

THOMAS KAZEN
RIKARD ROITTO

Revenge, Compensation,
and Forgiveness
in the Ancient World

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament
515*

Mohr Siebeck

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Revenge, Compensation, and Forgiveness in the Ancient World

A Comparative Study of Interpersonal Infringement
and Moral Repair

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This book is the result of a multi-year project on moral repair in antiquity, beginning in 2017 and funded by the Swedish Research Council, grant nr. 2016-02319. The project's final report was submitted in 2022, when we also published three supplements to the present volume, containing twelve stand-alone articles relating to the topic, most of which were previously published in various periodicals and publications during this period. These are listed separately on pp. 493–494. However, the project's main publication is the present volume.

To write a book together with a colleague can be a challenging task. For us it has been mostly fun, and we have learnt a lot from each other during the journey. Our employer, Stockholm School of Theology (University College Stockholm), has as always been supportive and accommodating, making it possible for us to make use of our research time. The pandemic threw a spanner in the works but in the end we prevailed.

This book is a cooperative enterprise from the beginning to the end, and we are both responsible for the book in its entirety. This being said, we have shared responsibilities between us. Thomas has written chapter 3, with input from Rikard. Rikard has written chapter 4, with input from Thomas. Chapters 1, 2, and 5 we have written together, and although we often divided sections between us to begin with, our voices are now intermingled after rounds of rewriting and redaction.

We are indebted to many people. At a very early stage, Esther Eidinow read our drafts and gave valuable feedback. We have presented material to the Biblical Studies research seminars in Stockholm and Uppsala, as well as at a number of international conferences, and received useful input from many colleagues. For the cognitive and evolutionary perspectives we bring when we read and interpret ancient texts, we are particularly indebted to a number of colleagues, many of whom are found in Nordic contexts, and some of whom we have previously collaborated with. They include István Czachesz and Risto Uro, but there are many others as well.

Thomas is grateful to the Wenner-Gren Foundations for funding a research stay in Cambridge in 2022–23, during which the manuscript was finalised and edited. Our special thanks go to the WUNT editors and the staff at Mohr Siebeck. (We are of course grateful to our families, too, but that is beside the point here.)

Rikard would like to dedicate this book to Linköping OCR, which has provided endurance not only to run, crawl, and climb ropes and other obstacles, but also to do scholarly research and remain sane even during a pandemic. Thomas would like to dedicate this book to his blueberry and lingonberry forest, since picking its fruits for hours and days is an excellent preparation for the tedious work of footnotes and formatting.

It is our hope that our readers will find this book worthwhile. We think it contains some useful knowledge about interpersonal infringement and moral repair in antiquity. If, in addition, it triggers at least some of its readers to reflect on current human behaviour in general and how to handle status and honour-related conflicts in particular, we would be more than happy. Perhaps, like us, you will find evidence that practical moral repair is a rough ride.

Linköping and Skinnskatteberg, June 2023

Rikard Roitto and Thomas Kazen

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Notes on Translations, Transliteration, and Referencing

When nothing else is stated, translations of ancient texts are our own. Frequently used words in ancient languages that have become more or less “technical terms” are usually transliterated. Transliteration generally follows the *SBL Handbook of Style* (2nd ed.), with a few exceptions. Transliteration of Hebrew follows the SBL general-purpose style. For Aristotle, both chapter and Bekker numbers are provided. Abbreviations of ancient sources generally follow *The SBL Handbook of Style* (2nd ed.) and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th ed.) abbreviation list. In the bibliography, series and journal titles are not abbreviated but spelled out in full. Some primary texts are found both under Ancient Sources and Literature, to facilitate referencing. Multiple places of publication are not listed but only the first-mentioned location of the publisher.

Abbreviations

AWA	ancient West Asia (= ancient Near East)
BDB	Brown, Francis, Samuel R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BGU	<i>Berliner griechische Urkunden</i> (1895–)
BIWK	<i>Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens</i> (Petzl 1994)
Bruns	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui</i> (Bruns and Gradenwitz 1909–1912)
CLMR	<i>Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio</i> (Hyamson 1913)
DGRA	<i>Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities</i> (Smith 1859)
DT	<i>Defixionum Tabellae Quotquot Innotuerunt</i> (Audollent 1904)
DTA	<i>Defixionum Tabellae Atticae</i> (Wünsch 1897)
EDRL	<i>Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law</i> (Berger 1953)
EJ	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> (2nd ed. Skolnik and Berenbaum 2007)
ET	English translation
FIRA	<i>Fontes iuris Romani antejustiniani</i> (Riccobono 1940–1943)
GRA I, II, III	<i>Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary</i> , 3 vols. (Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011; Harland 2014; Kloppenborg 2020)
HALOT	<i>Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Köhler-Baumgartner 1994)
HL	Hittite Laws (ca. 1650–1500 + 1500–1180 BCE) (Roth 1997)
IC I	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae: Opera et Concilio Friderici Halbherr Collectae</i> . Vol. I: <i>Tituli Cretae Mediae Praeter Gortynios</i> (Guarducci 1935)
IC IV	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae: Opera et Consilio Friderici Halbherr Collectae</i> . Vol. IV: <i>Tituli Gortynii</i> (Guarducci 1950)

ID	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . Vol 5 [7] (Roussel and Launey 1937)
IG I ³	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Vol. I: <i>Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis Anno Antiores</i> , 3rd ed. (Lewis, Jeffery, Erxleben, and Hallof 1991–1998)
IG II ²	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Vol. II and III: <i>Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis Anno Posteriores</i> , 2nd ed. (Kirchner 1913–1940)
KAI	<i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , 5th ed. (Donner and Röllig 2002)
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> (1921–1990)
LE	Laws of Eshnunna (ca. 1770 BCE) (Roth 1997)
LH	Laws of Hammurabi (ca. 1750 BCE) (Roth 1997)
Lindos II	<i>Lindos: Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914</i> . Vol. 2: <i>Inscriptions</i> (Blinkenberg 1941)
LL	Laws of Lipit-Ishtar (ca. 1930 BCE) (Roth 1997)
Lox	Laws about Rented Oxen (ca. 1800 BCE) (Roth 1997)
LU	Laws of Ur-Namma (ca. 2100 BCE) (Roth 1997)
LXX	Septuagint (Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible)
MAL	Middle Assyrian Laws (ca. 1076 BCE) (Roth 1997)
MVN	<i>The John Frederick Lewis Collection</i> . Materiali per il vocabolario Neosumerico 3 (Owen 1975)
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Stray 2012)
OR	<i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 478–404 BC</i> (Osborne and Rhodes 2017)
P.Amh.	Amherst papyri (Grenfell and Hunt 1900–1901)
P.Cair.	Cairo papyri (Spiegelberg 1904–1932)
P.Enteux.	Enteuxeis papyri (Guéraud 1931–1932)
P.Hal.	Papyrus Halensis (Dikaiomata) (Graeca Halensis 1913)
P.Lille	Lille papyri (Jouguet et al. 1907–1928; Lesquier 1912)
P.Lond.	London papyri (1893–1974)
P.Ryl.	Rylands papyri (1911–1952)
P.Tebt.	Tebtunis papyri (Grenfell and Hunt, et al. 1902–2005)
Schoell	<i>Legis Duodecim Tabularum Reliquiae</i> (Schoell 1866)
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (1923–)
SGD	“A Survey of Greek Defixiones” (Jordan 1985)
SLEx	Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet (ca. 1800 BCE) (Roth 1997)
SLHF	Sumerian Laws Handbook of Forms (ca. 1700 BCE) (Roth 1997)

For further bibliographical details about papyri, see Oates and Willis “Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets” (<https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>)

For further bibliographical details about Greek and Latin inscriptions, see <https://epigraphy.packhum.org/biblio.html>

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Dynamics of Moral Repair

Homo sapiens is and has always been a social species. We are vulnerable, especially our offspring. Our survival and success have been possible because of advanced forms of communication and cooperation. Neither individual survival from infancy to adulthood, nor the successful growth and spread of our species all over the planet, would have become reality, had it not been for the combined and coordinated efforts of smaller and larger groups.

But *homo sapiens*, just like most social mammals, is also a competitive species. Social relations are never without complications as individuals of all social species position themselves in relation to each other. Chimpanzees, for example, are often dominated by a strong alpha male, who at some point will be ousted out by a coalition of younger candidates.¹ Although human groups sometimes display similar behaviours, they are usually more nuanced, and able to deal in more currencies than physical strength only, even though it plays a role, too. Resources and capital may also be economic, cultural, or cognitive. Competition for status and influence can take a multitude of forms.

With cooperation and competition side by side, conflict is inevitable, whether it concerns bare essentials, surplus, or social honour. At the core lies a difficult balance between individual integrity and social interaction. Interpersonal infringements are almost unavoidable side-effects of human group dynamics. And they need to be managed, or the social fabric will be torn apart. The problem is timeless and keeps recurring in various eras and cultures. The ancient world is worth studying for the purpose since its phenomena and behaviours are at the same time both unfamiliar and recognisable to us “moderns.” Hence, understanding their strategies enhances our awareness.

The present study deals with interpersonal infringements and their repair in the ancient world. More precisely, we compare what we call “dynamics of moral repair” on three points: idea(l)s, practices, and rituals, identifying similarities and differences between Greek and Roman culture, Second Temple Judaism, and the early “Christian” movement.² We compare these cultural

¹ Boehm 1999: 43–63.

² For sake of convenience and in this context, we often use “Christians” to identify Christ-followers and their writings from an early time, although it is hardly justified to distinguish their “culture” from Hellenistic Judaism to begin with.

spheres³ mainly by examining and interpreting texts, but to a certain extent also by studying epigraphy and material remains.

Through our study, we hope to obtain a better understanding of various appreciations of morality, specific reactions to moral infringements, and available strategies for moral repair in the ancient world. However, beyond finding answers to particular issues we also have somewhat broader aims. First, we hope that this study contributes to the ways in which we think about the value systems of different Jewish, Christian, Greek, and Roman cultural ideals and how they often interrelate and overlap considerably. Secondly, we would like to further a deeper understanding of the historical roots of contemporary ideals of forgiveness, reconciliation and justice that still play a significant role in today's world. Thirdly, we wish to advance and develop the use of interdisciplinary methodologies in the study of early Judaism/Christianity and the Greco-Roman world, especially methods associated with cognitive science(s).

As already indicated, our approach is both comparative and interdisciplinary. A comparative approach looks for both universals and particulars. The cognitive sciences suggest that many basic emotional and cognitive tendencies are shared across cultures, while they at the same time affirm the role of cultural formation and constraints. An analysis of the dynamics of moral repair within a combined universal and cultural framework deepens our understanding of social and historical tendencies and trajectories, and better explains both variation and commonality in patterns of moral repair in antiquity.

We use "moral repair" as an umbrella term for strategies of repairing moral relations,⁴ that is, for ideals, practices and rites of forgiveness, reconciliation, punishment, and revenge, including compensatory payments and the reestablishment of social relationships. Although we focus on texts from the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, the time frame for our study cannot be strictly limited to this period, since so many of the tendencies and trajectories we discuss find their roots in or can be traced back to the Hebrew Bible and to Greek literature from the classical and archaic periods. Sources and limitations will be discussed in more detail below (1.6).

Since the gods were always present in the lives of the ancients, interhuman conflicts often, at least in some sense, involved them, too. Any attempt to separate "religious" from "secular" in the ancient world is deeply anachronistic. This makes it necessary at times to discuss the role of divine powers in practices and rituals of repair. The focus, however, is on the repair of interpersonal

³ Again, the expression is used for sake of convenience, although we do not conceive of Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Christians as representing four clearly distinguishable and separate cultural spheres. They are all highly interrelated and overlapping. See further 1.4.2 below.

⁴ The expression is borrowed from Walker 2006.

infringements and we do not engage in any systematic discussion of human-divine infringements and their repair.

1.2 The Present Study's Relation to Previous Research

Monographs on moral repair and reconciliation in antiquity are not as common as one would expect, but some important works on human forgiveness and clemency in the ancient Mediterranean world have been published in the last decades. In the following brief discussion, we limit ourselves to works that focus on interpersonal infringement and repair and leave aside studies that mainly deal with divine response and reconciliation.⁵ The examples that follow are not intended to be comprehensive. Studies that focus on particular cases will not be mentioned here but can be found throughout the volume.

In her monograph *Clemency and Cruelty in the Roman World*, Melissa Barden Dowling explores the increasing popularity of clemency (*clementia*, as well as related vocabulary such as *moderatio*, “moderation” and *indulgentia*, “mildness”) as a political virtue from the Roman Republic to the Roman Empire.⁶ Clemency made people prone to punish mildly: in certain situations it could mean to abstain from punishment altogether and give pardon,⁷ but in other contexts clemency meant a mild punishment rather than a harsh one, for instance exile rather than death.⁸ Barden Dowling shows that the ideal fluctuated in popularity in the first generations of emperors, but eventually was established as an ideal for the powerful. Accepting someone's clemency also meant accepting that person's superiority.

David Konstan has received much attention for his book *Before Forgiveness*,⁹ in which he argues that forgiveness in our sense did not exist in antiquity. The Greeks and Romans had different ways of restoring dignity and honour through compensation and reconciliatory rituals, but this did not include sincere confession and repentance. They rather excused themselves or denied responsibility and blamed higher powers, different circumstances, or internal compulsion. This is partly a matter of definitions: if forgiveness is defined in modern introspective and individualistic terms, it is no wonder that clear examples are missing in antiquity. But Konstan has a point when he argues that forgiveness in the Hebrew Bible, as in the New Testament, is primar-

⁵ Such as the collection on *Divine Wrath and Divine Mercy in the World of Antiquity* (Kratz and Spieckermann 2008).

⁶ Barden Dowling 2006.

⁷ Noun: *venia*; verb: *ignosco*.

⁸ On exile, see further chapter 3.

⁹ Konstan 2010; cf. Griswold & Konstan 2012.

ily about God forgiving human wrongdoing – and it is in this context that confession and repentance have their primary place.¹⁰ Konstan suggests both differences and similarities between Greco-Roman attitudes to moral repair and early Jewish and Christian ideals, and there is certainly a discrepancy between modern and ancient ideals of forgiveness.¹¹

David Lambert similarly maps the development of Jewish repentance in antiquity.¹² He points out how we easily import categories such as interiority, agency, and moral transformation into our readings of ancient texts, biblical in particular. Such categories may fit well with “contemporary, dominant notions of the self and of the relations that obtain between selves,”¹³ but poorly represent the historical and biblical roots of repentance. Fasting, prayer, confession and “turning” (*shuv*; שׁוּב) focus on behaviour and action to prevent disaster, but an understanding of repentance as an inner and individual subjective transformation comes at a fairly late stage and evolves slowly. Although the development begins with Hellenism, it is not necessary to read even the New Testament through a “penitential lens.” Sorrow and regret are not what mostly characterises repentance, even for early Jews and Christians.

In our study we take advantage of the cultural insights of projects such as these by further relating them to research on collectivism, honour and shame, and asymmetrical reciprocity.¹⁴ In a collectivist culture of honour and shame, mercy and forgiveness were usually granted by a superior to an inferior, while being forgiven by an equal meant loss of honour. Such insights are crucial for analysing the dynamics of moral repair also among less hierarchical communities, such as certain groups of early Christ-believers.

In Biblical research, issues of forgiveness and reconciliation have mostly been discussed in relation to other topics, and usually focused on human-divine relationships.¹⁵ This is the also the case with most of the numerous studies on Israelite legal practices and on rites and sacrifices of reconciliation and atonement that are found.¹⁶ Among studies that focus on norms of interpersonal forgiveness, Gordon Zerbe’s *Non-Retaliation in Early Jewish and New Testament Texts* is a valuable though limited resource, mapping biblical traditions on non-

¹⁰ See particularly Konstan 2010: 22–58 and the examples on pp. 59–90.

¹¹ For further discussion of Konstan’s views, see Roitto 2012: 243–245 (also in 2022b: 66–68).

¹² Lambert 2016.

¹³ Lambert 2016: 151.

¹⁴ Cf. Malina 2001³ (although too generalising); Neufeld and DeMaris 2010.

¹⁵ For example the classic study on *Forgiveness and Reconciliation* by Vincent Taylor (1941), or the massive study on *Reward, Punishment, and Forgiveness* by Jože Krašovec (1999). Despite its title, even a work like William Klassen’s *The Forgiving Community* (1966) deals almost entirely with human infringements against divine decrees.

¹⁶ A few examples include Levine 1974; Kiuchi 1987; Janowski 2000; Gilders 2004; Marx 2005; Sklar 2005.

revenge, from Wisdom literature to the New Testament.¹⁷ However, Anthony Bash's *Forgiveness and Christian Ethics*, although fairly comprehensive, is insufficiently researched and unfortunately dominated by a normative and theological agenda that does injustice to the texts of the New Testament.¹⁸

Legal texts usually deal to quite some extent with interpersonal infringements. Some studies of ancient West Asian legal collections and social customs combine legal and social-scientific approaches, for example the works of Bernard Jackson and David Wright.¹⁹ The many writings of Raymond Westbrook also interact with Greek and Roman material.²⁰ Classical scholars working with legal texts on homicide, exile, interpersonal violence, bodily injury, property infringements, and sexual infringements are numerous.²¹ Several examples can be found in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law*.²²

Two recent German works must be mentioned in this context. One is presented as the first volume in a series of handbooks about conflict resolution in Europe, *Konfliktlösung in der Antike*. It has an emphasis on the role of law and institutions for conflict resolution in Greece and Rome but also includes principled issues and wider perspectives.²³ The book is structured as to provide resources for further research. Chapters are divided into two main sections: an overview (Überblick) and a part that outlines and defines core research questions (Kernprobleme der Forschung). Another, much slimmer volume, discusses non-judicial conflict resolution (*Außergerichtliche Konfliktlösung in der Antike*) and takes up exploratory shafts, so to speak, at various geographical locations over several millennia.²⁴

Cognitive science approaches rarely receive any attention in social and historical studies of infringement and repair. Partial exceptions are Gary Anderson's *Sin: A History*²⁵ and Joseph Lam's *Patterns of Sin in the Hebrew Bible*,²⁶ both of which use cognitive linguistics for analysing the embodied concept of

¹⁷ Zerbe 1993.

¹⁸ Bash 2007. This is even more the case with his popularised version (Bash 2011). There are also several studies on moral repair limited to specific early Christian texts but these are seldom informed by social-scientific and psychological research (e.g., Buckley 1991; Constantineanu 2010; Hägerland 2009; Reimer 1996; Vegge 2008; as well as surveys of biblical theology or ethics, such as Burridge 2007; Hays 1996; Matera 1996).

¹⁹ Jackson 1972; 1975; 2006; Wright 2009.

²⁰ Westbrook 2009 is a convenient two-volume collection of Westbrook's articles. Westbrook 2015 contains many articles discussing the relationship between Greek and Roman law and ancient West Asia.

²¹ These issues are addressed especially in chapter 3, where further references can be found.

²² du Plessis, Ando and Tuori 2016.

²³ Grotkamp and Seelentag 2021.

²⁴ Pfeifer and Grotkamp 2017.

²⁵ Anderson 2009.

²⁶ Lam 2016.

sin in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish and Christian texts. As the titles reveal, these studies are also focused on human-divine relationships, but they have nevertheless been helpful to us, especially in developing our understanding of various conceptual frameworks for infringement and repair in chapter 2.

Although behavioural sciences have been used in historical studies for quite some time now, a heuristic use of cognitive sciences by historians of religion is relatively new.²⁷ In Biblical Studies, cognitive science approaches have been used by an increasing number of scholars in recent years. Gerd Theissen has been somewhat of a precursor, with his books on an evolutionary approach to biblical faith and his psychological *Theory of Primitive Christian Religion*.²⁸ The multi-authored volume *Explaining Christian Origins and Early Judaism* from 2007 gives a good picture of cognitive perspectives in biblical studies at the time of publication. Since then, a number of monographs on particular topics, as well as broader outlines of the use of cognitive methods for historical and textual interpretation, as well as for ritual analyses, have been published. A few examples are Thomas Kazen on *Emotions in Biblical Law*, Risto Uro on *Ritual and Christian Beginnings*, Istvan Czachesz on *Cognitive Science and the New Testament*, and Brett Maiden's broad application of cognitive science to ancient Israelite religion.²⁹ Various approaches are exemplified in collections such as *Mind, Morality and Magic*, and *Language, Cognition, and Biblical Exegesis*.³⁰ We have employed such approaches in our own research for more than a decade.³¹ In the last decade or so, classicists have also begun to take interest in similar approaches. *The Routledge Handbook of Classics and Cognitive Theory* offers a broad palette of recent approaches³² and several articles in the *Journal of Cognitive Historiography* deal with antiquity.

In spite of these recent developments, there has not been much focus on particular practices and rituals of moral repair, and rarely from an emotional or psychological point of view. Biblical scholars have so far been reticent to use cognitive sciences to understand the dynamics of moral repair, and scholars of the Greek and Roman world have not yet employed similar methodologies. The present volume is an attempt to remedy this state of affairs.

During the last three decades, cognitive psychology, evolutionary biology (including primatology), neuroscience, game theory, and many other branches of behavioural research, have furthered insights into how humans retaliate and

²⁷ Cf. Whitehouse and Martin 2004.

²⁸ Theissen 1984; 1987; 1999.

²⁹ Kazen 2011a; Uro 2016; Czachesz 2017; Maiden 2020. Other examples include DeMaris 2008; Shantz 2009; Roitto 2011; Alderman 2020.

³⁰ Czachesz and Uro 2013; Nikolsky et al. 2019.

³¹ For example, Kazen 2011a; 2011b; 2012; 2013b; 2014; 2015; 2017; 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2019; 2021b; 2021c; 2021d; 2022; Roitto 2012; 2013a; 2013b; 2014; 2015; 2016a; 2016b; 2017; 2018a; 2018b; 2019a; 2019b; 2021; 2022a; 2022b; 2022c.

³² Meineck, Short and Devereaux 2019.

reconcile. A couple of interesting examples include Michael McCullough's research overview in *Beyond Revenge*³³ and Frans de Waal's many studies on chimpanzees and other primates and social species with highly developed emotional capacities.³⁴

We are influenced by this kind of research and have for some time now been using insights from these and similar fields in interdisciplinary ways, for studying questions of emotion, ritual, conflict resolution, and group dynamics in ancient texts. We have also previously employed comparative approaches for various case studies related to the topic of this study, including analyses of ideals and practices of non-retaliation and moral repair in the Jesus tradition as well as in early Christian communities. Some of these shorter studies are now collected and published in three supplements to this volume (*Moral Infringement and Repair in Antiquity*).³⁵

In the present volume we draw on all of these resources, including our own previous research, to offer a comparative overview of ideas, practices, and rituals of moral repair in Greek, Roman, Early Jewish, and Early Christian cultures and contexts. Although some approaches and themes may be recognised from earlier publications, we attempt to not repeat ourselves. We also focus more on classical texts and history than on biblical material.

1.3 Definitions and Strategies

To speak meaningfully of moral repair, we must first discuss the concept of morality. Morality can be defined descriptively or normatively, and needless to say our approach here is descriptive. Moral issues are often identified intuitively, but as soon as we scratch the surface, definitions of morality become highly complicated. Morality is usually understood as having to do with human conduct and hence also with human ideas about conduct, that is, not only with our behaviour, but also with our ideas of how to behave. This does not mean that all human behaviour falls under the definition of morality. It is quite common to think of morality as closely associated with notions of fairness and justice, altruism, and empathy. These are important factors, but even though morality aims to “suppress or regulate self-interest and make cooperative societies

³³ McCullough 2008; cf. McCullough, Pargament, and Thoresen 2000; Worthington 2005.

³⁴ de Waal 1982; 1989; 1996; 2006; 2009; cf. Aureli and de Waal 2000.

³⁵ Kazen 2022; Roitto 2022a; 2022b.

possible,”³⁶ it is not limited to aspects of justice and equality but must be considered in broader perspective.³⁷

The moral behaviour we deal with in this study is mainly limited to inter-human conduct. However, in a world where divine and other spiritual agents were considered just as real as humans, moral conduct would be a relevant concern for any interpersonal interaction, not only between human beings but also between human beings and divine agents. Moreover, in the ancient world, inter-human interaction was often understood to have repercussions and consequences for the relationship between human beings and the gods.

This means that the “morality” aspect in moral repair is focused on, but not limited to, interpersonal dynamics intent on social cooperation, and that the “interpersonal” aspect is focused on, but not wholly limited to inter-human interactions.

1.3.1 Morality and Evolution

From an evolutionary point of view, morality is today usually understood as an adaptation, although in the past it was often regarded as a by-product. Darwin saw morality as evolving from primary emotions of pleasure and pain, through sympathy and love, until it reached a climax in the golden rule. Although there is something simplistic and idealist about such a view, Darwin understood morality as based on social instincts and modified by community opinions.³⁸ This in effect equals a cultural construct built on, or interacting with, a biological basis and fits ill with certain “Darwinian” views that came to regard morality as a cultural product in constant opposition to nature and natural selection.³⁹

In contemporary evolutionary research, morality is usually seen as an adaptive trait. Morality evolved because it supported the survival of the human species. Our species originally lived in small bands of a few individuals. Hunting-gathering bands with twenty to a hundred people have existed in one form or another for perhaps two million years (possibly *australopithecus*, probably *homo erectus*), and at least for several hundred thousand years, including campsite settlements (neanderthals and *homo sapiens*).⁴⁰ It is a much-discussed issue to what extent we can draw conclusions about human prehistory from surviving hunter-gatherer societies today.⁴¹ There is enough archaeological evidence, however, to suggest that our early ancestors developed advanced forms

³⁶ Haidt 2012: 270.

³⁷ As for example in Jonathan Haidt’s developed moral foundations theory, see further Haidt 2012: 112–186.

³⁸ Darwin 1989 [1877; 1st ed. 1874]: 101–131 [97–127].

³⁹ Cf. de Waal 2006: 7–12.

⁴⁰ Soffer 2000; For a discussion of group size in relation to neocortex volume, see Dunbar 2001; 2009.

⁴¹ Cf. Lane 2014 on the development of “ethnoarchaeology.”

of cooperation for hunting and meat distribution. The unique evolution of *homo sapiens*, with its large brains and increased cognitive capacities, is closely linked to high-grade protein consumption, and thereby to cooperation, prosocial behaviour, and altruistic traits – all needed for a socially complex species with a highly vulnerable and slowly-developing offspring to survive.⁴²

The human tendency towards cooperation and prosocial behaviour has been denied its adaptive value by social Darwinism and other misrepresentations of evolutionary theory. To make things worse, the selfish gene metaphor has mistakenly been conflated with social Darwinism and thus widely misused at levels where it is not applicable, as evidence for human self-interest and for altruism being nothing but disguised forms of selfishness.⁴³ The last two decades, however, have seen research in a number of adjacent fields, which has definitely rebutted some of those vulgar simplifications. Human tendencies towards altruism, sharing, and cooperative behaviour find their ultimate, evolutionary explanation in natural selection, in the sense that they contribute to survival. Narrow explanations based solely on concepts such as kin altruism and inclusive fitness are today being problematised and supplemented by notions of multilevel and group selection.⁴⁴ In simple words, this means that human beings are a group-living species, for which group identity and in-group solidarity are crucial, and not restricted to an individual's genetic relationships.

As already indicated, morality is not only about prosocial behaviour, even though it is basically about social conduct. There are biological and evolutionary underpinnings for a strong communal ethos that is still visible in modern societies. In spite of all that is said about individualism, we still do not like free riders, we punish cheaters, and those who go beyond what is deemed as acceptable variation are shamed. We are fairly altruistic, at least towards ingroup. Towards outgroup, however, we can be all the more cruel, and towards enemies and competitors we can be violent and revengeful. Such behaviours are adaptive survival strategies too, since defencelessness means extinction, unless one is surrounded by complete altruists.⁴⁵ The human genetic prosocial disposition to care for the weak and the young, and to cooperate in hunt and meat sharing, facilitates war against outgroup enemies, but it also pulls towards altruistic behaviour to ingroup members. Under the right circumstances, prosociality be-

⁴² Burini and Leonard 2018.

⁴³ Cf. Trivers 1971. For Richard Dawkin's selfish gene metaphor, see Dawkins 1976. For Herbert Spencer's "survival of the fittest," see Spencer 1864: 444–445. For a modern intellectual history of altruism, see Dugatkin 2006.

⁴⁴ Bowles and Gintis 2011, especially 46–78; Wilson 2012. For further discussion of altruism, see Kazen 2017 (also in Kazen 2022: 9–35). For a recent defence of altruism, emphasizing action over intention, thoughts, and feelings, see Wilson 2015.

⁴⁵ Bowles and Gintis 2011: 19–45.

yond group borders can be adaptive by forging new valuable alliances and relations.⁴⁶ As a result, violent retribution and group-oriented altruism coexist in tension with each other, or perhaps, in a delicate strategic balance, which takes different forms depending on context.⁴⁷

Some of these issues will be further elaborated on later, since a basic evolutionary paradigm informs our analyses of the historical material we study. In particular we will find many examples of how societies attempt to balance between ruthless revenge and more controlled behaviours intent on restoring mutual cooperation and trust.

1.3.2 Morality, Culture, and Convention

As a social and cultural construct, morality is an elusive concept. It is not self-evident which types of inter-human conduct that actually fall under the definition of morality. Anthropological and cross-cultural research has demonstrated the highly contextual nature of morality. It operates within a flexible framework that varies according to times and cultures. There are no fixed global borders between morality and convention. Even when morality is understood as referring to issues crucial for the welfare of others and/or of society at large, behaviours that some cultures regard as amoral conventions are seen by others as crucial for the stability and survival of societies and individuals.⁴⁸ For a modern Westerner, the line between morality and convention might seem natural, but cultural anthropologists have shown that many other cultures do not draw the line in the same way or do not even make that distinction. Depending on a culture's ideology and worldview, certain social practices can be understood to have just as much to do with morality as more obvious examples of inter-human conduct do. Our differentiation between moral and non-moral events is sometimes arbitrary and always contextual.⁴⁹

Some anthropologists conceptualise morality as relating to three clusters or domains: ethics of autonomy, community, and divinity. Westerners often place their emphasis on the first two, and perhaps not so much on the duty and hierarchy aspects of community. Some other cultures consider hierarchical aspects much more important for morality and regard an "ethics of divinity," structured around concepts such as order and purity, as an intrinsic part of morality.⁵⁰

Already in antiquity, societies had grown vastly more complex than those of our prehistoric hunter-gatherer predecessors. As human beings invented agriculture and developed a more sedentary lifestyle around the dawn of historic times, societies grew in numbers into chiefdoms and states, and were more

⁴⁶ Roitto 2016b.

⁴⁷ Regarding strategic balance, see section 1.5.1 on game theory.

⁴⁸ Cf. Shweder, Mahapatra and Miller 1987; Wilson 2004: 1–16.

⁴⁹ For further discussions, see Kazen 2011a: 20–23.

⁵⁰ Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, and Park 1987.

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