan meal scenes from social-scientific perspectives, this research suggests that they illustrate the dominant socio-religious and economic values and structures which Jesus radically reworked in his concern towards the *πτωχοί*. This dissertation accepts the influence of the symposium of Greco-Roman tradition and Judean banquet traditions in Lucan meal scenes. However, it argues that Luke uses these traditions in his redaction in unveiling the plight of the *πτωχοί* and the mechanisms involved in ameliorating destitution and poverty. Thus, this dissertation facilitates a fresh engagement with Lucan table-fellowship employing social science approaches to propound the centrality of food in the meal narrations of Luke-Acts while paying attention to social values (honour and shame, hospitality, friendship), social relations (kinship relation and generalized reciprocity).

Thirdly, this thesis has adopted the methodology of Practical Theology to articulate a Lucan theology of hunger and hospitality; at the same time, the contexts of poverty, deprivation, and food insecurity are carefully analysed and theologically reflected upon. Concerning national food security, as discussed briefly in Chapter 6, the economic organization of post-independent India, which is largely an agrarian society, is based on a hierarchical order of social groups, the *Varna* system, which determines the rights of the people. The members those are outside the *Varna* system, according to *Manusmrirti*, are “*avarṇas*,” “*Panchamas*,” “no caste people,” and “Dalits” (cf. Massey 1996; Parker 2021). According to this hierarchical social system, socio-economic privileges are determined by birth and heredity in the strictest sense of the term. They are abominated as untouchable and even unseeable by the laws of purity and pollution.

Furthermore, as discussed in Section 2. (Chapter 6), the *Varna* system debars the people outside the caste system from dignified occupations. At the same time, agricultural workers have a small proportion and even more limited portion of Indian farm holdings and irrigated land. The debt bondage and bonded labour systems pass from generation to generation, erasing the identity of those outside caste and driving them from their livelihood. Furthermore, life-threatening diseases are also a cause, to some extent, of food insecurity and hunger. By applying the LTHH, this dissertation has arrived at possible solutions and institutional responses in responding to the cry of hunger. This research has made several suggestions informed by the LTHH for ecclesial reactions to the problems of hunger and destitution.

Finally, the Lucan meals offer significant insights for understanding poverty and destitution in the first-century world and our present-day experience. The Lucan Jesus’ actions and attitudes at the tables illustrate and embody his Nazareth announcement “Good news to the πτωχοί.” Lucan Jesus exhorts generalized reciprocity and exercises kinship relationships that challenged the early Christ-followers and now challenge us towards a fellowship where social boundaries had been shattered. Hence, it is appropriate to conclude

this research with words spoken by the Lucan Jesus on the night before he was killed, at the table surrounded by His disciples: “Do this in remembrance of me” (Lk 22:19). With these words, the Lucan Jesus calls us to pay attention to the witness of Luke-Acts. In this reminder, Jesus summarising all the meals he has shared offers the exhortations:

Do this - share your table with the destitute

Do this - eat with the people who are being neglected

Do this - soil your hands in working in fellowship with the vulnerable.

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APPENDIX 1

NATIONAL FOOD SECURITY ACT (2013)

रजिस्ट्री सं० डी० एल०—(एन)04/0007/2003—13

REGISTERED NO. DL—(N)04/0007/2003—13



असाधारण

EXTRAORDINARY

भाग II — खण्ड 1

PART II — Section 1

प्राधिकार से प्रकाशित

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

सं० 29] नई दिल्ली, मंगलवार, सितम्बर 10, 2013/ भाद्र 19, 1935 (शक)
No. 29] NEW DELHI, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 2013/ BHADRA 19, 1935 (SAKA)

इस भाग में भिन्न पृष्ठ संख्या दी जाती है जिससे कि यह अलग संकलन के रूप में रखा जा सके।
Separate paging is given to this Part in order that it may be filed as a separate compilation.

MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE

(Legislative Department)

New Delhi, the 10th September, 2013/Bhadra 19, 1935 (Saka)

The following Act of Parliament received the assent of the President on the 10th September, 2013, and is hereby published for general information:—

THE NATIONAL FOOD SECURITY ACT, 2013

No. 20 OF 2013

[10th September, 2013.]

An Act to provide for food and nutritional security in human life cycle approach, by ensuring access to adequate quantity of quality food at affordable prices to people to live a life with dignity and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Sixty-fourth Year of the Republic of India as follows:—

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY

1. (1) This Act may be called the National Food Security Act, 2013.

(2) It extends to the whole of India.

(3) Save as otherwise provided, it shall be deemed to have come into force on the 5th day of July, 2013.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,—

(1) "anganwadi" means a child care and development centre set up under the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme of the Central Government to render services covered under section 4, clause (a) of sub-section (1) of section 5 and section 6:

Short title,
extent and
commencement.

Definitions.

(2) "central pool" means the stock of foodgrains which is,—

(i) procured by the Central Government and the State Governments through minimum support price operations:

(ii) maintained for allocations under the Targeted Public Distribution System, other welfare schemes, including calamity relief and such other schemes:

(iii) kept as reserves for schemes referred to in sub-clause (ii):

(3) "eligible households" means households covered under the priority households and the Antyodaya Anna Yojana referred to in sub-section (1) of section 3:

(4) "fair price shop" means a shop which has been licensed to distribute essential commodities by an order issued under section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, to the ration card holders under the Targeted Public Distribution System:

10 of 1955.

(5) "foodgrains" means rice, wheat or coarse grains or any combination thereof conforming to such quality norms as may be determined, by order, by the Central Government from time to time:

(6) "food security" means the supply of the entitled quantity of foodgrains and meal specified under Chapter II:

(7) "food security allowance" means the amount of money to be paid by the concerned State Government to the entitled persons under section 8:

(8) "local authority" includes Panchayat, municipality, district board, cantonment board, town planning authority and in the States of Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura where Panchayats do not exist, the village council or committee or any other body, by whatever name called, which is authorised under the Constitution or any law for the time being in force for self-governance or any other authority or body vested with the control and management of civic services, within a specified local area:

(9) "meal" means hot cooked or pre-cooked and heated before its service meal or take home ration, as may be prescribed by the Central Government:

(10) "minimum support price" means the assured price announced by the Central Government at which foodgrains are procured from farmers by the Central Government and the State Governments and their agencies, for the central pool:

(11) "notification" means a notification issued under this Act and published in the Official Gazette:

(12) "other welfare schemes" means such Government schemes, in addition to the Targeted Public Distribution System, under which foodgrains or meals are supplied as part of the schemes:

(13) "person with disability" means a person defined as such in clause (r) of section 2 of the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995:

1 of 1996.

(14) "priority households" means households identified as such under section 10:

(15) "prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Act:

(16) "ration card" means a document issued under an order or authority of the State Government for the purchase of essential commodities from the fair price shops under the Targeted Public Distribution System:

(17) "rural area" means any area in a State except those areas covered by any urban local body or a cantonment board established or constituted under any law for the time being in force:

(18) "Schedule" means a Schedule appended to this Act:

56 of 2007.

(19) "senior citizen" means a person defined as such under clause (h) of section 2 of the Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007:

(20) "social audit" means the process in which people collectively monitor and evaluate the planning and implementation of a programme or scheme:

(21) "State Commission" means the State Food Commission constituted under section 16:

(22) "State Government", in relation to a Union territory, means the Administrator thereof appointed under article 239 of the Constitution:

(23) "Targeted Public Distribution System" means the system for distribution of essential commodities to the ration card holders through fair price shops:

(24) "Vigilance Committee" means a committee constituted under section 29 to supervise the implementation of all schemes under this Act:

10 of 1955.

(25) the words and expressions not defined here but defined in the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, or any other relevant Act shall have the meaning respectively assigned to them in those Acts.

CHAPTER II

PROVISIONS FOR FOOD SECURITY

3. (1) Every person belonging to priority households, identified under sub-section (1) of section 10, shall be entitled to receive five kilograms of foodgrains per person per month at subsidised prices specified in Schedule I from the State Government under the Targeted Public Distribution System:

Right to receive foodgrains at subsidised prices by persons belonging to eligible households under Targeted Public Distribution System.

Provided that the households covered under Antyodaya Anna Yojana shall, to such extent as may be specified by the Central Government for each State in the said scheme, be entitled to thirty-five kilograms of foodgrains per household per month at the prices specified in Schedule I:

Provided further that if annual allocation of foodgrains to any State under the Act is less than the average annual offtake of foodgrains for last three years under normal Targeted Public Distribution System, the same shall be protected at prices as may be determined by the Central Government and the State shall be allocated foodgrains as specified in Schedule IV.

Explanation.— For the purpose of this section, the "Antyodaya Anna Yojana" means, the scheme by the said name launched by the Central Government on the 25th day of December, 2000: and as modified from time to time.

(2) The entitlements of the persons belonging to the eligible households referred to in sub-section (1) at subsidised prices shall extend up to seventy-five per cent. of the rural population and up to fifty per cent. of the urban population.

(3) Subject to sub-section (1), the State Government may provide to the persons belonging to eligible households, wheat flour in lieu of the entitled quantity of foodgrains in accordance with such guidelines as may be specified by the Central Government.

4. Subject to such schemes as may be framed by the Central Government, every pregnant woman and lactating mother shall be entitled to—

Nutritional support to pregnant women and lactating mothers.

(a) meal, free of charge, during pregnancy and six months after the child birth, through the local *anganwadi*, so as to meet the nutritional standards specified in Schedule II: and

(b) maternity benefit of not less than rupees six thousand, in such instalments as may be prescribed by the Central Government:

Provided that all pregnant women and lactating mothers in regular employment with the Central Government or State Governments or Public Sector Undertakings or those who are in receipt of similar benefits under any law for the time being in force shall not be entitled to benefits specified in clause (b).

Nutritional support to children.

5. (1) Subject to the provisions contained in clause (b), every child up to the age of fourteen years shall have the following entitlements for his nutritional needs, namely:—

(a) in the case of children in the age group of six months to six years, age appropriate meal, free of charge, through the local *anganwadi* so as to meet the nutritional standards specified in Schedule II:

Provided that for children below the age of six months, exclusive breast feeding shall be promoted:

(b) in the case of children, up to class VIII or within the age group of six to fourteen years, whichever is applicable, one mid-day meal, free of charge, everyday, except on school holidays, in all schools run by local bodies, Government and Government aided schools, so as to meet the nutritional standards specified in Schedule II.

(2) Every school, referred to in clause (b) of sub-section (1), and *anganwadi* shall have facilities for cooking meals, drinking water and sanitation:

Provided that in urban areas facilities of centralised kitchens for cooking meals may be used, wherever required, as per the guidelines issued by the Central Government.

Prevention and management of child malnutrition.

6. The State Government shall, through the local *anganwadi*, identify and provide meals, free of charge, to children who suffer from malnutrition, so as to meet the nutritional standards specified in Schedule II.

Implementation of schemes for realisation of entitlements.

7. The State Governments shall implement schemes covering entitlements under sections 4, 5 and section 6 in accordance with the guidelines, including cost sharing, between the Central Government and the State Governments in such manner as may be prescribed by the Central Government.

CHAPTER III

FOOD SECURITY ALLOWANCE

Right to receive food security allowance in certain cases.

8. In case of non-supply of the entitled quantities of foodgrains or meals to entitled persons under Chapter II, such persons shall be entitled to receive such food security allowance from the concerned State Government to be paid to each person, within such time and manner as may be prescribed by the Central Government.

CHAPTER IV

IDENTIFICATION OF ELIGIBLE HOUSEHOLDS

Coverage of population under Targeted Public Distribution System.

9. The percentage coverage under the Targeted Public Distribution System in rural and urban areas for each State shall, subject to sub-section (2) of section 3, be determined by the Central Government and the total number of persons to be covered in such rural and urban areas of the State shall be calculated on the basis of the population estimates as per the census of which the relevant figures have been published.

State Government to prepare guidelines and to identify priority households.

10. (1) The State Government shall, within the number of persons determined under section 9 for the rural and urban areas, identify—

(a) the households to be covered under the Antyodaya Anna Yojana to the extent specified under sub-section (1) of section 3, in accordance with the guidelines applicable to the said scheme:

(b) the remaining households as priority households to be covered under the Targeted Public Distribution System, in accordance with such guidelines as the State Government may specify:

Provided that the State Government may, as soon as possible, but within such period not exceeding three hundred and sixty-five days, after the commencement of

the Act, identify the eligible households in accordance with the guidelines framed under this sub-section:

Provided further that the State Government shall continue to receive the allocation of foodgrains from the Central Government under the existing Targeted Public Distribution System, till the identification of such households is complete.

(2) The State Government shall update the list of eligible households, within the number of persons determined under section 9 for the rural and urban areas, in accordance with the guidelines framed under sub-section (1).

11. The State Government shall place the list of the identified eligible households in the public domain and display it prominently.

Publication and display of list of eligible households.

CHAPTER V

REFORMS IN TARGETED PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

12. (1) The Central and State Governments shall endeavour to progressively undertake necessary reforms in the Targeted Public Distribution System in consonance with the role envisaged for them in this Act.

Reforms in Targeted Public Distribution System.

(2) The reforms shall, *inter alia*, include—

(a) doorstep delivery of foodgrains to the Targeted Public Distribution System outlets;

(b) application of information and communication technology tools including end-to-end computerisation in order to ensure transparent recording of transactions at all levels, and to prevent diversion;

(c) leveraging "aadhaar" for unique identification, with biometric information of entitled beneficiaries for proper targeting of benefits under this Act;

(d) full transparency of records;

(e) preference to public institutions or public bodies such as Panchayats, self-help groups, co-operatives, in licensing of fair price shops and management of fair price shops by women or their collectives;

(f) diversification of commodities distributed under the Public Distribution System over a period of time;

(g) support to local public distribution models and grains banks;

(h) introducing schemes, such as, cash transfer, food coupons, or other schemes, to the targeted beneficiaries in order to ensure their foodgrain entitlements specified in Chapter II, in such area and manner as may be prescribed by the Central Government.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

13. (1) The eldest woman who is not less than eighteen years of age, in every eligible household, shall be head of the household for the purpose of issue of ration cards.

Women of eighteen years of age or above to be head of household for purpose of issue of ration cards.

(2) Where a household at any time does not have a woman or a woman of eighteen years of age or above, but has a female member below the age of eighteen years, then, the eldest male member of the household shall be the head of the household for the purpose of issue of ration card and the female member, on attaining the age of eighteen years, shall become the head of the household for such ration cards in place of such male member.

CHAPTER VII

GRIEVANCE REDRESSAL MECHANISM

14. Every State Government shall put in place an internal grievance redressal mechanism which may include call centres, help lines, designation of nodal officers, or such other mechanism as may be prescribed.

Internal grievance redressal mechanism.

District
Grievance
Redressal
Officer.

15. (1) The State Government shall appoint or designate, for each district, an officer to be the District Grievance Redressal Officer for expeditious and effective redressal of grievances of the aggrieved persons in matters relating to distribution of entitled foodgrains or meals under Chapter II, and to enforce the entitlements under this Act.

(2) The qualifications for appointment as District Grievance Redressal Officer and its powers shall be such as may be prescribed by the State Government.

(3) The method and terms and conditions of appointment of the District Grievance Redressal Officer shall be such as may be prescribed by the State Government.

(4) The State Government shall provide for the salary and allowances of the District Grievance Redressal Officer and other staff and such other expenditure as may be considered necessary for their proper functioning.

(5) The officer referred to in sub-section (1) shall hear complaints regarding non-distribution of entitled foodgrains or meals, and matters relating thereto, and take necessary action for their redressal in such manner and within such time as may be prescribed by the State Government.

(6) Any complainant or the officer or authority against whom any order has been passed by officer referred to in sub-section (1), who is not satisfied with the redressal of grievance may file an appeal against such order before the State Commission.

(7) Every appeal under sub-section (6) shall be filed in such manner and within such time as may be prescribed by the State Government.

State Food
Commission.

16. (1) Every State Government shall, by notification, constitute a State Food Commission for the purpose of monitoring and review of implementation of this Act.

(2) The State Commission shall consist of—

(a) a Chairperson;

(b) five other Members; and

(c) a Member-Secretary, who shall be an officer of the State Government not below the rank of Joint Secretary to that Government:

Provided that there shall be at least two women, whether Chairperson, Member or Member-Secretary:

Provided further that there shall be one person belonging to the Scheduled Castes and one person belonging to the Scheduled Tribes, whether Chairperson, Member or Member-Secretary.

(3) The Chairperson and other Members shall be appointed from amongst persons—

(a) who are or have been member of the All India Services or any other civil services of the Union or State or holding a civil post under the Union or State having knowledge and experience in matters relating to food security, policy making and administration in the field of agriculture, civil supplies, nutrition, health or any allied field: or

(b) of eminence in public life with wide knowledge and experience in agriculture, law, human rights, social service, management, nutrition, health, food policy or public administration: or

(c) who have a proven record of work relating to the improvement of the food and nutrition rights of the poor.

(4) The Chairperson and every other Member shall hold office for a term not exceeding five years from the date on which he enters upon his office and shall be eligible for reappointment:

Provided that no person shall hold office as the Chairperson or other Member after he has attained the age of sixty-five years.

(5) The method of appointment and other terms and conditions subject to which the Chairperson, other Members and Member-Secretary of the State Commission may be appointed, and time, place and procedure of meetings of the State Commission (including the quorum at such meetings) and its powers, shall be such as may be prescribed by the State Government.

(6) The State Commission shall undertake the following functions, namely:—

(a) monitor and evaluate the implementation of this Act, in relation to the State:

(b) either *suo motu* or on receipt of complaint inquire into violations of entitlements provided under Chapter II:

(c) give advice to the State Government on effective implementation of this Act:

(d) give advice to the State Government, their agencies, autonomous bodies as well as non-governmental organisations involved in delivery of relevant services, for the effective implementation of food and nutrition related schemes, to enable individuals to fully access their entitlements specified in this Act:

(e) hear appeals against orders of the District Grievance Redressal Officer:

(f) prepare annual reports which shall be laid before the State Legislature by the State Government.

(7) The State Government shall make available to the State Commission, such administrative and technical staff, as it may consider necessary for proper functioning of the State Commission.

(8) The method of appointment of the staff under sub-section (7), their salaries, allowances and conditions of service shall be such, as may be prescribed by the State Government.

(9) The State Government may remove from office the Chairperson or any Member who—

(a) is, or at any time has been, adjudged as an insolvent: or

(b) has become physically or mentally incapable of acting as a member: or

(c) has been convicted of an offence which, in the opinion of the State Government, involves moral turpitude: or

(d) has acquired such financial or other interest as is likely to affect prejudicially his functions as a member: or

(e) has so abused his position as to render his continuation in office detrimental to the public interest.

(10) No such Chairperson or Member shall be removed under clause (d) or clause (e) of sub-section (9) unless he has been given a reasonable opportunity of being heard in the matter.

17. The State Government shall provide for salary and allowances of Chairperson, other Members, Member-Secretary, support staff, and other administrative expenses required for proper functioning of the State Commission.

Salary and allowances of Chairperson, Member, Member-Secretary and other staff of State Commission.

Designation of any Commission or body to function as State Commission.

18. The State Government may, if considers it necessary, by notification, designate any statutory commission or a body to exercise the powers and perform the functions of the State Commission referred to in section 16.

Joint State Food Commission.

19. Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1) of section 16, two or more States may have a Joint State Food Commission for the purposes of this Act with the approval of the Central Government.

Powers relating to inquiries.

20. (1) The State Commission shall, while inquiring into any matter referred to in clauses (b) and (e) of sub-section (6) of section 16, have all the powers of a civil court while trying a suit under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, and, in particular, in respect of the following matters, namely:—

5 of 1908.

(a) summoning and enforcing the attendance of any person and examining him on oath;

(b) discovery and production of any document;

(c) receiving evidence on affidavits;

(d) requisitioning any public record or copy thereof from any court or office; and

(e) issuing commissions for the examination of witnesses or documents.

(2) The State Commission shall have the power to forward any case to a Magistrate having jurisdiction to try the same and the Magistrate to whom any such case is forwarded shall proceed to hear the complaint against the accused as if the case has been forwarded to him under section 346 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973.

2 of 1974.

Vacancies, etc., not to invalidate proceedings of State Commission.

21. No act or proceeding of the State Commission shall be invalid merely by reason of—

(a) any vacancy in, or any defect in the constitution of, the State Commission: or

(b) any defect in the appointment of a person as the Chairperson or a Member of the State Commission: or

(c) any irregularity in the procedure of the State Commission not affecting the merits of the case.

CHAPTER VIII

OBLIGATIONS OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FOR FOOD SECURITY

Central Government to allocate required quantity of foodgrains from central pool to State Governments.

22. (1) The Central Government shall, for ensuring the regular supply of foodgrains to persons belonging to eligible households, allocate from the central pool the required quantity of foodgrains to the State Governments under the Targeted Public Distribution System, as per the entitlements under section 3 and at prices specified in Schedule I.

(2) The Central Government shall allocate foodgrains in accordance with the number of persons belonging to the eligible households identified in each State under section 10.

(3) The Central Government shall provide foodgrains in respect of entitlements under sections 4, 5 and section 6, to the State Governments, at prices specified for the persons belonging to eligible households in Schedule I.

(4) Without prejudice to sub-section (1), the Central Government shall,—

(a) procure foodgrains for the central pool through its own agencies and the State Governments and their agencies;

(b) allocate foodgrains to the States:

(c) provide for transportation of foodgrains, as per allocation, to the depots designated by the Central Government in each State:

(d) provide assistance to the State Government in meeting the expenditure incurred by it towards intra-State movement, handling of foodgrains and margins paid to fair price shop dealers, in accordance with such norms and manner as may be prescribed by the Central Government: and

(e) create and maintain required modern and scientific storage facilities at various levels.

23. In case of short supply of foodgrains from the central pool to a State, the Central Government shall provide funds to the extent of short supply to the State Government for meeting obligations under Chapter II in such manner as may be prescribed by the Central Government.

Provisions for funds by Central Government to State Government in certain cases.

CHAPTER IX

OBLIGATIONS OF STATE GOVERNMENT FOR FOOD SECURITY

24. (1) The State Government shall be responsible for implementation and monitoring of the schemes of various Ministries and Departments of the Central Government in accordance with guidelines issued by the Central Government for each scheme, and their own schemes, for ensuring food security to the targeted beneficiaries in their State.

Implementation and monitoring of schemes for ensuring food security.

(2) Under the Targeted Public Distribution System, it shall be the duty of the State Government to—

(a) take delivery of foodgrains from the designated depots of the Central Government in the State, at the prices specified in Schedule I, organise intra-State allocations for delivery of the allocated foodgrains through their authorised agencies at the door-step of each fair price shop: and

(b) ensure actual delivery or supply of the foodgrains to the entitled persons at the prices specified in Schedule I.

(3) For foodgrain requirements in respect of entitlements under sections 4, 5 and section 6, it shall be the responsibility of the State Government to take delivery of foodgrains from the designated depots of the Central Government in the State, at the prices specified in Schedule I for persons belonging to eligible households and ensure actual delivery of entitled benefits, as specified in the aforesaid sections.

(4) In case of non-supply of the entitled quantities of foodgrains or meals to entitled persons under Chapter II, the State Government shall be responsible for payment of food security allowance specified in section 8.

(5) For efficient operations of the Targeted Public Distribution System, every State Government shall,—

(a) create and maintain scientific storage facilities at the State, District and Block levels, being sufficient to accommodate foodgrains required under the Targeted Public Distribution System and other food based welfare schemes:

(b) suitably strengthen capacities of their Food and Civil Supplies Corporations and other designated agencies:

(c) establish institutionalised licensing arrangements for fair price shops in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Public Distribution System (Control) Order, 2001 made under the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, as amended from time to time.

CHAPTER X

OBLIGATIONS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Implementation of Targeted Public Distribution System by local authority in their areas.

25. (1) The local authorities shall be responsible for the proper implementation of this Act in their respective areas.

(2) Without prejudice to sub-section (1), the State Government may assign, by notification, additional responsibilities for implementation of the Targeted Public Distribution System to the local authority.

Obligations of local authority.

26. In implementing different schemes of the Ministries and Departments of the Central Government and the State Governments, prepared to implement provisions of this Act, the local authorities shall be responsible for discharging such duties and responsibilities as may be assigned to them, by notification, by the respective State Governments.

CHAPTER XI

TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Disclosure of records of Targeted Public Distribution System.

27. All Targeted Public Distribution System related records shall be placed in the public domain and kept open for inspection to the public, in such manner as may be prescribed by the State Government.

Conduct of social audit.

28. (1) Every local authority, or any other authority or body, as may be authorised by the State Government, shall conduct or cause to be conducted, periodic social audits on the functioning of fair price shops, Targeted Public Distribution System and other welfare schemes, and cause to publicise its findings and take necessary action, in such manner as may be prescribed by the State Government.

(2) The Central Government may, if it considers necessary, conduct or cause to be conducted social audit through independent agencies having experience in conduct of such audits.

Setting up of Vigilance Committees.

29. (1) For ensuring transparency and proper functioning of the Targeted Public Distribution System and accountability of the functionaries in such system, every State Government shall set up Vigilance Committees as specified in the Public Distribution System (Control) Order, 2001, made under the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, as amended from time to time, at the State, District, Block and fair price shop levels consisting of such persons, as may be prescribed by the State Government giving due representation to the local authorities, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, women and destitute persons or persons with disability.

(2) The Vigilance Committees shall perform the following functions, namely:—

(a) regularly supervise the implementation of all schemes under this Act:

(b) inform the District Grievance Redressal Officer, in writing, of any violation of the provisions of this Act: and

(c) inform the District Grievance Redressal Officer, in writing, of any malpractice or misappropriation of funds found by it.

CHAPTER XII

PROVISIONS FOR ADVANCING FOOD SECURITY

Food security for people living in remote, hilly and tribal areas.

30. The Central Government and the State Governments shall, while implementing the provisions of this Act and the schemes for meeting specified entitlements, give special focus to the needs of the vulnerable groups especially in remote areas and other areas which are difficult to access, hilly and tribal areas for ensuring their food security.

31. The Central Government, the State Governments and local authorities shall, for the purpose of advancing food and nutritional security, strive to progressively realise the objectives specified in Schedule III.

Steps to further advance food and nutritional security.

CHAPTER XIII

MISCELLANEOUS

32. (1) The provisions of this Act shall not preclude the Central Government or the State Government from continuing or formulating other food based welfare schemes.

Other welfare schemes.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, the State Government may, continue with or formulate food or nutrition based plans or schemes providing for benefits higher than the benefits provided under this Act, from its own resources.

33. Any public servant or authority found guilty, by the State Commission at the time of deciding any complaint or appeal, of failing to provide the relief recommended by the District Grievance Redressal Officer, without reasonable cause, or wilfully ignoring such recommendation, shall be liable to penalty not exceeding five thousand rupees:

Penalties.

Provided that the public servant or the public authority, as the case may be, shall be given a reasonable opportunity of being heard before any penalty is imposed.

34. (1) For the purpose of adjudging penalty under section 33, the State Commission shall authorise any of its member to be an adjudicating officer for holding an inquiry in the prescribed manner after giving any person concerned a reasonable opportunity of being heard for the purpose of imposing any penalty.

Power to adjudicate.

(2) While holding an inquiry the adjudicating officer shall have power to summon and enforce the attendance of any person acquainted with the facts and circumstances of the case to give evidence or to produce any document which in the opinion of the adjudicating officer, may be useful for or relevant to the subject matter of the inquiry and if, on such inquiry, he is satisfied that the person has failed to provide the relief recommended by the District Grievance Redressal Officer, without reasonable cause, or wilfully ignored such recommendation, he may impose such penalty as he thinks fit in accordance with the provisions of section 33.

35. (1) The Central Government may, by notification, direct that the powers exercisable by it (except the power to make rules), in such circumstances and subject to such conditions and limitations, be exercisable also by the State Government or an officer subordinate to the Central Government or the State Government as it may specify in the notification.

Power to delegate by Central Government and State Government.

(2) The State Government may, by notification, direct that the powers exercisable by it (except the power to make rules), in such circumstances and subject to such conditions and limitations, be exercisable also by an officer subordinate to it as it may specify in the notification.

36. The provisions of this Act or the schemes made thereunder shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in any other law for the time being in force or in any instrument having effect by virtue of such law.

Act to have overriding effect.

37. (1) If the Central Government is satisfied that it is necessary or expedient so to do, it may, by notification, amend Schedule I or Schedule II or Schedule III or Schedule IV and thereupon Schedule I or Schedule II or Schedule III or Schedule IV, as the case may be, shall be deemed to have been amended accordingly.

Power to amend Schedules.

(2) A copy of every notification issued under sub-section (1), shall be laid before each House of Parliament as soon as may be after it is issued.

38. The Central Government may, from time to time, give such directions, as it may consider necessary, to the State Governments for the effective implementation of the provisions of this Act and the State Governments shall comply with such directions.

Power of Central Government to give directions.

Power of
Central
Government
to make rules.

39. (1) The Central Government may, in consultation with the State Governments and by notification, make rules to carry out the provisions of this Act.

(2) In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely:—

(a) scheme including cost sharing for providing maternity benefit to pregnant women and lactating mothers under clause (b) of section 4:

(b) schemes covering entitlements under sections 4, 5 and section 6 including cost sharing under section 7:

(c) amount, time and manner of payment of food security allowance to entitled individuals under section 8:

(d) introducing schemes of cash transfer, food coupons or other schemes to the targeted beneficiaries in order to ensure their foodgrains entitlements in such areas and manner under clause (h) of sub-section (2) of section 12:

(e) the norms and manner of providing assistance to the State Governments in meeting expenditure under clause (d) of sub-section (4) of section 22:

(f) manner in which funds shall be provided by the Central Government to the State Governments in case of short supply of foodgrains, under section 23:

(g) any other matter which is to be, or may be, prescribed or in respect of which provision is to be made by the Central Government by rules.

(3) Every rule made by the Central Government under this Act shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before each House of Parliament, while it is in session, for a total period of thirty days which may be comprised in one session or in two or more successive sessions, and if, before the expiry of the session immediately following the session or the successive sessions aforesaid, both Houses agree in making any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be: so, however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

Power of
State
Government
to make rules.

40. (1) The State Government may, by notification, and subject to the condition of previous publication, and consistent with this Act and the rules made by the Central Government, make rules to carry out the provisions of this Act.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely:—

(a) guidelines for identification of priority households under sub-section (1) of section 10:

(b) internal grievance redressal mechanism under section 14:

(c) qualifications for appointment as District Grievance Redressal Officer and its powers under sub-section (2) of section 15:

(d) method and terms and conditions of appointment of the District Grievance Redressal Officer under sub-section (3) of section 15:

(e) manner and time limit for hearing complaints by the District Grievance Redressal Officer and the filing of appeals under sub-sections (5) and (7) of section 15:

(f) method of appointment and the terms and conditions of appointment of Chairperson, other Members and Member-Secretary of the State Commission, procedure for meetings of the Commission and its powers, under sub-section (5) of section 16:

(g) method of appointment of staff of the State Commission, their salaries, allowances and conditions of service under sub-section (8) of section 16:

(h) manner in which the Targeted Public Distribution System related records shall be placed in the public domain and kept open for inspection to public under section 27;

(i) manner in which the social audit on the functioning of fair price shops, Targeted Public Distribution System and other welfare schemes shall be conducted under section 28;

(j) composition of Vigilance Committees under sub-section (1) of section 29;

(k) schemes or programmes of the Central Government or the State Governments for utilisation of institutional mechanism under section 43;

(l) any other matter which is to be, or may be, prescribed or in respect of which provision is to be made by the State Government by rules.

(3) Every rule, notification and guidelines made or issued by the State Government under this Act shall, as soon as may be after it is made or issued, be laid before each House of the State Legislature where there are two Houses, and where there is one House of the State Legislature, before that House.

41. The schemes, guidelines, orders and food standard, grievance redressal mechanism, vigilance committees, existing on the date of commencement of this Act, shall continue to be in force and operate till such schemes, guidelines, orders and food standard, grievance redressal mechanism, vigilance committees are specified or notified under this Act or the rules made thereunder:

Transitory provisions for schemes, guidelines, etc.

Provided that anything done or any action taken under the said schemes, guidelines, orders and food standard, grievance redressal mechanism, or by vigilance committees shall be deemed to have been done or taken under the corresponding provisions of this Act and shall continue to be in force accordingly unless and until superseded by anything done or by any action taken under this Act.

42. (1) If any difficulty arises in giving effect to the provisions of this Act, the Central Government may, by order, published in the Official Gazette, make such provisions, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, as appear to it to be necessary or expedient for removing the difficulty:

Power to remove difficulties.

Provided that no order shall be made under this section after the expiry of two years from the date of commencement of this Act.

(2) Every order made under this section shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before each House of Parliament.

43. The services of authorities to be appointed or constituted under sections 15 and 16 may be utilised in the implementation of other schemes or programmes of the Central Government or the State Governments, as may be prescribed by the State Government.

Utilisation of institutional mechanism for other purposes.

44. The Central Government, or as the case may be, the State Government, shall be liable for a claim by any person entitled under this Act, except in the case of war, flood, drought, fire, cyclone or earthquake affecting the regular supply of foodgrains or meals to such person under this Act:

Force Majeure.

Provided that the Central Government may, in consultation with the Planning Commission, declare whether or not any such situation affecting the regular supply of foodgrains or meals to such person has arisen or exists.

13. **45.** (1) The National Food Security Ordinance, 2013 is hereby repealed.

Repeal and savings.

(2) Notwithstanding such repeal,—

(a) anything done, any action taken or any identification of eligible households made: or

(b) any right, entitlement, privilege, obligation or liability acquired, accrued or incurred: or

(c) any guidelines framed or directions issued: or

(d) any investigation, inquiry or any other legal proceeding initiated, conducted or continued in respect of such right, entitlement, privilege, obligation or liability as aforesaid: or

(e) any penalty imposed in respect of any offence,

under the said Ordinance shall be deemed to have been done, taken, made, acquired, accrued, incurred, framed, issued, initiated, conducted, continued or imposed under the corresponding provisions of this Act.

SCHEDULE I

[See sections 3(1), 22(1), (3) and 24(2), (3)]

SUBSIDISED PRICES UNDER TARGETED PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

Eligible households shall be entitled to foodgrains under section 3 at the subsidised price not exceeding rupees 3 per kg for rice, rupees 2 per kg for wheat and rupee 1 per kg for coarse grains for a period of three years from the date of commencement of this Act: and thereafter, at such price, as may be fixed by the Central Government, from time to time, not exceeding,—

(i) the minimum support price for wheat and coarse grains: and

(ii) the derived minimum support price for rice,

as the case may be.

SCHEDULE II

[See sections 4(a), 5(1) and 6]

NUTRITIONAL STANDARDS

Nutritional standards: The nutritional standards for children in the age group of 6 months to 3 years, age group of 3 to 6 years and pregnant women and lactating mothers required to be met by providing "Take Home Rations" or nutritious hot cooked meal in accordance with the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme and nutritional standards for children in lower and upper primary classes under the Mid Day Meal Scheme are as follows:

Serial number	Category	Type of meal ²	Calories (Kcal)	Protein (g)
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Children (6 months to 3 years)	Take Home Ration	500	12-15
2.	Children (3 to 6 years)	Morning Snack and Hot Cooked Meal	500	12-15
3.	Children (6 months to 6 years) who are malnourished	Take Home Ration	800	20-25
4.	Lower primary classes	Hot Cooked Meal	450	12
5.	Upper primary classes	Hot Cooked Meal	700	20
6.	Pregnant women and Lactating mothers	Take Home Ration	600	18-20

SCHEDULE III

(See section 31)

PROVISIONS FOR ADVANCING FOOD SECURITY

(1) Revitalisation of Agriculture—

(a) agrarian reforms through measures for securing interests of small and marginal farmers:

(b) increase in investments in agriculture, including research and development, extension services, micro and minor irrigation and power to increase productivity and production:

(c) ensuring livelihood security to farmers by way of remunerative prices, access to inputs, credit, irrigation, power, crop insurance, etc.:

(d) prohibiting unwarranted diversion of land and water from food production.

(2) Procurement, Storage and Movement related interventions—

(a) incentivising decentralised procurement including procurement of coarse grains:

(b) geographical diversification of procurement operations:

(c) augmentation of adequate decentralised modern and scientific storage:

(d) giving top priority to movement of foodgrains and providing sufficient number of rakes for this purpose, including expanding the line capacity of railways to facilitate foodgrain movement from surplus to consuming regions.

(3) Others: Access to—

(a) safe and adequate drinking water and sanitation:

(b) health care:

(c) nutritional, health and education support to adolescent girls:

(d) adequate pensions for senior citizens, persons with disability and single women.

SCHEDULE IV

[See section 3(1)]

STATE-WISE ALLOCATION OF FOODGRAINS

S. No.	Name of the State	Quantity (in lakh tons)
1	2	3
1.	Andhra Pradesh	32.10
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	0.89
3.	Assam	16.95
4.	Bihar	55.27
5.	Chhattisgarh	12.91
6.	Delhi	5.73
7.	Goa	0.59
8.	Gujarat	23.95
9.	Haryana	7.95
10.	Himachal Pradesh	5.08
11.	Jammu and Kashmir	7.51
12.	Jharkhand	16.96
13.	Karnataka	25.56
14.	Kerala	14.25
15.	Madhya Pradesh	34.68
16.	Maharashtra	45.02
17.	Manipur	1.51
18.	Meghalaya	1.76
19.	Mizoram	0.66
20.	Nagaland	1.38
21.	Odisha	21.09
22.	Punjab	8.70
23.	Rajasthan	27.92
24.	Sikkim	0.44
25.	Tamilnadu	36.78
26.	Tripura	2.71
27.	Uttar Pradesh	96.15
28.	Uttarakhand	5.03
29.	West Bengal	38.49
30.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	0.16
31.	Chandigarh	0.31
32.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	0.15
33.	Daman and Diu	0.07
34.	Lakshadweep	0.05
35.	Puducherry	0.50
Total		549.26

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