



*The Reversal of Roles as the Reasoning for Remaining Christian
in the Face of Hardship in the First Epistle of Peter.*

By

Pierre Francois Steenberg

*Submitted as Fulfilment of the Requirements
of the Degree*

Philosophiae Doctor

*In the
Faculty of Theology
Department New Testament
of the*

University of Pretoria

Promoter: Prof Dr. J.G. van der Watt

Pretoria

December 2000



To my wife, Karlien and my parents for their

*unconditional love
and
unlimited support.*



Table of Contents

<i>Summary</i>	6
<i>i Introduction</i>	8
<i>i.i Survey of Academic Work on First Peter</i>	
<i>i.ii Survey of this Dissertation</i>	
<i>i.iii Problem Statement</i>	
<i>i.iv Methodology</i>	
<i>i.v Hypothesis</i>	
<i>PART I</i>	19
<i>Introductory Discussions</i>	
<i>Problems Facing the Believers</i>	
<i>Chapter 1. Introductory discussions</i>	20
1.1 <i>The Occasion of the Letter</i>	
1.2 <i>The Setting</i>	
1.3 <i>Urban Readers</i>	
1.4 <i>The Addressees</i>	
1.5 <i>The Date of the Letter</i>	
1.6 <i>The Authorship of the Letter</i>	
1.7 <i>Unity</i>	
1.8 <i>Genre and Theme</i>	
1.9 <i>Purpose</i>	



Chapter 2.	<i>The Problem of Suffering</i>	74
2.1	<i>The Source and Form of Suffering</i>	
2.2	<i>Pliny's Letter</i>	
2.3	<i>Problem One: The Problem of Clashing Symbolic Universes</i>	
2.4	<i>Problem Two: The Exclusivism of Christians</i>	
Chapter 3.	<i>The Effects of Roman Rule on Christianity</i>	103
3.1	<i>Understanding the Roman System of Government</i>	
3.2	<i>Understanding the Functioning of Roman Society</i>	
3.3	<i>The Negative Effect of Roman Rule on Christianity and its Identity</i>	
3.3.1	<i>Problem One: Christianity a Solace for Lower Society</i>	
3.3.2	<i>Problem Two: The Christian Acknowledgement of a Higher Power than the Emperor</i>	
3.3.3	<i>Problem Three: The View of Christians that all Things are Coming to an End</i>	
3.3.4	<i>Problem Four: Christian Contact with Rome Seems to be Mostly Negative</i>	
3.3.5	<i>Problem Five: The Perception of Christians as Radicals</i>	
3.3.6	<i>Problem Six: The Similarity Between Christians and Other Mostly Unpopular Groups</i>	
3.3.6.1	<i>The Similarity Between Christians and Resident Jews</i>	
3.3.6.2	<i>The Similarity Between Christians and Travelling Teacher-Philosophers</i>	
3.3.6.3	<i>The Similarity Between Christians and Magical Practitioners as well as their Followers</i>	
3.3.6.4	<i>The Similarity Between Christians and the Greek City Cults</i>	



3-3.6.5 *The Similarity / Difference Between Christians and the Emperor Cult*

3-3.6.6 *The Similarity Between Christian and Hellenistic Mysteries*

3-3.7 *Problem Seven: The Despising of the Upper Classes by the Christian Constituency*

3-3.8 *Problem Eight: Christian Solidarity*

3-3.9 *Problem Nine: The Formal Church Organization*

Chapter 4. *Understanding the Honour and Shame Dynamic and its Negative Effect on Peter's Readers* 149

4.1 *Understanding the Honour and Shame Dynamic*

4.2 *Understanding the Honour and Shame Contest*

4.3 *The Negative Effect of the Honour and Shame Dynamic on Peter's Readers*

Chapter 5. *Christianity and Problems within the Household Code* 161

5.1 *Problem One: Christianity Caused Slaves to Challenge their Masters*

5.2 *Problem Two: Christianity Caused Discord in the Household*

5.3 *Problem Three: Christians Possibly Lost their Inheritance*

5.4 *Problem Four: Christians Voluntarily Relinquished their Honour*



PART II 171

Developing the Solution: The Reversal of Roles as Reasoning for Remaining Christian in the Face of Hardship in the First Epistle of Peter

Chapter 6. The Reversal of Roles as the Solution to the Suffering Problem 172

6.1 *Changing the Believer's Symbolic Universe*

6.2 *Changing the Believer's Role Model*

Chapter 7. The Reversal of Roles as the Solution to the Believer's Alienness 208

7.1 *Changing the Believer's Identity and Value*

7.2 *Changing the Believer's Community*

7.2.1 *Providing the New Community with an Eschatological Perspective*

7.2.2 *Providing the New Community with Structure*

7.2.3 *Providing the New Community with Cohesion*

7.2.4 *Providing the New Community with a Calling, Viz. ἐκλεκτοῖς*

7.2.5 *Providing the New Community with Purpose, Viz. Discipleship*

7.2.6 *Providing the New Community with Ties to God Through Holiness*

7.2.7 *Providing the New Community with a New Allegiance*

7.2.8 *Providing the New Community with Behavioural Directions*

7.2.8.1 *Living Like a Spiritual Sacrifice*

7.2.8.2 *Girding Up the Loins*

7.2.9 *Providing the New Community with Attitudinal Directions*

7.2.9.1 *The Attitude of Receiving Grace - χάρις*

7.2.9.2 *The Attitude of Hope - ἐλπίς*

7.2.9.3 *The Attitude of Eternity Versus Temporality*



7.3 *Changing the Believer's Status*

Chapter 8. *The Reversal of Roles as the Solution to Macro and
Micro Cosmic Problems* 260

8.1 *Recommendation to the Households*

8.1.1 *Advice on Internal Household Attitudes*

8.1.2 *Advice to Slaves*

8.1.3 *Advice to the Wives*

8.1.4 *Advice to Children*

8.1.5 *Advice on other Relationships*

8.1.6 *Advice on Dealing with Human Institutions*

8.2 *The Similarity Between the Household and Christ*

8.3 *The Building of a Spiritual House*

8.4 *The Reversal of Image Between Believers and Society on a Macro Level*

8.5 *God Versus Society*

Chapter 9. *Conclusionary Remarks* 308

9.1 *Conclusion*

Chapter 10. *Bibliography* 315



Summary

*In this dissertation, *The Reversal of Roles as the Reasoning for Remaining Christian in the Face of Hardship in the First Epistle of Peter*, the rhetorical motivation which the author of first Peter uses to persuade the believers to remain Christian in the face of hardship is examined. Introductory discussions set the table for meaningful discourse to follow. It is then shown that the original readers of the first epistle of Peter faced both societal and governmental hardship, merely for being Christian. Values such as honour and shame were used by society as leverage to pressurize believers into apostasy. Such hardships, inter alia provided ample reason to forsake their new found faith. The Roman system of governance further hampered the Christian cause as their paradigms seem to be opposite.*

The author of the book makes use of, inter alia the reversal of roles as his reasoning and persuasion to remain Christian regardless of the hardships faced. Employing certain reversals the author changes the believer's symbolic universe and role model. Jesus is presented as their new role model. Peter seems to suggest that what happened to Jesus will also happen to believers. Hence, condemnation and shame will reverse with vindication and glorification. Amongst others, these thoughts are used to change the believer's identity and community with different attributes than the old community that they reverse places with, viz. Society. Their perspective on life is modified to become eschatological. Not only are attitudes attempted to be amended by the author but also their behaviour. These changes are brought into effect on both macro and micro levels as Peter endeavours to make his influence penetrate into their very households.

The end result is that the whole picture of their situation is changes to such an extent that, in their minds, society has no real authority to grant true honour in the first place. God, on the other hand, has the authority to do so, and uses it to bestow genuine honour on the



believers and shame on the non-believers resulting in a reversal. In a similar way society and Christians exchange places on many different planes through reversals engineered by the author of first Peter.

The culmination of such reversals transpire at the parousia where society takes the place they created for the Christians, viz. condemnation, whilst the Christians are vindicated and saved. Thus the reversal of roles is primarily the reasoning for remaining Christian in the face of hardship in the first epistle of Peter.

i. Introduction

The first epistle of Peter has to a certain extent been relatively academically neglected. This probably motivated Elliott to call this book of Peter' an "exegetical step-child".² Yet, the book is rich in theological reasoning³ and has much to offer the academic world. In order to be placed in the wider academic scope of what has been studied in first Peter the following survey⁴ is supplied:

i.i Survey of Academic Work on First Peter

As can be expected there have been the usual commentary⁵ and introductory studies on first Peter. Furthermore, thematic studies have also been published. Such studies may, inter alia, be categorised as follows:

¹ *This does not presuppose in any way that Peter is the author of the book that carries his name. For the purpose of reference this dissertation calls the author "Peter". The subject of authorship will be discussed at a later stage.*

² *Elliott (1976).*

³ *Peter attempts to persuade Christians to remain Christian in the face of hardship by means of, inter alia rhetoric. As such, first Peter argues theologically and presents as his solution to the suffering problem, inter alia, the reversal of certain roles. The notion that first Peter's argument is theological is supported by Perkins (1995:17).*

⁴ *This survey is by no means a comprehensive one. It will discuss some of the works on first Peter over the last ten years. The idea is to supply only an overview.*

⁵ *Examples of such commentaries are Michaels (1988); Marshall (1997); Achtemeier (1996); Best (1971).*



- a. *Wives and husbands.*⁶
- b. *The use of the Old Testament in Peter.*⁷
- c. *Ethics in Peter.*⁸
- d. *Holiness of life / priesthood.*⁹

⁶ *Studies on this theme have been published, amongst others, the following: Wives like Sarah, and the husband who honor (sic) them: 1 (sic) Peter 3:1-7 (Grudem 1991); Are the wives of 1 (sic) Peter 3:7 Christian? (Gross 1989); The co-elect woman of 1 (sic) Peter (Applegate 1992); Peter's instructions to husband in 1 (sic) Peter 3:7 (Slaughter 1994); Instructions to Christian wives in 1 (sic) Peter 3:1-6 (Slaughter 1996). As can be seen from these publications these themes seem to be rather limited to either a specific section of the book, for example, first Peter 3:1-7 or a very narrow theme.*

⁷ *It seems evident that Peter uses the Old Testament extensively in his book. Publications that discuss this occurrence are, inter alia: The use of the Old Testament for Christian ethics in 1 (sic) Peter (Green 1990); The Israelite imagery of 1 (sic) Peter 2 (Glenny 1992); First century Bible study: Old Testament motifs in 1 (sic) Peter 2:4-10 (France 1998). Another study that might be of interest is Warden (1989).*

⁸ *It is acknowledged that not much seems to have been said on ethics in Peter. This is probably due to the fact the studies on holiness and Christian life touch on this subject too. Since these two topics are more visible in Peter they seem to be studied more than the subject of ethics. To consult a publication on ethics in Peter see Green (1990).*

⁹ *As mentioned in the previous footnote, this topic is studied more frequently than that of ethics in first Peter. The following will suffice as examples: Holiness of life as a way of Christian witness (O'Connor 1991); The message of 1 (sic) Peter: The way of the Cross (Clowney 1992); The Priesthood of all believers: 1 (sic) Peter 2:1-10 (Schweizer 1992); The common priesthood ... (Seland 1995).*



- e. *Aliens and strangers.*¹⁰
- f. *Persecution / suffering.*¹¹
- g. *Peter in the light of the other writings.*¹²
- h. *Eschatology.*¹³
- i. *The household code.*¹⁴
- j. *Metaphors / rhetoric.*¹⁵
- k. *Church and culture.*¹⁶

¹⁰ Refer to: *A heavenly home for the homeless: Aliens and strangers in 1 (sic) Peter* (Chin 1991); *To all those scattered throughout ...* (Marill 1998).

¹¹ This topic has been hotly contested between those who believe that the suffering / persecution was societal and those who believe that it was official. Some publications that deal with this and other aspects of suffering / persecution are, amongst others: *Imperial persecution and the dating of 1 (sic) Peter and Revelation* (Warden 1991); *Suffering servant and suffering Christ in 1 (sic) Peter* (Achtemeier 1993); *Abundant living in a hostile world* (Grenz 1997).

¹² Examples of such studies are: *1 (sic) Peter 3:6b in the light of Philo and Jesus* (Sly 1991); *The common priesthood of Philo and 1 (sic) Peter ...* (Seland 1995).

¹³ Martin, Troy (1992); *The eschatology of 1 (sic) Peter* (Parker 1994).

¹⁴ This appears to be one topic that has enjoyed the attention of the academic world. Peruse the following: *Non-retaliation and the haustafeln in 1 (sic) Peter* (Schertz 1992); *Order in the "house" of God : the haustafel in 1 (sic) Peter 2:11-3:12* (Krentz 1998).

¹⁵ One of the books on this topic that made some impact is: *Metaphor and composition in 1 (sic) Peter* (Martin, Troy 1993). Also see *The rhetoric of 1 (sic) Peter* (Thomson 1994); (Snyder 1995); (Slaughter 1995).

¹⁶ Miroslav (1994); Rowan (1996).



1. *The gospel in Peter.*¹⁷

Generally speaking it appears as though most of these studies are either limited to a specific section of the book or limited to that topic in the book. It seems as if there are very few publications which study a topic that is applied to all the other topics in the book. Furthermore, these studies seem to deal with literary, theological and topical arguments on all kinds of issues but do not seem to answer the questions why and how to remain Christian. For example, the topic of holiness are discussed but one does not seem to find logic for why Christians have to be holy in the first place. Similarly the how question seems to be untouched. It would appear as if there are certain voids when it comes to the study of first Peter.

As shall be discovered in this dissertation the readers of first Peter were facing numerous serious problems.¹⁸ Although scholars have looked at various themes within first Peter there seems to be a void. Firstly, it appears as if there are not many publications dedicated to pin point the exact problems facing Christians. Secondly, and probably because the problems have not been adequately defined, one does not find many scholars presenting a tangible, practical solution to such problems. The interesting part is that this part of history written about and referring to first Peter seems to repeat itself in history.¹⁹ One can also not preclude possible

¹⁷ Elliott (1995).

¹⁸ *The whole first part of this dissertation is devoted in outlining and sketching these problems faced by Christians. In short, (since it is dealt with later) they suffered socially, politically and physically. Furthermore, they even had problems within their households due to their new found faith.*

¹⁹ *Examples of such repetitions could possibly include: the persecution of the dark ages and religious persecution in the previous communist block, where Christians were socially,*

future religious persecutions. This implies that Christians faced similar problems than the readers of first Peter in the past. Furthermore, it is also possible that Christians might once again face similar problems in the future. The question is, how did Christians face and deal with similar suffering since Peter's day? The more important question to ask is how Christians are going to deal with such issues should they arise in future? Many studies on Peter bring with them new revelations and wonderful thoughts, but are they practically helping Christians who face hardship? This dissertation attempts to fill that apparent void. Examine some past studies on first Peter:

In the nineteen-sixties certain articles appeared dealing with first Peter as a paschal liturgy, others on baptism and Christian expectation.²⁰ Similarly, church order and ministry in first

politically and physically persecuted for their faith.

²⁰ *Refer to the articles of Thornton (1961); de Ru (1966) and Parnham (1969). Also look at Robinson who attempts to define baptism (1975). Please note, that this dissertation is in no way downgrading such studies. They are all filling certain voids and answering certain unanswered questions. But to a large extent these questions and answers seem to be those of the academic world, for example: Snyder's "Participles and Imperatives in First Peter" (1995); Whitcomb's "Contemporary Apologetics .." (1977); Rodger's "The Longer Reading of 1 (sic) Peter 4:14" (1981); Cahill's "Hermeneutical Implications of Typology" (1982); Hill's article on liturgical formulas and paraenesis in first Peter (1982); Johnson's article on imagery from Malachi three in Peter's theology (1986); Janse van Rensburg's "Use of Intersentence Relational Particles and Asyndeton in First Peter" (1990). The Christian with no academic background in theology or religion is hardly benefitting in a practical way. This dissertation attempts to study the problems in first Peter with a view of defining them (since they are possibly the same problems that modern and future Christians might face) and also to provide answers and to assist in order that they may not only cope with such problems, but that they*

Peter came up for study in 1970.²¹ Polan worked toward practical advice in his article "Marriage in the Lord: A Significant Mode of Christian Presence", but still the address of this dissertation seems to be missing.²² Also offering advice to Christians is the study of Piper on Christian behaviour in first Peter.²³ Yet, it is felt that the problems facing Peter's readers and the solution to those problems seem to be largely missing in the arsenal of academic battery. This is an attempt to fill that void, to define and deal with such problems, and moreover, to provide Peter's reasoning for remaining Christian in the face of such problems.

i.ii Survey of this Dissertation

This is the reason why this dissertation is firstly concerned with a topic that deals with the why and how question. The original readers of first Peter suffered hardship due to their acceptance of the Christian faith (1:6; 2:20; 3:14,17; 4:16,19).²⁴ They were socially ostracised

may also be encouraged and assisted to remain Christian when such problems do arise. In conclusion then, there seems to be a need that current studies have not met. This dissertation is endeavouring to meet that need which is perceived as a need of the lay-people suffering and asking the question repeatedly, why they should remain Christian. It seems certain that church growth figures across the secular world would suggest that this question is asked. It is granted that this is also an academic study, but it is hoped that it will be an inspiration to future non-academic work with the same purpose.

²¹ Elliott (1970).

²² Polan (1979).

²³ Piper (1980).

²⁴ Please take note that references made to Bible verses without the mention of the book, throughout this dissertation, automatically refers to first Peter, for example 1:1

and were forced to abandon many social privileges. They had many reasons for relinquishing their faith as will be argued later. Peter was faced with the daunting task of persuading the believers to remain firm in their faith, as will be argued. He does this by answering the “why” question - why to remain Christian in the face of hardship. But Peter also deals with the “how” question very practically. Most studies seem to deal with “what” issues. Secondly, this dissertation deals with a topic that is applied to the whole book dealing with most aspects thereof.

The quest of this study is then to investigate how Peter went about this task. It is the postulation of this dissertation that he did this by reversing certain roles and presenting that as the reasoning for remaining Christian in the face of hardship - thus answering the “why” question. Firstly, their hardship is defined, amongst others, regarding:

- a. The type of suffering they were enduring and the source thereof.*
- b. The negative effect of Roman rule on Christianity.*
- c. The negative application of the honour and shame dynamic against Christians.*
- d. The household code.*

Secondly, since these problems are defined, Peter’s answers to such problems are discussed which is the reversal of roles which , inter alia, is achieved by:

- a. The placement of a new symbolic universe.*
- b. The placement of a new role model.*
- c. The creation of a new group.*
- d. The creation of a new group identity and value.*
- e. Recommendations to the households.*

automatically refers to first Peter 1:1.

The way in which Peter reverses these roles also supplies practical solutions to the “how” problem. The author shows them how they should go about remaining Christian, by providing them with structure, cohesion, a calling and purpose. He also does this by changing certain attitudes like eternity versus temporality. This is also done by the reversal of roles. The reversal of roles not only gives hope in a seemingly hopeless situation, nor does it only legitimate their existence as a group, but it also supplies glorious reasons for remaining Christian, and reasons for growing to be even better Christians.

i.iii Problem Statement

It seems in order to present theoretical reasons and hypotheses when it comes to the question of why people should remain Christian. Such arguments tend to lose their meaning in the face of practical life issues such as suffering. It is a valid question to ask why people should remain Christian when it does not seem advantageous. Sometimes the more important question, however, is to ask how to remain Christian when most things seem to be an obstacle, and when the Christian life becomes difficult. These are the two basic questions of investigation in this dissertation, viz. why and how to remain Christian in a world that is unfriendly towards Christians.

The author of first Peter does not only provide theoretical and hypothetical arguments, but suggests practical solutions of action and encouragement. This will be discovered by looking at the reversal of roles as Peter’s reasoning for remaining Christian.

There are two parts in this dissertation. Part one has to do with the problems facing the readers. Part two deals with Peter’s solution to these problems. In Part one the following will be dealt with:



- a. *Introductory issues in order to place the reader in the correct setting.*
- b. *The problem of suffering.*
- c. *The negative effects of Roman rule on Christianity.*
- d. *The honour and shame dynamic.*
- e. *Problems facing Christians within the household code.*

In part two the solutions of the above mentioned problems are dealt with as follows:

- a. *The reversal of roles as the solution to the suffering problem.*
- b. *The reversal of roles as the solution to the believer's alienness.*
- c. *The reversal of roles as the solution to macro and micro cosmic problems.*

Although possible solutions will already be evident during the preliminary discussions the actual solutions will be developed in chapters six through to the end.

i.iv Methodology

The method followed in researching introductory issues, such as presented in the first chapter of this dissertation, is basically the standard method for dealing with introductory material. Certain criticisms²⁵, external factors²⁶ and internal factors²⁷ are used in an attempt to answer

²⁵ *Examples of such criticisms are literary and social scientific criticism. For further information as to these and other criticisms study the historical critical methodologies.*

²⁶ *External factors may include themes that are not specifically mentioned in the first epistle of Peter but which are relevant to the understanding or introduction thereof. An examples could be Peter's linguistic ability.*

²⁷ *Internal factors are factors occurring within the book itself and could include*

introductory questions.

In ascertaining the problems facing the believers the first epistle of Peter is read through a filter which filters out most information retaining mostly information about these problems. Such problems are then researched both from within the book and externally. From within the book it is attempted to link certain themes, to study certain vocabulary and to examine social data relating to the problem being studied. Externally, other material revealing information about the same topic in a similar setting is researched. It is then endeavoured to syncretize all finding of the given problems. Finally, the conclusion about the problem is tested against the text and situations in the book.

Part two of this dissertation follows a similar method as described above. The filter used this time, however, retains information about possible solutions to the problems sketched in part one. This data is then examined to observe whether there are any common threads. It appears as if Peter's answers display remarkable threads throughout the book. Although he provides different solutions there are many reversals in these solutions. A hypothesis is then formulated on the basis of the many appearances of reversals being part of Peter's solutions. The first epistle of Peter is then read through yet another filter, viz. the filter of reversals.

These reversals are then examined both externally and, but mostly internally (textually). The examination indicates the hypothesis which is then tested by applying it to the situation mentioned in the book.

theology, the composition of the household code, etc.

i.v Hypothesis

It seems apparent that the audience of first Peter faced many problems. It also seems evident that Peter was, inter alia, addressing these problems in his first epistle. Therefore, he makes use of, inter alia rhetoric to provide solutions for them. Rhetorically he seems to be providing basically two categories of advice. Firstly, advice which changes their thinking to help them see things differently. Secondly, behavioural advice that changes both their conduct, and addresses their needs.²⁸

Both categories seem to be employing reversals as either the motivation for, or the act by which such advice is put in place. These reversals thus serve the role to point out that their affliction will be reversed with fortune. They also serve the purpose to change their behaviour so that reversals could eventuate.

It is therefore the hypothesis of this dissertation that the author of first Peter uses the reversal of roles as the reasoning and method for remaining Christian in the face of hardship.

²⁸ *Some of their needs are, for example, met by Peter's advice that the church becomes their new community.*



Part I

Introductory Discussions
and
Problems Facing the Believers



Chapter 1. *Introductory Discussions*

The introductory discussions with regard to authorship, date, etc., are by no means an exhaustive study. Due to the commonality of such discussions and questions this chapter is not going to examine every aspect of introductory subject matter. Such subject matter can be researched using the relevant introductions and commentaries. It is not the focus of this dissertation to fully discuss these issues but the purpose of the introductory discussions are rather:

- a. To position the reader of this dissertation in an acceptable setting.*
- b. To provide background information that is needed for the understanding of the content and setting.*
- c. To provide alternatives from which readers can make up their own minds.*
- d. To examine whether or not these issues influence the topics under discussion and if so, how.*

1.1 The Occasion of the Letter

If a newspaper publishes an article in which it warns women of the crime levels in South Africa in the year two thousand it is automatically assumed by the readers that the article refers to crimes such as rape, smash and grab, hi-jackings, etc. If however, the article is read a hundred years later by some archeologist who lives in a peaceful society he would hardly be able to be specific as to the nature of the assumed crime. In fact, readers who do not have the same society in common might possibly not even know what is meant by "smash and grab" and it would have to be explained that it referred to supposed beggars who smash the windows of cars to grab a handbag on the passenger seat of the vehicle. Similarly, it is very important for this study to fill readers in on the setting of the book so that they would know

what “smash and grab”, for example, means. Therefore, the occasion of the letter is presented to help the reader understand the problems and solutions that are going to be presented later on.

In first Peter 1:1 we read:

Πέτρος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις
διασπορᾶς Πόντου, Γαλατίας, Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας,

*“Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the exiles of the dispersion in Pontus,
Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,”(Revised Standard Version)*

In this text we read that the letter is addressed to the “exiles of the dispersion”. There seems to be a debate as to the reference of the term “διασπορᾶς”. The difficulty is caused by the nature of the genitive (without an article). It may be partitive in reference to Jews or conversely exegetical or qualitatively pointing to all Christians. If not seen in a tautological manner and taken together “παρεπιδήμοις”, could well refer to the land in which the recipients are strangers while the latter “διασπορᾶς” might point to the land (heaven) which is their genuine home in contrast to the mentioned provinces. Arichea takes the meaning to be referring to primarily the gentile Christians.²⁹ This assumption is based on the description of the addressees as “living in a worthless manner” (1:18)³⁰, former ignorance of God (1:14) and

²⁹ Arichea (1980:1).

³⁰ It would seem, as Warden (1986:34) suggests, that the reference to “your foolish behaviour delivered by fathers” (Young’s Literal Translation) should be associated with passages like 2:10 which deals with the background of Peter’s readers.

according to Arichea persons not knowing God's mercy (2:10).³¹ The deduction is thus made that these attributes refer to gentile Christians. On the other hand, Arichea himself states that Peter was a "missionary primarily to Jewish Christians",³² which he then substantiates with Gal 2:7-9. But conversely to the attributes that Arichea mentions, 2:9 describes the addressees as a "chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people ..." (Revised Standard Version). The latter description could hardly be applicable to gentile Christians.

Due to the apparent contradiction the question should be asked whether these attributes should be taken figuratively (emblematically) or literally. In reference to Peter's salutation it is not clear whether the dispersion away from the homeland is understood in a physical or a spiritual sense.³³ Literally speaking the terms "διασπορᾶς, διασπορά, διασπορῆ" is used in the LXX³⁴ referring to the dispersion of the Jews among the Gentiles.³⁵ But these terms could also refer to the place in which the dispersed are found.³⁶ Figuratively speaking the meaning may have referred to Christians who live in dispersion in this world opposed to their heavenly home

³¹ Arichea (1980:1)

³² Arichea (1980:2).

³³ Perkins (1985:776-778).

³⁴ Peter makes extensive use of the Old Testament (specifically the LXX). Peter uses explicit and implicit quotations of the Old Testament (1:16, 24-25; 2:6-8; 3:10-12; 4:8, 18; 5:5)(Schutter 1989:35-37). According to Schutter Peter makes use of the Old Testament approximately 46 times either by way of quotations or allusions that are unequivocal in their appeal to Old Testamentic materials (Schutter 1989:35-37). Schutter (1989:35-43) has a detailed discussion of the biblical sources of first Peter.

³⁵ Dt. 28:25; 30:4; Ps. 146:2; second Macc. 1:27; Is. 49:6; Jer. 41:17; Neh. 1:9; Jo. 7:35.

³⁶ Jdth. 5:19; Test. Ash. 7:2; Jas 1:1.

(James 1:1), in which case it could include both Jews and / or Gentiles.

T. Martin emphasizes that the *διασπορά*³⁷ takes the centre stage when it comes to the metaphors that Peter makes use of.³⁸ The *διασπορά* metaphor has basically two general images that emanate from it.

Firstly, we find the image of the Christian life metaphorically typified as an “eschatological journey”. This journey commences at the new birth and leads to salvation that is to be revealed ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ (1:3-5). One of the main concerns the author has, is about the hearers’ conduct while on this journey. If we consider this concern in the light of the persecution, one cannot help but ask whether this concern is truly theological / ethical / relational with God or whether it is a practical concern to avoid or lessen the alienation and defamation.

³⁷ *διασπορά* is found only once outside of Jewish literature (Plutarch characterizes Epicurus’ dissolution of the soul as a “*διασπορά* into emptiness and atoms” (Plutarch, *Moralia* 1105A) which means that it qualifies as early-Jewish terminology rather than Greco-Roman legal language about citizenship. *διασπορά* could well be in reference to Christians in the vast district mentioned in the salutation. In eleven of the twelve occurrences of the term in the LXX it is a technical term referring to the dispersion of the Jews (Schmidt 1964:99). In the New Testament John (7:35) uses *διασπορά* in the literal sense of the Jewish diaspora. But in James 1:1 and in first Peter 1:1 the word is used metaphorically in reference to Christians, as virtually all modern commentators note, such as Bechtler (1996:96); Brox (1989:57); Goppelt (1978:64-66); Kelly (1969:40,41); Troy Martin (1992:45,144); Michaels (1988:6,8,9); Selwyn (1947:118,119); and others.

³⁸ Martin, T. (1992:144-161).

Secondly, we find the fear of assimilation into a pagan environment. A subsequent byproduct of assimilation would be the defection of God's people back to paganism.³⁹ The διασπορά metaphor thus serves the purpose of reminding them that they are to remain foreign and dispersed. If διασπορά is not seen metaphorically, the term for Peter's audience would have reference to religious, geographical and social realities.⁴⁰

In the salutation we read that the letter is destined for more than one location. In the absence of mass production it would be reasonable to deduce that this was an epistle.⁴¹ It would therefore be very difficult even for the author to pinpoint the exact audience. It would be safe to argue that the audience would consist of a varied cross section of the society at large. In Gal 2:7 we read that Peter preached to the Jews while in Acts (10:9-16; 44-48) we are told that Peter brought the message to the Gentiles. Thus it can be concluded that it is not only possible but likely that the book was aimed at Jews and Gentiles and as a result would reach both groups of Christians.

The churches mentioned in the provinces were known to accommodate both Jews and Gentiles. The Jews living in these areas would certainly be known to be dispersed. Similarly the Gentiles that have proselytised could also be known as dispersed in a spiritual sense. Thus the geographical context does not really shed any light on the readers referred to by "διασπορά". The content of Peter, however, contains many quotations from and references to the Old

³⁹ Campbell (1995:27)

⁴⁰ Elliott (1990:46)

⁴¹ Many scholars agree with Campbell (1995:28) when he writes in connection with first Peter that the: "major literary genre is epistolary". He later writes that: "the document is a genuine letter, not a baptismal homily or liturgy in an epistolary frame" (Campbell 1995:38). See the discussion on the genre of first Peter elsewhere in this study.

Testament. It would therefore be plausible to deduce that the readers might be Jews rather than Gentiles. Furthermore, the term “διασπορά” is a term with which the Jews are well acquainted. The question could well be asked whether the Gentiles would identify themselves with the, although Greek, “Jewish” term “διασπορά”. And would the Gentiles classify themselves as “dispersed” whilst living in the mentioned provinces? Because of the above mentioned difficulties it is possible to reach the conclusion that Peter carefully included both Jewish and Gentile Christians in his letter of encouragement to the churches of Asia Minor. It is stated that it is a “virtual certainty” that these communities had mixed congregations that included both Jews and gentiles.⁴²

The question of the meaning of “διασπορᾶς” in the book of Peter could be of paramount importance since the answer could reveal whether the book is addressed to Jewish or Gentile Christians.⁴³ The key is found in that the book is about Christianity in stead of Jew or non-Jewish race related questions. The answer to the above mentioned question is not supplied by the meaning of “διασπορᾶς”, since there would be Jews and Gentiles in both cases. Consequently the meaning of “διασπορᾶς” in reference to Christianity is of no consequence to this particular study. If “διασπορᾶς” refers to the Jews and Peter is writing about Christianity, then he writes on remaining a Christian to the Christian Jews. Similarly, concerning the Gentiles, he writes on remaining Christian to the Gentiles.⁴⁴ There are other

⁴² Bechtler (1996:134).

⁴³ One must note that there is as of yet no consensus on the major themes of first Peter or on how its different motifs relate to each other (Kendall 1984:1). This dissertation is not declaring that remaining a Christian is the major theme of first Peter. It is however investigating this theme within the book. See the discussion on the themes of Peter further on in this dissertation.

⁴⁴ Even within both groups (Jews and Gentiles) first Peter addresses two kinds of

theories postulating that certain parts of Peter refer to proselytes (1:3-4:11) and other parts to established believers (4:12-5:11). However, there does not seem to be any missiological statements in the book bar wives to their husband. Even then they are to proselytize through their actions and not words. The deduction can consequently be made that Peter is concerned with mainly remaining a Christian. The question of becoming a Christian is not addressed.

Social sciences cast another perspective on this issue. It classifies the readers of Peter as people who are culturally and politically excluded. Their conversion to Christ has exacerbated the dishonour attributed to them by society. Thus they have become rejected. παροϊκούς και παρεπιδήμους then has to do with their status in society as a result of being Christian. It is written that: "the encouragement of the recipients in their apparent dishonor (sic) is of central concern to Peter".⁴⁵ Therefore, certain scholars⁴⁶ come to the conclusion that παροϊκούς και παρεπιδήμους in first Peter 2:11 may well have reference to the contest of honour.⁴⁷ Because of their dishonour they could not take part in public debates (at least not on the level they used to). The reason for this is explained later on. Therefore the only

recipients: active recipients and passive ones. The former are Christians who are too abrasive in their relationship towards society while the latter are believers who assimilate too readily in society in order to avoid suffering (Campbell 1995:32). Both these kinds of recipients are not the ideal, hence Peter attempts to walk a tight rope in finding a balance between the two. It would appear at this stage as if non-believers are not addressed in first Peter. That would imply that Peter is more concerned about remaining Christian in general than about becoming Christian for this particular audience.

⁴⁵ Campbell (1995:138-139).

⁴⁶ Campbell (1995:138-139).

⁴⁷ *The dynamic of honour and shame in the first century Mediterranean world as well as the contest for such is discussed latter on in this dissertation.*

other mechanism that they had to their disposal to claim honour was good behaviour. The fact that Peter urged his readers to behave substantiates the postulation that Campbell makes as to the reference to the honour contest. Peter envisages some kind of public recognition⁴⁸ or exoneration from the governors or their agents when they see the Christian's good behaviour. It would then appear as if Peter certainly has the honour / shame paradigm in mind when he writes.

A certainty regarding the recipients is their location. Their location implied that Christians were living in a pagan society since the majority of the inhabitancy remained pagan. There also seemed to be a fair amount of hostility and persecution towards Christians (1:5-9; 4:12-19) which confirmed the non-Christian status of the society. Since Peter urged Christians to be faithful towards the government (2:17,18) it might imply disloyalty. This attitude towards the government might lead one to conclude that the government could also be a possible source of the persecution. It would therefore seem that this book has primarily pastoral concerns.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Public recognition by the powers that be is one of the ways of attaining honour. Their good behaviour thus becomes a means to rectify their status as well as to bring glory to God. The secondary reasoning is that good works will be seen as working for the public good / order in which case the official commendations that Peter anticipates will silence the ignorant criticisms of their accusers. At the same time the accusers will be exposed as ignorant and thus shamed, while Christians will be shown as credible, hence honourable. If the magistrates start refusing to hear charges against Christians, it would result in shameful disregard to the accusers. This would be an action that brings dishonour to the accusers and at the same time brings honour to Christians. This anticipation also therefore anticipates the reversal of shame to honour for the Christian.*

⁴⁹ Schutter (1989:4).

It seems that the metaphors Peter employs has been discussed academically. The following will serve as an example⁵⁰ of such a discussion on some of the major metaphorical themes in first Peter:

a. The οἶκος - cluster of metaphors.

These metaphors serve a twofold typification, firstly, Christians as the household of God and secondly as the elect of God (1:14-2:10). The household imagery suggests the formation of a new family - the Christian family. Although they are rejected by society they are elected by God and accepted into the new family. Those born into that house ought to love one another⁵¹, because this new birth ought to lead to a new life of love. This love should grow increasingly deep.⁵² The first allusion to the new birth into God's family appears in 1:3,14,23. But there is also a second allusion in 2:1-10. Here the notion of new birth into God's family is further developed into one of the οἶκος - cluster of metaphors. Recapitulating, Peter says that his audience constitutes the children and therefore the members of the household / people of God. Their marginalization by society contributed to the establishment and strengthening of the

⁵⁰ Martin Troy (1992:144-161).

⁵¹ Campbell (1995:107).

⁵² Campbell (1995:108). Growth is anticipated since Peter refers to the new converts as spiritual new born babies. Their diet also pre-empted growth and development onto something more solid. For infants to be fed on milk is a Christian topic (first Cor. 3:1-4; Heb. 5:11-14; Clement of Alexandria - *The Instructor*; Ante-Nicene Fathers 2:220-221). For further discussion on this topic see Selwyn (1949:154-155, 308-310). The image of putting off sins and that of desiring a mother's milk is nowhere else combined in the New Testament. The idea of putting off "the old self" and putting on "the new self" carry with them the idea of rebirth (Eph. 4:22-24; first Cor. 3:14; Heb. 5:11-14).

οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ (2:5). *This is so because their marginalization forced their transfer from the brotherhood / community / society into the house of God. Without this kind of treatment some people might have taken longer to make the final decision. In conclusion then the major premise of the οἶκος - cluster of metaphors is that newborn infants long for milk. The minor premise is that you are like newborn infants. Therefore Peter draws the conclusion that Christians are to long for pure, spiritual milk so that by it they may grow into salvation.*⁵³

b. *The παροίκους καί παρεπιδήμους - cluster of metaphors (2:11-3:12).*

There is a debate as to the metaphorical nature and application of these terms. We find a few scholars⁵⁴ stating that these two words are in fact not metaphorical but rather literal in reference to the Jews living in another country.⁵⁵ Then there is the theory that these terms must be seen vis-à-vis the Christian's heavenly citizenship in contrast to their earthly "alienness" and "strangeness" (1:17; 2:11).⁵⁶ The mentioned provinces then is not their home, but they are merely resident there whilst they await their homecoming in the eschatos. This position on the

⁵³ Campbell (1995:115).

⁵⁴ Elliott (1981).

⁵⁵ Elliott's (1981:47) primary problem stems from his starting point which is his translation of the words παρεπιδήμοι (1:1; 2:11); παροικία (1:17); and παροίκος (2:11) which he translated as "visiting strangers", "alien residence", and "resident aliens" respectively. His basic thought is that the recipients were social outcasts prior to their conversion to Christianity. Their conversion to Christianity only added more ostracization and persecution than before.

⁵⁶ Beare (1970:135). Beare is also cited by Elliott (1990:42).

meaning⁵⁷ of παροίκους καί παρεπιδήμους is refuted.⁵⁸ These terms according to Elliott has a twofold application.

⁵⁷ Elliott (1990:42-44).

⁵⁸ Elliott's refuting makes use of a fivefold argument:

- a. *These words maintain political and social connotations in contemporary literature of first Peter.*
- b. *This metaphorical application excludes literal and figurative meanings which are suspect especially since these terms describe both religious and social circumstances which appear in first Peter.*
- c. *The physical, social alienation and conflict in the epistle is consistent with the treatment that literal resident aliens and visiting strangers in Asia Minor could expect.*
- d. *A clear sociological and not a cosmological conflict is described in first Peter.*
- e. *The bad deeds Christians are asked to refrain from are not simply those of this world, but are rather the vices of the unbelieving society around them. Hence good conduct is required in accordance to God's will (2:12; 4:1-6) (Elliott 1990:42-44; Campbell 1995:30-31). These five points (especially point 3) necessitate the audience to be Jewish whilst the majority of scholars believe that they were Gentile. If the readers were in fact Gentile then these words have to be metaphoric.*

Nonetheless there is no reason why παροίκους καί παρεπιδήμους could not be used in a perspectival foreshortened manner, in which case this application can be made as the second fulfilment whilst the first fulfilment could well be literal and immediate. As a matter of fact the existence of such a strong eschatological emphasis makes this scenario likely.

Firstly, παροίκους could be seen in a general sense to denote:

“strangers, foreigners, aliens, people who are not at home, or who lack native roots, in the language, customs, culture, or political, social, and religious allegiances of the people among whom they dwell”.⁵⁹

The παροίκους was therefore the displaced and dislocated people. And secondly, there is a political and legal sense.⁶⁰

Then there is a third application to which most scholars agree stating that these terms refer to non-citizenship. παροίκους καί παρεπιδήμους would then point to a certain class of people seen in the illumination of the honour and shame classification of a hierarchal status. This view would necessitate a perspective from the non-Christians. The result of being a παροίκους (non-citizenship) is that one cannot fully participate in social challenges as an equal with natives or with those aliens who have become fully integrated into the new culture. The word alien basically meant that you were a guest in a host country. As such your rights were limited. You were obligated to submit to your hosts. Seen in the honour and shame context this obligation means to honour everyone (πάντας τιμήσατε)(2:17). If you had to honour others (and specifically everyone) it meant that you were placed below all of them, and resident aliens therefore had a dishonourable status. The παροίκ- group of words is used by Peter as terminology of shame.⁶¹ It is stated that παροίκους are legally and socially

⁵⁹ Elliott (1990:24).

⁶⁰ Elliott's definition (Elliott 1990:25) is sourced from Karl Ludwig Schmidt and Martin Anton Schmidt (1967:5.842).

⁶¹ Campbell (1995:97).

distinguished from superior full citizens.⁶² The παροίκους were seen as inferior transient strangers. παροίκους is defined by some⁶³ as a term of non-citizenship rather than geographic displacement. It is written that the παροίκοι were:

*“Eine Bevölkerungsschicht, die nicht dem Vollbürgertum zugerechnet wird, aber auch nicht zu den Fremden gehört, sondern zwischen diesen beiden Gegensätzen in der Mitte steht.”*⁶⁴

In the New Testament (outside of first Peter) this word-group occurs six times, four of which quote or allude to the LXX concept of the patriarchal or Israelite παροίκος existence.⁶⁵ By metaphorical extension then this term relates to any condition of alienness and hostility in which God's people may find themselves. In conclusion then, παροίκος were not simply legal designations for resident aliens but denoted a recognized social stratum that included both native and non-native residents who were not full citizens and so did not possess the rights of citizenship.⁶⁶

The other word-group παρεπιδήμ- is found five times in the LXX and the New Testament.⁶⁷ In Gen. 23:4 and Ps. 38:13 παρεπιδήμος occurs in conjunction with παροίκος just as we find in first Peter 2:11. In the first text Abraham's foreignness vis-à-vis the Tittites are alluded

⁶² Schaefer (1949:1698).

⁶³ Schaefer (1949:1698).

⁶⁴ Schaefer (1949:1698).

⁶⁵ Schmidt and Schmidt (1967:851-853).

⁶⁶ Feldmeier (1992:15, 206,207); Tarrach (1980:101-107).

⁶⁷ 1 X Gen.; 1 X Ps., 1 X Heb.; 2 X First Peter.

to.⁶⁸ In the second text we find a metaphorical use.⁶⁹ Hebrews 11:13-16 uses these terms allegorically. In Peter these terms are figures of speech, metaphors by which a situation of social alienness is characterized.⁷⁰ The conclusion to the debate could well be summarised by the following quotation:

“Rather, the words πάροικοι, παροικία, παρεπίδημοι, and διασπορά are used metaphorically by 1 (sic) Peter to designate the ambiguous socioreligious situation of its gentile Christian addressees in terms of the LXX people of God.”⁷¹

Peter’s writing is an attempt to change this perspective to a new evaluation of the Christian seen in the light of God’s perspective. The Father’s favourable verdict for the παροίκοι means that their disadvantage (dishonourable status) does not need to be regretted, for God’s vindication elevates them.⁷² By utilizing the term παροίκοι the author also creates an “us” and “them” scenario. This separates Christians from the non-Christians. Christians are then παροίκοι in this world but citizens of heaven. Taken to the logical conclusion this might possibly imply that the non-Christian would be παροίκοι at the parousia. If this is so, it would constitute a reversal of strangerhood.

⁶⁸ In Lev 25:23 we find an almost identical construction in the Hebrew but this text is translated slightly differently (Schmidt 1967:848).

⁶⁹ Bechtler (1996:102).

⁷⁰ Achtemeier (1989).

⁷¹ Bechtler (1996:134).

⁷² Malina and Neyrey (1991:49-50).

c. *The παθήματα - cluster of metaphors (3:13-5:11).*

This metaphor depicts Christians as sufferers⁷³ of the dispersion. Although the situation seems hopeless the author maintains that Christians will receive vindication and honour. We are still to elaborate on this theme later on.

The occasion of the letter then is that Christians found themselves in an unfavourable position both with society at large and with the authorities. The fact of the matter is that they were enduring hardship.⁷⁴ This motivated the author to encourage the believers to remain Christians. We will later examine just how he did this.

1.2 *The Setting*

The study of the setting is important to our topic since it tells us where the readers are. This sheds light on the character of the readers and their situation. Certain scholars⁷⁵ believe that the letter has a rural character. Elliott also cites as correlative detail the absence of slave

⁷³ *There seems to be a widely held view that the type of suffering consists of slander, defamation and general ostracism. The same view also perceives the source of this suffering to be society at large. The suffering itself is seen by some only in the context of the honour / shame contest. Campbell (1995:189) for instance writes: "the unjust treatment of verbal abuse is a major source of shame for the hearers of 1 (sic) Peter". It will suffice to state that this is not the only view and that this topic will be under discussion later on.*

⁷⁴ *The type of hardship that they suffered will be discussed at length at a latter stage. For now it will suffice to say that both society and the authorities were involved in handing out the suffering.*

⁷⁵ *Elliott (1981:69).*

owners. But then again a slave would not have been a slave if he did not have an owner. Certainly they worked for owners and thus their owners were presupposed. A more logical argument to explain their absence would rather be that their owners were not Christian and therefore they were not addressed. This is substantiated by Peter's wish that their (slaves and specifically wives) owners / husbands could be won over, implying that they were not Christian. If one is consistent and takes Elliott's argument one step further, then the absence of the husbands would also mean that the wives were not married. Peter's salutation does include the words "scattered throughout" (New International Version) and mentions provinces rather than cities. However,:

- a. Persecution, courts, elders: which point to church organization, and the metaphors - flock and family in reference to a church family, really suit an urban setting better than a rural setting.
- b. The words "scattered throughout" does not necessarily refer to a literal scattering. In fact, most modern scholars are contra-Elliott on this point since he is one of only a few who takes this term literally. The whole book of first Peter is so saturated with metaphors that it is entirely possible for this to be one as well.⁷⁶ Peter is not particularly rich in "rural metaphors".
- c. The fact that this letter is an epistle implies that it was sent to all the places mentioned in the salutation. Because of the broad area involved it seems logical to mention the provinces rather than the cities.
- d. If the audience is made up of both Jews and Gentiles (regardless the ratio) it is more likely for such a combination to be found together in the cities rather than in rural areas.
- e. Peter's address on the dress-code of women is also more likely to be an occurrence in

⁷⁶ See discussion on the terms διασπορά, παροίκοι και παρεπιδήμοι elsewhere in this dissertation.

cities.

- f. *It is pointed out that “agrarian metaphors are stock-in-trade for the most urbanized Roman authors and their urbanized auditors”.⁷⁷*
- g. *The reason for the suffering is amongst other things a threat to the social order and a withdrawal on the part of Christians from certain social activities.⁷⁸ Surely such threats were more visible in cities, and it is even questionable whether these social activities occurred out in the country. Roman religious and civil life were so interconnected that it is to be expected that non-participation in religious and civil life was seen by the larger society as antisocial behaviour.⁷⁹*
- h. *In Pliny's letter he speaks of vast numbers of Christians which presume an urban setting.*
- i. *The metaphors that are called “obvious rural metaphors”⁸⁰ do not seem to be that obvious. When Peter speaks about the lions stalking its prey (5:8) it might very well imply an urban setting as lions were more likely to be seen in the arenas located in large urban centres.⁸¹*

⁷⁷ Danker (1983:87).

⁷⁸ Bechtler (1996:106).

⁷⁹ Schutter (1989:11); Goodman (1994:105).

⁸⁰ Elliott (1981:63).

⁸¹ *Even the so called agricultural aspect of 1:23-25 might not necessarily be agricultural since it is more reproductive (Bechtler 1996:85) than agricultural, and it has its source directly from Isa. 40 (Danker 1983:87).*

The letter supplies no account as to whether its intended recipients were urban or rural or both.⁸² One has to make certain deductions based on probabilities and likelihoods. However, it is the contention of this study that the letter was predominantly directed at urban readers. This deduction fits in well with the conclusion reached later on the source and nature of persecution.

1.3 Urban Readers

If we look at the crime situation in South Africa in the year two thousand, we once again find that knowledge of who the addressees are and where they live is very important. The newspaper mentioned earlier would refer to the crimes mentioned at that stage in reference to urban readers. However, if rural farmers were addressed, these crimes would not come to mind, but rather farm murders. And so we find that both who and where the readers are, determines directly how the letter should be interpreted. It is for this reason that the time is taken to discuss this topic.

It is suggested that the readers of first Peter are predominantly urban residents. Texts like 5:9 speak of "your brotherhood throughout the world". The residents of urban cultures⁸³ will be

⁸² Bechtler (1996:86).

⁸³ *The population of these cities was indeed diverse. As such one would expect to find a conglomerate of cultures. Nonetheless, subcultures also developed. Examples of such would certainly be rural and urban subcultures. We also detect this phenomenon today where certain regions have a different subculture than other regions although their cultural make-up is diverse. Warden (1986:19) writes that: "the urban centers (sic) ... shared a culture which extended for many hundreds of years into the past". It is in this sense that we speak of a shared culture in the midst of diversity.*

concerned about, and conscious of the world-wide fellowship of believers since trade and cultural contact with the outside world is customary for urban residents.⁸⁴ It is written that: "communication between the cities was constant".⁸⁵ Certain words and concepts in first Peter allude to an urban setting. The author refers to his readers as παρεπίδημοι (1:1; 2:11) and as παροικοι (2:11). Furthermore, there is reference to the time of his readers as their παρικίας (1:17). Although these terms stem from the LXX, in which they had a different meaning, it was in the Greek cities that the term παροικοι came to designate a certain class of people.⁸⁶ Elliott subscribes to the view that the word παροικοι in conjunction with παρεπίδημοι refers to the actual social and legal status of the readers of Peter, as can be seen from his writing:

"the actual social condition of the addressees as resident aliens and strangers is the stimulus for the encouragement that they remain so for religious and moral reasons".⁸⁷

Certain scholars⁸⁸ do not perceive of a situation whereby Christians are awaiting their heavenly home but rather view their new home as that of their social family - the οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ

⁸⁴ *Scholars who agree with the suggestion that the readers of first Peter were urban residents are for instance Goldstein (1975:107,108); Warden (1986:16,17).*

⁸⁵ *Warden (1986:19).*

⁸⁶ *The connotation of the city is not far fetched since we have examples of such connotations. In Heb. 11:9 Abraham is said to have: "... sojourned (παρώκησεν) in the land of promise". But in verse 10 we are reminded of the πόλιν which he looked forward to. For a discussion on the meaning of παροικοι see Schmidt and Schmidt (1967:842).*

⁸⁷ *Elliott (1981:42).*

⁸⁸ *Elliot (1981:130).*

(4:17).⁸⁹ Other views indicate that these two words suggest that Peter ventures to bring his readers to the understanding that their trials and sufferings are temporary. This is illustrated by their temporary residence on earth which is only passing.⁹⁰ It is true that Peter employs a strong eschatological theme, but he does so using other arguments. In fact, it would be very difficult to link Peter's eschatological themes with the use of the two words in question.

1.4 Addressees

The question of where the addressees lived has now been dealt with. But a study to whom exactly the epistle is addressed is still needed. This information discloses what type of encouragement the author needs to supply. We need to know whether the readers are rich or poor, exalted or lowly in society and the likes, since the author uses their situation in his solution. Before we can study the reversal of roles as the author's reasoning for remaining Christian we need to know what their starting point is.

An important discussion when it comes to the addressees is that of Elliott's Home for the Homeless,⁹¹ who sees the addressees of first Peter as resident aliens - literally.⁹² He does state

⁸⁹ The New International Version translates 4:17 as "the family of God" in contrast to "the house of God". Some other versions translate this verse as "the household of God" (Revised Standard Version). The New International Version's translation collaborates with what Elliott suggests.

⁹⁰ Warden (1986:18).

⁹¹ Elliott (1981:79).

⁹² Achtemeier (1989:207-236) does not agree with Elliott and states that the terms παροῖκοι και παρεπιδήμοι are used metaphorically in first Peter rather than literally as Elliott proposes. As such Achtemeier (1989:207-236) does not view the recipients as literal

that as such they are social outsiders compounded with the fact that they furthermore became religious outsiders upon their conversion.⁹³ A completed study⁹⁴ on the παροίκ- group of words finds a broad range of usages. In its literal sense, παροίκος could designate a neighbour, an entire colony or settlement, a resident alien, a stranger, or, more technically, a non-citizen. The question is: what would qualify as reason to classify one as a non-citizen? Immediately one thinks of people from other countries, but what about the slaves? They did not qualify as citizens irrespective of where they were born. Thus the classification as non-citizen not only has to do with origin but also with societal class. The point is also made that when this word denotes an alien, a stranger, or a non-citizen it was from the standpoint of society, a second-class person.⁹⁵ The key element in first Peter's strategy is the Fremde motif as one scholar⁹⁶ puts it. The word is also used in reference to human-divine relationships. To

resident aliens but characterizes them in terms of the alien residence of God's chosen people, Israel, in diaspora. However, this would seem unlikely as the majority of Peter's addressees seem to be converted Gentiles in contrast to Jews. Instead of adhering to the views of Elliott and Achtemeier I would rather support the view that παροίκοι και παρεπιδήμοι refers to political status and standing in society just as the term sinner in the synoptic gospels does not refer to someone who has sinned but to a certain class of persons. Troy Martin (1992:266) for example, incorrectly argues that the Petrine Christians were on a journey through a hostile land, while the book clearly addresses a community, a family, house of God, etc, that points to residing people. If they were in fact in transit then surely the answer would have just been to hurry up instead of endurance, the rebuilding of a complete new identity and theologizing about honour and shame.

⁹³ Elliott (1981:79).

⁹⁴ Feldmeier (1992:12).

⁹⁵ Feldmeier (1992:21).

⁹⁶ Feldmeier (1992:188).

Philo and at Qumran strangerhood signified belonging to the people of God and as such was an honorific self-designation⁹⁷. The use in first Peter is independent to Old Testamentic or other uses since it is used as a positive identification that can provide contemporary Christians with their own new identity;⁹⁸ an identity that up to then had not existed and therefore he could not use it in the same sense as others have. In conclusion then the stranger terminology of the letter does not refer Christians to a heavenly commonwealth but rather to an earthly community of those whose strangerhood is the expression of both their divine election and their responsibility in the world.⁹⁹ The juxtaposition of ἐκλεκτοῖς and παρεπιδήμοις appears to be unique in biblical literature.¹⁰⁰ This juxtaposition affirms for the readers that they are God's chosen and at the same time informs them that being God's chosen entail an alien existence in society.¹⁰¹ The strong allusion to the LXX portrays that Peter's audience is the people of God. To their Gentile communities they are indeed strange both in their behaviour as well as in what they don't do, - in their beliefs and non-beliefs. Certain scholars¹⁰² believe that the addressees were marginalised. Whether this was due to their strangeness or whether

⁹⁷ For a discussion on Philo's and Qumran's view of strangerhood study Feldmeier (1992:72-74).

⁹⁸ Feldmeier (1992:95,96).

⁹⁹ Feldmeier (1992:103,104).

¹⁰⁰ Michaels (1988:6).

¹⁰¹ For a more detailed discussion on the "chosenness" of Peter's readers and what that entails refer to Best (1971:70); Feldmeier (1992:104, 176,177); Furnish (1975:4)(although Furnish relates to alienness in terms of temporary sojourning in this world); Michaels (1988:6,7).

¹⁰² Bechtler (1996:160).

the strangeness was caused by their marginalization seems to be unclear.¹⁰³

The conclusion could possibly be reached that Christians were strange to society because they thought differently on religious matters. Peter later uses this difference to reverse the roles between society and the Christian community. This is one of the reversals that Peter postulates as reason for remaining Christian.

1.5 The Date of the Letter

The date is very important in the topic under discussion since it determines and limits the situation of Christians with regards to suffering which is one of the major themes of first Peter. It appears from the letter as though they are facing hardship. It is rather more difficult to assess the true extent and nature of the hardship. The determination of the date of the letter would help in this quest. This dissertation deals with the cultural value of honour and shame as well as with the influence of Roman government and society on Christians. A date is required to justify that the mentioned value was in fact prevalent amongst the addressees, and also in order to place the value in a time frame that falls within Roman rule. Since different Roman rulers had different attitudes toward Christians we also preferably need to know which Roman ruler was at the helm when first Peter was written. As Peter's solution has largely to do with the reversal and change of their mind set, the date would also pin point their initial mind set.

The authorship and date are closely interrelated as the date of writing determines the authorship and vice versa.¹⁰⁴ If one accepts Peter as the author then a date after Nero is

¹⁰³ Bechtler (1996:160).

¹⁰⁴ Dixon (1989:19).

rejected, since it is suggested that he died in Nero's reign which is 64-68 AD.¹⁰⁵ If Peter wrote the book then a date in the early sixties is necessitated. Conversely Peter could not have written the book if it is dated after 70 AD. The earlier the date of the book the more the possibility exists of genuineness. The use of the cryptogram "Babylon" could serve as a *terminus ad quem* since this term for Rome¹⁰⁶ does not seem to have entered apocalyptic discourse until after the fall of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁷ There is also a second *terminus ad quem* in the form of reference of Polycarp's letter to the Philippians dated 110-115.¹⁰⁸ The general character of the book coupled

¹⁰⁵ The time of Peter's death is no forgone conclusion. In fact, there is no proof that Peter died during Nero's reign. We only have tradition to substantiate that claim. There are scholars who dispute these dates for Peter's death and even proclaim that Peter lived beyond the Neronian period. For such scholars see Ramsay (1893:283); Michaels (1988). But for the most part scholars are in agreement that Peter died before the date of 70 AD and during Nero's reign. For such scholars see Bauckham (1992:539-595); Cullmann (1962:71-157); Goppelt (1978:9-14); O'Connor (1969:61-89); Perkins (1994:146); Thiede (1988:190,191).

¹⁰⁶ Babylon is almost unanimously interpreted as Rome by twentieth century scholars. Statements confirming this can be found in Goppelt (1978:65-66); Brox (1979:41-43); Filson (1955:403); Fischer (1978:207); Moule (1956:8-9). Interpretations linking Babylon to physical Babylon on the Euphrates river can only be found from scholars of the previous century like Erasmus, Calvin, Bengel, Lightfoot and Alford (Manley 1944:142). Reference is also made to the Babylon in Egypt by Leclerc, Mill, Pearson, Calovius, Pott, Burton and Gresswell (Manley 1944:142).

¹⁰⁷ Apocalyptic usage of Babylon in a Cryptogrammatical manner can be cited from Rev. 14:8. The fall of Jerusalem is primarily dated at 70 AD. Also see Bechtler (1996:54).

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion on this *terminus ad quem* see Bechtler (1996:61). Harrison (1936:15,16; 183-206; 267,268) dates Polycarp's letter even later at 135 AD. Also see Koester (1957:122,123). But his arguments are doubtful and most scholars support the date given in

with the presence of persecution reflects the "Sitz im Leben" of the second or third generation Christians rather than that of a first generation.¹⁰⁹ The most central issue in determining the date has been the question of persecution. A date after 70 AD. is consequently favoured. Conversely tradition serves as a terminus a quo when it states that Peter was a martyr in the time of persecution in AD. 64 by Nero.¹¹⁰ However, there is no Biblical evidence to substantiate this claim. Since first Peter is not really¹¹¹ dated before 62 AD. we may assume that, that date serves as a terminus a quo. The situation under Nero was probably limited to Rome¹¹² and

the text above. Also see Schoedel (1967:4, 23-26; 1992:390).

¹⁰⁹ *Arguments to this effect can be found from Best (1969:95-113); Blevins (1982:401-413); Rousseau (1986:6). Others equate the persecution with Nero (sixties) which would force the date to before 70. See Rousseau (1986:8) who discusses these options and Winbery (1982:9). Scholars favouring a date before 70 are Winbery (1982:10); Holmer (1978:14-15); Schweizer (1973:11); Selwyn (1947:56-63).*

¹¹⁰ *In my mind there seems to be incongruence in all the scholars' arguments when it comes to the date of first Peter. The scholars who date Peter later than Nero all state that the suffering and persecution is of an unofficial, social nature. Everyone knows that Nero introduced official persecution. Either the scholars need to decide on an earlier date whilst accepting the unofficial nature of the persecution or they must decide on a later date accepting the official nature of the persecution, because persecution was unofficial before Nero but certainly very official after him.*

¹¹¹ *The exception to this is the date of 58 AD. and 64 AD. given by Bigg (1901:87). Examples of people who support a date before 70 AD. are Grudem (1988:63,64); Guthrie (1970:796); Selwyn (1947:62); Spicq (1966:26).*

¹¹² *Dixon (1989:26).*

has therefore no bearing on the persecution addressed in first Peter.¹¹³ The next critical period of investigation is that of Domitian in 81-96 AD. This period is favoured due to the occurrence of the cryptogram "Babylon" in 5:13.¹¹⁴ Others claimed that the persecution of Christians under Domitian was much too limited to have had a bearing on first Peter, as was the case of the Neronian persecution.¹¹⁵ The last period of investigation is that of Trajan in 98-117 AD, which has a rather unique relevance because of the revelations in the letter of Pliny, who was governor in Bithynia and Pontus in 111 AD.¹¹⁶ These periods of investigations would be of no consequence if one does not accept as presupposition the official status of the persecution. Van Unnik rejects the official nature of the persecution due to the following reasons¹¹⁷:

- a. First Peter 5:9 indicates that the situation of the recipients is similar to that of most Christians anywhere.
- b. The reference to state officials in 2:13,14 suggests a positive feeling toward the existing

¹¹³ An exception to this view is Robinson (1976:160,161) who believes that Neronian persecution resulted in the authoring of a circular letter for the churches in Asia Minor, hence the first book of Peter. The fact that Peter was imprisoned in Rome certainly substantiates that Neronian persecution at the very least influenced his message and perception.

¹¹⁴ Kümmel (1975:425,426); Blevins (1982:403).

¹¹⁵ Wand (1934:15,16); Beare (1970:32).

¹¹⁶ Beare (1970:33) is convinced that the situation described in the letter of Pliny had direct concern to the situation mentioned in first Peter. The contra view is held by Wand (1934:15,16) and Guthrie (1970:782).

¹¹⁷ It needs to be noted here that the nature of the persecution will be discussed at a later stage. The mention of the nature of the persecution is only made here because of its profound influence on the dating of the epistle.

*government.*¹¹⁸

- c. *The sufferings described are more like social pressures than pogroms (Van Unnik 1962:762).*¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ *I cannot agree with Van Unnik on this point as will be expounded on at a later stage. The disagreement stems from the following:*

- a. *Peter's appeal to the recipients to subject themselves to the authorities seems to be as a result of this not happening and not to convey a positive pathos towards the authorities.*
- b. *Peter appeals on the authority of the Lord as motive for subjection and not the authority of the Emperor or government. If sentiment towards the government was in deed positive then surely Peter could have appealed on the government's sentiment / authority.*
- c. *As will be discussed later the choice of the Greek word for institution κτίσει is rather odd when used of human creations, and conveys the idea that these institutions resort under God.*
- d. *Conditionality for submission seems to be the fairness of these officials in as much as they should punish those who do wrong but also praise those who do right. If officials punish believers for being Christian instead of for a crime, they are not accomplishing what they were sent to do in the first place.*
- e. *The fairness of the officials described in this passage stands in stark contrast to those who judge unjustly / impartially (1:17; 4:17) and in the rest of the letter.*

¹¹⁹ *The nature and source of the persecution is also under discussion later on. But, I have to raise an objection to Van Unnik's view here as well. It is believed that the contrary is substantiated in this dissertation.*

In agreement with Van Unnik (although for other reasons) Best²²⁰ also comes to the conclusion that an investigation of the persecutions offer no help in determining the date. However, there are different arguments.²²¹ Others²²² determined the date of composition to range between 73 and 92 AD.

Another quest in the date saga of first Peter has concentrated on ecclesiastical development. On this basis Bigg has suggested a date between 58-64 AD. for the following reasons:

- a. Firstly, the epistle of first Peter could not have been written before the second missionary journey of Paul.*
- b. Secondly, the book could not have been written after Paul's letter to Rome and Colossae.*
- c. Enough time needs to be granted for the development of the Christian communities.*
- d. Growth of the Christian communities experienced opposition even before the Neronian outbreak.²²³*

In Kelly's commentary on the epistle, dated in 1969, he too considered a date prior to 64 A.D, mainly citing the following as his reasons:²²⁴

²²⁰ Best (1971:42).

²²¹ To see different arguments on this matter see Goppelt (1978:56-64), although he also subscribes to the thought of non-official persecution.

²²² Elliott (1981:59-87).

²²³ Bigg (1902:9).

²²⁴ To view his reasons on the dating of first Peter consult his commentary at: Kelly (1969:30).

- a. *It is apparent that most of the recipients were recent converts, which suggests an earlier period in the expansion of Christianity in that region.*
- b. *The type of church order depicted involves a simple structure based on the chronological age of individuals.*
- c. *The theology employed in the letter seems to be primitive.*
 - c.1 *The first display of primitive theology can be detected in the Trinitarian formula in 1:2.*
 - c.2 *Secondly, the servant-Christology found in 2:21-25 also exposes primitive theology.*
- d. *There is more of an immediate tone in the eschatology which anticipates the final revelation of Christ soon. This tone affected their ethics. Both this eschatological tone and their ethics point to an earlier period.*

On the contrary, Best argued for a much later period in opting for 80-100 AD. He derives at this date utilizing the following criteria:

- a. *The church needed to be established for it to be considered a threat to society. A new, young church would not have bothered society since there was a multitude of religions.*
- b. *There is a lack of Jewish / Gentile friction within this Christian community. This was a serious problem which plagued the church in earlier times. This lack of friction shows more maturity on the part of the believers. A fair amount of time must have passed for them to sort out such friction and to mature as Christians.*
- c. *When considering that the audience was predominantly Gentile the extensive use of the Old Testament required sufficient time for their indoctrination.*
- d. *The structure of the social code in 2:13-3:7 reveals the sophistication of a later period.*
- e. *The doctrine of the Spirit already had the complacency of a creed rather than the*

enthusiasm of one (Peter) who experienced Pentecost.²⁵

One scholar²⁶ adds to the scholars of the later period the contention that there must have been enough time for the development of the label "Christian" to be spread into Asia Minor and to become popularized and / or hated depending on the perspective.

No matter in which direction the investigation undertakes to determine a conclusive date there seems to be plausible evidence to support both earlier and later dates. As of yet there is no consensus or even a conclusion on the date mystery of first Peter. This leaves the authorship, situation and paradigm wide open to various possibilities.

1.6 The Authorship of the Letter

Since the letter was written for their encouragement (5:12) in the face of persecution, it would have been comprehensively more effective if the author had himself gone through some kind of persecution, and better still if he was also suffering whilst writing the letter. For the letter to be meaningful the audience needed to identify with the author and his situation needed to identify with theirs. The identity of the author would also help pin point the exact nature of the situation they were to deal with. Because the author changes roles and attitudes he needed to be someone whom the readers held in high regard. It is because of these reasons that the question of authorship is discussed.

There are a few theories regarding the authorship of first Peter. Firstly, there is the theory that Peter, the apostle, wrote the letter. Peter is Simon, the son of John. He was a Galilean

²⁵ Best (1971:45-48; 63,64).

²⁶ Elliott (1981:85).

fisherman who accepted the call from Jesus. He was known by the alias, Cephas (Aramaic) or Peter (Greek). As with most Biblical books there are those who support and those who oppose the authenticity of first Peter.¹²⁷ External evidence certainly points to Peter as the author since Irenaeus mentions Peter in conjunction with first Peter.¹²⁸ On the other hand external evidence does not carry much weight due to the problematic occurrence of pseudonymity. Since there is a lack of polemical and apologetical terminology so commonly found in pseudonym letters, these objections seem suspect. Secondly, people theorize about some kind of association with Silvanus. Thirdly, first Peter is declared a pseudonymous writing.¹²⁹ Lastly there are also those who believe in the existence of a Petrine school which compiled the letter.

Certain questions arise concerning Petrine authorship:

- a. The Greek literary skills of the author surpasses someone whose native language was Aramaic. Some authors rate these skills as "rivalling Paul's".¹³⁰*
- b. The improbability for a fisherman to be skilled in the rhetoric of the schools count against the probable marginal literacy of Peter.¹³¹*
- c. For someone to use the Greek language and the Greek Bible so masterfully is*

¹²⁷ Guthrie (1970:773-790) contributes on behalf of the authenticity of first Peter while Kümmel (1972:421-424) opposes it. Heralding more recent defence of the authenticity are Robinson (1976:150-169) and Neugebauer (1979:61-86). Scepticism is voiced by Vielhauer (1975); Perrin (1974); Köster (1982); Sylva (1980); Elliott (1981); Munro (1983) and Brown (1983).

¹²⁸ Schutter (1989:4).

¹²⁹ Dixon (1989:20).

¹³⁰ Schutter (1989:5); Bechtler (1996:54).

¹³¹ Bechtler (1996:54).

problematic for someone who used Hebrew and the Targum.

- d. Reference is made in a honorific manner to Peter's name. It is felt that Peter would have used Σίμων rather than Πέτρος. This usage casts a shadow over the authenticity when this is done in self-reference.¹³² Others¹³³ see no problem with the self-praise in 5:12 as he argued that 1:1,2 and 5:12-14 were later additions to a sermon of Silvanus.*
- e. The letter alludes autobiographical information.*
- f. The terminology is often reminiscent of Paul's,¹³⁴ while Peter publically states that Paul is difficult to understand (second Peter 3:15,16).¹³⁵ Not only is the terminology reminiscent of Paul's but also Peter's theology which seems almost to be dependant on Paul (Kümmel 1975:29-34).*

¹³² Paul also makes use of his changed name as Acts 13:9 indicates that his name was Saul. Yet, when Paul does this it is not viewed as being honorific. Silvanus does the same thing as his name was Silas. Why it is seen as being honorific when Peter refers to himself in this way does appear rather strange.

¹³³ Bornemann (1919-20:143-165).

¹³⁴ Schutter (1989:5-6).

¹³⁵ This argument is based on Scripture from second Peter (second Peter 3:16). The authorship of second Peter is not at issue here. The dissimilarity between first and second Peter is well acknowledged. For this argument to succeed, the presupposition that first and second Peter were authored by the same person needs to be true. However, this is doubted, especially since this very argument is in favour on non-Petrine authorship. Furthermore, this reference does not say that Peter (or the author of second Peter) finds Paul difficult to understand, but rather makes reference to the difficulty that ignorant and unstable people would have in understanding Paul. This could also infer that this is not the case with stable, knowledgeable people.

- g. *It is also doubted whether Peter had any contact with the addressees.¹³⁶*
- h. *The letter lacks reference to any personal relationship with the earthly Jesus.¹³⁷ Since Peter was part of the inner, personal group of Jesus this is rather strange.*

Conversely, the self proclaimed amanuensis can be postulated to ward off the above said objections. Certainly that would account for the literary objections, the use of the Greek Bible, the use of Πέτρος and the absence of autobiographical information. This would also make pseudonymity so much more difficult to appear authentic in biblical times since the scribe would be available for verification. One of the first people to suggest an amanuensis theory was Bigg.¹³⁸ Three possibilities were proposed:

- a. *Peter dictated the letter in Aramaic which Silvanus translated into Greek.*
- b. *Peter dictated the letter in Greek which Silvanus corrected as he wrote.*
- c. *Peter gave Silvanus the freedom to express Peter's ideas subject to Peter's final approval.¹³⁹*

¹³⁶ *Rousseau (1986:6). For a discussion on the arguments against Petrine authorship see the following, although it must be noted that most authors only supply a few objections and that those mentioned above are representative of all of their views Schutter (1989:5,6); Feldmeier (1992:193-198); Beare (1970:43-50); Best (1971:49-51); Brox (1979:43-51); Goppelt (1978:48-50); Kümmel (1973:423,424). All of the above mentioned authors are of the opinion that the book of first Peter is pseudepigraphic. Schutter accepts the pseudepigraphy hypothesis rather cautiously.*

¹³⁷ *Kümmel (1975:29-34).*

¹³⁸ *Bigg (1902:6).*

¹³⁹ *The complete discussion can be perused at Bigg (1902:6).*

The critics discount amanuensis arguing that:

- a. *Silvanus was Palestinian.¹⁴⁰ Some scholars for example¹⁴¹, as a result of Silvanus's Palestinianism, doubts whether Silvanus was better in the thought and language of hellenistic culture than Peter was.¹⁴²*
- b. *There are also questions regarding the involvement of Silvanus. Does his involvement include simply the bearing of the document? Or was he the secretary who merely wrote down what was dictated? Or was he a co-author?*
- c. *Some¹⁴³ would suggest that Silvanus was not the author of the letter but rather the bearer. Others¹⁴⁴ collaborate this suggestion by arguing that διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν ... ἔγραψα (5:12) indicates that Silvanus was not the secretary at all but rather the bearer of the letter.¹⁴⁵*

¹⁴⁰ *Silvanus is mentioned four times in the New Testament (second Cor. 1:19; first Thess. 1:1,2, second Thess. 1:1, first Peter 5:12.). This figure however could increase if one takes into account that Silvanus is the same person who Luke calls Silas in Acts. This should however not influence the authenticity of Silvanus's work since his work corresponds to that of Paul. Should this fact be a concern then it should also be a concern pertaining to the other letters which he was authoring in co-operation with Paul and Timothy. The fact that he is mentioned as working with Paul should strengthen the argument of Silvanus's authenticity as scribe to Peter.*

¹⁴¹ *Beare (1970:212,213).*

¹⁴² *Selwyn (1947:9-17).*

¹⁴³ *Michaels (1988:lxii).*

¹⁴⁴ *Robinson (1976:167-169); Chase (1898:3.790) [reprinted in 1988].*

¹⁴⁵ *For parallels, see Acts 15:23; Elliott (1992:277); Kümmel (1973:424). Goppelt*

One can also cite counter-arguments in favour of Petrine authorship. Just to provide a few ideas of such counter-arguments the following are presented:

- a. *The origin of the cryptogram "Babylon" is not necessarily found only in post-seventy literature but it could also have been used earlier just as Daniel's earlier reference to the Seleucid Empire.¹⁴⁶*
- b. *The resemblances to Paul's writings could well be explained with the existence of a common early-Christian tradition. Since the book of Romans bears an earlier date it cannot be excluded that Peter read Romans and thus Paul permeated Peter's book.¹⁴⁷ Kümmel's argument of Paulinisms is thus countered by Selwyn¹⁴⁸ attributing the Paulinisms to the use of common material.¹⁴⁹*

(1978:369-371) argues against this view. Robinson's and Chase's reading of 5:12 does, however, not preclude Silvanus from being the book's amanuensis as well as being the book's bearer.

¹⁴⁶ *Theide (1986:222-224) shows that Babylon was used metaphorically by the Roman dramatist Terence (160 BC) and also by the Roman stirist Petronius (61 AD).*

¹⁴⁷ *To expound on this thought see Boismard (1966:1449); Dalton (1989:87); Davids (1990:5,6); Elliott (1992:276); Goppelt (1978:49); Guthrie (1970:785-786); Robinson (1976:166); Thurén (1990:33).*

¹⁴⁸ *Selwyn (1981:19-24).*

¹⁴⁹ *For further arguments in favour of Petrine authorship see Reicke (1964:71,72) who sees no reference to Empirical sacrifices in Peter and thus dates the book in Peter the apostle's lifetime. Also see Dixon (1989:20-26).*

- c. *Apart from the suggested amanuensis¹⁵⁰ Peter's leadership in Antioch and Rome strongly implies competency with the Greek language.¹⁵¹*
- d. *As would be expected Peter would make use of the LXX in view of his Greek audience.¹⁵²*
- e. *Concerning the usage of Πέτρος, one might very well expect Peter to use the same name in his writing as the name that the recipients used for him. If the people in the mentioned churches (1:1) called him Πέτρος then surely he would have used Πέτρος in his writing to them.*
- f. *The suggestion that Peter makes no reference to events proving that he is the same Peter that walked with the earthly Jesus is not entirely true since there are numerous veiled allusions to such events (1:8; 2:23; 5:1).¹⁵³ Martin and Gundry¹⁵⁴ agree that first Peter is "peppered with frequent allusions to dominical sayings and incidents ...".¹⁵⁵*

¹⁵⁰ *Just about all scholars who defend Petrine authorship utilize amanuensis to do so. One of the only exceptions is Grudem (1988:24, 32,33).*

¹⁵¹ *Kelly (1969:31,32), although supporting amanuensis set out to prove that Peter's Greek could not have been quite as bad as some have claimed. Also see Guthrie (1970:778); Robinson (1976:167); Spicq (1966:21-23); Grudem (1988:26-30).*

¹⁵² *Guthrie (1970:778); Robinson (1976:166).*

¹⁵³ *Dalton (1989:87); Robinson (1976:164,165); Selwyn (1947:27-33); Stibbs and Walls (1959:33-35).*

¹⁵⁴ *Gundry (1966-1967:336-350).*

¹⁵⁵ *Martin (1978:331). Take note that Best (1969-1970:95-113) responded negatively to Gundry's initial article. Their debate continued as Gundry (1974:211-232) answered Best's objections in "Further Verba on Verba Christi in First Peter". This represented an interesting play on words as Gundry's first article was entitled "Verba Christi in 1 (sic) Peter".*

- g. Guthrie¹⁵⁶ points out that Peter was certainly not illiterate. In fact, being Galilean implied bilinguality. Furthermore, it would be unreasonable to infer that his Greek did not improve substantially after thirty years of ministry to possibly Greek-speaking areas.¹⁵⁷

The author of Peter is also viewed by some scholars¹⁵⁸ as a presbyter or presbyters (πρεσβυτέρων) of the second or third generation Christians in Rome. Yet others are not willing to go so far as to describe Peter as a pseudonymous presbyter as can be seen in the following quotation:

*“Die Namen Petrus und Silvanus sind, misst man sie an der traditions-geschichtlichen Struktur des Briefes, all Wahrscheinlichkeit nach kein Postulat pseudonymer Schrifstellerei, das lediglich eine formale Autoritaet vorweisen wollte. Der Brief wended auf all Faelle tradition an, guer die diese beiden Namen als Sigel stehen koennen. Moeglicherweise hat man in Rom gewusst, dass diese Tradition massgeblich durch diese beiden Lehrer (Petrus und Silvanus) gepraegt war, und sie deshalb unter ihrem Namen weitergegeben”.*¹⁵⁹

The theory of pseudonymity seems to be the more popular one. The following is written with regards to pseudonymity:

¹⁵⁶ Gundry (1970:778).

¹⁵⁷ In reference to Peter's Greek ability or lack thereof see Moulton and Howard (1979:25,26) which deals with the grammar of New Testament Greek.

¹⁵⁸ Brox (1979:41,46,228).

¹⁵⁹ Goppelt (1978:69).

"This is the most obvious alternative to Petrine authorship and the earliest critics of the traditional view automatically assumed it".¹⁶⁰

Beare¹⁶¹ published the first commentary¹⁶² in English based on this theory. He discounted any apostolic or Silvanine contributions attributing the authorship to an unknown presbyter from the area to which the letter is addressed.¹⁶³ Although this theory enjoyed popularity it was also discounted by people like Robinson. In his refute of the pseudonym theory he cited the usual arguments associated with pseudonymity, but added two more perspectives:

- a. He questioned the common acceptance of the book.*
- b. He addressed the problem of motive. There appears to be no theological controversy requiring the authority of an apostle in order to be resolved.¹⁶⁴ The question is simply this: why attach the book to Peter which contains Pauline theology, and terminology, and why mention Paul's associates, addressed to what we could possibly call Pauline churches that were merely undergoing some kind of persecution?¹⁶⁵ Would the book not have been more credible bearing the name of Paul rather than taking the risk that the "truth" about the pseudonymity of the book might become known? These and other*

¹⁶⁰ Guthrie (1970:786).

¹⁶¹ Beare (1970:vii).

¹⁶² Beare's commentary received mixed reviews (Dixon 1989:23). Elliott (1976:244) was one of the scholars to conclude that he considered Beare's treatment of Petrine authorship to be neglectful of recent Petrine scholarship.

¹⁶³ Beare (1970:43-50).

¹⁶⁴ Robinson (1976:164, 186-188).

¹⁶⁵ Robinson (1976:164, 186-188).

questions show that the motive does not make sense.

Other scholars¹⁶⁶ postulate a scenario where the letter is merely based on a Petrine tradition.¹⁶⁷ Thus there was a Petrine school which was responsible for the letter.¹⁶⁸ This scenario uses the objections to Petrine authorship to substantiate the Petrine school theory. Arguments for this postulation are:

¹⁶⁶ Best (1971:60-63); Blevins (1982:401-413).

¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, it is stated that this Petrine tradition is one of literary dependence, especially upon the Pauline corpus, thus the literary similarity. This would make the author no more than an editor or compiler of Petrine or Pauline traditions (Kendall 1984:5). It was as early as 1781 that Semler proposed that first Peter had imitated the Pauline epistles (Shimada 1966:19). One author comments that first Peter is "a slavish copy of the Pauline writings" (Jülicher 1904:211). Others supporting this view are Holtzmann (1885:487-490); Barnett (1941:51). Conversely, research has shown that first Peter was not only dependent on Pauline materials but that there are also similarities between first Peter and James, Hebrews and first Clement. Examples typifying this are: James 1:2,12 (Joy in suffering); James 1:1 (The metaphor of diaspora); Heb. 11:13 (The blood of sprinkling); etc.

At the end of the second world war the above mentioned theory was challenged with studies based on the principles of Formgeschichte. Selwyn (1981:365-466) was among the first to question the dependence theory.

¹⁶⁸ Generally, in the above mentioned cases (compilations) the opening paragraphs are viewed in isolation. It is only occasionally connected to succeeding materials (Kendal 1984:4,5). In this case however the relationship between the part and the whole has significant consequences for the interpretation of each part. There is therefore a modern consensus that the epistle must be viewed as a unified document (Kendal 1984:4,5).

- a. *Community authorship best explain the similarities and dissimilarities in first Peter and second Peter.*
- b. *The liturgical elements in these letters point to a worshipping community.*
- c. *The combined use of the Old Testament, dominical logia, early church traditions and pseudepigraphical literature favours community design.*

It can further be noted that there is a host of other theories which have been forwarded to solve the authorship question.¹⁶⁹ After a lengthy discussion on this topic it was concluded, as many scholars do, that: "1 (sic) Peter is a pseudonymous letter that originated in Rome sometime during the period 75-105".¹⁷⁰ This view of Bechtler represents the view of the majority of modern scholars on first Peter's authorship. Nevertheless, there is little reason to doubt that the book is Peter's own. Unlike second Peter, first Peter was generally known and accepted in the church from the early second century on.¹⁷¹ After an examination on the question of authorship it appears as if one major investigation was neglected, namely that of exegesis. Exegesis goes a long way to prove that the author must have known Jesus personally and very well. The book makes extended use of the sayings of Jesus¹⁷².

¹⁶⁹ Kendall (1984:10-18).

¹⁷⁰ Bechtler (1996:264).

¹⁷¹ Michaels (1988:xxxii).

¹⁷² Comparisons of such sayings found in Peter include: Matt. 5:10, Luke 6:22 <> first Peter 3:14; Matt. 5:11 <> first Peter 4:14a; Matt. 5:12 <> first Peter 1:8, 4:13; Matt. 5:16 <> first Peter 2:12; Luke 6:28 <> first Peter 3:9, 16; Luke 6:32-34 <> first Peter 2:19-20. Michaels (1988:xli) writes that "the 'impartiality' of the allusions suggests that Peter is drawing not on the finished gospels but on pre-Synoptic tradition". The "pre-Synoptic tradition" is attributed to the Q material according to Michaels (1988:xli). Yet it could also be attributed to the possibility that Peter knew Jesus and witnessed these sayings. Michaels (1988) constantly

The authorship of the epistle is rather important to this study due to the following:

- a. *The authorship is closely linked to the date of the book. Together the authorship and date determine the situation in the book. They play a major role on the source and form of suffering experienced in first Peter. Certainly that has a bearing on the interpretation of the book.*
- b. *The authenticity of the book depends much on the author. The second book of Peter has been screwed in controversy for many years. That debate has to a certain extent at least been blown over onto first Peter. It would be helpful in this matter if the apostle Peter was indeed the author.*
- c. *Due to the suffering in first Peter the message would be more meaningful coming from someone who had himself gone through such suffering.*
- d. *The apostle Peter had experienced many major reversals⁷³ in his own life which contributed to his and his reader's understanding of the book.*

The past experiences of the apostle Peter⁷⁴ would certainly qualify him to identify and empathize with his readers. Since he had remained a Christian through troublous times he could encourage them to do the same.

mentions the use of Jesus' sayings in his exegetical comments on first Peter.

⁷³ *Examples of such reversals are: from denial to apostleship, from a hero walking on water to a helpless sinking man, from chopping off an ear to accepting suffering himself, etc.*

⁷⁴ *Regardless of who the real author was, for the sake of simplicity, this dissertation refers to the author as Peter. That does not necessarily imply that the apostle Peter is the real author.*

1.7 Unity

The unity or disunity of the book would contribute positively or negatively to both the authorship and date hypotheses. If the possible disunity of the book were known to the readers it would have affected its success rate in the sense that empathy, encouragement and the reversal of roles within the book would not have been so heartfelt and genuine.

Before discussing the unity of first Peter we need to clarify what we mean with the term unity. Does unity apply to a book if all the parts share a common author? Is the book a unit if it were composed at one stage as a liturgy or a sermon, and then had an epistolary appendix added at some later stage by the same author? Is it a unit if it incorporates rather lengthy statements from traditional materials? Does unity refer to authorship at all? Does unity refer to a theme?

Various arguments have also been raised unconvincingly against the literary unity of first Peter. Grouped they fall within four categories:

- a. *The linguistic and literary phenomena of the text does not support the coherence of first Peter.¹⁷⁵*
- b. *There is a lack of epistolary characteristics.¹⁷⁶*

¹⁷⁵ Preisker postulates this argument by stating that first Peter consists of a series of self-contained units which give the impression of non-coherence (Windisch 1951). Beare points out that there are stylistic contrasts between 1:3-4:11 and 4:12-5:14 (Beare 1970:26).

¹⁷⁶ There is no significant relationship between the epistolary framework (1:1-2 and 5:12-14) and the main body of first Peter. This statement has been questioned by Kendall 1984:24-29.

- c. *The presence of baptismal motifs presupposes a baptismal setting for the document.*¹⁷⁷
- d. *Peter presupposes two different situations as well as the existence of a literary break after the doxology in 4:11.*¹⁷⁸

Perdelwitz¹⁷⁹ regards first Peter as a genuine epistle superficially appended to a sermon whose composition was unrelated. The logical conclusion that this view necessitates is that the book had to have been two different documents at some stage during its compilation. Contrary to Perdelwitz's view, those who have held that first Peter is in large part a homily / liturgy are by no means declaring that the document as it now stands is a composite of unrelated works. Bornemann, for example, in essence viewed the whole as a sermon while Preisker relegated 4:12-5:11 to a distinctive, somewhat different stage of the same liturgical procedure. Preisker came to this conclusion by noting differences in the emphasis on suffering between 1:3-4:11 and 4:12-5:11.¹⁸⁰ The following questions and concerns gave rise to the inquiry of Petrine (first Peter) unity:

- a. *There seems to be a need to account for the baptismal references in 1:3-4:11.*
- b. *The presence of the doxology in 4:11 is an indication of disunity.*

¹⁷⁷ *These baptismal motifs can be seen in the reference to baptism in 3:21; the use of βαπτισμός (1:3,23); the readers are addressed as ἀγαπητέ (2:2); the recurrence of κύριε (1:12; 2:10; 2:25; 3:21); and ἄρτι (1:6,8; 2:2); and the use of various creedal statements which would be suitable for a baptismal occasion (1:20;2:21-25; 3:18-22). That these elements require a baptismal setting however, is hard to substantiate (Kendall 1984:29).*

¹⁷⁸ Kendall (1984:21-40).

¹⁷⁹ Perdelwitz (1911:16).

¹⁸⁰ *For a discussion on the differences in emphasis on suffering between 1:3-4:11 and 4:12-5 see Dixon (1989:31).*

- c. *The more intense and immediate nature of the persecutions described in 4:12-19 and 5:9,10 suggests different instances of writing.*

However, the presence of baptismal references could well be explained by the importance with which baptism was viewed as an initiatory rite in the thought of the early church.¹⁸¹ Secondly, the presence of the doxology in 4:11 does not necessarily require that one document end at this point and that another begins.¹⁸² The stylistic differences between 1:3-4:11 and 4:12ff are not part of the discussion here.¹⁸³ Notwithstanding, the admonition to submit to human ordinance in 2:13 might imply that the readers had hitherto not always submitted. Non-submittance to social pressure would have resulted in conflict with the state which would have been more intense. Coupled with non-submittance we also have records of accusations. If there were social frictions already, to whom would society accuse Christians? Accusations to government about Christians would lead to more intense and immediate persecution. In 2:12 and 3:16 there is reference to those who καταλαλέω Christians. Kittel¹⁸⁴ suggests that the word conveys the idea of accusing someone where the connotation is that the accusations are false or exaggerated. In these passages (2:12; 3:16) two messages surface: firstly, that the accusations are false, and secondly, that the readers are familiar with these accusations and charges. Accusations and charges are more official than complaints and rumours. Hence, more intense

¹⁸¹ Warden (1986:30,42).

¹⁸² Doxologies are not rare in the New Testament, see Selwyn (1947:220). As a matter of fact, Westcott enumerates about sixteen in Hebrews alone (Warden 1986:42). Of all the instances of doxologies in the whole of the New Testament they are only utilized three times to conclude epistles (Rom. 16:27; Jude 25; second Peter 3:18)(Selwyn 1947:220).

¹⁸³ Considering the brevity of the text involved it is not surprising that arguments are mostly subjective and not substantive.

¹⁸⁴ Kittel (1968:3).

persecution.

Despite the differing theories on offer, modern research has reached a general consensus¹⁸⁵ that the evidence which can be drawn from first Peter suggests its literary coherence.¹⁸⁶ The striking recollections¹⁸⁷ in first Peter 4:12-5:14 of 1:1-4:11 strongly suggest that the book forms one unit. In fact it speaks for the integrity of the entire letter.¹⁸⁸

In conclusion then, it can be deduced, as some scholars¹⁸⁹ do, that first "Peter is in its entirety one epistle written on one occasion and addressed to communities which were experiencing actual trials and persecutions".¹⁹⁰ It is hard to imagine that the theme of the reversal of roles which is interwoven through every aspect of the book could have been constructed so eloquently in a disunited book.

¹⁸⁵ This consensus is documented in the following survey articles Martin (1962); Elliott (1976); Sylva (1980); Cothenet (1980); Neugebauer (1980).

¹⁸⁶ Kendal (1984:19).

¹⁸⁷ Examples of such recollections are: suffering as slander (4:14 <> 2:12; 3:16); just and unjust suffering (4:15-16 <> 2:19-20; 3:14); suffering according to the will of God (4:19 <> 3:17); the blessedness of the righteous sufferer (4:14 <> 3:14); joy in suffering (4:13 <> 1:6,8). The motif of the house of God also reappears in 4:17 <> 2:5. Lastly the notion of the judgement of the disobedient is also recollected (4:17 <> 2:7-8; 2:19-20). For further information on this topic see Campbell (1995:278-279).

¹⁸⁸ Campbell (1995:278).

¹⁸⁹ Warden (1986:44, 238).

¹⁹⁰ Moffatt (1914:342-344).



1.8 Genre and Theme

We embark on our study of the genre of first Peter with Adolf von Harnack¹⁹¹ who in 1897 postulated the thesis that the book was not a letter at all but rather a sermon (*homiletischer Aufsatz*). To account for the multitude of perspectives with which suffering is discussed, Richard Perdelwitz¹⁹² expounded on Harnack's thesis. Perdelwitz argued that the particles $\nu\acute{o}\nu$ (1:12; 2:10,25; 3:21) and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\iota$ (1:6,8) suggested the immediate setting of a declaratory statement. He concluded that first Peter was a sermon with two parts consisting of a baptismal homily¹⁹³, and secondly an epistolary and hortatory section.¹⁹⁴ The baptismal homily was supposedly directed to Christian converts who had hitherto belonged to mystery cults. This section was then embedded in an epistolary, hortatory framework.¹⁹⁵ Barring certain modifications this thesis was widely accepted from 1911 until 1930 by Streeter, Windisch, Beare

¹⁹¹ von Harnack (1897:451).

¹⁹² To read the comments which expound on von Harnack's thesis see Perdelwitz (1911:16-19,26).

¹⁹³ Perdelwitz found explicit references to baptism in 1:3,23; 3:21 and several other implicit references, for example 2:1,2. On account of these "baptismal" references he concluded that the section 1:3-4:11 originally had been a baptismal homily and that this homily displayed several points of kinship with the mystery cults. The next logical step was to draw parallels between baptism and the rites of Isis, Attis, Mithras which he did. He then suggested that the converts might originally have been devotees of Cybele (1911). Perdelwitz was supported by Streeter (1929:128-130).

¹⁹⁴ Dixon (1989:31).

¹⁹⁵ Dixon (1989:31).

and others.¹⁹⁶ Following these authors others expanded on the above said thesis and yet others made new suggestions.¹⁹⁷ In 1946 the work of Selwyn appeared in the form of a commentary on first Peter taking a different approach. Selwyn's comments on the genre of first Peter can be abridged by stating that the document is an encyclical letter written by Silvanus, the purpose of which was to encourage Christians in their time of trial.

The turning¹⁹⁸ point in Petrine study came with the publication of Lohse's work in the same year (1954) as that of Cross's¹⁹⁹. His²⁰⁰ disagreement with previous scholars concerned the

¹⁹⁶ Windisch (1930:76,77,82); Beare (1970:27); Adam (1952:20,21); Bornemann (1919:143-165); Hauck (1949:36); Beasley-Murray (1962:252).

¹⁹⁷ Bornemann (1919,1920:146) even went further than Perdelwitz in maintaining that essentially all of first Peter had been a baptismal discourse. Priesker (1951:156-162) expanded Perdelwitz's work arguing that another section should be added, that of 1:3-5:11 being an entire liturgy. He also argued that the term "baptismal homily" was to be substituted with a better designation for the document which became first Peter, namely, "baptismal liturgy" (Priesker 1951:156-162). He advanced the hypothesis that Silvanus, a second or third generation Christian, compiled the liturgy, added the brief opening and closing verses, and subsequently dispatched the document as a letter to Christians in Asia Minor who had known the apostle Peter (Priesker 1951:156-162). Boismard (1956:182-208; 1957:161-183) disagreed stating that the liturgy consists of various fragments. Cross (1954:22) devised a total new theory that the suffering in Peter could be equated to liturgical language of the Easter service near Passover time instead of physical suffering. Similar views were expressed by Leaney (1967:8,15,16) and Strobel (1958:210-219).

¹⁹⁸ Bechtler (1996:5) is of the opinion that this constituted the turning point on this discussion.

¹⁹⁹ Cross understood first Peter 1:3-4:11 to be an abbreviated, incomplete text of the

stylistic aporias that these scholars attributed to baptismal liturgies and the fact that baptismal references are restricted to only 1:3-2:10. Lohse judged first Peter to be an occasional letter, the purpose of which was to strengthen and comfort the mentioned congregations in the midst of slander (3:16; 4:3,4,14), court appearances (4:15-16) and the challenging of their faith and hope (3:15). This concept led to the disfavour of the baptismal - homiletical theories by most scholars in favour of the literary integrity and the genuine epistolary and paraenetic character of first Peter. However, there were still some scholars who continued to hold to some form of the baptismal - homily theory.²⁰¹ Since the main theme of Peter was no longer considered to be baptism (which was now considered incidental) it was replaced by conduct - the conduct of Christians in the midst of suffering²⁰² which had a tremendous bearing on their

liturgy followed by the presiding official. He believed to have found a clue for the specific season of the year for which the liturgical statement of the document was designed in the frequent occurrences of the words πάσχω and πάθημα. Cross (1954:15) penned:

"It seems as if the writer of 1 (sic) Peter has used the word πάσχω, in relation to the suffering of Christ and those which Christians have to bear, as a sort of Ariadne thread for his whole work".

²⁰⁰ Lohse (1954:68-89).

²⁰¹ Beare (1970:27; 220-226); Boismard (1956:182-208; 1957:161-183); Martin, R (1962:40); Reicke (1964:74).

²⁰² Hill (1976:181-189) agrees with Lohse on this new theme of the book of first Peter. But just what exactly this suffering entails remains unanswered by Hill. This uncertainty can be perceived in the following quote from Hill (1976:183) when he states that the author of first Peter:

"is concerned with the results of an intensification of the virtually continuous

being and remaining Christian.

The next landscape in the Petrine genre debate was shaped by Leonhard Goppelt²⁰³ who in his commentary on first Peter dated in 1978 depicted a twofold theme, viz. Christian existence in the midst of non-Christian society and secondly suffering.²⁰⁴ Goppelt believed the first book of Peter to be a circular letter that responded to the situation of its addressees in three stages:

- a. The social alienation stems from the nature of Christian life which could also be defined as the eschatological existence of the people of God or the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ. Christ's death and resurrection affect this new life in such a way that they were no longer in sync with society, hence alienation. The tangible effect of the new life could be seen in their hope, faith and sibling love (1:1-2:10).*
- b. Society demanded participation in the institutions of society. Peter's response prepares and encourages them to endure suffering due to their non-participation (2:11-4:11). As dual example Christ's suffering is firstly invoked as atonement and secondly as*

harrying of Christians by the local opponents which could lead to suspicion, denial of civil rights, arrests, imprisonment and even death".

Here Hill equates suffering with harrying that could lead to ... In other words it had not gotten to suspicion, denial of civil rights, arrests, imprisonment and death yet. So what does Peter have in mind when he talks about "fiery trials", "suffering", etc? The quote certainly indicates the problems that needed to be faced in remaining a Christian.

²⁰³ Goppelt (1978:18,19).

²⁰⁴ The major perspectives and themes of Goppelt's commentary of first Peter appeared two years prior to 1978 in Goppelt's writings: *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Volume 2) and *The Variety and Unity of the Apostolic witness to Christ* (161-178).

prototype for their suffering in society (2:21; 3:18).

- c. *The last stage of Peter's response confirms that their suffering at the hands of society is not only unavoidable, but expresses concrete participation in the sufferings of Christ (4:12-5:14).²⁰⁵*

Goppelt was not to have the last say as another major commentary appeared on the scene merely a year later (1979) this time by Norbert Brox. Brox concluded that the theme was hope or as he put it, hope in salvation as the certain future of Christians (3:15).²⁰⁶ Brox's logic is illustrated in his view that the one who suffers walks in the steps of Christ who also experienced injustice and hostility, and the one who follows in Christ's footsteps will ultimately arrive at Christ's final destination which is glory.²⁰⁷

In 1981 two important studies on first Peter appeared, viz. David Balch's work and that of John Elliott. Balch's work is primarily on "the origin and function of the code of household ethics found in 1 (sic) Peter" which he concludes to be Aristotle's topos about household management.²⁰⁸ Household management included then, domestic relationships necessary to the stability of the house and, ultimately, of the city. Due to this slant Balch finds Peter's epistle to be apologetic since Peter instructs slaves and wives to play the social roles assigned to them by Aristotle in order to silence the criticisms of the Gentiles.

²⁰⁵ Goppelt (1978:20-21; 114; 153; 201-206).

²⁰⁶ Brox (1979:16).

²⁰⁷ Brox (1979:254,257).

²⁰⁸ Balch (1981:2).

Those who advocate the position that first Peter is a baptismal rite have failed to account for:

- a. *Any mechanism used and,*
- b. *Any motivation for a liturgical statement becoming an epistle.²⁰⁹*

Moule, Thornton and Hill have successfully criticized the thesis that a baptismal homily / liturgy is the essential component of first Peter. In conclusion then, the majority of modern scholars agree that first Peter is a letter instead of the previously held view that it was a baptismal homily.²¹⁰ Troy Martin calls Peter's book a paraenetical letter.²¹¹ Warden²¹² also confirms that the literary nature of first Peter takes the form of an epistle.²¹³

There are many things that we do not know about the book of first Peter, but the one thing that seems certain is that the audience was not confronted with a theological or doctrinal conflict thus limiting the theme to other thoughts.²¹⁴ The most obvious theme of the letter must be suffering, or rather how to cope in the midst of suffering. The word-group πάσχειν (to suffer) and its derivatives occur more frequently in first Peter than in any other book in the

²⁰⁹ *For a discussion of arguments stating that first Peter cannot be classified as a baptismal homily see Best (1971:27).*

²¹⁰ *Bechtler (1996:25,26).*

²¹¹ *Troy Martin (1992:81-134).*

²¹² *Warden (1986:23,34).*

²¹³ *This view surfaced from as early as 1955 in the person of Moule (1955:6) who stated that the book is genuinely epistolary and written with specific communities in mind.*

²¹⁴ *Bechtler (1996:29).*

New Testament.²¹⁵ It is therefore not surprising that people like Hall concluded that “suffering is the overriding concern of the book ...”.²¹⁶ There are others who postulate additional themes, like Frederich,²¹⁷ who suggests as theme Christ’s obedience as a model for the Christian to follow.²¹⁸ The last recommendation that we are going to mention in this dissertation as theme of first Peter, is hope.²¹⁹ The author himself makes a statement as to the theme of the book in 5:12b. Dixon paraphrased the author’s assertion succinctly when he wrote: “... this is the costly grace of God. Live by it at all costs!”²²⁰

Although the suggestions from various scholars regarding the above mentioned themes are diverse they are still not exhaustive. I would like to suggest another theme, namely: The reversal of roles as the reasoning for remaining Christian in the face of hardship. This theme includes the previous mentioned theme of suffering but goes beyond that. Peter does not only write about what they are going through. He also submits a solution. Without any solution his epistle would barely have grounds for existence. Part of the solution, as will be presented later on, is the creation of a new perspective on themselves and their situation. This new perspective teaches them how to evaluate themselves and their situation differently.

²¹⁵ For a discussion on the meaning of the πᾶσχειν word-group see Moulton and Geden (1963:778).

²¹⁶ Hall (1976:137). Also see Lohse (1954:42).

²¹⁷ Frederich (1975:26,27).

²¹⁸ Other scholars who also use obedience as their suggestion of the theme of first Peter, although with different slants are Best (1971:71); Kelly (1969:43,44).

²¹⁹ For a discussion on the theme of hope in first Peter see Piper (1980:212-231).

²²⁰ Dixon (1989:38).

1.9 Purpose

The purpose of first Peter is intertwined with the theme of persecution and hence the solution of the reversal of roles. The following purposes of the book emerge:

- a. *Peter himself declares the purpose of his writing in 5:12 as encouragement to stand in the grace of God. In other words, to remain in the grace of God or to remain Christian.*
- b. *To serve as a reminder of the significance of their baptism.*
- c. *To inform them of God's protecting power in the face of trials (1:3-6; 1:22,23; 5:10).*
- d. *To bear an eschatological promise to the believers and at the same time to reveal a warning to non-believers (1:13, 17; 2:12; 4:5-7, 13, 19; 5:4).*
- e. *To encourage his readers to follow in the example of Christ (2:4,5, 21-23; 3:17,18).*
- f. *To persuade them to live virtuous lives in order that they can stand without reproach before the non-believers (4:1,2).*
- g. *To proclaim that the end is near (4:7).*
- h. *To counsel them to place their hope and confidence in God in the midst of difficulties (1:21).*

Each of the above mentioned purposes is intertwined with the reversal of roles (these themes will be discussed at length later on. We are therefore only making the connection here). Peter encourages his readers to remain Christians with the use of the theme of reversal. Baptism is a public reversal of roles in the sense that participants bid their previous lives farewell in favour for their new lives.²²¹ God's protecting power also makes them change places with the

²²¹ *Baptism symbolizes inter alia, a new life. This can be seen in Rom. 6:4 which says:*



non-believers as they will be bestowed with glory and the non-believers with shame. Since Christians are currently shamed by society this constitutes a rather apt reversal. The eschatological promise also bids a reversal as the eschatology means hope to Christians but damnation to society. Society currently damns Christians and this too represents a pertinent reversal. There are numerous reversals hidden in the example of Christ such as the reversal: from shame to glory. Virtuous lives will also result in the reversal of honour since their good behaviour will shame the accusers.

In this chapter we looked at introductory issues to place ourselves and Peter's readers in the right context. After this has been done, and before the above mentioned reversals together with Peter's solutions are discussed, the problems the readers are experiencing need to be explored.

"We were therefore buried with him through baptism into death in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, we too may live a new life" (New International Version).

Chapter 2. *The Problem of Suffering*

It seems evident in the book of first Peter that his audience was experiencing suffering. In this chapter it is endeavoured to sketch this problem more clearly so that we know what Peter and his readers were dealing with. To do this the source and form of suffering will be discussed, since the source and form of suffering have a direct bearing on the advice and encouragement that Peter had to offer. The source and form of suffering are important for us to understand since it defines one of the problems we are dealing with in first Peter. It also reveals whom we are dealing with. Are we, for example, only dealing with society, a small group of antagonists, Rome, other religions, or with what? With that in mind, the concept of suffering in first Peter will be explored.

According to certain scholars²²² "the predominant subject in all of 1 (sic) Peter is suffering". In 1:7 we find the loose association of Christian suffering with the purification of gold by fire.²²³ Verse seven commences with a purpose clause. Suffering thus serves the purpose of perfecting their faith (faithfulness)(1:5-7) and letting their genuine perfected faith be found honourable. The emphasis of this section is not that suffering serves as the test to prove the genuineness of their faith but rather to accentuate the value of this genuine faith in God's view. This can be seen in the concept that people are saved διὰ πίστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν (1:5). The end result of genuine faith is thus salvation (1:9 - τὸ τέλος τῆς πίστεως [ὑμῶν] σωτηρίαν) and Peter seems to be attributing value to this salvation with the phrase: εἰς

²²² Campbell (1995:46).

²²³ It is important to note here that 1:7 does not actually say that suffering itself is purifying the person who endures the suffering (Michaels 1988:30). However, the same cannot be denied in a group context where suffering purifies the group (this thought has been discussed in more detail previously).

κληρονομίαν ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀμάραντον (1:4). *The second accentuation of the value of genuine faith is illustrated in verse seven which starts with the purpose clause, ἵνα, thus providing the purpose of the test or trial viz. the “genuineness of your faith” followed by a value classification - πολυτιμότερον.*

Furthermore, this section serves to affirm the ultimate eschatological significance of genuine faith. Two points emerge regarding the gold that is tested by fire. Firstly, Peter creates a startling contrast between genuine faith which, like the inheritance for which it waits (1:4), is indestructible and eternal on the one hand and the gold which is perishable on the other. The perishable character of gold is further mentioned in 1:18. Secondly, the common ground between faith and gold (which is used metaphorically) is that both are tested by fire. The fact that testing by fire is implicit here should not move the thought to centre stage since it is not that important in the current argument and it is expressed indirectly within a paraenthesis.²²⁴ The simple thought seems to be that faith experiences trials. Suffering is normal for the faithful. This thought is expressed later in the book with Christ as example. It is for this reason that Christians are reminded in 4:12 not to be surprised when trials come, since that is normal. Peter describes genuine faith as already more precious than gold that is tested by fire.

Peter equates suffering with a “painful trial” (4:12)(New International Version). The word that is being employed in a metaphorical format in 4:12 is πύρωσις. Besides this occurrence the word is only found twice more in the New Testament, namely, Rev. 18:9,18. Extra-biblically,²²⁵ πύρωσις is qualified as the fiery test or trial by fire. In Justin²²⁶ we find the

²²⁴ Michaels (1988:31).

²²⁵ Didymos (16:5).

²²⁶ Justin (Dial. 116.2).

devil and his work force trying the believers with affliction and fiery trials. The notion in all of these appearances seems to be clear in referring to refinement²²⁷ by fire (1:6,7). This is substantiated by Prov. 27:21 where πύρωσις appears as an equivalent of the Hebrew words מִצְרָר and כִּבּוֹר describing the process of refinement (LXX). From this we can conclude that their suffering is a test to illustrate their faith.

2.1 The Source and Form of Suffering

Selwyn reads no intensification of the suffering into the πύρωσις of 4:12, but rather sees πύρωσις in the context of the whole letter which, according to Selwyn,²²⁸ consists not of imperial persecution but rather of episodic slander, social ostracism, mob violence and even arrest and prosecution by local authorities.²²⁹ Bechtler also agrees that the situation reflected

²²⁷ Sander (1966:43-44; 49,50; 67; 85,86; 90,91; 93,94; 96; 103,104) stands in opposition to the interpretation of πύρωσις as refinement in first Peter 4:12. She holds the view that this was the meaning in Prov. 27:21 but that the meaning has shifted from refinement / test to the ordeal of the end-time or the eschatological trial (Sander 1966:43-44; 49,50; 67; 85,86; 90,91; 93,94; 96; 103,104). This, however, would imply that the suffering, and time period in which Peter was written, was in fact the end-time. This hypothesis would be open to certain questions: What are we still doing here if the end-time has passed more than a thousand years ago? Was the end-time not the end, as we now still have time after the end-time? Does the end-time or eschatology not refer to the time right before the parousia? And does the fact that the parousia has not occurred not mean that Peter's time could not have been the end-time? The problem is that πύρωσις does not refer to some future event as it is equated with their current suffering.

²²⁸ Selwyn (1946:52-56, 91).

²²⁹ Although local authorities had the authority to make decisions that affected their

in first Peter represents one of verbal abuse and slanderous accusations of Christians by their non-believing antagonists.²³⁰ Helmut Millauer²³¹ published a full-length monograph on suffering in first Peter in which he attempted to uncover the origin and tradition-historical background of the various statements about suffering. Millauer calls Peter's theology on suffering

local jurisdiction, they were weary of offending the empire. Pliny's letter (111 AD.) illustrates that they continuously asked the Emperor or higher powers for advice. Thus, although the empire was not necessarily involved in the persecution / suffering of Christians, there is little doubt that they would have known about it, and condoned it. In this sense the empire is at least implicated into this matter. Bechtler (1996:10) agrees when he writes:

"it does appear that the local authorities considered Christianity basically criminal, with the result that some had been arrested and even condemned to death for their faith".

The only way for someone to be "condemned" to death was through the authorities, again implicating government. The suffering therefore could not have come solely from society but they had to have at the very least the co-operation of the authorities. Goppelt (1978:20; 39-40) agrees with this view. Peter also insinuates this in 4:15-16. In 4:17 it is entirely possible for Peter to contrast God's judgement with the presupposed imperial judgement that is being insinuated in 4:15-16.

In spite of the adverse treatment Christians received, they still remained Christians. The question is why? Peter attempted successfully to encourage them, utilizing the reversal of roles as his reasoning.

²³⁰ Bechtler (1996:119).

²³¹ Millauer (1976).

"leidenstheologie".²³² He concluded that two great "vorstellungskomplexe" from the tradition provide the author with most of the materials for the construction of this "leidenstheologie". The first "vorstellungskomplex" is sourced both from the election tradition of the Old Testament and Palestinian Judaism which give an indication of suffering as:

- a. πειρασμός - A trial or temptation and even an experiment (1:6,7; 4:12).*
- b. The distinction between a present time of suffering and a future time of rejoicing (1:6; 4:13).*
- c. Judgement or purification of the elect (4:17).*

The second "vorstellungskomplex" is from the synoptic discipleship tradition which provides the conceptions of suffering as:

- a. The Christian's calling (2:21).*
- b. Blessings (the blessedness of the sufferer) (3:24; 4:14).*
- c. The joy of suffering (4:13).²³³*

One scholar²³⁴ could well be speaking on behalf of the majority modern scholars who mostly agree on this topic when he writes that the suffering with which first Peter is concerned is due NOT to imperial persecution but to: "hostility, harassment, and social, unofficial ostracism on the part of the general populace".²³⁵ The reason for this conviction on the form of suffering

²³² He calls Peter's theology on suffering "leidenstheologie" in Millauer (1976:11,185).

²³³ This vorstellungskomplex can be seen in Millhauer (1976).

²³⁴ Earl Richard (1986:121-139).

²³⁵ It seems evident as mentioned in previous footnotes and the discussion thereof, that not EVERYONE is in agreement on this matter. Look for example at Warden (1986) for a

is mainly caused by a lack of technical terms for persecution as we have become accustomed to when there is reference to formal, official persecution.²³⁶ Examples of such technical terms would include: διωγμός (Matt. 13:21; Mark 4:17; 30:10; Acts 8:1; 13:50; Rom. 8:35; second Cor. 12:10; second Thess. 1:4; second Tim. 3:11); and φλῖψις (There are 43 texts utilizing this word).

Not even the technical term for formal accusation, κατηγορία, appears in first Peter (For example, in Matt. 12:10 and in 28 other references). In first Peter we find more general terms

lengthy debate on the matter. Everybody does agree that the above mentioned actions did take place, but the question is whether it was limited to such social dynamics, and would such action lead to death (there is proof of deaths of Christians on account of Christianity in contrast to criminal activity)? If we look at the example of Jesus we also find that it was society at large that was the instigators behind His death, yet there had to be governmental approval and thus involvement.

Michaels (1988:225) for example states that "Christ's suffering and death were virtually indistinguishable" in passages like 3:18-22 and 4:1. In verse 4:1 the "verb, 'suffer' embraces both ideas (of suffering and death) without risk of misunderstanding (Michaels 1988:225). The same attitude which Christians are to arm themselves with in 4:1, is that Christ suffered in the flesh. The author deliberately inserts the phrase "in the flesh" to signify physical suffering. In 2:19,20 physical suffering is specified. In 4:12 mention is made of "painful" trials. In 4:15,16 there is a strong possibility that the suffering that Peter had in mind was very similar to the suffering experienced by murderers, thieves, etc.

²³⁶ *For a more complete discussion on technical terms for persecution and the lack thereof in first Peter see Kelly (1969:10); Schelkle (1961:8); and Selwyn (1947:53).*

for suffering like: πάσχω²³⁷ (2:19,10; 3:14,17; 4:1,15,16,19; 5:10); παθήματα²³⁸ (4:13; 5:9); ὑποφέρειν λύπας (2:19); λυπηθῆναι ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς²³⁹ (1:6); ἡ πύρωσις²⁴⁰ πρὸς πειρασμόν (4:12). Furthermore, when the letter typifies suffering we find language of slanderous and accusatory speech rather than physical persecution. Examples of such speech are: ἐπηράζω²⁴¹ (3:16); καταλαλέω (2:12; 3:16); ὄνειδίζω²⁴² (4:14);

²³⁷ In all of the occurrences in first Peter πάσχειν never takes a direct object. In 2:19 the expression ὑποφέρειν ... λύπας appears to be a synonym of πάσχειν (Michaels 1988:140). πάσχειν is the word that Peter employs throughout the book as the standard word for the suffering of Christ (2:21, 23; 3:18; 4:1) and Christians (2:20; 3:14, 17; 4:15,19; 5:10) alike.

²³⁸ παθήματα is in a partitive genitive construction in 5:9. In this phrase “the same kind of suffering,” allowance has been made for different types of suffering. We are dealing with a wide variety of experiences here. Instead of τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων the phrase τὰ αὐτὰ παθημάτων could have been used. However, the word τῶν does make room for the variety mentioned above.

²³⁹ The use of ἄρτι implies that λυπηθέντες (admittedly aorist) refers to the present (1:6). Some (Beare 1970:26) have thought that suffering intensifies as the book moves along. They (Beare 1970:30) have suggested that suffering is a mere possibility in 1:3-4:11, whilst others (Zerwick 1963:110,111) maintained that suffering becomes a present reality later on in 4:12-5:14. However, suffering as this text suggests is already a present reality from the very first chapter (Michaels 1988:29).

²⁴⁰ πύρωσις which means “fiery ordeal” occurs in Prov. 27:21 (LXX)(Michaels 1988:260). After studying the appearances of πύρωσις at Qumran Sander (1966:36-50) reaches a conclusion in defining the word technically as the “trial of the end-time, the eschatological ordeal or test” (Sander 1966:43).

²⁴¹ Here (3:16) we are dealing with a result clause introduced with ἵνα ἐν ᾧ. It

αἰτεῖν λόγον²⁴³ (3:15); and βλασφημέω²⁴⁴ (4:4). The latter group of words certainly points to verbal abuse rather than physical abuse of Christians by their antagonists. Because of the presence of general terms for suffering, persecution, etc, rather than that of legal, specific terminology in first Peter, one might conclude that the letter envisions verbal hostility in the form of reproach and false accusations of criminal activity against its intended audience.

would be fair to assume that ἐπηρεάζειν is similar to (or not exceeding) καταλαλεῖσθε mention earlier in the text. The object of ἐπηρεάζειν in 3:16 is the ἀναστροφή of Christians and not Christians themselves. This might suggest that we are dealing with verbal and or societal pressure rather than physical pressure.

²⁴² There are some parallels between Matt. 5:11-12, Luke 6:22 and this text (4:14). In essence this text is a beatitude with the verb ὀνειδίζειν. Once again we are dealing with the reality of persecution here and not just some future possibility. This can be seen in the introductory conditional clause (εἰ in conjunction with the indicative). The word ridicule is used in the passive here. This might suggest that name calling was involved. As we know from the honour and shame dynamic, name calling is not only limited to causing displeasure but rather used to lower the status of the recipient. There are far more grave consequences than just a slanderous name change.

²⁴³ This phrase is appropriate for judicial proceedings although it would not qualify as a technical legal term. The meaning refers to a demand, accounting or explanation of something. If ἀπολογία and αἰτεῖν λόγον appear together it might say, as Michaels (1988:188) suggests, "that Peter sees his readers as being 'on trial' every day ...".

²⁴⁴ Translated as "they blaspheme" (New Revised Standard Version) this present active participle means literally blaspheming. The context persuades us that the word is attributive rather than circumstantial. The verse division suggests that this term is linked to the preceding phrase which insinuates that we can understand βλασφημεῖν as a synonym for ridicule and slander.

On the other hand the reference in 3:15 to ἀπολογία²⁴⁵ in the sense that the readers should familiarize themselves with an ἀπολογία in order that they can answer anyone demanding an account of their hope, may refer to judicial proceedings.²⁴⁶ If this is in fact the case, then some if not all instances of such terms may also refer to accusations²⁴⁷ brought against them in the courts of law.²⁴⁸ Although it is believed that the source of suffering is socially inspired, it is admitted that there is “the possibility of judicial proceedings”.²⁴⁹

Witness to the possibility that Peter's readers were in fact being brought to courts of law could possibly be found in three passages indicating that they were being tried by the procedure of cognition extra ordinem²⁵⁰ which is the same procedure by which Christians were later tried

²⁴⁵ This term is used of a formal defence in a court of law against specific charges (Michaels 1988:188). This is well illustrated in Luke 12:11,12; 21:12,14 where explicit mention is made of “kings and governors” or synagogues, rulers and authorities. The term is also used in a more general and therefore private sense as in first Cor. 9:3 and second Cor. 7:11. Also see Paul's use in Phil. 1:7, 16.

²⁴⁶ Examples of such usages are Acts 22:1; 24:10; 25:8,16; 26:1,2,24 and second Tim. 4:16.

²⁴⁷ Bechtler (1996:111).

²⁴⁸ The most substantiated argument to date in favour of Peter presupposing legal proceedings against its readers is presented by Schutter (1989) in his fine work: Hermeneutic and Composition in I Peter.

²⁴⁹ Bechtler (1996:134).

²⁵⁰ For more information on the legal procedure of cognition extra ordinem in Roman law refer to Berger and Nicholas (1970:588-589); de Ste Croix (1963:11-17); Jones (1972:101-118); Sherwin-White (1992:1-23).

by Pliny. Firstly, there is reference to the imperium by which provincial governors were empowered to try potentially capital cases (2:14-15). Here we find the word ἐκδίκησιν which is used to describe one function of the Roman governors - the responsibility and power to prosecute in criminal cases.²⁵¹ There are various ways in which to read ἔπαινον, but regardless of how it is read, the first member of this purpose clause seems to be clearly referring to the magistrates' juridical function of sentencing criminals. As certain scholars²⁵² suggest, it is probable that 2:12-15 refers to slanderous accusations whether that is being done in courts, in society at large or elsewhere. Secondly, there is also witness of cognition extra ordinem procedure in 3:13-17 although it must be said that this section is formulated in a general manner so as to also be applicable to informal settings as well as to forensic contexts. The word ἀπολογία used in 3:15 and the profound similarity between the terminology of 3:16b-17a with that of 2:12-15, is striking. The word stems from the juridical sphere and is used as a technical term to denote a legal defence.²⁵³ Lastly, 4:15 could well imply that some Christians had already been convicted of the crimes listed, possibly even murder.²⁵⁴ In 4:15 the believers were given an exhortation concerning the types of deeds for which they were not to suffer. This did not necessarily imply that they were involved in such deeds. For Peter was clear that they were suffering because they were Christian (3:14; 4:14). Even heathens knew that the crimes mentioned in the above said passage (4:15) were wrong. One could draw

²⁵¹ This word is to be interpreted in the light of juridical proceedings since it bears that interpretation in its extra biblical usage (Bechtler 1996:112). For a more detailed discussion on the usage of ἐκδίκησιν see Schrenk (1964:2.446); Best (1971:114); Goppelt, (1978:185) who incidentally translates this word with "to prosecute". To examine the juridical meaning of the ἐκδίκ- word-group see Schrenk (1964:2.442-446).

²⁵² Bechtler (1996:114).

²⁵³ Kelly (1969:29).

²⁵⁴ Schutter (1989:14-17).

parallels between the punishment of such crimes and the persecution they were suffering. It would seem as if they were suffering the punishment of such crimes for being Christian. In 2:1 they were to put away guile, insincerity, envy and slander. In 2:11 the admonition is to abstain from "desires of the flesh" (New Revised Standard Version). In 3:9 they are urged not to return evil with evil. Therefore we might assume that Christians were enduring guile, insincerity, envy, slander and evil. It is suggested that the readers of first Peter may have been placed in a position where thievery and murder were assumed to be part of the guilt associated with the practice of Christianity.²⁵⁵ It is worthwhile to note that criminal charges could have been brought by any subject of the Empire. In certain cases this subject could even have been summoned to state the accusation in court, but it was the magistrate who conducted the formal trial. As such the accused was interrogated by, and would respond to the magistrate rather than just anyone.²⁵⁶ The reference to "everyone who asks" (New International Version) in 3:15 would still apply to the magistrate who in the case of a trial would be the one who asks. The "everyone" would then refer to all of the magistrates, since they would not know before whom they would be brought. Ordinary citizens did not have the right or power to conduct trials. In the light of the above mentioned scenarios, especially that of 2:12-25, there is a strong possibility that criminal trials may well have been one of Peter's concerns. This concern does prevail,²⁵⁷ especially in 3:15, in terms of future possibilities rather than of "present reality". However, there is a sharp contrast between the offenses listed in 4:15²⁵⁸ and the offenses listed in 4:16. Since 4:16 concerns itself with suffering for being Christian with no mention of wrongdoing, it appears that they suffered for both criminal and Christian activity.

²⁵⁵ Knox (1953:188).

²⁵⁶ For the order and manner of judicial proceedings see Berger and Nicholas (1970:589); Jones (1972:113,114).

²⁵⁷ Balch (1981:95).

²⁵⁸ Take note of the εἰ δέ and the repeated ὡς (4:15,16).

We sincerely hope that the vast majority of them rather suffered for being Christian than for criminal activity.

Contrary to the popular belief regarding the limitation of suffering and persecution to social friction, the following questions and information arise:

- a. It seems doubtful that the general suspicion and prejudice of neighbours regarding a new religion would have resulted in the type of persecution which is addressed by the author.*
- b. New religions were hardly strange to the cities of Western Anatolia.*
- c. Would social hardship be equated with trials by fire called πύρωσις in 4:12?²⁵⁹*
- d. Their suffering was compared with that of Christ's (4:13). Was Christ's suffering then also limited to social friction?*
- e. Peter's emphasis (2:12,14; 3:16,17; 4:15) that they should suffer for doing good in contrast with doing bad deeds (κακοποιοῦντας)(3:17) illustrates that they were suffering the same suffering fit for bad deeds and evil doers (κακοποιός). In 4:15 it would seem as though some of them were suffering the type of punishment associated with criminals which was certainly not social friction.*
- f. Would acts of social friction alone be enough to warrant and cause Peter to regard it as evidence that the end (1:5,7,20; 4:17) was near?*
- g. The author yields evidence that its readers not only were suspicious of the prevailing political powers under whose rule they lived, but that there was a tension brought about, at least in part, because of their disdain for the government. Peter also encouraged them to be more conscious of the way they were perceived by the authorities than they had been in the past. An example of such inference is: "Be subject, then, to every human creation, because of the Lord, whether to a king, as the highest, whether*

²⁵⁹ Also view 1:6,7.

to governors, as to those sent through him" (2:13,14). The reason why Peter needed to request his readers to be subject was simply because they were not. They were not subject because the possible source of their hardship was the authorities.

- h. Taking the previous position one step further gives an indication that the author himself lacked the highest regard for the prevailing powers as he would like them to:
 - h.1 Be "put to shame" (3:16).*
 - h.2 Give account to "him who is ready to judge the living and the dead" (4:5).*
 - h.3 Experience a worse judgement (4:17).**
- i. Social friction alone does not correspond to the rest of the New Testament when it comes to suffering as Peter and Paul, etc., were jailed by the authorities, admittedly on social demand.*
- j. The fact that Peter entitled his readers as "aliens and exiles" (2:11) and the collaborative self identification by the readers as such, indicates that the readers had broken contact with former acquaintances and practices. They had embarked on a new way of life and conduct where they defined themselves as "aliens and exiles". The pressure that the readers were facing stems from old acquaintances to resume their former associations and practices. It was when they did not adhere to this pressure that they were resented. This situation is clearly insinuated to in 4:3,4. Their new lives impacted their social and political²⁶⁰ existence. The impact on their social existence would lead to social resentment, but the impact on their political existence would certainly lead to political action.*

²⁶⁰ *Their new lives prevented them from taking part in certain political activities and religious rites. As political activity was so closely connected with religion they impacted each other directly. Religion and politics were connected in the sense that they worshipped Roman gods and Emperors. Refusal to worship the Emperor would unequivocally be interpreted by the Emperor as political dissent. Political dissent would unlock political action and hence the pressure on Christians included not only social friction but also political action.*

k. *The new group of Christians became a cohesive group.²⁶¹ Cohesiveness takes an abundance of time and trust to develop. The possible reason for such a quick development of cohesiveness was that they had been driven to a strong, in-group cohesiveness by general societal resistance as well as governmental resistance. It is a known sociological phenomenon that physical disasters bind people together. There are also two further transpirations as a result of suffering. Firstly, suffering purifies (1:7; 4:12). People are not willing to suffer or die for something they do not fully believe in. Thus, when suffering comes they would rather leave the group, hence the group is purified since only the true believers are left in the group. This process has a binding effect to the remnant group. Secondly, suffering unites people (4:8; 5:9). It is debatable whether their cohesiveness would have developed so strongly and quickly due just to societal pressures.*

*One thing that seems certain is that general societal pressures could hardly be placed in the same category as suffering and as a murderer or a thief. Furthermore, the word *πασχέτω* used in 4:15 is also used in 2:21, 23; 4:1 in reference to Christ's death.²⁶²*

²⁶¹ *Their cohesiveness can be illustrated by remarks such as: "... you have genuine mutual love, love one another deeply from the heart" (1:22)(New Revised Standard Version). Also peruse the following: 2:17; 3:8; 4:8 and 5:14.*

²⁶² *When used of Christ *πασχέ-* communicates connotations of death. The word *πασχέ-* also occurs in 2:19,20; 3:14, 17; 4:1, 15, 19; and 5:10. These times the word is not used in reference to Christ but rather to the suffering of Christians (Blazen 1983:28). While it remains highly unlikely that Peter suggested that the suffering of all Christians would culminate in death, it is a prospect that he was alluding to the real possibility that it sometimes might. See Bauer (1957:639).*

In 4:19 the author writes that those who suffer παρατιθέσθωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς to a faithful Creator. This might also possibly refer to death.²⁶³

The following points in 4:12-19 might lead us to another source and nature of the suffering that Christians were enduring:

- a. The use of πύρωσις in the context of 4:12.*
- b. The nature of the crimes mentioned in 4:15.*
- c. The fact that the believers were suffering purely for the name Christian.*
- d. The eschatological orientation which equated contemporary events with the Messianic Woes.*

Points one to four all argue that the source and nature of the persecution referred to in this passage were linked to the Roman proconsul, his representatives and the city government which ruled at Rome's will. The nature of the suffering according to the allusions in this passage then points to official persecution and even death. Thus, Peter suggests that Roman governors (like Tacitus, Pliny, etc) of Asia and Pontus-Bithynia had learned of Christianity, disapproved of it, and marshalled the powers of their office against it. It seems evident that official persecution sourced from Rome²⁶⁴ was what Christians endured from an early date.²⁶⁵

²⁶³ Warden (1986:230).

²⁶⁴ It is worthy to note that the state did not really stand in opposition to the community. The state and community were viewed as an organic whole. It was the state's perception of the church as a threat to the whole that caused the conflict.

²⁶⁵ Warden (1986:242).

In conclusion then, the source and form of the suffering with which Peter's readers were faced, consisted of both societal and governmental actions.²⁶⁶ It would appear as if their group orientation in the πόλις supported such an opinion. The first and foremost common source of suffering was the society exerting suffering in the form of accusations, slander and shame. This represented the primary source and form of suffering. But, this source and form of suffering spilt over into the secondary source and form, with occasional conflicts of public disturbance that resulted in criminal prosecutions of those who seemed to constitute a threat to the peace.²⁶⁷ The ensuing quotation will serve as summary:

"Yet it is perfectly clear that for three centuries the emperors either persecuted Christians or connived at their maltreatment; and it is clear too that for much of this period Jews felt and were oppressed to such an extent that it is reasonable to speak of persecution".²⁶⁸

The following section seems to support this postulation.

2.2 Pliny's Letter²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Read the chapters entitled "Rome and First-Century Judaism" and "The Primitive Community" in Frend's book (1982:15-34).

²⁶⁷ Goppelt (1978:327,328).

²⁶⁸ Wardman (1982:123).

²⁶⁹ The full transcript can also be found in Benko (1984:5-7) who discusses the matter in some detail. For the reader's edification an extract from one of Pliny's letters and Tacitus' reply is supplied:

It is my practice, my lord, to refer to you all matters concerning which I am in doubt. For who can better give guidance to my hesitation or inform my ignorance? I have never participated in trials of Christians. I therefore do not know what offenses it is the practice to punish or investigate, and to what extent. And I have been not a little hesitant as to whether there should be any distinction on account of age or no difference between the very young and the more mature; whether pardon is to be granted for repentance, or, if a man has once been a Christian, it does him no good to have ceased to be one; whether the name itself, even without offenses, or only the offenses associated with the name are to be punished.

Meanwhile, in the case of those who were denounced to me as Christians, I have observed the following procedure: I interrogated these as to whether they were Christians; those who confessed I interrogated a second and a third time, threatening them with punishment; those who persisted I ordered executed. For I had no doubt that, whatever the nature of their creed, stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy surely deserve to be punished. There were others possessed of the same folly; but because they were Roman citizens, I signed an order for them to be transferred to Rome.

Soon accusations spread, as usually happens, because of the proceedings going on, and several incidents occurred. An anonymous document was published containing the names of many persons. Those who denied that they were or had been Christians, when they invoked the gods in words dictated by me, offered prayer with incense and wine to your image, which I had ordered to be brought for this purpose together with statues of the gods, and moreover cursed Christ - none of which those who are really Christians, it is said, can be forced to do - these I thought should be discharged. Others named by the informer declared that they were Christians, but then denied it, asserting that they had been, but had ceased to be, some three years before, others many years, some as much as twenty-five years. They all worshipped your

image and the statues of the gods, and cursed Christ.

They asserted, however, that the sum and substance of their fault or error had been that they were accustomed to meet on a fixed day before dawn and sing responsively a hymn to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by oath, not to some crime, but not to commit fraud, theft, or adultery, not falsify their trust, nor to refuse to return a trust when called upon to do so. When this was over, it was their custom to depart and to assemble again to partake of food - but ordinary and innocent food. Even this, they affirmed, they had ceased to do after my edict by which, in accordance with your instructions, I had forbidden political associations. Accordingly, I judged it all the more necessary to find out what the truth was by torturing two female slaves who were called deaconesses. But I discovered nothing else but depraved, excessive superstition.

I therefore postponed the investigation and hastened to consult you. For the matter seemed to me to warrant consulting you, especially because of the number involved. For many persons of every age, every rank, and also of both sexes are and will be endangered. For the contagion of this superstition has spread not only to the cities but also to the villages and farms. But it seems possible to check and cure it. It is certainly quite clear that the temples, which had been almost deserted, have begun to be frequented, that the established religious rites, long neglected, are being resumed, and that from everywhere sacrificial animals are coming, for which until now very few purchasers could be found. Hence it is easy to imagine what a multitude of people can be reformed if an opportunity for repentance is afforded.

Trajan to Pliny

You observed proper procedure, my dear Pliny, in sifting the cases of those who had been

Pliny, the younger, was governor of Pontus / Bithynia from 111-113 AD. He engaged the Emperor, Trajan with correspondence regarding a variety of administrative and political matters, one of which was the issue of Christians being brought to court and the subsequent punishment for those found guilty. Pliny simply asked them if they were Christians or not. If they answered in the affirmative they would be punished. If they answered in the negative they were subjected to a test. The test consisted of:

- a. The invoking of the gods in words dictated by Pliny.*
- b. Offered prayer with incense to the gods.*
- c. Offered wine to the Emperor's image.*
- d. Cursing Christ.*

Pliny seemed to be clearly stating that people were being punished for merely being Christian, "even without offenses". Such punishment consisted of torture and / or execution. It was Pliny's view that Christianity endangered society. In the salutation of the letter Pliny declared that he had "never participated in trials of Christians". It is therefore reasonable to conclude that he must have acted on certain precedents. This would conclusively prove that official governmental persecution dates earlier than 111 AD. In fact, it takes time for such precedents to be set especially when it comes to the execution of people, and according to the letter we are talking about a considerable number of people. Pliny's letter shows that he was ignorant of

denounced to you as Christians. For it is not possible to lay down any general rule to serve as a kind of fixed standard. They are not to be sought out; if they are denounced and proved guilty, they are to be punished with this reservation, that, whoever denies that he is a Christian and really proves it - that is, by worshipping our gods - even though he was under suspicion in the past, shall obtain pardon through repentance. But anonymously posted accusations ought to have no place in any prosecution. For this is both a dangerous kind of precedent and out of keeping with the spirit of our age.

imperial policy regarding Christians. On the other hand he clearly illustrated that he was in no way ignorant of the local practice. If his actions to summarily execute Christians²⁷⁰ were not policy-driven we might ask what made him act in this way. One of the possible answers seem to be that his actions were shaped by precedents.²⁷¹ Whether or not Pliny's letter was contemporaneous with 4:12 is of no consequence²⁷² for earlier governors, no doubt with more independence than Pliny, had probably acted in ways similar to Trajan's legate.²⁷³ It was written of such Christian executions by official powers that:

"The judge did not act capriciously; he based his sentences on judicial precedents and on universal imperial policy. Nor was the case of the three martyrs an

²⁷⁰ Warden (1986:223).

²⁷¹ Warden (1986:223). *The interesting thing is that Tacitus also clearly had no sympathy for Christians. He also formed his opinions of Christians while he was proconsul of Asia. Now the twist in the plot lies in the fact that Tacitu, Seutonius and Pliny (who were the earliest Romans from secular life who mentioned Christians) were all contemporaries and apparently well acquainted (Benko 1984:14). Benko suggests that Tacitus served as governor during 112-113 which was just after Pliny had written his report in 111. Therefore, they would have shared sentiment, information and precedents. In fact, it was probably they who in conjunction with each other formed such precedents.*

²⁷² *It is well documented in Benko (1984:14-) that such official treatment of Christians by Rome did take place in first Peter's time.*

²⁷³ *During the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161) we find a story of Christian executions purely on the charge of being Christian. On this occasion the judge who ordered such executions was Urbicus. The story can be perused in a letter to the Emperor called "The Second Apology of Justin Martyr".*

isolated one".²⁷⁴

However, the fact that Pliny's letter and first Peter are being associated with the same part of the Roman world adds force to the supposition that the church's relationship with the government was an issue in both documents. It is even quite possible that Pliny was the persecutor himself.²⁷⁵ Persecution as assumed in first Peter and sustained over a period of time can normally only be undertaken by those who have the powers of the state and thus the police / army at their disposal. It is agreed by certain scholars²⁷⁶ when they observe that Pliny's letter possibly illustrates the fact that the legates' actions against Christians were based on a well established practice.²⁷⁷

It is stated by some²⁷⁸ that this group of Christians must have had their origin "some two to three decades at least" before Pliny's correspondence.²⁷⁹ This would place the start of official governmental persecution at "at least" 81 AD to use Bechtler's words.²⁸⁰ If we take into account

²⁷⁴ Benko (1984:1). In the following pages of Benko's book he sets out to prove what has just been quoted with the use of similar examples.

²⁷⁵ Warden (1986:225).

²⁷⁶ Keresztes (1980:270).

²⁷⁷ It is noted that the region in contention was organized into smaller areas. It is therefore, reasonable to allow room for different rules, practices and precedents from one area to another. Although, one cannot really envisage major differentiation as they had to comply, at least, to the framework set by Rome

²⁷⁸ Bechtler (1996:76).

²⁷⁹ Michaels (1988:66).

²⁸⁰ Bechtler (1996:76).

that official persecution usually starts after all social methods have failed and the fact that social methods always take longer than official methods and the fact that most modern scholars suggest that the suffering in Peter is social, then it places us at an early date.

Concerning the class of person involved in Christianity, Pliny states that some of them were Roman citizens and others were from every order (ordines). The main three orders were the senatorial, equestrian and decurion orders of Roman citizens. All other citizens belonged to the order of free persons.²⁸¹ The rest of the accused (whom Pliny had already dealt with) consisted of non-Roman citizens called peregrini.²⁸² Furthermore, it is Pliny's testimony that both cities and rural areas were infiltrated by Christianity. The epistle does confirm that Christians were sourced from the Gentiles rather than the Jews, which is confirmed by Peter in 1:14-19 and 4:3-4.

It is possible that the hardship of Christians was bestowed on them by both societal pressure and governmental actions. Such awesome pressure would have been reason enough for new converts to Christianity to digress from the new found pathway. Peter's reasoning for remaining Christian needed to be, at the very least, equally powerful to persuade the new converts to remain Christian.

²⁸¹ On the Roman Ordo system, see Garnsey and Saller (1987:112-118); Garnsey (1974:159-165); Hopkins (1974:103-120).

²⁸² The word peregrini does not appear in Pliny's letter, but it is implied in the fact that some of the accused were executed while others were being sent to Rome for trial. See Jones (1972:102); Sherwin-White (1963:13-23); Wilkens (1984:23).

2.3 Problem One: The Problem of Clashing Symbolic Universes

Sociology of knowledge leads us to believe that we are dealing with a situation of conflict in first Peter between the social world and the symbolic universe. We have two sets of symbolic universes conflicting. Firstly, we have the symbolic universe of the social world and secondly, that of the Christian orientated world. The incongruence between the two symbolic universes causes the conflict. Because one of the causes of the conflict seems to be a clash between the social symbolic universe and the Christian symbolic universe, it does not necessarily imply a social resolve, just as a verbal dispute does not limit the result to verbal action and most often than not leads to a physical conflict. The cause of the conflict in first Peter therefore, could have been social with an official, physical outcome.

Within the symbolic universe of society Christians were viewed as “non-conformists who threatened the religious, and hence the sociopolitical (sic), status quo”.²⁸³ This, however, reveals inconsistency in the argumentation of the “emerging consensus”²⁸⁴ since threats to the religious status quo leads to threats to the socio-political status quo as Achtemeier admits. In other words threats to the religious world lead to:

- a. Threats to the social order - hence social action.*
- b. Threats to the political order - hence not only social action but also political action.*
- c. Threats to the Emperor worship - hence also imperial action.*

²⁸³ Achtemeier (1989:211).

²⁸⁴ This refers to the notion that most scholars see the source and form of suffering as being solely social. See Bechtler (1996:19,20). This dissertation questions such a notion.

The clashing symbolic universes caused a problem in as much as society viewed things totally differently from how Christians viewed them. Society did not approve of the Christian's view and hence they pressurised the believers.

One of the most important symbolic universalistic views of these cities was social order which would serve as an example of the above. The whole Roman government was constructed around social order. Any attempts to foil the social order were not only seen as anti-social but also as a security threat. Therefore Christians were viewed as shameful and as a threat to the social order by the indigenous ethnic and / or religious majorities.

Reasons for this view are:²⁸⁵

- a. The unheard of independence of Christian slaves and wives in choosing their own religion apart from the pater potestas, since this was perceived as a threat to the social order.*
- b. The perception²⁸⁶ that the nature of Christianity is superstition.²⁸⁷ Because of the similarities between Christianity and the mystery religions²⁸⁸ both were thought of in terms of superstition.*

²⁸⁵ Campbell (1995:41).

²⁸⁶ Bechtler (1996:106,107). Also see Benko (1984:21-24).

²⁸⁷ This view can clearly be seen in Suetonius, Nero (*The Twelve Caesars*) 16.2; Tacitus (*The Annals of Imperial Rome*) 15.44 and in Pliny's letter.

²⁸⁸ There were many of these mystery religions. Several cults even originated in this area (Bechtler 1996:75). Examples of such cults are: Cybele, Sabazius and Men (Schutter 1989:9). Excavations in the Bithynian city of Nicomedia resulted in a find of coins testifying to the polytheistic worship of more than forty deities (MacMullen 1981:1.34).

- c. *The perception that Christianity (also seen as a sect) promotes sexual immorality²⁸⁹ and libertinisms. This was seen in the fact that the woman's place was no longer limited to domesticity.*
- d. *The accusation of cannibalism.²⁹⁰ This accusation is deduced from communion - "eat this bread for it is my body" was interpreted as the eating of human flesh and thus constituted cannibalism.*
- e. *The practice of magic.²⁹¹ As with point number two, there were similarities between travelling magicians and the travelling apostles and therefore Christians were accused of practising magic.*
- f. *Sedition.*
- g. *Atheism and / or polytheism. Because they believed in Jesus and specifically that He is also God meant to the Gentiles that Christians believed in two gods (Jesus and God), hence Christianity was polytheistic. Atheism also played a role since the other religions did not accept Jesus as divine. The fact that Christians worshipped the unaccepted Jesus constituted atheism for they thought that Christians were not worshipping any god - as Jesus was a man. Furthermore, the rejection of Christians of their gods may*

²⁸⁹ When Peter writes: "Greet one another with the kiss of love" (first Peter 5:14) it could well be interpreted by outsiders as being or at least leading towards sexual immorality. Also see Benko (1984:53-78) on the question of immorality. For further reading on the interpretation by outsiders of the kiss (be it a holy one or not) as was customary (the notion that such a kiss was in fact customary among Christians can be derived from the following texts: first Thess. 5:26; first Cor. 16:20; second Cor. 13:12; Rom. 16:16) for Christians see Benko (1984:79-102) who has written a whole chapter on it.

²⁹⁰ See Benko who once again devotes a whole chapter to "The charges of immorality and cannibalism" (1984:53-78).

²⁹¹ See Benko's chapter entitled: "Magic and early Christianity" (1984:103-139).

also seem to leave them godless.

- h. Contempt for death and a show in martyrdom.²⁹²*
- i. Withdrawal of economic support to pagan interests (Acts 19:18-41). They no longer took part in the worship of the state gods.*
- j. Hatred of the human race. Because they withdrew from state worship this withdrawal was perceived as anti-social.*

²⁹² *Although Campbell would not admit it, the fact that he uses Christian martyrdom and death as an example, also proves that the government was involved in the persecution since Roman law states that one cannot be killed unless found guilty of a crime. This could only be done in a court of law. Thus, we do not only have a situation of public discontent towards Christians but at least also affirmation of that discontent from the government. It is further likely that the government was the instrument used to consummate the court judgement in putting to death these Christians. Campbell (1995:41) himself writes that: "the community of believers constituted an invasive foreign body, whose adverse influences required countermeasures". The question remains whether defamation will suffice as a "countermeasure" or whether an official response would be necessitated. As part of the solution Peter submits the consolation that the suffering of Christians is linked to those of Christ. Campbell (1995:47) writes: "He suffered just as they do". Again Campbell proves that the suffering was more than just defamation, unless of course Jesus' suffering was limited to defamation too. When Peter equates Jesus' suffering with that of the current Christians then surely it also needs to include: court appearances, involvement of Roman officials, physical suffering, etc. This objection is also voiced by Feldmeier (1992:174).*

2.4 Problem Two: The Exclusivism of Christians

Furthermore, Christians refused to worship other gods. At the same time they professed to own the truth solely. This profession would also lead to suffering as such professions violated an important aspect of Roman society which is conforming tolerance or reciprocal acceptance.²⁹³ Thus conversion (abandonment of one religion in favour of exclusive devotion to another) was rare and in response to proselytizing, atypical and unheard of. Others,²⁹⁴ for example, refer to proselytizing as “a shocking novelty in the ancient world”.²⁹⁵ Although Judaism was to a certain extent protected by Roman law, vilification was frequent (largely due to exclusivity).²⁹⁶ On the other hand, Judaism did command a certain respect that Christianity could never command which brought about more reason for suffering and persecution.²⁹⁷ An unwillingness from Christianity to acknowledge the legitimacy of other religions generated suspicion. This was further aggravated with the fact that Christianity refused to partake in both religious and civil ceremonies that were part of common life.²⁹⁸

²⁹³ Goppelt (1978:40).

²⁹⁴ Goodman (1994:105).

²⁹⁵ For detailed discussions on the topic of proselytizing see Goodman (1994:20-37); MacMullen (1981:94-112); Wilken (1984:64); Cohen (1989:13-33); Trebilco (1991:145-185).

²⁹⁶ Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28.66,69; Tacitus, *Historiae* 5.1-13; Juvenal, *Satires* 14.96-106.

²⁹⁷ On Judaism and Christianity see Gager (1985:67-88; 59-62); Fredriksen (1991:532-548); Cohen (1992:14-23); Feldman (1992:24-37); Goodman (1994:38-90).

²⁹⁸ Benko (1984:1-29); de Ste Croix (1963:24-31); Friend (1967:77-93); Garnsey (1974:163-177); MacMullen (1981:1-4); Nock (1933:66-137); Smallwood (1981:124); Wilken (1984:63,64). On Roman criticism of other religions and specifically Christianity see Balch (1981:65-80); Wilken (1984:1-93).

The readers' exclusivity as members of the church could be illustrated by means of a comparative contrast. The readers were typified as they who were sanctified (1:2); the holy (1:16); the redeemed (1:18); the purified (1:22); and an elect race (2:9). Compared to these characterizations the unbelievers were contrasted with terms like the disbelievers (2:7); the disobedient (2:8); those who lived their lives in the flesh to the lusts of men (4:2). Furthermore, their exclusiveness and bond originated from the fact that previously they had been no people, but at that time they were the people of God (2:9). Utilizing the mathematical equation once again Peter stated that God was against the proud and on the side of the humble. He then concluded that Christians were the humble (5:5,6). Therefore God was on their side. By inference God was then against the non-believers.

In their society Christians were dispossessed by the wealthy and influential people. In the church however, they found a sense of superiority which set them above the mighty and proud things of their world.²⁹⁹ In a new way they then saw themselves as the elect and as such they were the really significant ones in the ultimate order of things. In separating themselves and refusing to recognize the superiority of those above them Christians conveyed the message and image of superiority and exclusivity. But in so doing angered society as Celsus asserted when he said that the language of a Christian:

²⁹⁹ *This sense of superiority can be seen in the New Testament and continuing into the later centuries (Contreras 1980:974-1022). In reviews of the epistle of Diognetus and others like Justin; Clement of Alexander; Tarian; Tertulian; and Arnobius one can clearly see this sense of superiority as they use irony and sarcasm to attack pagan idolatry. Also see the citations about the suggested superiority that can be found in the work of Colwell (1939:57-59).*



"... is a rebellious utterance of people who wall themselves off and break away from the rest of mankind".³⁰⁰

The question of motif for the coercing of suffering on Christians by society has been discussed as the clashing of symbolic universes and the exclusivism of Christians. One could see how these would suffice as reasons for persecution. However, if such reasons were in fact enough to warrant persecution then it must also be agreed that Rome had even more reason to do so, as would be argued in the next chapter. If such motifs are valid, then on the basis of motif it would support the conclusion that the persecution in first Peter was both societal and official.

Now that the suffering of the believers has been examined and it was concluded that suffering was both politically and socially motivated, the political views and the consequences thereof will be explored. Subsequently, the social ramifications will be dealt with.

This is done so that it would be understood how politics and society functioned. Peter uses their very way of functioning to solve their problems or at the least to encourage them.

³⁰⁰ Origen Contra Celsum 8.2.

Chapter 3. *The Effects of Roman Rule on Christianity*³⁰¹

The setting demands the understanding of Roman rule, as the society at question seemed to be functioning within this paradigm. In fact, as we shall discover in this chapter, it seems that many of the Roman practices contributed to persecution in the first place. Peter also employed many of the concepts of Roman rule in his proposed solution: the reversal of roles.

It is rather important to note that this discussion on the effects of Roman rule on Christianity does discuss Rome and their systems pretty generally.³⁰² It is noted that exceptions did exist.

³⁰¹ *Many of the systems in place and views toward the emperor seems to be rather absolute. In theory they probably were. In practice, however, things might have been more mellow. This dissertation provides the information as understood by many scholars mentioned in this section. As such, it might seem to be absolute, but it is acknowledged here at the start of this chapter that most things are not as absolute and clearly defined as in theory. Read the two volumes of Trombley on "Hellenic Religion and Christianization" (1993). Also see the work of Rose (1959); Ferguson (1977).*

³⁰² *It needs to be noted that it is not the purpose of this dissertation to study the Roman system of government in depth. An overview is supplied to help the reader understand:*

- a. *How the Roman system of government contributed to the problems of Christians.*
- b. *How society at large functioned within this system.*
- c. *How Peter used and defended Christians against this system (which will be discussed later in the dissertation).*

It is fully acknowledged that Roman practice differed from place to place and governor to governor.

For this discussion lines are being drawn so that Peter's advice and arguments could be applied to probabilities and / or possibilities. It is not the aim of this dissertation to study the Roman system in detail but rather Peter's response thereto. General lines are supplied to abet the reader to better understand what Peter said and why. Furthermore, these generalities are used to help sketch the problem and the magnitude thereof that Peter's readers faced.

3.1 Understanding the Roman System of Government³⁰³

Roman city rule mostly followed a hierarchical system of government. The final authority was vested in the people (ὁ δῆμος).³⁰⁴ The δῆμος exercised their authority, including legislative, elective and judicial functions in the assembly (ἡ ἐκκλησία). Furthermore, there was a large body of citizens called the council (ἡ βουλῆ).³⁰⁵ The council's responsibility consisted of the submitting of proposals to the assembly and the supervision of public officials, the city's finances and the public buildings. But their function was broader than just the above in the sense that they could confer honours (including citizenship) upon residents or aliens and they also acquired the honour of receiving foreign envoys. Lastly, the actual administration of the cities was entrusted to a number of committees.³⁰⁶ Thus we find the following system of government:

³⁰³ *The Roman system of government is well explained in the following works Levick (1985); Millar (1977); Saller (1982); Weaver (1967).*

³⁰⁴ *Although this is so, ὁ δῆμος was defined in a very limiting way to refer to only the enrolled, adult and male population. It would appear as if this was theoretically true although things worked slightly differently in practice.*

³⁰⁵ *Jones (1940:164,165) suggests that ἡ βουλῆ normally numbered in the region of five hundred members.*

³⁰⁶ *Magie (1950:57,58).*



Figure 1

That system of government formed a pyramid as can be seen in figure one. Most people were at the bottom of the pyramid. The building blocks of this government were the households.³⁰⁷ When the households got together they formed an assembly. And so each higher level of government had fewer participants. The top group formed sub-committees to rule.

The result of this system appeared to be that the wealthy came to have a virtual monopoly on public office.³⁰⁸ The councils became more powerful by assuming the right to veto legislation enacted by the assembly. The council controlled the election of magistrates and all other important matters of the city. Consequently, the cities were governed by a few rich people.

³⁰⁷ *There is a whole section on the role of the family and the home within basic religion and the Roman system of government (Ferguson 1977:10-13).*

³⁰⁸ *The rich and powerful were so powerful that by Cicero's time the members of the council became life-members automatically unless they were expelled for really gross misconduct (Cicero, Pro Flacco:42). Thus, from being a committee of the assembly which was to be renewed at frequent intervals, they became a permanent committee with power over the assembly.*

It could therefore be understood that, if Christianity angered the right people (and they did not have to be many) there would be trouble for Christians on a big scale. The power of the Roman governor to exercise his discretion in matters which came before him, for example, was near absolute. Vested in him was both the civil and military authority. He was also the supreme judge and he largely interfered in the financial matters.³⁰⁹ There were certain exceptions where special cities³¹⁰ had special rights which the governor was bound to respect as long as they behaved properly. Contrasting this great power there was the non-existent power of the masses. It is written that:

“... there is no succour for the oppressed, no facility for protest, no senate, no popular assembly”.³¹¹

3.2 Understanding the Functioning of Roman Society³¹²

Roman society was famous for its laws. Everything was governed by the implementation of these laws. Society was legally stratified according to a hierarchy of ranks or orders such as: senators, equestrians, decurions, free-born persons, slave-born persons and slaves. The primary

³⁰⁹ *Although matters of finance were the special business of the quaestor, the governor still interfered. For further discussion on the Roman system of government see Arnold (1906:54) and Stevenson (1939:72).*

³¹⁰ *Cities with special rights were the foederatae civitates and the liberae civitates. For information regarding these civitates see Warden (1986:69).*

³¹¹ *Cicero (The Letters to His Brother Quintus: 1.1.22).*

³¹² *For study material on the functioning of Roman society see the works of Cadoux (1955); Carcopino (1977).*

ingredient of this rank or order was birth and/or wealth.³¹³ The constitution of citizenship was determined by the person's rank. All senators, equestrians, most of the decurions and many free persons were legally recognized as citizens.³¹⁴ Social status, however, was something totally different since social status, unlike rank, was a matter not of the law, but of the social estimation of a person's prestige based on custom and convention.³¹⁵ Thus, status was more a cultural concern, and rank more a legal matter.

3.3 The Negative Effect of Roman Rule on Christianity and its Identity³¹⁶

Logic alone is enough to lead one to the realization that the majority of the general population was frustrated and discontented with Roman rule. It also seems obvious that the discontented populace was not very popular with the government. This is well illustrated in Rome's reaction to public disorder, revolts, etc.³¹⁷ If Christians came into disfavour with the Roman authorities

³¹³ Bechtler (1996:125).

³¹⁴ Garnsey and Saller (1987:112-118). Furthermore, the numbers of these classes / ranks were limited, especially in the top ranks where only about six hundred persons were senators (In the first three centuries AD.). The number of decurions was much larger. In general terms the decurions were the top one hundred males of each city. For further discussion on the composition of Roman society as well as figures relating to such composition see Hopkins (1974:103).

³¹⁵ Garnsey and Saller (1987:109-125); MacMullen (1974:88-94); Meeks (1983:53-55).

³¹⁶ To consult more work on the relationship between Rome and Christianity see Cunningham (1982); Whittaker (1984); Aland (1968).

³¹⁷ The Emperor was very powerful and ruled with an iron fist. To make examples of people he punished them severely if they opposed him. The same can be said for his

for some reason or the other, that too would lead to consequences which would have a negative effect on Christians and their identity.

3.3.1 Problem One: Christianity a Solace for Lower Society

The Christian message might have contained a positive appeal to elements of the lower society at large. Greek citizens who were removed from access to any significant decision making in their own πόλις could well find significant involvement in world developments in the Christian church since God himself is the Ruler thereof. The populace would have loved the Christian belief that the Roman state stood under God's judgement. If we take this belief one step further it places subjection to the state in a secondary position because the Christian was ruled by God primarily in contrast to the Emperor. Therefore, the Christian would submit to the state only in so far as the state acted within prescribed limits which God had imposed on it.³¹⁸ If this were the case, one would expect that the Christian message might not have been popular with Roman rule either. Since Rome judged the general society with suspicion and to be disruptive of the social order they then had additional reason to suppress the church.

Christianity had many appealing elements to the commoners. Certainly not the least of these was the distinctly political appeal of the Christian message especially to those who bore ill will

treatment of the people and groups within such cities. New groups (especially religious groups) were not tolerated as they were perceived to be destabilizing the community. On the other hand, the Emperor viewed established religious groups as stabilizing to the community. The Christian church being a new group was disapproved of.

³¹⁸ *For a more complete study of the topic on state and church or state and God see Cullmann (1956:59).*

toward the Roman state. This could be seen in 5:6-11³¹⁹ where God helped those who suffered. In verses six and seven the believers were urged to humble themselves before God and to cast their cares upon Him. In contrast to God's care and in the context of cares and anxiety the *διάβολος* was introduced. It is possible to see in verse 8-9 hints that the reason Christians were able to resist the devil (which appears only to be mentioned here in the whole book) was because God opposed him and his accomplices.³²⁰ If the readers of first Peter interpreted the devil's accomplices (those who cause suffering 5:9) to be Rome it would set up a stage where God was in opposition to Rome. Since we deduced that the readers were in opposition to Rome themselves this would side God with them. The next verse discusses the suffering of the brotherhood in the world. It is very difficult to avoid the conclusion that there is a relationship between the brotherhood-wide suffering and the adversary. There seems to be a definite link between the adversary and suffering. Hence, it seems that God is portrayed in opposition to the one that causes the suffering.³²¹ The Greek text follows.³²²

³¹⁹ It appears as if Peter was quoting Prov. 3:34 (LXX) in 5:5b. During the rest of this section (5:6-11) Peter commented on the text he had just referred to. There was also a similar use of Prov. 3:34 in James 4:6b-10.

³²⁰ Michaels (1988:294).

³²¹ One cannot help but ask the question whether the author intends the devouring adversary to be understood as an ill-defined general societal resistance to Christianity? Seemingly it appears that early Christians came to picture the devil as an ally of Rome, see Rev. 12 and 13.

³²² The numbered boxes in the Greek text refer to the structure of the following figure which is numbered accordingly to show the structure in the text as well, rather than just in the next diagram.

First Peter 5:6-11

- 6: Ταπεινώθητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ὑψώσῃ ἐν καιρῷ, ¹
- 7: πᾶσαν τὴν μέριμναν ὑμῶν ἐπιρίψαντες ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν. ² ³
- 8: Νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε. ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρνόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν /τινα/ καταπιεῖν. ⁴ ⁵
- 9: ὃ ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει εἰδότες τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων ⁶
τῇ ἐν /τῷ/ κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. ⁶
- 10: Ὁ δὲ θεὸς πάσης χάριτος, ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ /Ἰησοῦ/, ὀλίγον παθόντας αὐτὸς καταρτίσει, ⁷
στηρίξει, σθενώσει, θεμελιώσει.
- 11: αὐτῷ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. ⁸

Figure 2

Consequently, the following contrast and link arise from the structure of 5:6-11:

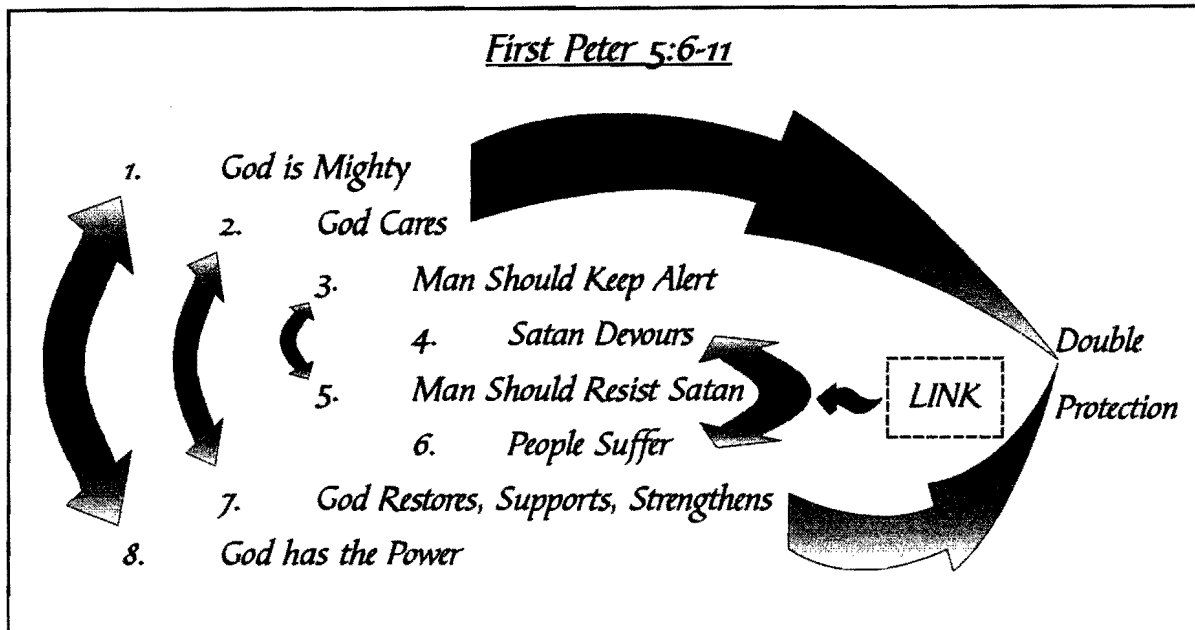


Figure 3

In figure three the struggle between man and Satan (the deduction could possibly be made that Satan would include Rome and general society, although that does make it rather general in nature) is enveloped with God's double protection. A link is also formed between Satan who devours and the people's suffering, hence the link could be extended to those who cause the people to suffer. This leads to the conclusion that the concept of Satan would appear to include Rome and hostile society. This textual structure also appears to make it clear on who's side God is, namely, Peter's audience.

Verse six calls for submission to God's care and protection. It virtually asks the readers to allow God to care for them and to protect them. Verses six and seven are not strictly imperatival.³²³ Yet, when Peter tells his audience to be awake in verse eight (or pay attention) he uses the imperative. This strong imperative serves as a call to prepare their minds for an encounter with the devil. This verse is reminiscent of, and recalls 1:13 and 4:7. Everywhere in first Peter he seems to be using the plural in reference to the Christians' opposition (for

³²³ Michaels (1988:296).

example, Gentiles 2:12, disobedient 2:7-8; 4:17, foolish 2:15, cruel masters 2:18, unbelieving husbands 3:1, blasphemers 4:4b, etc). Here he personifies the adversary in the singular as the devil. When the word διάβολος appears in the New Testament as a noun³²⁴ it appears to be consistently referring to Satan. Satan being portrayed as a roaring lion in this simile, exposes his active involvement in their adverse circumstances. This can be seen in the absolute use of the verb περιπατεῖν. The verb καταπιεῖν, “swallow” conveys the notion of death. Even this thought might have been appealing to the commoners since Peter assumed that physical death held no fear because they would once again “live before God in the Spirit (4:6; 1:3, 21). Peter removed their fear of death and thereby stripped the devil and his cohorts of their stranglehold (death) over them. This thought in effect took away the power of the devilish coalition and handed that power over to them. To an oppressed and power-starved group like Christians, that must have been very appealing.

Verse nine starts with the reflection of resistance which is in itself an attractive notion. However, ἀντίστυτε is interpreted by the phrase στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει. Therefore the resistance mentioned here did not include hostile endeavours but rather believing and trusting God. Standing firm in the faith is also viewed as imperative since the imperative of ἀντίστυτε could also have a bearing on the adjective στερεοὶ. The reference to the “brotherhood throughout the world” (Revised Standard Version) affirmed their solidarity with Christians everywhere. The feeling of belonging and “we are in the same boat” could also be appealing to the readers who had experienced rejection rather than belonging.

The phrase “will himself restore, establish, and strengthen you” of verse ten appears in the future indicative. This phrase links up with verse six which states that “he will lift you up” (5:6). This can be deduced because verse ten has the effect of reinforcing the aorist subjunctive

³²⁴ When διάβολος appears as an adjective it bears other meanings such as slanderous, as can be seen in first Tim. 3:11; Tit. 2:3.

ὑψώση of verse six. This promise was also inviting to the commoners since they had been pushed down from honour to shame by society. A second reason why this phrase was inviting to commoners is that it promised Someone else (God) who would help them and support them. The reason why they could have faith in or trust God to do so, was because He had the power (5:11). This verse reflects the notion of God's mighty hand of 5:6. The purpose of this verse (5:11), so eloquently described, "is to guarantee still further the certainty of the deliverance promised in vv6 and 10".³²⁵ In short Peter promised vindication via God.

In 5:13 Peter seems to link Rome to Babylon.³²⁶ But there is a possibility that Satan is also somehow linked to Babylon. It therefore seems reasonable to deduce that Rome is linked to Satan.³²⁷ The readers are greeted from the church in Babylon. From the introductory study in the first chapter of this dissertation the conclusion was reached that it seemed as though Peter was writing the epistle from Rome. It therefore appears as if Babylon is a cryptogram for Rome.³²⁸ In this indirect way Rome also becomes responsible for the suffering. Since Satan

³²⁵ Michaels (1988:304).

³²⁶ As mentioned in a previous footnote, Babylon is almost unanimously interpreted as Rome by twentieth century scholars. Statements confirming this can be found in Goppelt (1978:65-66); Brox (1979:41-43); Filson (1955:403); Fischer (1978:207); and Moule (1956:8-9). For a discussion on some other possibilities see Davids (1990:202) although he also agrees that the only viable option is Rome.

³²⁷ The old mathematical equation will suffice to support the conclusion. If A equals B and B equals C then A also equals C.

³²⁸ The connection between Babylon and Rome has been discussed at length in the introductory chapter. For this reason it is not going to be debated again. It will suffice to say that most modern interpreters accept this connection. Examples of this acceptance has been rendered in the mentioned chapter.

stands in opposition to God logic determines that Rome would then also stand in opposition to God. In choosing Christianity it undeniably makes a political statement against Rome (as seen from Rome's perspective). If God instructs man to resist the devil (which seems to also include Rome as we have discussed above) then it implies that God is also resisting the devil and by inference, Rome. The end result is that Rome (by assumption) will stand under the judgement of God (4:17). The following diagrams should be sufficient to illustrate this conclusion:

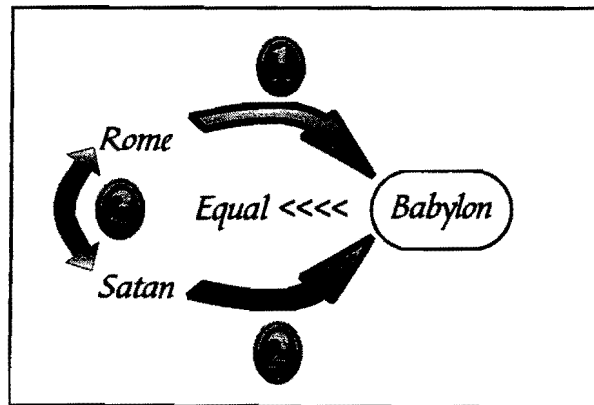


Figure 4

Figure four starts with the inference that Rome is equated to Babylon (5:13).³²⁹ Secondly, Satan also seems to be equated to Babylon (at least by executing the same actions - suffering) as has been discussed above. If this were the case then we would be presented by the scenario of Rome equalling Satan.

AND

³²⁹ Arguments and references to scholars who support this possibility is presented elsewhere in this dissertation.

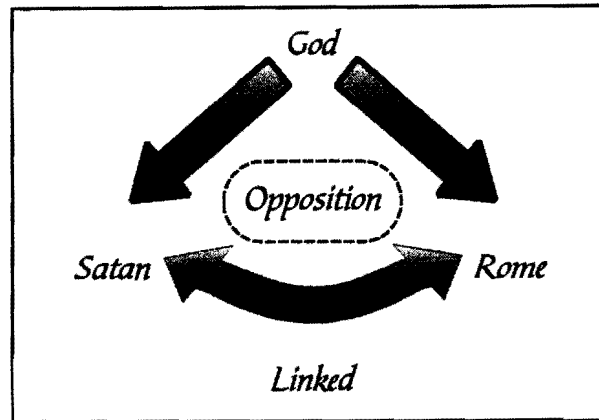


Figure 5

If it were true that Satan and Rome were linked as indicated in figure four, then God would stand in opposition to both Satan and Rome, as seen in figure five. It seems as though we cannot deny that Rome equals Babylon when direct allusions to Rome or the type of power the city represented are made. There seems to be little doubt that Peter viewed Rome as an enemy of the church. Therefore, one can reach the conclusion that Peter also saw Rome as an enemy of God. This view would create two camps, viz. God and Christians in one camp opposing Satan, and Rome and hostile society in the other camp. Different camps would probably have been interpreted by Rome as disorder. This thought would probably have been well received by the general populace especially since they experienced a definite us (the poor) and them (the rich) camps in any event.

3.3.2 *Problem Two: The Christian's Acknowledgement of a Higher Power than the Emperor*³³⁰

Appeals to a power higher than Rome and higher than Roman gods inevitably would result in defiance of Rome. The Christian belief was in direct contrast to the Roman belief that the

³³⁰ *For further information on the perception of the divinity of the Roman Emperor see Taylor (1931).*

Caesar was to be lord, saviour and benefactor of Roman subjects. It is suggested that Octavian (who lived before the time period of our concern) was the absolute ruler. It is interesting to note that the poet Ovid connected the term Augustus with the sacred language of worship.³³¹ If Christians did not salute the Emperor in the proper way it seems to be connected with refusal to worship.³³² This Roman belief was firmly rooted in the presupposition that the Caesar had control and authority over his subjects, hence they were called subjects. The Romans perceived as a threat any religion or person who denied these titles to Caesar and gave them freely to another person or god / God.³³³

Although words like σωτήρ and κύριος were not exclusively reserved for the Roman Emperor, loyal Roman subjects would certainly not refuse them to him.³³⁴ Most commonly the Emperor was called κύριος and θεός. The understanding that Christians denied these

³³¹ Fasti, i. 609, "Sancta vocant augusta patres".

³³² Frend (1982:4-6). Also see the part of Newsome's book which deals with "worship of the Emperor" (1992:274-276). Ferguson motivates the importance of ruler-worship (1977:29).

³³³ For examples of such perceptions by the people loyal (even if they are not loyal to Caesar they still use this perception to suit their wants) to Caesar see John 19:12 where the charge is brought to Pilate that "If you let this man go, you are no friend of Caesar. Anyone who claims to be a king opposes Caesar"; and Acts 17:7 "They are all defying Caesar's decrees, saying that there is another king, one called Jesus". The results of such sayings and / or actions are: Acts 17:8 "When they heard this, the crowd and the city officials were thrown into turmoil". The texts quoted here are from the New International Version.

³³⁴ To learn more about the use of σωτήρ and κύριος see Foerster and Fohrer (1971:1010); Taylor (1931:58) (which deals with the development of the imperial cult under Julius and Augustus Caesar).

salutations to the Emperor meant disloyalty in the eyes of the government and loyal Roman subjects. They inferred disloyalty in the eyes of the Emperor and it reflected negatively on the city as a whole.³³⁵ The city then had to rid themselves of such disloyal members to prove their loyalty to the Emperor. Hence, we find that society denounced Christianity in the strongest possible sense as Christians represented a security threat. Thus, even societal actions were politically motivated. Furthermore, their free use of these words for Jesus, as can be seen in a text like John 20:28, could not have helped the situation, especially if one takes into account that Jesus was crucified by the Romans. For all of the above reasons Christians were perceived by many from the beginning as a people who should, at the very least be watched, because they were considered to be a threat and a danger.

3.3.3 Problem Three: The Christian's View that all Things are Coming to an End

Another conviction of Christians was that the end of the age was coming soon (4:7). This conviction had a far reaching influence as it had a profound effect on their perception of their obligations to society.³³⁶ Christians envisioned an imminent end.³³⁷ Concern for the poor by Christians could also have been interpreted by government as a threat to the existing social order. In fact, the Jews might have shared this feeling with the government.³³⁸ It is

³³⁵ *Worship of the rules was not only a Roman practice but also that of the Greeks. Hence, they did not have any objections to worshipping the Roman Emperor. The Christians' refusal to do so was thus seen as resistance to the will of the state. The logic for that conclusion was that, if other nations like the Greeks had no abjection, why should Christians? All of these suggestions in this footnote are supported by Newsome (1992:31).*

³³⁶ *Warden (1986:85).*

³³⁷ *Judge (1960:8).*

³³⁸ *It was a Jewish belief that poverty, abnormalities and diseases were the results of*

summarised as follows:

"We conclude that for the politically minded Greeks and for the poor³³⁹ of Asia the message of the church had political significance".³⁴⁰

The church's eschatological expectation³⁴¹ seems to be well evidenced in 4:7 "The end of all things is near" (New Revised Standard Version). "All things" would include all things and thus would encompass Rome and suffering. Rome would not have taken statements of that nature lightly. But there was worse to come since Christians not only believed that all things (eschatological events) were near but that, when Christ returns, the world (including Rome, and specifically Rome) would stand in God's judgement. The Christian's mind was clear as to the eschatological judgement in as much as they believed that those who abused the faithful "will have to give an accounting to him who stands ready to judge the living and the dead"

God's punishment due to sin and wrongdoing. If a person helped people with abnormalities they were perceived to be acting against God.

³³⁹ *There seems to be little said of persecution of the poor during the time of antiquity. It appears as if the poor were left to their own fate in Greek-Roman societies. Their smaller social groups took care of them, barring which they had to beg, steal, etc.*

³⁴⁰ *Warden (1986:86).*

³⁴¹ *The church's eschatological expectation is cited as one of the problems as far as the view of society was concerned. Whether or not the church had in fact such an eschatological expectation is not under debate here since it will be discussed later under section 7.2.1 of this dissertation. However, the following books can be cited which deal with the eschatological expectation and views of the early church: Daley (1991); Jackson (1913). Topics of interest to this dissertation covered in this book include amongst others: visions of a new day and eschatology and the apologists. Also see Gloer (1988).*

(4:5) (New Revised Standard Version). This judgement was already pre-empted with a negative outcome for the antagonists, contrasting the outcome of the Christian with that of the non-believers at the trial in 4:17.

The Christian's eschatological orientation also caused a detachment from community responsibility. The Christian's affirmation that another King who reigned at God's right hand was coming forthrightly to judge the world and to destroy it, provided additional reason for those in responsible positions of government to see them as a threat, perhaps even as treasonable.³⁴² Peter depicts a balance between adherence to the state, and faithfulness to God, as the believer is to submit πάση ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει, to Emperor and governor (2:13,14). However, there seems to be little doubt that the readers would not have taken this as an uncontested acceptance of the power of pagan Rome. The author confirms this in reference to Rome in 5:13 in what appears to be unmistakable clear language which all seemed to have understood, Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι.

It might be added that the converse is also true in as much as the government also saw political overtones in the Christian message. What else were they supposed to think when a group proclaims that the empire is to come to an end? This might have cause a huge problem in the eyes of the government and could even be interpreted as an eminent coup of some sort. There seems to be little doubt that Rome would have acted harshly on such a group.

3.3-4 Problem Four: Christian Contact with Rome Seems to be Mostly Negative

It is rather remarkable how often negative contact between Paul and the governments of various cities form an important part of the narrative of Acts. At Antioch of Pisidia (Acts

³⁴² Tertullian makes several allusions to Christians being accused of treason. To view such allusions see de Ste. Croix (1963:17).

13:14) the Jews “incited the devout women of high standing and the leading men of the city, and stirred up διωγμὸν (persecution) against Paul and Barnabas, and drove them out of their region” (Acts 13:50)(New Revised Standard Version). Both Gentiles and Jews were ready “with their ἄρχουσιν (rulers)” (New Revised Standard Version) to stone him at Iconium (Acts 14:5). Paul and Silas were brought before στρατηγούς (generals / governors) “magistrates” at Philippi (Acts 16:20). At Thessalonica Jason and others were dragged “before the city πάρχας (authorities)” (New Revised Standard Version) (Acts 17:6). On yet another occasion Paul was brought before the tribunal and Gallio the ἀνθυπάτου (proconsul) of Achaia (Acts 18:12,13). At Ephesus it is the γραμματεὺς “town clerk” who quiets the mob (Acts 19:35).

The point of this discussion is that the authorities were cognizant of Christianity from its very first entrance into their cities. Their consciousness about Christianity was always juxtaposed with negativity as is contended below:

- a. *The circumstances under which they became aware of Christianity were consistently of such a nature as to cause them to look upon Christians as the cause of commotion.*
- b. *It was in the context of trouble making and popular unrest that the Empire was Paul's protector (at Caesarea).*
- c. *Christian missionary activity was surrounded with disorder.³⁴³ Such disorder was rather significant in the eyes of Rome since any disorder represented a threat to the established political order.*
- d. *Any disturbances in any city was perceived as a challenge to the Roman order. Benko writes that the Roman's view of Christianity was one that “polluted Roman life and that they attacked the very fibre of society like a debilitating disease. ... that Christianity was a disruptive social phenomenon and a danger to the security of the*

³⁴³ Warden (1986:92).

state” (1984:21).

- e. *Based on the disruptive influence of Christianity alone the authorities would have felt justified in suppressing Christianity. Benko further writes that according to the Romans “Christians deserved their punishment” (1984:21).*

3-3-5 Problem Five: The Perception of Christians as Radicals

There are scholars who take the above mentioned point even further. Such scholars are well represented in the argument of those who believe that the Christian communities contained what is termed “a considerable element of revolutionary radicalism”.³⁴⁴ This postulation is supported with the following four arguments:

- a. *There seemed to have been some prejudice amongst Christians against the state. This could be illustrated with the terminology used for the state, for example:*
- a1. *The state was called non-Christian (with a negative connotation).*
 - a2. *The state was referred to as “the unrighteous” (first Cor. 6:1).*
 - a3. *We find statements like: “... the whole world lies in sin” (John 16:8; Gal. 3:22).*
 - a4. *The view that the rulers were doomed to perish (first Cor. 2:6-8).*
 - a5. *The rulers were against God (Acts 4:25,26) and by implication God was against the rulers.*
 - a6. *The government was against Jesus (Mark 13:9).*
- b. *The Jewish section of the church influenced the church to share the Jewish hostility toward Roman domination.*
- c. *A large contingent of the church was attracted from socially and economically depressed elements of society. As such they did not stand to lose much by being hostile to Rome. It was also expected that they were the ones who were more susceptible to be hostile to*

³⁴⁴ Cadoux (1925:98,99). His work also cites many others who hold the same view.

Rome.

- d. *Under the above mentioned circumstances the Christian doctrine of freedom might well have been misconstrued to mean a refusal to submit to ordinary social obligation. Peter's allusion to urge Christians to be conscious of appearances before the Gentiles might stem from the possibility that they had been failing to live up to their social responsibilities (2:16).³⁴⁵*

3.3.6 *Problem Six: The Similarity Between Christians and Other Mostly Unpopular Groups³⁴⁶*

As far as outsiders to Christianity was concerned they viewed Christianity as just another mystery-religion.³⁴⁷ Factors which led them to such a view could include such similarities between Christianity and other mystery religions as:

- a. *The existence of a saviour-God.*
- b. *The proclamation of the importance of transforming behaviour.*
- c. *Distinguishing between the current and the next world.*
- d. *Offering hope for the next world.³⁴⁸*

However small these supposed similarities might have been, the fact remains that the pagans identified Christians together with other groups (most of which were unpopular) which made

³⁴⁵ Cadoux (1925:98,99).

³⁴⁶ A scholarly work on this topic that will be well worth reviewing is Frensd (1976).
Also read Turcan (1996).

³⁴⁷ Ferguson (1977:72).

³⁴⁸ Warden (1986:92-121).

them unpopular too. Examples of such groups were:

- a. Resident Jews.*
- b. Travelling teacher-philosophers.*
- c. Magical practitioners and their followers.³⁴⁹*
- d. Greek city cults (not unpopular).*
- e. The Emperor cult (not unpopular).*
- f. Hellenistic mysteries.*

The similarity between Christians and the above mentioned groups are discussed in the following section.

3.3.6.1 The Similarity Between Christians and Resident Jews

There seems to be a host of evidence to support the presence of Jewish communities in Asia Minor. Firstly, there is evidence within the New Testament. Jewish communities for example were specifically mentioned at Smyrna and Philadelphia (Rev. 2:9; 3:8,9). Paul encountered Jews and preached in the synagogue at Ephesus (Acts 18:19). There was Jewish influence in the church at Colossae (Col. 2:11) and also in the pastorates (first Tim. 1:6-9; Tit. 1:13,14). Secondly, there is archaeological evidence that supports the suggestion that Jewish communities

³⁴⁹ *There were also other such groups and / or institutions which had interesting points of similarity between themselves and the Christian church. An example thereof is the Mystery Religions, see Warden (1986:146). Not all such institutions and groups are of concern here since we are only interested in identifying with groups that would result in the suppression of the church.*

in Asia were stable and prosperous. The synagogue at Sardis, for example, was well known.³⁵⁰ Thirdly, Josephus made reference to the settlement of two thousand Jewish families in Phrygia and Lydia.³⁵¹ Fourthly, epigraphic and literary evidence confirms a Jewish presence in the following cities: Adramyttium, Pergamum, Thyatira, Magnesia near Sipylus, Blaundos, Sebaste, Sala, Acmonia, Euminea, Hierapolis, Apollonia, Deliler near Philadelphia and Phocaea.³⁵²

It seems evident that the authorities distinguished between the Jews and Christians by the year 64 AD.³⁵³ However, the two groups resembled each other since both Jews and Christians upheld a single monotheistic creed spawned from the same roots.³⁵⁴ This association between Judaism and Christianity was confirmed when Galen wrote that the followers of Moses and the followers of Christ were people with whom rational argument was a waste of time.³⁵⁵ Some authors make even more of the proposed association between Judaism and Christianity by writing that:

³⁵⁰ Greenewalt, et al (1983).

³⁵¹ Josephus *Antiquities* 12. 147-153. Also see Applebaum who discusses this reference in Josephus (1974-1976:468,469).

³⁵² Applebaum (1974-1976:468,469).

³⁵³ Frend (1976:143).

³⁵⁴ Tacitus makes this point quite clear (Frend 1976:143).

³⁵⁵ Statements of this nature appear to show that these two groups, although distinct, were grouped together as far as certain aspects were concerned, if not by themselves most likely by the authorities. Galen's statement can be found in Waltzer (1949:37) who cites Galen's work: *de Differentiis Pulsuum* 3.

"The real complaint against them (Christians), however, was membership of an unrecognised Judaistic society engaged in spreading atheism and social disruption" (Emphasis mine).³⁵⁶

There also seems to be other similarities between Judaism and Christianity that linked the two groups to each other. Tertullian for example, is of the opinion that some Christians observed the Jewish Sabbath and other Jewish laws,³⁵⁷ in both groups the virgins veiled themselves, and the twelve lay-elders³⁵⁸ were present in both the church and the synagogues of the west.³⁵⁹ Further reason for Christians being identified with these resident Jews was because the Christian church, at least in the earliest instances, grew out of the synagogues.³⁶⁰ Christians

³⁵⁶ *This view is held by Frend, whom is quoted here, and he substantiates it with the writings of Origen (1976:155).*

³⁵⁷ *An example of such supposed Jewish law is that the blood had to be drawn before meat may be eaten.*

³⁵⁸ *Study Frend (1982:25-26) not only on the similarity between the lay-elders and the disciples that number the same in both Jewish and Christian religions but also on various other similarities. The number twelve also seems to have significance in both the Greek and Roman religions (Ferguson 1977:19-25).*

³⁵⁹ *Frend (1976:292).*

³⁶⁰ *Evidence to this effect can be seen in Acts 13:14-; 13:42, 43; 14:1; 17:1-4; 18:4, 8. Clarke in his commentary on Acts 13:14- notes that:*

"Paul, was now on a special mission to the Gentiles, yet he availed himself of every opportunity, in every place, of making the first offer of salvation to the Jews" (emphasis supplied)(1931:783).

thus consisted of a large number of converted Jews. It was easy to confuse the identity of Christians with that of the Jews.³⁶¹ Furthermore, Christians and Jews served the same God. Another similarity was that both groups were involved in proselyting.³⁶² Identification with these Jews would have been negative because:

a. We know of some instances of Jews being expelled from Rome. Tacitus refers to a proscription of Egyptian and Jewish rites by Tiberius when he wrote:

“... four thousand descendants of enfranchised slaves, tainted with that superstition and suitable in point of age, were to be shipped to Sardinia and there employed in suppressing brigandage: ‘if they succumbed to the pestilential climate, it was a cheap loss’. The rest had orders to leave Italy, unless they

In 13:42- Paul was not only presenting the gospel once but was invited to do so a second time. Just about all the gentiles came for that second presentation. Both these presentations were held in the synagogue. This is supported by Guthrie (1986:990-991). Also see Guthrie (1986:995; 997); Hengel (1986:185).

³⁶¹ A more detailed discussion on such confusion can be found in Guterman (1951:121,122); Warden (1986:105).

³⁶² Although this is not mentioned in first Peter, baring believing wives to their unbelieving husbands. But even in this case it was their good conduct that did the persuading and not proselytizing activity. Even so, the absence of such activity does not exclude it. See the following works Horace (*Satires* 1.4.140); Strack and Billerbeck (1922:924). Also read Jesus’ stern remark in Matt. 23:15 “Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you cross sea and land to make a single προσήλυτον (convert), and you make the new convert twice as much a child of hell as yourselves” (New Revised Standard Version).

had renounced their impious ceremonial by a given date” (emphasis mine).³⁶³

- b. *Greek negativity about the Jews was evident in frequent attempts to ignore privileges granted to the Jews by Roman authority. So much so that repeated admonitions from the provincial government were necessary to remind cities that the Jews and their customs were to be respected.³⁶⁴*
- c. *Jews refused to participate in the worship and customs involved in citizenship.³⁶⁵*
- d. *Jewish separatist practices of strange customs resulted in considerable hostility towards them.³⁶⁶*
- e. *The conversion of Jews and the use of the synagogues by Christians to proselytize were bound to arouse Jewish hostility. Jewish hostility would have been interpreted by the Greeks and Rome as disorder.³⁶⁷*

Not only were there similarities between the Jews and Christians in the eyes of the general populace, but there was also a conscious movement by Christians away from the Jews. This would have led to further persecution as the Jewish faith enjoyed protection as an established religion and they moved away from such protection.

³⁶³ *Tacitus (Annals 2.85).*

³⁶⁴ *Sevenster (1975:165).*

³⁶⁵ *Sevenster (1975:165).*

³⁶⁶ *MacMullen (1982:40).*

³⁶⁷ *The confusion and / or identification of Christians with Jews could not have lasted too long. However, this identification, at least to the Greeks, had a negative impact in the Christian image. For more discussions on this topic see Warden (1986:107,108).*

3.3.6.2 *The Similarity Between Christians and Travelling Teacher-philosophers*

There appears to be little doubt that audiences listening to Christian missionaries would have been familiar with teachers and philosophers. Not only the audiences would have recognized the similarities between these missionaries and teachers / philosophers but also magistrates had experienced similar disturbances caused by other teachers of this sort. One scholar writes:

“It is inevitable, despite noticeable differences, that the traveling (sic) Christian missionary should have been associated with other itinerant teachers of his day”.³⁶⁸

It seems evident that Christian teachers pursued some of the practices of these travelling philosophers. Two such practices were prominent, firstly their methodologies and secondly their financial expectations.³⁶⁹ Identification with these philosophers would have been negative because these philosophers were despised for their barbarian and arrogant behaviour. They too had political insinuations in their philosophy. Lastly, they became the foremost social

³⁶⁸ Warden (1986:109). Also see the chapters in Hengel dealing with such philosophers (1986:202-207).

³⁶⁹ Christian missionaries certainly had financial claims which they could bring against those they taught, as did the other teachers and philosophers. For examples on these claims see first Cor. 9:7-14; Gal. 6:6. In the first siting of a claim to financial expectations we also find the justification thereof. The possibility also exists that collections for other congregations (which occurred in Corinth and Galatia)(first Cor. 16) could have been confused with personal financial gains.

critics³⁷⁰ against the ways of the Emperors.³⁷¹ The classification of Christians with philosophers would have added support to the perception of Christians as a threat to political and social stability.³⁷²

3.3.6.3 The Similarity Between Christians and Magical Practitioners as well as their Followers³⁷³

There seems to be certainty as to the commonality of magical practitioners in the late first century world of western Asia Minor. They were widely accepted as a medium of influence. Both Greek and Roman literature contains large numbers of references to magical arts. The practice of magic developed to such an extent that it was almost seen as a religion in its own right. The following quotation was written in support of this view:

“... it appears that magic was an accepted form of religious piety that ran parallel to other religious institutions”.³⁷⁴

Initially magic was generally respectable to the Romans, but as time went on magic was used to the detriment of people and / or things. This resulted in magic becoming a crime and consequently led to prosecution. Subsequently, magical practice was declared illegal, although

³⁷⁰ Benko (1984:33).

³⁷¹ Also see Dill (1905:334-383) for the impact of philosophy on Roman society.

³⁷² Rostovtzeff (1957:116).

³⁷³ Consult the dissertation written on this theme called “The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker, see Tiede (1970). Also see Ferguson on the relation between religion and magic (1977:49-53).

³⁷⁴ Benko (1984:128).

the interpretation thereof was subjective.³⁷⁵ Because the definition of magic depended on the fancy of the accusers and magistrates the potential existed for utilizing such charges to suppress any religious group which fell into disfavour.³⁷⁶ Although difficult to evaluate the definition of magic it was supposed to be the invoking of higher powers, gods or demons, through the practice of certain esoteric formulas, or the calling on certain names whose powers were presumed to be formidable.³⁷⁷ The result of all this was that magic and superstition synthesized into religious practice. The danger was that once Christians fell under suspicion as a threat, extensive evidence could be produced for bringing charges that they were magicians.

If Christians were seen as magicians they would have been perceived as a threat to Roman peace and order. What is more, is that they would have been operating outside legal boundaries. The following were the most common accusations brought against miracle workers:

- a. Subversion.³⁷⁸*
- b. The use of powers for evil purposes.*
- c. The use of miracles for personal gain.³⁷⁹*

³⁷⁵ Warden (1986:116).

³⁷⁶ See Nock (1972:315) who lists three ways in which the ancients used the word "magic". The use of interest to this discussion is the last which according to Nock (1972:315 Vol1) is of "... religions belonging to aliens or on any general ground disapproved".

³⁷⁷ To view an attempt to define what constituted magic or not see Kelenkow (1980:1479,1480 Vol. 23 part 2).

³⁷⁸ Rostovtzeff (1957:119).

³⁷⁹ Kolenkow (1976:107).

The conclusion is thus drawn that Christians tended to come to the attention of city magistrates and officials due to disruptions which surrounded the proclamation of their message and their proselytizing. Taking all of the above into account and seen from their own perspective the governing powers would have felt justified of being suspicious of Christians and even to suppress them all together. When a religion became a threat to Rome they did not deal with it lightly.³⁸⁰

3.3.6.4 The Similarity Between Christians and the Greek City Cults

The Greek religions were held in high esteem not only for their religious value but also as an essential element in the civilization and political stability. These religions thrived due to:

- a. The people had respect and admiration for ancient laws which led to reforms in both fiscal responsibility and ceremonial / ritual purity.*
- b. The building of temples also aided religious revival.*
- c. Numerous festivals and games abetted religious excitement.³⁸¹*

³⁸⁰ *In the writings of Pliny (Natural History 29.12) there is reference to an incident in which Claudius summarily executed a Roman knight whose only crime was the wearing of a Druidic emblem which was believed to possess the power of granting victory in a court of law. The probable reason for such stern action was the disfavour Druidism had come into with Rome because of its resistance to the Romanization of Gaul. If Christianity was in disfavour with Rome one would expect similar stern treatment. For further discussions on Roman perceptions of religious threats see Benko (1984:9).*

³⁸¹ *To research the reasons for the proliferation of such religions during this time period see Koester (1982:169).*

There also seems to be a dichotomy between this external / material growth and the spiritual / inner decline. Both Koester³⁸² and Sinclair³⁸³ agree that the material signs of vitality serve as a mask for the failure of these religions to satisfy the inward, religious needs of the people. But the evidence still suggests that the eastern mystery religions, astrology and Christianity (although at a later time) gained considerably from the milieu of the Greek city. The conclusion is reached that traditional Hellenistic religions were both prominent and influential in the Greek cities throughout the first and second centuries.³⁸⁴

The Greek city cults were not only well and alive but temples were built, sacrifices were provided and priests were appointed from the community by official acts of government. Because of this fusion (between city cults and government) the city cults became an essential feature of government itself.³⁸⁵ Rome favoured the cults since their religion served Rome's purposes. In fact Rome used this religion in their favour. It has been said:

"It is the will of the gods that city and society should live according to well-defined order. City and society see to it that the lawful pattern of life is preserved, and the gods stand guard to prevent violation. It is wicked and impious to rebel in impudent pride against the gods and in insolence to disregard the limitations that are set for mortal man".³⁸⁶

³⁸² Koester (1982:169).

³⁸³ Sinclair (1951:243,244).

³⁸⁴ To see how others reached this conclusion also see Warden (1986:133).

³⁸⁵ Warden (1986:134).

³⁸⁶ Lohse (1974:223).

It would seem as though the gods willed what Rome wanted them to will. One cannot help but wonder to what extent the gods were not just a religious portrayal of Roman will. The gods' will and Rome's will are therefore the same wills.³⁸⁷ Fate was all encompassing. As such Rome was fated to rule as the Greeks were fated to be ruled. The will of the gods and fate were the same.³⁸⁸ If Rome engineered the will of the gods, they also masterminded fate. This political doctrine is an undeniable expression of the solidarity of state and religion. They (state and religion) were not only united but were one and the same thing. Thus Rome had total control from the viewpoints of politics, military, economics and religion. Because of these factors Rome had a vested interest in the support which her subjects offered the long-established religions. Therefore we have the following situation:

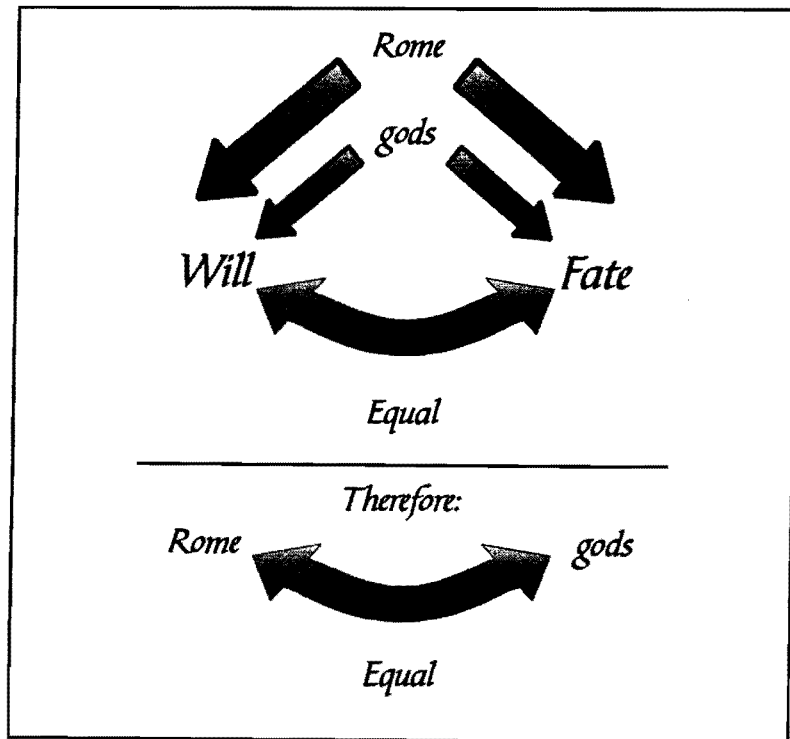


Figure 6

³⁸⁷ Warden (1986:134).

³⁸⁸ Nilsson (1925).

In figure six we find that Rome had a certain political will. Strangely, the gods seemed to have exactly the same will as that of Rome, for whatever Rome willed the gods seemed to will as well. That which Rome did not want to take credit for or that which could not be explained was attributed to fate. Once again, the same things that Rome attributed to fate was attributed to fate by the gods. If this were the case, then the will equalled fate as both were determined and the offspring of the dictates of Rome and the gods. But because the will of Rome equalled the will of the gods and similarly with fate, the deduction could then possibly be made that Rome equalled the actual gods in as much as Rome seemed to determine what the gods willed and attributed to fate. If this were the case then the gods became just another political tool to Rome to use to arrive at their political objectives.

It seems to be highly inconceivable that a new religion whose doctrine has no room for official city cults would find favour with the Roman authorities or municipal governments. The reverse, on the other hand, is also true that as the church gained adherents and strengthened its hold on their conduct (which Peter certainly did) it is liable to be noticed at official levels.

3.3.6.5 The Similarity / Difference Between Christians and the Emperor Cult³⁸⁹

The Emperor cult in Rome can in essence be defined as a means of honouring one's predecessors and ancestors. Another feature of the Emperor cult was the deification of the Emperors, although this usually happened after their death.³⁹⁰ There was a special relationship³⁹¹ between

³⁸⁹ *There are many books on this topic examples of which are Jones (1980); Millar (1973); Price (1984). Also see Ferguson (1977:33).*

³⁹⁰ *For an examination of the process of deification peruse Cerfaux and Tondriau (1957:103-121).*

³⁹¹ *The relationship between the Emperor and the gods was one in which the Emperor*

the world of the gods and the cult of the Emperor. This was not just another religion but an engineered part of Roman foreign policy as the cult symbolized the submission and devotion of the cities to Roman overlordship. It was designed to bring people of diverse cultural traditions together. Their togetherness and bond were used to create a common allegiance³⁹² to Rome.³⁹³ Friend juxtapositions the Emperor cult and worship of the Emperor as follows:

“In veiled form it (the cult of the Emperors genius) was the worship of the Emperor himself, ... It had something in the nature of essence, the energizing and life-giving force of a personality, in this case the divine power assuring the permanence of the imperial house”.³⁹⁴

The Emperor cult served important political and economical functions. The worship of the Emperor cult was equated to loyalty. Conversely, the lack thereof was interpreted as disloyalty.³⁹⁵ The more lavish the worship was, the more loyal the subjects. It is in this sense that politics and religion were married. But this marriage was polygamous since the monogamous politics (only Rome) was married to many religions and many gods, hence,

acted as intermediary between the people and the gods. He thus had direct access to the gods. See Friend (1982:9).

³⁹² Warden (1986:140).

³⁹³ Although the discussion of Ramsay is rather dated, it still has value hence the reprint in 1979. See (1897:191).

³⁹⁴ Friend (1982:5). Also see the work of Taylor (1931:193) which seems to be a classical work on which many scholars writing on this topic, depend. Wardman writes that the Emperor was the exclusive object of religious ceremony and therefore he was worshipped (1982:95).

³⁹⁵ Friend (1982:5).

polytheistic in nature.³⁹⁶ It is in this religio-political setting that Christians preached their message. Their message made no provision and left no room for polytheism since they only acknowledged one God. Ephesians 4:4-6 is rather explicit when it reads: “εἰς κύριος ... εἰς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων”.³⁹⁷ The conclusion is obvious: Rome would see the Christians' refusal to perform accepted civic displays of loyalty as an unreasonable reaction.³⁹⁸ As mentioned before, the Christians' refusal to acknowledge Caesar as lord developed from just “unreasonable” into a real issue.³⁹⁹ Long before the appearance of Christianity other religions refused to participate in Emperor worship. The Romans loathed such religions. When Christians joined the Jews in their refusal to give proper honour to Caesar the Roman officials saw it as synonymous to jeopardizing the peace and prosperity of the world. The well-being of the Empire was closely related to the well-being of the Emperor.⁴⁰⁰ Thus refusal to worship

³⁹⁶ Wardman (1982:2,21,52,80).

³⁹⁷ Also read Acts 17:22-31.

³⁹⁸ This conclusion was reached as early as 1933 by Nock (1933:229). It has also been established that “the imperial way of life imposed some religious duties” (Emphasis mine) (Wardman 1982:84).

³⁹⁹ For a discussion on the name calling of the Emperor or the lack thereof, including the consequences of not obliging see Nock (1933:228).

⁴⁰⁰ This is adequately illustrated by the inscription found at Ancyra where Augustus enumerates his accomplishments and the honours conferred upon him. The text can be found in Ehrenberg and Jones (1949:3-31). There is also Biblical evidence to suggest this view, since one of the first charges brought against Christians, was their acknowledgement of another king and kingdom. See Acts 17:7; 16:20,21. Also look at The First Apology of Justine where he writes:

“And, when you hear that we look for a kingdom, you rashly conclude that we

or acknowledge the Emperor had political and religious implications. It was not just about religion. It must also be said that the religious practice in this context centred around polytheism. There was a diversity of gods for various purposes (rain god, etc).⁴⁰¹ As a result Emperor worship did not really clash with other religions. He was seen as another god for another domain. Yet, ultimately he was in control of both the state and the church or religion. The tension developed with the Christian stand of monotheism which left no room for other religions and Emperor worship. The following situation transpired for society, where the Emperor equalled gods and therefore the empire and state equalled the church and religion:

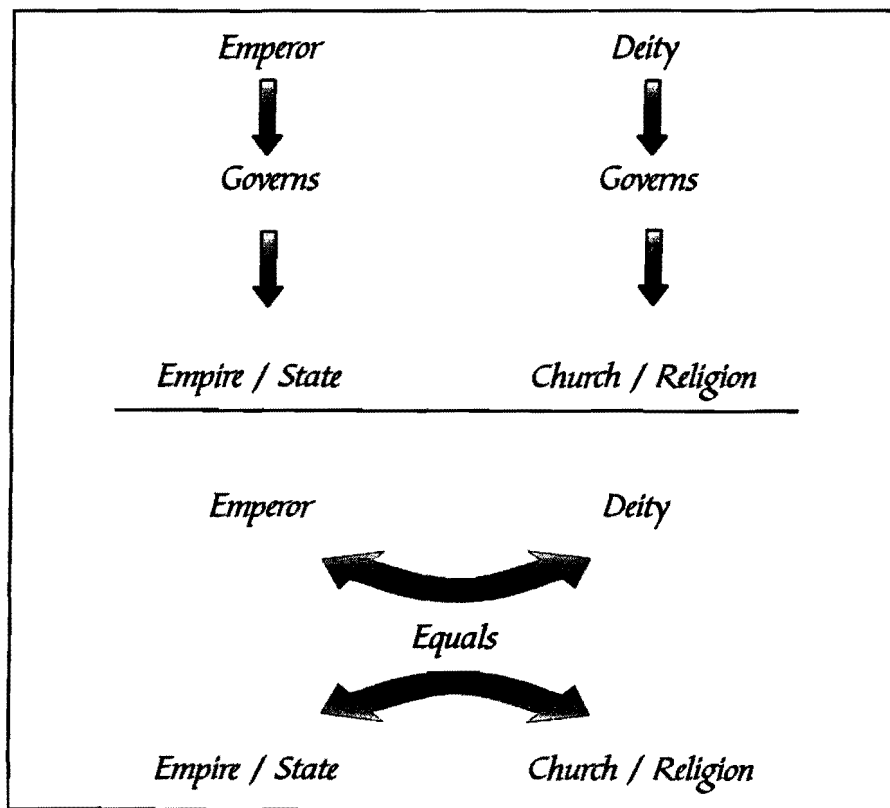


Figure 7

mean a human one, although we declare that it is to be that which is with God, ..." (1.11).

⁴⁰¹ Wardman (1982:1).

Figure seven shows the two lines of command. The Emperor governed the empire whilst the deities governed the religions. However, as we saw previously, the Emperor equalled the deities⁴⁰² since he decided to a large extent what the deities willed and attributed to fate. If this deduction holds water, it stands to reason that the empire and the “church” (used broadly for all religions here) were also equal since they were both governed ultimately by the Emperor.

The end result of this equation was that the Emperor governed, not only the empire, but also the church and religions, so much so that Ferguson calls it “Roman political religion”⁴⁰³ in his discussion of this topic. People who refused the Emperor his governance, represented a political threat as Roman religion was strongly political.⁴⁰⁴ The above supports the suggestion that the Christians’ refusal to offer sacrifices to Caesar provided a reason for official suppression of the church.⁴⁰⁵ The hatred and suppression that ensued led to the conclusion that being Christian was a crime.⁴⁰⁶ Credence was given to the view that Christianity was a dangerous sect worthy of violent suppression because of their unwillingness (and therefore disloyalty) to pay Caesar proper homage. The following conclusions will suffice:

⁴⁰² *There seems to be enough evidence to conclude that certain Emperors were deified, mostly after their death (Wardman 1982:81). Wardman, for example, writes that: “The deified emperors (sic) were revered as such throughout the whole Mediterranean area as well as in the favoured peninsula” (1982:80).*

⁴⁰³ *Ferguson (1977:31).*

⁴⁰⁴ *Ferguson (1977:31).*

⁴⁰⁵ *According to Warden (1986:143) this suggestion is plausible during “the last third of the first century”.*

⁴⁰⁶ *Grant (1970:15).*



- a. *The worship of the reigning Caesar usually as god was the common practice of the Greek-speaking inhabitants of western Asia Minor throughout the first and second centuries.*
- b. *Important factors in anti-Christian polemics during the same time period were:*
 - b.1 *Their negation to participate in the Emperor cult.*
 - b.2 *Their doctrine of another kingdom and another Lord.*
 - b.3 *Their view that Caesar was subordinate to God.*
 - b.4 *Their belief that Caesar's will could only be adhered to in as much as it conformed to God's will.*
- c. *The component of society which had the most reason to be concerned about Christianity were the ruling authorities.*
- d. *Therefore the prevalent persecution described in first Peter was more than just unofficial, societal resistance.⁴⁰⁷*

Due to the cult of the Emperor, religion was at the heart of all aspects of society. Every choice whether social, economical or religious became a political choice in the eyes of the Emperor. Every choice whether social, economical or political became a religious choice in the eyes of the Christian. Every move was to be compared to the example of Christ. Thus both for the Christian and the Emperor everything was intertwined although the core differed.

⁴⁰⁷ Warden (1986:146).

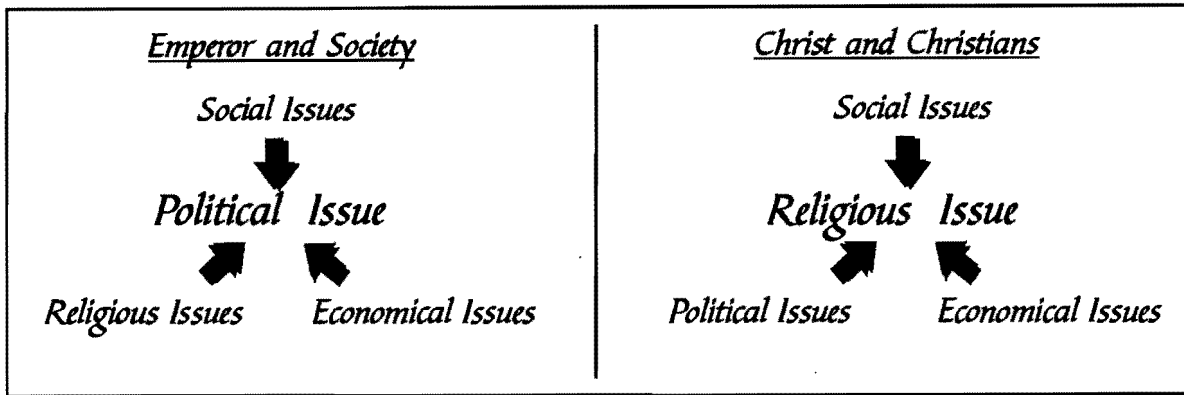


Figure 8

Figure eight serves the purpose to illustrate that the pinnacle of view and interpretation of these two groups differed. To the Emperor and society all actions were viewed and interpreted in a political light.⁴⁰⁸ To Christians all decisions were made in the light of religious convictions. Thus it can be seen that they misinterpreted each other. Their principle interests were different.

3.3.6.6 The Similarity Between the Christian and Hellenistic Mysteries⁴⁰⁹

There appears to be a thorough assimilation of eastern Mysteries and Greek religious thought. There were also certain similarities between these mysteries and Christianity. For example:

- a. Both appealed to personal salvation.
- b. Both took part in initiation into esoteric rites which promised a mystical union with the divine.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁸ Wardman (1982:133).

⁴⁰⁹ Examples of these Hellenistic Mysteries are: a. Isis and Osiris; b. Sarapis; c. Cybele and Attis. To consult with more authors on this topic see Meyer (1987); Burkett (1987).

⁴¹⁰ Of particular interest to our discussion of first Peter are the similarities and

- c. *Both believed in life after death.*
- d. *Both partook in religious rites reserved for the select few.⁴⁷¹*

Romans and Greeks who were not part of the Mysteries could manage to tolerate⁴⁷² them since they did not interfere with the established religions.⁴⁷³ This, however, was not the case with Christianity as they interfered with other religions in the sense that their adherents were precluded from partaking in certain other religious activity. Concerning both the Romans and the Greeks, religion was an inseparable ally of orderly government.

3.3.7 Problem Seven: The Despising of the Upper Classes by the Christian Constituency

Implying social injustice the Christian messages called explicitly or at least implicitly for social justice. Christianity would therefore be more appealing to the victims of the social injustice than to the perpetrators thereof. The Christian message also rejected society's accepted criteria of status. Accordingly, this message would be more attractive to those of low than for those of high social status. The values of honour and shame did not play such an important role

differences between the Christian baptism and the initiation rites into the Mysteries. Perdelwitz (1911:38) believes that Peter makes a comparison. For further discussion on the relationship between the Christian baptism and the initiatory rites into the Mysteries see Nash (1984:156-158). For a study of initiation rites for the Mysteries see Myers (1985:38)(Ph.D. dissertation).

⁴⁷¹ *Warden (1986:158).*

⁴⁷² *Warden (1986:159).*

⁴⁷³ *There is a document from Sardis that could be cited to refute this statement of Warden. Robert (1975:306-330) discusses this document. For counter arguments of why this document does not preclude Roman and Greek tolerance see Warden's (1986:159) footnote on the subject.*

in Roman society, because social position rather required affluence and an official act of government to confer the position of senator or knight. The basis of the social class system within the Roman empire was birth and legal status in contrast to social conferment of class. Most things in the Roman empire were cased in classified law. Education had little or nothing to do with one's social (legal) standing;⁴⁴⁴ just as in today's societies certain people have power and influence on account of wealth, birth, political position and other variables. It is superfluous to say that the majority did not. Manual labour was despised by the wealthy.⁴⁴⁵

It is fair to say that as a rule, Christians did not attract their membership from the elite, but rather from the largest segment of the population, viz. the working poor. Although it must be acknowledged that the church's constituency did include people from all classes. But, as certain scholars⁴⁴⁶ set out to prove, both Acts and the Gospels were more sympathetic with people on the lower end of the social scale.⁴⁴⁷ To be objective it must be added that the believers were not the poorest and most wretched members of society.

The social class system formed a hierarchy. At the top of this hierarchy was the Senate (which was based on heredity through the old Roman aristocratic families). Next came the Equestrian Order (who were freeborn military men having key positions of power). The Equestrians were essentially equal in wealth and education with those of the Senate. Then came the municipal bureaucrats, the Decurians and the magistrates. These men were the leaders of the local governments scattered throughout the empire. Then it was the freeborn citizens (plebs) followed by those who had previously been enslaved (freedmen). Lastly, there

⁴⁴⁴ Gager (1975:96-106); Tidball (1984:68-70).

⁴⁴⁵ Stambaugh and Balch (1986:66).

⁴⁴⁶ Warden (1986:176-179).

⁴⁴⁷ Warden (1986:193).

were the slaves who occupied the bottom of society. The population of Asia Minor at this approximate time amounted to virtually four million people.⁴¹⁸ One of the reasons for dissatisfaction was that the upper-class elite constituted only about two percent of the population but controlled almost all of society.⁴¹⁹ The social stratification resembled the following:

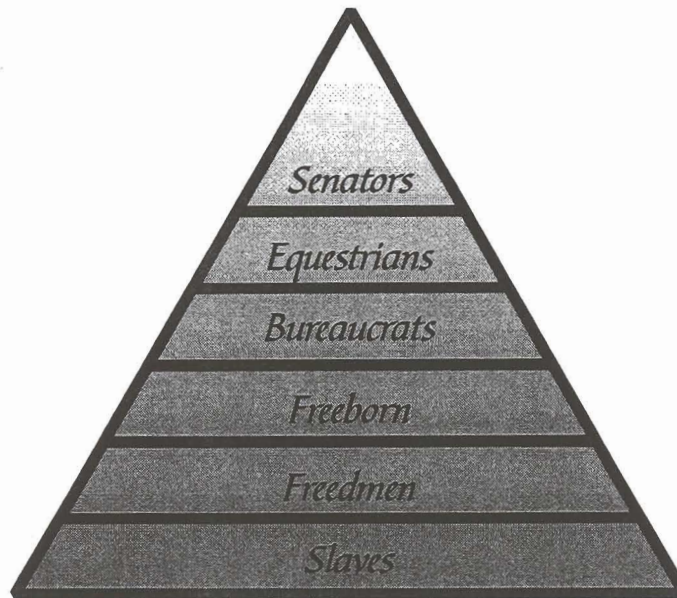


Figure 9

In figure nine we find that the social stratification of the populace formed a pyramid as with the government system. Fewer and fewer people made it to the next level. Eventually only a small group was represented at the top. The members of the lower classes in society had few expectations.⁴²⁰ They undoubtedly resented the higher powers but they could not do anything about it. The church presented a message that instilled expectations without calling on them to become armed revolutionaries in a hopeless struggle.

⁴¹⁸ Reicke (1964:303).

⁴¹⁹ Malina (1981:71-73).

⁴²⁰ Warden (1986:185).

In the Greek world of Asian cities class hatred was a normal feature of life. It was thus expected that society would react with hatred and hostility against Christians. In fact, the very same features which gave solace to the working poor in the church, became cause for suspicion and distrust by society's elite landowners. The more these features attracted the poor, the more the elite hated them. From the vantage point of society they perceived Christianity as an offensive movement consisting of slaves and others of the low-born, indiscriminating plebeians.

3.3.8 Problem Eight: Christian Solidarity

The in-group solidarity is strongly evidenced in first Peter. They were to be united (3:8); prepared to make an apology / defence to anyone who required one (3:15); be ready to suffer for their beliefs (3:17). Their conduct needed to be distinguished by love, forbearance and mutual hospitality (4:8,9). Even their greeting was to be by a kiss of affection (5:14). They were to stand in the knowledge that their spiritual brothers and sisters were facing the same kind of suffering (5:9). Due to this kind of in-group solidarity they saw themselves as an οἴκου (household)(4:17).⁴²¹ This view caused society at large even more discomfort as the unity, and well being of the ancient household were largely based on the common religious practice of its members.⁴²² This would still be the case for the new Christian family but not for the earthly families they belonged to. The Christian was virtually substituting his earthly household with the Christian one.⁴²³ Societies interpreted this as desertion of society in favour

⁴²¹ Also see first Tim. 3:15

⁴²² See Judge (1960:35) who discussed the topic of the place of religion in the well-being of the household.

⁴²³ The conversion of the head of the household was likely to present fewer problems than that of other members. As patriarch it was his prerogative to make such decisions, and

of Christianity. The early church not only broke up households but inferred that it was acceptable by replacing it with a new household / family / house in the church.⁴²⁴ Christians were serious regarding loyalty to the household of Christ, and societies were equally serious concerning loyalty to the household of the patriarch. Overriding this conflict was the Christian's allegiance to Christ which had priority to that due to the state.⁴²⁵

the duty of the rest of the household was to follow and execute those decisions. The problem arose when someone other than the patriarch made decisions they did not have the right to make and which defied the head of the household. However, this was the case with some households addressed in first Peter (3:1,2). This is also confirmed with Jesus' statement in Matt. 10:35,36 "For I have come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and one's foes will be members of one's own household" (New Revised Standard Version). Texts such as these are indicative of the conflicts which early Christian communities often had to deal with. Other relevant passages include: Luke 12:51-53; Matt. 8:21,22; Luke 9:57-60; Luke 14:26; Mark 3:31-35; Luke 8:19-21; Matt. 12:46,47. Also see the comments of scholars like Lyall (1984:83); Judge (1960:35); and Warden (1986:190,191). Celsus also made a revealing comment quoted at length by Origen in *Contra Celsum* 3.55. Justine even recorded that a pagan husband denounced his wife (*Apology* 2.2.). Tertullian indicated that wives had been repudiated and sons disinherited (*Apology* 3.). For other examples of similar circumstances see Harnack (1908:489-493).

⁴²⁴ See Osiek (1984:76) where she wrote that encouragement for:

"wives and slaves to think independently ... was indeed subversion of domestic order and therefore of civil order, a sufficient cause for resentment and persecution".

⁴²⁵ Warden (1986:192).

3.3.9 Problem Nine: The Church's Formal Organization

The church was organized with clearly defined membership, ranks, prescribed times of meeting, and predetermined, liturgical rites. The more organized they were the more they would have been perceived as a security threat and thus fallen into disfavour with the Roman governors.⁴²⁶

In conclusion it would seem as if we are dealing with two different viewpoints here. Christians upheld their point of view (which seemed right and noble to them) in contrast to the totally opposite view point of the pagans. What constituted problems in the eyes of the Romans was seen as advantages to Christians. What Christians perceived as positive the Romans saw as negative and threatening. Therefore these problems resulted in hardship for Christians. This conclusion was summarized succinctly:

"This is not to say that Christianity was intentionally political, but that it arose among those who were without political organization and experience and that it had far-reaching political consequences. Despite protests to the contrary, the churches from the very beginning presented Rome with a serious political problem. Christians were constantly amazed to find themselves cast as enemies of the Roman order, but in retrospect we must admit that it was the Romans who had the more realistic insight".⁴²⁷

Because of all of the problems mentioned above that adversely affected the relationship between Rome and Christianity we conclude that Roman rule was involved in the pitiful plight of

⁴²⁶ To see further information with regards to organizations and the threat of such see MacMullen (1966:175).

⁴²⁷ Gager (1975:27,28).

Christians. We arrive at this conclusion based on the discussion above but also referring to the following:

- a. *Because of the fact that Roman rule was involved in the suffering and persecution of Christians it constituted official persecution.*
- b. *Precedents were set by provincial governors when they judged Christians to be criminal or disruptive.⁴²⁸*
- c. *Such precedents were more important to Christians of Asia (Peter's audience) than local sporadic action by the police under Nero or Domitian (if there were persecution under Domitian) in Rome.⁴²⁹*
- d. *It seems evident that the governments of Asia were well acquainted with Christianity. They were convinced that Christianity should be suppressed.⁴³⁰*
- e. *As a consequence of the above mentioned precedents the governor likewise passed*

⁴²⁸ Benko (1984:14).

⁴²⁹ They are more important because of their locality and timeousness. We find reference to previous trials of Christians in the writing of Pliny (Letters 10. 96). Evidence from his writing suggests that he was not present at these trials. The outcome of these trials was the characterization of Christians as "contagious superstition". The word contagious certainly points to growth but also to previous cases. We thus have a negative development over time. The results of these trials, the characterizations and the time span involved are factors that lead to the generally accepted precedents. It must therefore, be concluded that suffering was official as trials and the judgements of such cases represented government opinion and actions. The persecutions of Christians in Rome under the auspices of Nero and possibly Domitian had little concern on the persecutions of first Peter (Warden 1986:89). Also see Judge (1960:16).

⁴³⁰ Warden (1986:88).



*judgement on Christianity as being criminal.*⁴³¹

- f. *Rome had reason to be involved in the Christians' suffering as these problems would suggest. Benko, for example, concludes:*

*"That the Christian complaint that the Romans persecuted them simply on account of their name (nomen ipsum) is somewhat exaggerated and only partly true. In fact, the Romans associated the name with so many real or imagined, questionable, illegal, and perhaps even criminal activities that not even the most neutral Roman observer could see clearly the true intentions and convictions of the Christians".*⁴³²

Suffering has now been looked at and it was discovered that it was probably social as well as governmental / political. The political scene has been explored. Now time will be devoted to examine social developments.

⁴³¹ *Warden (1986:88).*

⁴³² *Benko (1984:24).*

Chapter 4. Understanding the Honour and Shame Dynamic and its Negative Effect on Peter's Readers

One of the ways for Society to reward or punish its members was by using the perceptions of honour and shame. It would appear as if honour and shame were used to coerce conformity to society.⁴³³ Christians were apparently negatively affected by this dynamic. Before we can understand this concept we need to understand the value and working of the principles behind the honour and shame values, hence this discussion. After the inner workings of these values are understood its negative effect on Peter's readers will be discussed.

4.1 Understanding the Honour and Shame Dynamic

According to Malina and others the pivotal value in first-century Mediterranean society was honour and shame.⁴³⁴ Malina's calling of this value as "pivotal" is treated with circumspection. It would suffice to say that honour and shame as a value had its place amongst other values in the value system of the above mentioned time period and society. Since the acquiring of honour mostly took place in the form of a contest this society was classified, by some,⁴³⁵ to be agonistic. Honour can roughly be defined as a claim to worth and the social acknowledgement

⁴³³ Malina (1986:7).

⁴³⁴ Malina (1981:26-46)(1996:8); Malina and Neyrey (1991:25-65). For consultation on this topic and especially of the role of the female in honour and shame see Campbell (1974:146-147); Delaney (1987:38-41); Gilmore (1982:195); Love (1993:23,27-29); Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992:30-31; 77, 213-214, 241-242, 310-311); Michaels (1988:159-160); Peristiany (1974:183-184); Schneider (1971:17-18).

⁴³⁵ Campbell (1995:17).

of that worth. Their thinking, reasoning and actions were mostly determined by the acclamation of honour and the avoidance of shame. Society at large determines what actions result in honour or shame. Honour denotes an ascent in esteem by society while shame denotes a descent. Whoever society judges to be honourable, is granted additional social status. People are treated in accordance with their social status. Conversely, society can also dishonour and shame people by rejecting them.⁴³⁶ Therefore, the honour or shame of people is evaluated in the court of public opinion.⁴³⁷ First century Mediterranean society was a group oriented society. As such, all groups, whether family or larger groups that might even function as the whole nation, have their collective honour. By dishonouring an individual the honour of the whole group to which he belongs is discredited. A female's honour is maintained in sexual purity.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ To read about the inherent power in society to dishonour and shame people cite Bechtler (1996:121); Pitt-Rivers (1966:72).

⁴³⁷ Pitt-Rivers (1966:23).

⁴³⁸ If the female was unmarried then virginity would constitute honour. In the case of married woman exclusivity would constitute honour. If a woman were to lose her honour (virginity or exclusivity) her family would also lose its honour, since her purity and exclusiveness are embedded within the honour of a male (whoever the male is who is responsible to protect her honour)(Bechtler 1996:224). It could be a father, husband, brother or son (Campbell 1995:227). On certain levels there was no such thing as individualism because the specific society was group orientated. On other, limited levels we find individualism. Shyness, blushing and modesty at her nakedness would contribute to her "honour". A woman's honour was seen as positive shame. A wife's main avenue of receiving honour was through the bearing of children. In those times there was no such thing as "children". There were only sons and daughters. The more sons and daughters and the more males the more honour (Campbell 1995:213). If one's daughter or wife became immoral, the man publicly denounced her conduct to preserve his honour. Peter did not want Christian wives to be denounced for



As a result of the dynamic with which honour and shame work, honour has two sides. Firstly, as will be discussed below, a person has "something" (e.g. genealogy, extraordinary feat) with which honour can be earned. Secondly, honour only exists in the eyes of those who bestow the honour as a result of their perception of that "something". Therefore, honour and shame are based on perceptions and thus do not exist outside of the group for which honour and shame are an important orientation point. If however, you should change your orientation towards the group or towards the value, the nature of what constitutes and determines honour or shame also changes. Ironically, the people with the most honour determined what constituted honour and shame. This value was therefore dynamic and changed. The reversal of this value was possible with a change in perspective and / or group.

Three ways in which one could earn honour will receive attention.⁴³⁹

a. By Birth.

By birth you were attributed the same amount of honour as the group you were born into. If you were a Benjaminite you had by virtue of your birth more honour than some other tribes. Similarly, a king's son automatically by virtue of his birth, had honour.

immorality (being Christian could be seen as immoral). Also see the doctoral dissertation of Bechtler (1996:119-125) especially page 124 on the sexual purity of females as the embodiment of the family's shame.

⁴³⁹ Campbell (1995:18).

b. *By Public Debate (and Conduct).*

Public debate was sparked with a declaration of equality⁴⁴⁰ as only equals could compete.⁴⁴¹ The debate then ensued. Debates had no function regarding honour and shame when they were held in private, for the role of the public was the determination of the winner and the subsequent accreditation of honour to the winner and shame to the loser.⁴⁴² This was the most common way to make your way (as a group) to the top. The motivation for proper conduct was the accumulation of honour and not money as with our society. The reputation of the individual was bound in the reputation of the group. If the individual out performed the group they would reject him on the grounds of not being group orientated. If the individual's performance was substandard he would be rejected too. Because of this dynamic everyone in the group had the same status, and everyone worked towards the common accumulation of honour. Their reputation (whether individual or group) was thus seated in the performance during daily conduct and public debate. Since the public judged the performance and debates, accumulation of honour was highly dependent on conformity to culturally expected norms.

c. *By Extraordinary Feat.*

Sometimes it happened that an extraordinary feat was accomplished by someone that really pleased the powers that be. They could then ascribe honour to the subject in view of their appreciation.

⁴⁴⁰ Dixon (1989:42).

⁴⁴¹ It was entirely possible for a superior person to affront an inferior without losing any honour, however, the reverse was not permitted (Malina 1981:29-36).

⁴⁴² For examples of such accreditation see the argumentative dialogues of Jesus with others (Luke 4:22-30; Matt. 22:23-30).

Since one cannot change the group of birth, and since extraordinary feats are extraordinary, most often people used public debate and / or contests to challenge other peoples' honour. The victor gained the loser's honour.

4.2 Understanding the Honour / Shame Contest

Peter seemed to be utilizing such contests in his rhetoric both to answer his readers' antagonists but also to provide his audience with a different way of thinking. Thus we need to understand how such contests worked to help us understand how Peter used them. Hence, this discussion which is just a short overview.⁴⁴³ According to certain scholars⁴⁴⁴ the honour contest had four stages:

a. The Challenge.

The honour contest could only be a contest if both parties perceived it as such. Therefore the contest was initiated by a challenge.

This challenge could be either positive⁴⁴⁵ or negative.⁴⁴⁶ A contest could only occur between social equals. The risk for the superior contestant, should he lose to an inferior, was just too

⁴⁴³ *It is not the purpose of this dissertation to exhaust the topic of first century Mediterranean contests. A brief overview is provided simply because it is essential to understand first Peter.*

⁴⁴⁴ *Campbell (1995:18).*

⁴⁴⁵ *Positive challenges can include praise, requests and even gifts.*

⁴⁴⁶ *Negative challenges can take the form of an insult, trick questions or even physical attack.*

great, since he stood to lose a whole lot more than if he had lost to an equal. Everybody expected the superior to win, so if he did, he did not really gain anything. But if the superior should lose the loss would be too great. There was therefore no reason to compete with inferior contestants. An example of such a challenge can be found in Matt. 12:38:

"Then some of the Pharisees and teachers of the law said to him, 'Teacher, we want to see a miraculous sign from you.'"

Note that the Pharisees and teachers called Jesus "Teacher". This was done to validate that the playing field was equal. The contest could then commence.

b. The Response.

The challengee needed to respond to the challenge. The contest only commenced if the challengee took up the challenge. If the challengee stated his superiority and declined the contest on that basis the challenger would lose honour. This could only be done if the public recognized the challengee as in fact being superior.

c. Public Scrutiny.

The public would then scrutinize the ensuing contest with the purpose of delivering their judgement. They determined who the winner, and subsequent loser was. Society determined the well established rules and values which served as a guideline to the contestants.

d. The Judgement.

Following the public scrutiny the spectators made their verdict known. The verdict was not

made in the form of a formal declaration but rather in the form of honour and shame. They would grant the winner honour and treat the loser shamefully.⁴⁴⁷ The contestants recognized the verdict as the loser usually walked away from the scene. Sometimes they even withdrew from that part of society.

This whole process of challenge, response, public scrutiny and judgement could well be illustrated by Matt. 22:16-22:

⁴⁴⁷ *An example of this type of contest can be found in 2:11-12 where there is a treat in the form of παροίκοι και παρεπιδήμοι > τὰ ἔθνη. The perception is an attack on their self-esteem / established order. The reaction comes in the form of a challenge. The reaction is positive rejection - ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν. The response or counter reaction is ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ... τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν. This is followed by the verdict which in this case is: ἵνα δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς (honour for the παροίκοι και παρεπιδήμοι).*



<p><i>Declaration of Equality</i></p>	<p><i>“They sent their disciples to him along with the Herodians. <u>Teacher,</u>’ they said, ‘we know you are a man of integrity and that you teach the way of God in accordance with the truth. You aren't swayed by men, because you pay no attention to who they are.</i></p>
<p><i>Challenge by Question</i></p>	<p><i><u>Tell us then,</u> what is your opinion? Is it right to pay taxes to Caesar or not?’</i></p>
<p><i>Jesus Responds</i></p>	<p><i>But Jesus, knowing their evil intent, said, <u>You hypocrites,</u> why are you trying to <u>trap me?</u> Show me the coin used for paying the tax.’ They brought him a denarius,</i></p>
<p><i>Jesus' Counter Challenge</i></p>	<p><i>and <u>he asked them,</u> ‘Whose portrait is this? And whose inscription?’ ‘Caesar’s,’ they replied. Then he said to them, ‘Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s, and to God what is God’s.’</i></p>
<p><i>Judgement and Acceptance Thereof</i></p>	<p><i>When they heard this, they were amazed. So they <u>left him and went away.</u>”</i></p>

Note once again the declaration of equality in the salutation “teacher”. Then came the challenge in the form of a question. Jesus responded. Public scrutiny was illustrated with the words “when they heard this, they were” The judgement was in favour of Jesus since they were amazed at His answer. The challengers acknowledged the judgement by leaving the scene. The above will suffice to serve as illustration of honour and shame contests.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁸ Other examples of similar contests between Jesus and challengers can be found in

4.3 *The Negative Effect of the Honour and Shame Dynamic on Peter's Readers*

The honour and shame dynamic gave power to the powerful, as the people with honour determined the criteria of what constitutes honour and shame. It therefore became a powerful tool in the hands of society at large to force compliance. When groups did not comply with what society demanded then this dynamic also became a tool to punish as this dynamic had two sides, both honour and shame. And this, amongst other things, seems to be exactly what society used against Peter's readers, as can be detected from the fact that honour and shame vocabulary that stemmed from the semantic field of the honour and shame contest, permeates first Peter.⁴⁴⁹ If we consider only the most obvious terms from the above mentioned field we find:

- a. *The δοξ- root fourteen times (1:7, 8, 11, 21, 24; 2:12; 4:11, 13, 14, 16; 5:1, 4, 10, 11).*
- b. *The τιμ- root six times (1:7 [twice], 19; 2:7, 17; 3:7).*
- c. *ἔπαινον twice (1:7; 2:14).*
- d. *And ἀναγεννάω (1:3; 23).*

Matt. 22:23-33 and Matt. 22:34-46.

⁴⁴⁹ *For the arguments concerning the origins of the honour and shame dynamic in the Mediterranean, and for the expounding thereof see Peristiany (1966); Schneider (1971); Davis (1977); Boissevain (1979); Gilmore (1982; 1987); Peristiany and Pitt-Rivers (1992). For the state of the discipline of Mediterranean anthropological studies see Gilmore (1982; 1987). For a synthesis of this material and to articulate an honour / shame model for interpreters of the New Testament see Malina (1993); Malina and Neyrey (1991).*

Words to the opposite effect (shaming and dishonouring) that accompany the above quoted words appear several times. Most notably we find:

- a. καταισχύνω twice (2:6; 3:16).
- b. αἰσχύνομαι once (4:16).

The theory⁴⁵⁰ is presented⁴⁵¹ that the conflict and subsequent suffering in first Peter can best be seen in the light of the honour contest. Thus, by becoming a Christian you were committing a shameful act seen from a societal perspective. Because Christians were viewed as shameful they suffered, as they were robbed of their honour by society. A further negative spinoff to the loss of honour by Christians was the effect thereof on God's honour. Christians saw themselves as children of God (1:14; 3:6). If the children were shameful their shamefulness negatively impacted on God's honour since they were interconnected.

The verbal hostility directed at the intended readers of first Peter did not only reflect personal insult but rather encompassed a whole lot more as it removed the public respect upon which their existence in society depended.⁴⁵² Goppelt designates this as bürgerliche Ehre (public respect).⁴⁵³

We have seen examples of honour and shame vocabulary in first Peter. An example of such a contest can be found in 2:12-14. We will see later on how Peter used them to his advantage.

⁴⁵⁰ Campbell (1995:38) himself makes the acknowledgment that it is only a theory and not a proven fact.

⁴⁵¹ Campbell (1995:38-42).

⁴⁵² Goppelt (1978:39).

⁴⁵³ Goppelt (1978:39).

This section (2:12-15) could serve as an example of an honour and shame contest because the challenge to the believers' honour emanated from the gentiles καταλαλέω (defaming) the addressees by accusing them of being κακοποιῶν (wrongdoers). The fact that ὑμῶν is possessive caused Peter's appeal to be concerned with the social situation of his readers. We know that we are dealing specifically with an honour and shame contest because the emphasis here was on visible conduct that was to be adjudged as καλή (good) even by non-believers in response to καταλαλέω. The issue at stake here was whether the addressees' ἀναστροφῆν (behaviour or conduct) conformed to the ideals of society.⁴⁵⁴ Although the kind of conduct was not specified it would seem that the accusers were contrasting two kinds of conducts. The one met the approval of society whilst the other would be met by punishment from the Emperor's prefect (2:14). Peter asked his readers to do good in order that commendation rather than censure would be the result. This would silence the accusers finding their accusations groundless. The counter response by Peter on the καταλαλέω was not only limited to good behaviour but extended into name calling. This was done by means of a negative designation of those outside of their Christian fellowship as τὰ ἔθνη "the Gentiles" (4:3). Traditionally this term referred to non-Jews but Peter then transferred this term to non-Christians.⁴⁵⁵ The subject of καταλαλοῦσιν (2:12) is not indefinite or impersonal. The antagonists were the "Gentiles" of the previous clause, in other words, the non-Christians. Furthermore, the accusers were called ἀγνωσία, although not in a derogatory manner but possibly putting them in their place.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ *The ideals of society is indeed different from society to society since each society determines and enforces its own set of criteria.*

⁴⁵⁵ *Michaels (1988:117).*

⁴⁵⁶ *To read on the interpretation of this word (ἀγνωσία) see Michaels (1988:128).*



Thus we find that society used the honour and shame dynamic to affect Peter's readers negatively. We will still see how these contests were used by society to further negatively affect Christians. Since Peter responded to these contests and used them to reverse the very roles that society had created, we will not be dealing with them here but rather when we deal with Peter's solution to such perceptions.

It was seen that suffering was probably both societal and political. The dissertation went ahead and looked at the political scene followed by the broader social scene (macro level). It was seen how the problems developed. As far as society was concerned it would seem as though they used honour and shame to the detriment of the Christians. Since honour and shame formed part of societal thinking it is not surprising, as will be shown, that Peter also made use of this dynamic in his solution. Before Peter's solution is discussed the household scene, which is part of the narrower social scene (micro level), will be examined. This is the last section of problems that will be discussed.

Chapter 5. Christianity and Problems within the Household Code

The functioning of households presented Christians with yet another set of problems on the micro level of their social lives. We will examine the following concepts that create problems in this chapter:

- a. *The household code.⁴⁵⁷*
- b. *The possibility that believers could lose their families when becoming Christians.*
- c. *Some problems caused⁴⁵⁸ in the household by Christianity.*

Long ago Dibelius contended against the tendency to see in the Haustafeln of the New Testament a simile of actual social situations of addressees.⁴⁵⁹ The fact that the author used the household code in order to address the relationship of his readers to the government / society / families under which they lived, suggested that he was speaking to an actual

⁴⁵⁷ *With household code is meant not only the code that governed households but also a code which includes the newly formed household, namely the church or fellowship of believers. As such the term includes more than just traditional household matters, for example the relationships between the elder and the younger people.*

⁴⁵⁸ *It is important to note that we are dealing with perceptions here. Although Christian actions might not cause any problems whatsoever, it is still perceived by society as causing problems. Therefore, these suggested problems are seen as such by society and not necessarily by Christians themselves.*

⁴⁵⁹ *For a survey of the study, history and development of the household code see Balch (1976:2-10).*

situation. In his⁴⁶⁰ view the birthplace of the New Testamentic household code was to be found in the stoic literature from the Hellenistic period.⁴⁶¹ Others⁴⁶² thought that the New Testamentic household code was mindsprung in the Hellenistic Jewish writings. A third option which was convincingly presented⁴⁶³ regarding the origin of the household code, was that the codes were specifically Christian in provenance. None of these theories seems to be without problems.⁴⁶⁴ After extensive examination⁴⁶⁵ it was generally concluded that the New Testament codes speak to specific situations. The purpose of the household code in Peter specifically is twofold, firstly,⁴⁶⁶ to reduce sociol-political friction between the antagonists and Christians, and secondly, to instill actions and a sense of what is right according to God's will.

⁴⁶⁰ Referring to Dibelius' (1913:91,92).

⁴⁶¹ Weidinger (Dibelius's student) added other evidence (1928:3).

⁴⁶² Lohmeyer (1954:152).

⁴⁶³ Rengstorf (1953:131-145).

⁴⁶⁴ Examples of such problems are, as Balch expresses it:

- a. Although "there are some hints of reciprocal duties in Stoic texts, but no exhortation to pairs in a household".
- b. "There are close parallels to such pairs in a household in Hellenistic Judaism, but the suggestion that this is a 'Jewish-Oriental' influence in Philo has not been demonstrated" (Balch 1981:10).

⁴⁶⁵ Couch (1972:126).

⁴⁶⁶ Balch (1981:81).

There are similar (to that of Peter) and more complete examples of household codes elsewhere in the New Testament (Col. 3:18-4:1; Eph. 5:21-6:9).⁴⁶⁷ In these codes the formal structure are more obvious than in Peter who dealt with the household code in the following manner:

- a. The wife - husband relationship (3:1-7).*
- b. Exhorting the slaves without the masters (2:18-25).*
- c. Omitting the child - father relationship totally.*

The following transpires with household codes.⁴⁶⁸

<u>Subordinates</u>	<u>Superiors</u>
<i>Wives submit to husbands</i>	<i>Husbands love your wives</i>
<i>Children obey your parents</i>	<i>Fathers do not anger your children</i>
<i>Slaves obey your masters</i>	<i>Masters treat your slaves justly</i>

Two features of Peter's household code are rather unique. Firstly, there was the introduction of submissiveness to "every human institution" (2:13,14). Secondly, the household code concluded with a command to "all of you" (3:8,9).⁴⁶⁹ The first unique feature could possibly presuppose that they were at that time not submitting to the human institutions. The second unique feature possibly alluded to the prospect that the author used the household code as a simile for all his readers. In other words, the principles embedded in the household code were

⁴⁶⁷ *For other occurrences of household codes see first Tim. 2:8-15; 5:1,2; 6:1,2; Tit. 2:1-10; 3:1, although not as structured the mentioned texts in Col. 3:18-4:1 and Eph. 5:21-6:9.*

⁴⁶⁸ *Balch (1981:1).*

⁴⁶⁹ *That this is in fact the conclusion of the household code in first Peter see Elliott (1976:243-245).*

made applicable to the whole church and all his readers. These texts will be discussed later when the solution to the mentioned problems are dealt with.

The household codes in Peter refer to the following problems that Christians experienced:

5.1 Problem One: Christianity Caused Slaves to Challenge their Masters

Slavery could well be said to be a kind of institutionalized marginality. Slaves were mere property and as such utterly devoid of honour and therefore they fell outside of the social order. In Roman law the slave was pro nullo.⁴⁷⁰ To be a slave was to be socially dead.⁴⁷¹ Slaves formed the boundary of social existence. The Roman law further classified slaves as chattel, not persons and as a speaking tool - instrumentum vocale.⁴⁷² Slaves were not allowed to choose their own religions since slaves of a household generally conformed to the religious preferences of the paterfamilias.⁴⁷³ It was seen as defiance for slaves to make such decisions on their own. It could be expected that masters would be harsh⁴⁷⁴ on them if they dared to become Christians while the masters were pagan, since religious non-conformity was viewed as

⁴⁷⁰ On Roman law with regards to this issue see Patterson (1982:40).

⁴⁷¹ Patterson (1982:1-101, 334-342). Other material on the status of slaves is Bradley (1987); Carter (1994:172-189); Saller (1991:144-165); Weidemann (1987).

⁴⁷² Patterson (1982:30-32) traces the developments in Roman law by which the slave was denied personhood and classified as a thing, the object of the absolute ownership (dominium) of the master, whose personhood was affirmed.

⁴⁷³ Balch (1981:68-69; 74-75).

⁴⁷⁴ For a discussion of harsh and cruel treatment of slaves by their masters see Plutarch, On The Avoidance Of Anger (excerpt of Maralia) 458F-464D.

a disturbance of the social equilibrium. To the masters this action was seen as a challenge. What was more important was the fact that the master was being challenged by someone who belonged to him and by someone who had no honour at all (by himself). This could be interpreted by the masters as a slap in the face. This phenomenon is described as follows:

“The Roman constitution insisted on proper worship of the state gods, so Romans reacted negatively when Jewish and Christian slaves - the first groups to do so - rejected the worship of their masters’ gods, insisting on an exclusive worship of their own God”.⁴⁷⁵

The deduction that we are dealing with non-Christian masters is made from the context of 2:18-20 where it seems evident that Peter addressed the slaves of non-Christian masters. Firstly, this can be deduced by the salutation “Οἱ οἰκέται”. Secondly, the deduction could possibly be made that these particular slave owners were non-Christians because of their description as τοῖς σκολιοῖς. Thirdly, these owners might be deemed non-Christian because they caused the slaves πάσχων ἀδίκως. This thought was mentioned again in 2:20, viz., that they were suffering for doing right. The idea that the owners were not addressed here was further ascertained by the absence of any directives to slave owners. Therefore slave owners were not among the members of the intended audience of this portion of first Peter.

5.2 Problem Two: Christianity Causes Discord in the Household

It is thought that the most social interaction occurred within the household. These households formed the primary structure of the Empire.⁴⁷⁶ Absolute power rested with the male head of

⁴⁷⁵ Balch (1981:74).

⁴⁷⁶ Tidball (1984:79).

the primary household. In case of his absence his eldest son was in command. Slaves also formed part of the household by taking care of the practical day-to-day functioning of the family. This structure with the paterfamilias on the top was utilized by Augustus when he declared himself the paterfamilias of the empire. Augustus converted the microcosm of the household (with inclusion of the paterfamilias) into the macrocosm of the empire.⁴⁷⁷

In first Peter 3:1-6 we find a similar argument to that of the slaves but this time the argument was directed at the wives. When the husband as head of the household became a Christian, there generally speaking was no problem, for the whole household then became Christians. The following summary on this issue is thus cited: "The wife of a Greco-Roman household typically adopted her husband's religious beliefs and observances".⁴⁷⁸ The problem was caused when someone in the household other than the head became a Christian, for they were all inferior and subordinate to the head and as such were not allowed such liberties. Her disobedience was seen as a disruption of the social order, for society dictated her role to be private.⁴⁷⁹ The husband saw this kind of action as a threat or challenge to his honour and position. The wife's worship with her husband was therefore important not only for the public order but also for the domestic order.⁴⁸⁰ As with the slaves, the wives were in a similar position.

⁴⁷⁷ A well documented discussion on the paterfamilias, the use thereof by the Roman government as well as the use by the Emperor of this phenomenon can be read in this section: Tidball (1984:79-81).

⁴⁷⁸ Campbell (1995:205). For further information regarding the relationship between husband and wife in first century society see Balch (1981:65-80; 85; 96-97; 99); Davids (1990:115-117).

⁴⁷⁹ For the societal dictation on the role woman in first century Mediterranean society see Campbell (1995:244).

⁴⁸⁰ Plutarch gives extensive advice to wives regarding this matter. His advice, however,

Christianity was thus accused of causing discord in the household since:

- a. *It was said (by society) that the paterfamilias was not in control of his household if he did not take action.*
- b. *Society demanded that the paterfamilias should not allow his subordinates independence.*
- c. *Religious, ethical and moral division in the household was interpreted as a weakness on the part of the paterfamilias.*
- d. *Christianity was seen as the cause of the paterfamilias' loss of honour.*

The end result might constitute (in extreme cases) expulsion from the household by way of divorce. In this event the Christian would have been left without a paterfamilias. In other cases they might have been treated harshly. Peter's advice was again submission.⁴⁸¹

is just the opposite of Peter's. For citation of Plutarch's remarks see Plutarch, On The Avoidance Of Anger (excerpt of Maralia) 140D, 144D-E. Balch (1981:85) also cites this passage and might be easier to find. Campbell (1995:206) has the insert from Plutarch quoted in his dissertation.

⁴⁸¹ *There is a remarkable resemblance between the syntax of 1:17, 1:22, 2:12 and 3:2. The submission that Peter advocates in 3:15 is in no way limited to sexuality but rather encompasses their whole lives. Even the phrase ἀγνήν ἀναστροφὴν (pure behaviour) is not only in reference to sexuality but rather the whole life. This would obviously include sexuality, as sexuality is part of married life. For further information on this issue refer to Hilber (1992:92) and Marshall (1991:101).*

5.3 *Problem Three: Christians Possibly Lost their Inheritance*

As part of the larger family profile the situation of children formed part of the discussion. Children inherited as long as they were in good standing with the patriarch. It seems as though Christianity would have sufficed as reason for disfellowshipping and even disowning. As a result the Christian lost his inheritance. Inheritance and property or the lack thereof contributed in the determination of status. The loss of inheritance thus also contributed to the Christian's loss in status.

5.4 *Problem Four: Christians Voluntarily Relinquished Honour*

There is also a paradox in the conduct of the Christian whether they be newborn babies, children or slaves. They were to live "as free persons ... but as slaves⁴⁸² of God" (ὡς ἐλεύθεροι ... ὡς θεοῦ δοῦλοι)(2:16). Thus they were to live as slaves and free persons simultaneously. Following the logic of the Greco-Roman social structure the juxtaposition of the metaphors of the slave and the free person meant that the believer was neither fully one nor the other. It was entirely possible for a freeborn person to become a slave. Similarly a slave could have been freed, but one could not be both at once. If, however, a slave was freed the δοῦλος would have thereby become not an ἐλεύθερος but rather an ἀπελεύθερος or ἐξελεύθερος.

⁴⁸² Israel used the self-designated slave concept in the LXX (Ps. 18:12,14; 26:9; Isa. 48:20). Paul did the same thing (Rom. 1:1; first Cor. 7:22; Gal. 1:10; Phil. 1:1). However, in Peter the everyday experience of life in the Greco-Roman world seemed to provide the associations that would make the metaphor work for the intended readers instead of the early Christian tradition.

No matter what the Christian's previous status was, they were all asked to live as slaves of God. That meant voluntarily relinquishing their status (whatever status they had). Thus the following reversal of honour occurred when a free person became a slave (albeit voluntarily):

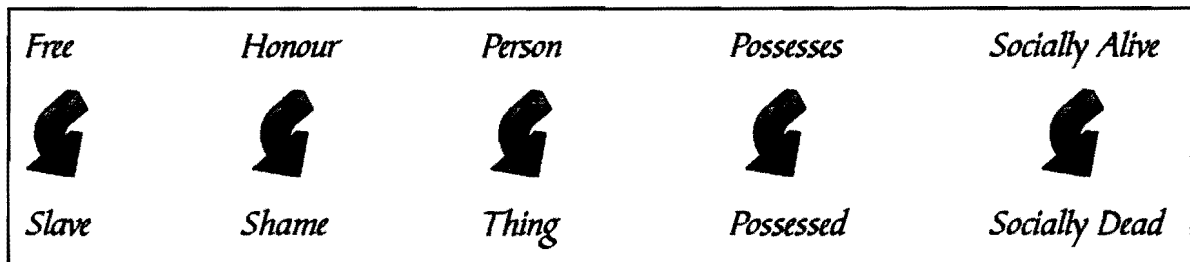


Figure 10

In figure ten we notice what happened to someone who became a slave. It was a shift down on the "status line" of society and thus movement occurred from honour to shame. The person also lost personhood and became a chattel. The person changed from one who owned to one who is owned. Lastly, they became socially dead in as much as they had no say in society. The spiritual application of such a voluntary acceptance of slavery will be discussed later. The importance here was the social problem caused by this attitude. Society strove to gain status. Here Christians move in the opposite direction. Society must have found this hard to understand. It would stand to reason that this attitude resulted in the Christian's classification as weird. This was interpreted, as other Christian actions, to be non-conformist. Non-conformity was despised in this society and hence caused problems for Christians.



So far it has been concluded that Christians were suffering. The causes of such suffering were investigated by examining the political (Roman system of government), macro social (honour and shame dynamic) and now the micro social problems (in the form of the households). In this chapter it was seen that various problems existed when subordinate members of the household embraced this new faith. The problems mentioned were:

- a. Christianity was seen as a challenge to the paterfamilias.*
- b. Christianity was seen as the cause of discord in the family.*
- c. Christians themselves could possibly have lost their paterfamilias and in so doing their inheritance.*
- d. By relinquishing their honour Christians were viewed as non-conformists.*

This completes the setting of the table as far as the problems facing the readers were concerned. Now the dissertation is going to proceed towards constructing Peter's solution: the reversal of roles as reasoning for remaining Christian in the face of hardship.



Part II

Developing the Solution:

The Reversal of Roles as Reasoning for Remaining

Christian in the Face of Hardship

In the First Epistle of Peter

Chapter 6. *The Reversal of Roles as the Solution to the Suffering Problem*

The source and form of suffering have a direct bearing on the advice and encouragement that Peter has to offer. It also reveals with whom the proposed reversal of roles will eventuate. Now that part I has set the table, the developing of Peter's solutions commences.

The strange thing about Peter's writing on the topic of suffering is that he is not concerned with how to avoid suffering but rather with how to endure suffering.⁴⁸³ This is so much more meaningful from a man who saw how Jesus endured suffering and who suffering himself. The authorship of first Peter really impacts this message. The idea that their suffering falls within the will of God can even be detected in 1:6.⁴⁸⁴ This does not necessarily imply that God is the cause of their suffering, especially since it is God who gives them hope and salvation. Rather, God uses their negative situation (suffering) positively. Therefore, God extracts the good from the bad. This in itself is a reversal of perspective and fortune. Their suffering is thus directly related to God's will in providing them an opportunity to reveal the genuineness (δοκίμιον) of their faith.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸³ Geertz (1973:104).

⁴⁸⁴ In 1:6 their various temptations / experiments (πειρασμοῖς) are deemed necessary (εἰ δέον). The use of εἰ indicates a condition of reality (Kelly 1969:53). δέον often pertains to the will of God in the New Testament (Grundmann 1964:21-25).

⁴⁸⁵ Selwyn (1981:129).

Elliott's thesis is that Peter gives these destitutes a home in the οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Elliott describes Peter's solution utilizing this new household⁴⁸⁶ stating that within this new household:

"Alienation from society, zeal in doing the good, bearing the name of Christ, servitude and humility were transformed from Gentile-condemned 'vices' into the divinely rewarded 'virtues' of God's diaspora people".⁴⁸⁷

The "Gentile-condemned vices" also refer to suffering which according to Elliott⁴⁸⁸ is interpreted largely in terms of the social conflict theories of Lewis Coser and Georg Simmel.⁴⁸⁹ The purpose (according to Elliott) of suffering is firstly, to clarify the boundaries between the Petrine sects and outsiders and secondly to increase cohesion within the sects.⁴⁹⁰ The result is

⁴⁸⁶ The formation of a new household to replace the one that they have possibly lost will be discussed later.

⁴⁸⁷ Elliott (1981:226).

⁴⁸⁸ Elliott (1981:102-106).

⁴⁸⁹ On these social conflict theories see Coser (1956); Simmel (1955). Also cite Wilson (1959; 1961; 1973).

⁴⁹⁰ There are two schools when it comes to the discussion of what type of group Christians in first Peter belonged to. Firstly, there is Elliott, and his followers who call for a sectarian identity and secondly, there are those like Balch who calls for an assimilated community. Rather than these two options the letter demands that its readers live soberly and awake, and tread a middle road between the danger of assimilation on the one hand and the equal danger of isolation on the other. Bechtler (1996:27) coined with the term liminal when he wrote in his Ph.D. dissertation that: "τ (sic) Peter offers its readers a vision of their existence as a 'liminal' one: Both temporally and socially, they exist neither here nor there, but 'in between'". He (Bechtler 1996:28) goes on to qualify what he means when he states that:

the winning over⁴⁹¹ of the detractors of the sects through the consistent good conduct of the members of the communities comprising the household of God.⁴⁹²

Part of the solution of the suffering problem throughout the whole book is three fold, each leading to Christ.⁴⁹³

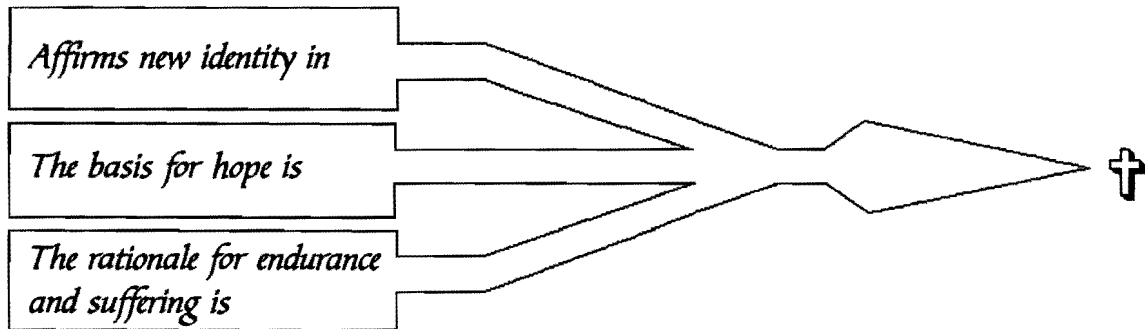


Figure 11

“Christ’s experience of suffering followed by glorification provides the paradigm for Christian liminal existence that is, by virtue of its fidelity to its model, invested with honor (sic) now at the same time as it anticipates future glorification” .

⁴⁹¹ *This view is very controversial as most scholars agree that first Peter has no missiological motif excluding the “wives” section in Peter which is the only missiological statement in the book. And even in this instance, there are other motifs involved such as the cessation of the wives’s suffering, etc. For a further discussion on this topic see the discussion elsewhere in this dissertation.*

⁴⁹² *Elliott (1981:148,149).*

⁴⁹³ *Elliott (1981:76,77).*

Each of these three solutions in figure eleven is evidenced in, amongst others, the following texts:

- a. *Peter affirms a new identity in Christ.⁴⁹⁴ Their identity has been crushed since society has deemed them to be worthless. Peter gives them a new identity in Christ. Firstly, in 2:5 we read that Christians are “like living stones” to be built into a spiritual house, that they are to become a holy priesthood through Christ. Notice that they are not built upon living stones but that they are like living stones, in other words, like Christ. Their identity has now changed from outcast to “like Christ”. That implies, that they share Christ’s life in as much as they are now also elected and precious to God. Here Peter is concerned about their “corporate identity”.⁴⁹⁵ Corporately their identity is now being shaped into a “spiritual house” (2:5). This phrase must be seen in conjunction with the defining prepositional phrase (εἰς ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον) stating the purpose of the house. The spiritual house is best seen as a predicate nominative since the stones can only be seen as a house if they are seen corporately, in other words, they are being built up together. Their togetherness through the builder causes a new group and consequently a new identity.*

The distinct designatory use of ἱεράτευμα as the people of God in 2:9 suggests a close relation between οἶκος πνευματικὸς and εἰς ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον here in verse five. This relation would imply that the spiritual house belongs to God too and, consequently, so do the stones / Christians. This is confirmed if the adjective βασιλείον in 2:9 is read as a noun in which case it bears the meaning of God’s

⁴⁹⁴ *This point is elaborated on in the discussion on figure thirty three which deals with the readers’ new identity that Peter creates.*

⁴⁹⁵ *The term “corporate identity” in relation to Christ can be found in Michaels (1988:99).*

priesthood.⁴⁹⁶ Although it is suggested⁴⁹⁷ that this verse is talking about a house or household it is also possible for this house to be some kind of temple (a house for priests or priestly activity / priesthood) as some⁴⁹⁸ postulate. The purpose of Peter is thus to identify the house and by definition Christians as belonging to Jesus. It would appear as if the stone imagery is derived from Isa. 28:16. It is not clear whether the original thought was in reference to a cornerstone or a keystone over a door. However, that does not seem to be important since the idea in both cases appears to be that this is the stone that keeps the others together.⁴⁹⁹ In the spiritual house then, Jesus is the One who keeps them all together. If Jesus is the One who keeps them all together it would seem to support the idea that Christians belong to Jesus. The designation in 2:5 as living stones also serves the purpose to add value. The idea of value might also be seen in the identification in 2:9 as royal. The temple in Jerusalem is build with dead stones but the new community is build from living stones thus possibly suggesting that they are valued more.⁵⁰⁰ Furthermore, a spiritual house is not made of perishable materials. In the physical temple there were certain priest, but here all of them are priests in as much as they bring spiritual sacrifices that are acceptable to God.

Spiritual sacrifices also play a part in Peter's affirmation of their new identity in Christ. The attribute that constitutes the sacrifices as acceptable to God is their relation to Christ. This thought is pronounced as follows:

⁴⁹⁶ Elliott (1966:149-153).

⁴⁹⁷ Elliott (1966:157-159).

⁴⁹⁸ Michaels (1988:100).

⁴⁹⁹ Reicke (1964:90).

⁵⁰⁰ Barnes (1975:137).

“A distinct corporate identity in Jesus Christ is essential to the offering of authentic Christian worship”.⁵⁰¹

In fact, the very work of a priest is, amongst other things, to offer sacrifices. Logic demands that a spiritual house coupled with a holy priesthood leads to acceptable spiritual sacrifices, hence the following transpires:

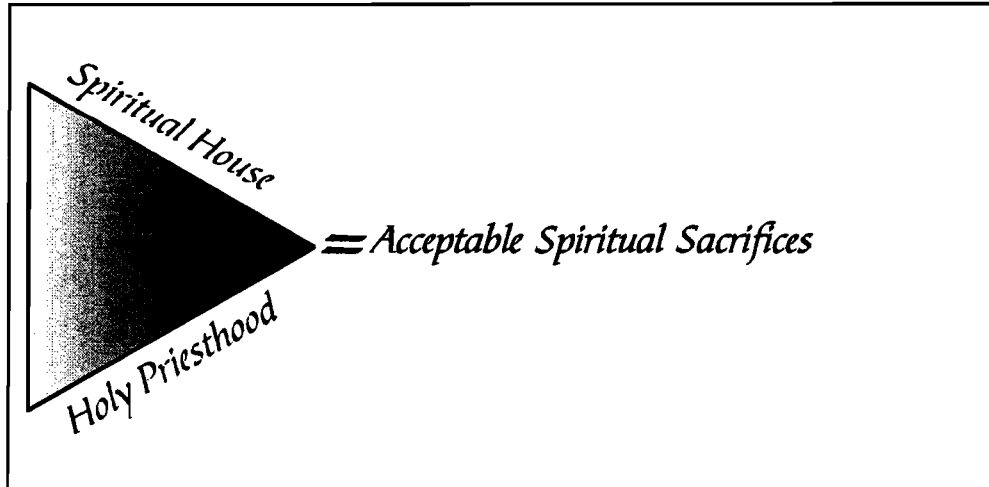


Figure 12

In figure twelve we find three components. The apex is formed by “acceptable sacrifices”. It would appear as if acceptable sacrifices could only be made in New Testament times by means of the other two components, viz. a spiritual house (temple) and a priesthood. Peter now convinces them that they are both the spiritual house and the priesthood. Therefore the deduction could be made that his readers form the ingredients for acceptable sacrifices. The presence of the word “πνευματικός” suggests that both the priestly functions the author has in mind here, and the house are used metaphorically. The fact that Peter calls the priesthood “holy” when holiness is already implied with the word priesthood may suggest that both holy and sacrifices

⁵⁰¹ Michaels (1988:101).



refer to their conduct⁵⁰² since they are used metaphorically. What makes the conduct acceptable to God is that it is offered through Jesus Christ. The word order confirms this because διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is linked to εὐπροσδέκτους.⁵⁰³ Therefore, their twofold new identity as belonging to God, and their good conduct is affirmed in Christ.

Secondly, the latter part of 2:6 promises that "he who believes in him will not be put to shame" (Revised Standard Version).⁵⁰⁴ Although this promise is negatively⁵⁰⁵ phrased it promises honour which is the opposite of shame. The promise of honour is conditional with the condition being faith in Jesus. Once again their new identity as honourable in contrast to society's claim of shamefulness regarding Christians is

⁵⁰² There are similar examples of acceptable spiritual sacrifices referring to conduct. In Rom. 12:1 this phrase refers to worship as doing God's will. In Heb. 13:15,16 the phrase points to good deeds and praise to God.

⁵⁰³ For a discussion of this particular word order and the implications thereof see Goppelt (1978:147).

⁵⁰⁴ Note that Peter quotes Isa. 28:16 here, which says: "Behold, I am laying in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, of a sure foundation: 'He who believes will not be in haste.'" This very quotation is also in use by Paul in Rom. 9:33 which says: "Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall; and he who believes in him will not be put to shame." It is rather interesting to note that the "original" text in Isaiah also happens to be a quotation. There is the possibility that Peter uses some quotations to add significance to what he says. In other words, he is saying that this is not just Peter saying so, it really is.

⁵⁰⁵ Although this phrase is negatively formulated the negative is accentuated to make it absolutely negative. See the double negative Peter uses to assure his readers that they will not be put to shame: οὐ μὴ.

affirmed in Christ.⁵⁰⁶ The concept of honour is further enhanced with the positive words: ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον (2:6).⁵⁰⁷

- b. *The basis of hope is Christ. In the past the Jews have usually defined God in terms of the past traditions and their forefathers.⁵⁰⁸ Here (1:3) Peter defines God in terms of Christ. Christ forms the basis of the whole text. By His great mercy have Christians been born again (ἀναγεννᾶν). This term is a para-hapax legomenon in the sense that it only appears in first Peter (1:3; 1:23). A rather unique feature of this occurrence is the active in which it appears. In fact, the aorist active participle could almost be seen as a title. Therefore Christ is established as the basis of the rebirth and hope. The rebirth is oriented toward the future and might even be eschatological since they are to be born again unto a living hope. That hope could also refer to the hope of the resurrection, thus future. This postulation is further supported with three prepositional phrases which point to the future, namely: εἰς ἐλπίδα ζωσαν (1:3); εἰς κληρονομίαν ... (1:4); and εἰς σωτηρίαν ... (1:5). In this way Christ is the basis of hope.*

⁵⁰⁶ *Although Peter does not use Christ in the affirmation of yet another identity he bestows on Christians, he does create a rather apt identity in 3:6 where their traditional roots come to the fore. However, that is not under discussion at this stage.*

⁵⁰⁷ *The concept of honour would probably have been picked up by the readers due to the similarity and equation of Jesus and the readers with this terminology in such positive terms in 2:4-8. Also see 1:2; 2:9.*

⁵⁰⁸ *This was done by identifying God as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Examples of such usages can be found in the synoptic gospels: Matt. 22:32; Mark 12:26 and Luke 20:37. Acts also boasts such occurrences in 3:13 and 7:32.*

A second allusion to Christ as the basis for hope is found in 1:13. The verse embarks with a familiar⁵⁰⁹ metaphor - the girding of loins. In previous occurrences (mentioned in the footnote) this metaphor refers to a state whereas here it refers to action as can be seen in the aorist participial use of ἀναζωσάμενοι. The choice of ἀνα- instead of περί- as prefix may also hint that we are dealing with an action. The genitive form τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν gives notice that Peter is speaking metaphorically. The girding of the mind is further explained by the participial νήφοντες τελείως.⁵¹⁰ Both the girding of the mind and the call for attentiveness is preparatory for the hope (which is in the imperative).⁵¹¹ Once again the hope is to come to fruition through Jesus Christ. Although the hope is contemporary, the grace is eschatological and Christocentric which makes Christ the basis of their hope.

A third insinuation that Christ is the basis of their hope can be found in 1:21. The text starts with the basis of that which is to follow, namely "through him" (δι' αὐτοῦ)(1:21). Through Him they are trusting (having faith) in God who is the object of their trust. This should remind them that they are converted Gentiles rather than Jews. This phrase serves the purpose of reminding them that they are believers in God through Jesus Christ instead of through ancestral heritage (1:18). The text continues with the thought that glory follows the resurrection of Jesus, hence Christ is the

⁵⁰⁹ Familiarity with this metaphor can be seen in Ex. 12:11; Eph. 6:14; Prov. 31:17. Jesus even used this metaphor in Luke 12:35.

⁵¹⁰ This is not a call to sobriety but rather to attentiveness and alertness (Michaels 1988:54-55).

⁵¹¹ Peter scatters such aorist imperatives throughout the book. Examples of these in just chapter one are: γενήθητε (1:15); ἀναστράφητε (1:17); ἀγαπήσατε (1:22)(Michaels 1988:55). These serve the purpose of directing his readers.

solution of suffering. Christ was raised and giving glory so that their faith and hope might be on God. This is so because the ὡστε- clause expresses intended result or purpose. Thus the intended result or purpose is achieved through Christ. Therefore Christ is the basis of their hope.

Christ can also be the solution to suffering and therefore provides hope since 5:7 states that Christ cares for us. In 5:10 we are also promised a solution to suffering. Here Jesus also plays a major role as the basis of the hope in that promise. In 3:21 the appeal to God is also done through Jesus who forms the basis of their hope. And so there are many examples where Peter uses Christ as the basis for their hope against suffering.

- c. *The rationale for endurance and suffering is Christ. The example of Christ's life motivates the normality of suffering. In 2:21 Christians are being called to follow Christ's example which in this case is suffering. Jesus left (ὑπολιμπάνων - which is a hapax legomenon in Biblical Greek) us His example (the Greek for example is under discussion later on). "In order that we might follow in His footsteps" is also a metaphor. Christ thus becomes the rationale of endurance and suffering.*

Chapter 4:1 also refers to Christ's suffering as example. It refers to an example because the author admonishes his readers to "arm" themselves with the same thought. Here we are dealing with a military metaphor ὀπλίσαοθε. This fact is evident because of the use of ἔννοια. When this phrase is viewed in isolation it could well imply that martyrdom is desired.⁵² However, in the context of the whole book⁵³ in

⁵² Whether or not this refers to martyrdom see Michaels (1988:225).

⁵³ We know that this is the message on suffering in Peter because:

mind, they are to endure with the attitude of mind that Jesus had. Therefore, the way in which Jesus suffered becomes a rationale for endurance and suffering. The way in which Peter refers to Christ's suffering as culminating in glorification connects the two concepts for the readers, thus suffering and glorification are bound closely together.

Further, in the same chapter we find that Christians are to rejoice in sharing Christ's suffering (4:13).

<i>First Peter 4:13</i>	
<p>ἀλλὰ καθὼ κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν <u>χαίρετε</u>, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ <u>χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι</u>.</p>	
<u>χαίρετε</u> - Verb: present, active, imperative	
<u>χαρῆτε</u> - Verb: aorist, passive, subjunctive	
<u>ἀγαλλιώμενοι</u> - Verb: present, nominative	<i>Also see 1:6</i>

Figure 13

In figure thirteen the concept of rejoicing appears three times. It seems evident in this verse that it does not talk about future suffering. Nor does it talk about the possibility of suffering. For it states that they are suffering. That they are to suffer as Christ

-
- a. Peter never concludes or even suggests that suffering in itself is a good thing.*
 - b. Peter does not talk well of suffering per se, but of suffering for doing good.*
 - c. Peter is attempting to give them hope, and Christ is the object of that hope and not suffering.*

did is nothing new in Peter.⁵⁴ Peter is not referring to a sacramental, mystical union with him, but to similar circumstances. This is shown by the comparative καθὸ that suggests similarity to Christ's circumstances and behaviour in various conditions. The rejoicing (χαίρετε) is used in the present and imperative here. This signifies joy in suffering and not suffering with future joy.⁵⁵ Once again the idea is not to rejoice because of suffering but rather to rejoice for suffering unjustly (2:19; 2:20; 3:14,16). As Christ was faithful in the midst of suffering so the Christian needs to be faithful in similar circumstances. This thought is worded as follows:

"Not all who suffer, but rather those who show themselves faithful in suffering, are invited to rejoice, now because they are following Christ's example and in the future because they will share his glory".⁵⁶

Here too, then, we find that Christ and His example of dealing with suffering serves as rationale for endurance and suffering. Similarly in 5:10 we find that their suffering also follows their calling through Christ. Therefore, Christ's calling or God's calling through Christ precedes suffering. If we look chronologically (through the book of first Peter) at the response to suffering we find the following:

⁵⁴ The concept permeates the whole book, see 2:19-21; 3:17-18; 4:1.

⁵⁵ We take note that Nauck (1955:73-76) finds the same thought in 1:6-8.

⁵⁶ Michaels (1988:262).

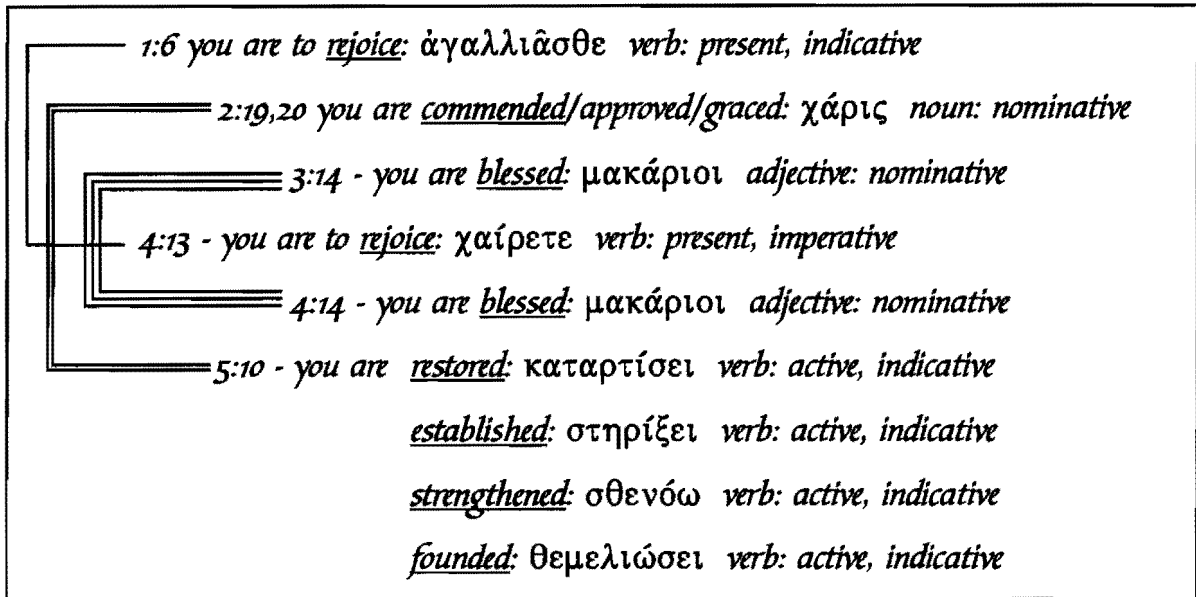


Figure 14

Figure fourteen shows us firstly, that the Christian's response to suffering should be to rejoice. In both cases the rejoicing is present rather than future. Secondly, God responds dualistically to the suffering of the believers. He grants His approval and grace which have to do with His honour and shame verdict but He also follows that up with action, viz. He restores, establishes, strengthens and creates their foundation (5:10). Lastly, they are blessed in response to suffering. The second and third responses provide a reason for the first response.

The Christological kerygma is further enhanced with the use of the metaphorical household⁵⁷ motif incorporating:

- a. οἶκος - Christ is the head of the οἶκος.
- b. Rebirth - into a new family of which Christ is the Paterfamilias (Patriarch).

⁵⁷ *The creation of a new household utilizing these three and other concepts will be under discussion later.*

c. *Sibling love - following Christ's example.*⁵¹⁸

6.1 *Changing the Believer's Symbolic Universe*

As has been indicated earlier that one of the problems causing suffering was the conflict of different symbolic universes. The question of what action would result from the social world to resolve this conflict is our concern here. Peter's attempts to resolve this conflict encompasses an evaluation of the social, symbolic universe and the placement of a new value system. He evaluates the social, symbolic universe as insignificant, yet he urges his readers to use this symbolic universe to their benefit.⁵¹⁹ But Peter goes beyond partial assimilation and places a new value system before them. This value system is that of God, which makes all other value systems meaningless and worthless. So, even if they are to continue suffering, it would not negatively affect the value God places on them; in fact, it meets God's approval (4:17,19). To remedy the conflict situation Peter legitimates the Christian's new (previously problematic) symbolic universe (4:13-22). He achieves this by contrasting the two competing realities (or perceptions of reality, hence symbolic universe). The behaviour of the adherents who subscribe to the two symbolic universes is also contrasted. The first set of realities belongs to society - Peter classifies this set as ignorance (1:14; 2:15). The second set of realities belongs to the Christian's symbolic universe and is classified as the truth (1:22). Before conversion Christians conformed to society's symbolic universe. After conversion they adopted the new one - the one of truth which naturally determined their conduct.

⁵¹⁸ Elliott (1981:76,77).

⁵¹⁹ *They are to act in certain ways as to make the charges against them groundless. Other actions are designed to show the antagonists that they are wrong. It is for this reason that the epistle reiterates the contrast between their pre-Christian and Christian behaviour.*

The legitimation of the new symbolic universe should remedy the conflict situation because it should establish an alternative criteria by which to evaluate the social phenomena that they are currently experiencing. This is not to say that the change of symbolic universe will solve the physical problem of suffering. But the very suffering will now be evaluated differently by Christians. It does not lessen their hardship, but now that very hardship becomes a tool with which to foster cohesiveness, purpose and belonging in a new group. The new symbolic universe might just help to make their suffering bearable and understandable. In so doing Peter presupposes the honour / shame dynamic.⁵²⁰

Peter not only redefines honour and the concept of suffering but illuminates what he says by contrasting two kinds of sufferings and endurance, namely: κλέος and χάρις (2:20). The former is a hapax legomenon in the New Testament meaning public fame or renown and is merited on the basis of enduring beatings for doing wrong.⁵²¹ The latter (which origin, 2:20, explicitly attributes to God - παρὰ θεῶ) is divine approval and is attained by enduring suffering for doing good.⁵²² The most important fact about 2:18-20 is the insistence that honour is not a matter of societal approbation but rather of divine approval. Peter creates a symbolic universe in which God is both the arbiter of claims to honour and also the source of

⁵²⁰ Bechtler (1996:139).

⁵²¹ For other usages and / or definitions of κλέος see Job 28:22; Josephus 4 §§ 101, 115; first Clement 5:6; 54:3.

⁵²² The clause τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεῶ reminds one of the idiom so often translated with: "to find favour (χάρις) with someone" (Michaels 1988:142). Other Old Testament references to this idiom includes: Ex. 33:12,16; Prov. 12:2. In this particular case χάρις from God draws attention to God's activity as the Giver of such χάρις. For example see the New Revised Standard Version's rendition of Prov. 12:2: "The good obtain favor (sic) from the Lord" and of "first Peter 2:20: "... you have God's approval".

honour for God's people. In this sense these verses inscribe (against the claims of society at large) an alternative way of calculating honour within the Christian community.

6.2 Changing the Believer's Role Model

The readers of first Peter are facing suffering.⁵²³ But they have the example of Christ Himself to look to for comfort since His suffering gave way to subsequent glory. Once again the authorship of Peter plays a role here since he was a witness of Christ's suffering. The Christian's suffering will therefore also give way to subsequent glory⁵²⁴ (δόξαί)(1:7,11; 4:11,13,14; 5:1,10).⁵²⁵

In 3:18-22⁵²⁶ we find the chronological sequence of Christ's glorification.⁵²⁷

⁵²³ See first Peter 1:6; 2:12,19-21; 3:14,16-17; 4:1,12-19; 5:9-10.

⁵²⁴ Campbell (1995:78).

⁵²⁵ Some other New Testament references to Jesus' attained glory are: John 2:11; 8:54; 11:4; 12:41; Phil. 3:3; Eph. 3:21; Heb. 2:9; 3:3; 13:21; second Peter 3:18; James 2:1; Jude 1:25. References on the similarity between the transfer of Jesus' glory to the Christian are: Matt. 19:28; Rom. 15:17; first Cor. 15:31; first Thess. 2:19; second Thess. 2:14; second Tim. 2:10; Heb. 2:10. When the synonym (Christ) of Jesus is used then 32 verses appear with this theme. This total excludes the texts in first Peter.

⁵²⁶ There is a very long history of the interpretation of these verses. To read such a history see Selwyn (1947:314-362); Reicke (1946:7-51); Dalton (1989:15-41).

⁵²⁷ One of the central issues regarding the interpretation of 3:18-22 is the question of spirits and the dead. In the quest to come to some sort of understanding about this issue scholars have suggested that this section is sourced from traditional material. The nature of

First Peter 3:18-22

- 18: ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἀμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων,
ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ θεῷ θανατωθεῖς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεῖς
δὲ πνεύματι.
- 19: ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεῖς ἐκήρυξεν,
- 20: ἀπειθήσασιν ποτε ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν
ἡμέραις Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν
ὀκτῶ ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος.
- 21: ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις
ρύπου ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν, δι'
ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
- 22: ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ (τοῦ) θεοῦ πορευθεῖς εἰς οὐρανόν ὑποταγέντων
αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων.

Figure 15

The chronological sequence of Christ's glorification is illustrated in figure fifteen. Points one to four will subsequently be discussed.⁵²⁸

such suggested material is widely debated and highly speculative. For discussions about this matter see Bultmann (1967:1-14); Boismard (1961:57-109); Dalton (1989:87-100).

Please take note that our discussion concerning these verses (3:18-22) focuses on the chronological sequence of Christ's glorification and not the issue of the dead. Therefore, that issue is not discussed further at this point.

⁵²⁸ *Points one to four as indicated in the Greek text refer to the ensuing discussion*

- a. *Firstly, we have the death of Jesus which is the last event before the attainment of glory. The author makes special mention of the fact that Christ died righteously for the unrighteous. Peter's readers again take comfort, for they are also suffering righteously in the sense that they are not suffering for doing "bad deeds" but rather for being Christian. After this humiliating event (Christ's death) the sequence of glorification starts.*

The Greek θανατωθεῖς which is a participial verb in the aorist, passive, nominative, states that Jesus is put to death. The contrast is that God made Him alive. The contrast between death in the flesh and alive in the spirit has nothing to do with body and soul but rather between His earthly existence and His heavenly existence.⁵²⁹ The purpose clause (ἵνα) clarifies the reason for Christ's death, primarily so that we may be brought to God. Jesus' death therefore was a prerequisite for our salvation and glorification (3:21). Thus death comes first. First Peter 3:21 confirms that the "made alive" of 3:18 is indeed referring to the resurrection.

- b. *Secondly then, we have Christ's resurrection which is the triumph over sin (3:18). It also represents the means by which Peter's audience would be saved and glorified. This makes the resurrection their victory too. Here we have the passive reversal of honour. A shameful and humiliating event is changed into a triumphant, honourable one.*

In 3:18 Christ is made alive. There is a remote possibility due to the passive voice that God is the implied subject of θανατωθεῖς as well, in which case God died with Jesus. However, the contrast between the flesh and the spirit coupled with the fact that

indicated in the text of the dissertation by a, b, c, and d.

⁵²⁹ Michaels (1988:204).

resurrection in the New Testament. However, the word that Peter most often employs for that purpose is εὐαγγελίζειν (1:12, 25; 4:6). If we see these “spirits” in the context of the New Testamentic demons then the proclamation may describe, as is suggested,⁵³⁰ a “taming” by which these spirits are made subject to Christ. In 3:22 we read that “powers (are) subject to Him” (Revised Standard Version). If the powers in heaven are subject⁵³¹ to Jesus then it makes sense that the “other” powers of the spirits are also subject to Him. The following conclusion can then be reached:

“The point is simply that Christ went and announced his sovereignty to these spirits wherever they might be, in every place where they thought they were secure against their ancient divine Enemy” (emphasis supplied).⁵³²

- d. Lastly, the glorification is completed through Christ’s heavenly enthronement, which seems to be the highest possible honour that could be attained. This is the part where Peter urges his readers to be patient, for their heavenly enthronement will come in the eschatos. On the other hand, this final realization of the glorification is still in the future.

It appears as if Christ’s glorification reaches the highest possible degree of absoluteness as can be deduced from the duplication of glorification in 3:22. The message of glorification would have been stated well enough by the words “who has gone into

⁵³⁰ Michaels (1988:209-210).

⁵³¹ This can further be seen in 4:11 where it is stated that Jesus has dominion for ever. The text under discussion here might be an indication that such powers are brought under His dominion.

⁵³² Michaels (1988:210).

heaven" (3:22)(Revised Standard Version).⁵³³ The author, in wanting to accentuate the glorification, adds yet another glory with "and is at the right hand of God" (3:22)(Revised Standard Version). If this is not enough further glorifications follow "with angels, authorities, and powers subject to him" (3:22)(Revised Standard Version).

The Christian's fate is therefore bound, paralleled and tied up to that of Christ.⁵³⁴

⁵³³ "Going into heaven" could be seen as glorification as the right of entrance is reserved for those who meet with God's approval.

⁵³⁴ This can be seen in the following examples:

2:5 "you also" simply means like Christ in that context,

2:21 "Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἰχνεσιν αὐτοῦ," This text conveys the message that the believers are to follow in His steps,

4:1 "καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν ὀπλίσασθε." Arming ourselves with the same attitude (as Christ's) also refers to imitation, in other words, we are to follow Christ,

4:13,14 "ἀλλὰ καθὼ κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν χαίρετε, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι. ¹⁴εἰ ὀνειδίξεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι, ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται.." We share His suffering but also the gladness and rejoicing of His glory. The spirit of glory also rests on the believer.

5:1 "δόξης κοινωνός." We shall share in His glory.

The message of the believer following in Christ's footsteps could be insinuated. Since Christ walked the road from suffering to glory it is thus reasonable that the Christian following Him

Consequently the deduction could be made that their present sufferings are to give way to glory and honour, just as Christ's did. The above is related as follows: "the movement from present suffering to future glory not only depicts the vocation of Christ but also becomes paradigmatic for the believers' life in grace".⁵³⁵

First Peter calls Christians to break completely with their past and to adopt a lifestyle commensurate with their new identity and in conformity to the model of Christ's suffering. Previously the ideals of society took the place of its member's role model. Peter replaces society as the role model by Christ. The thought of suffering as a trial with the result of purifying has been mentioned. Peter sees a connection between such a trial, faith, Christ's example and an honourable outcome. Consequently, suffering in faith could be found to result in ἔπαινον και δόξαν και τιμὴν (1:7) as it did for Christ, their example. Faith is the condition of what Peter promises (2:7). In 2:7 we find the placement of ὑμῶν first in the sentence. By so doing he is emphasizing that the promise of Isa. 28:16 is realized precisely among these readers. The promise is realized because they fulfill the condition of the promise stated in the participial subject of Isa. 28:16, viz. belief (ὁ πιστεύων): (ὑμῶν ... τοῖς πιστεύουσιν - verb: present, active)(2:7). The former reference (Isa. 28:16) words the promise negatively in terms of what would certainly not happen to believers, namely, being put to shame. The latter reference (2:7) expresses the fulfilment of the promise positively: honour (ἡ τιμὴ) is granted

will walk the same road, hence the movement from suffering to glory.

⁵³⁵ Kendall (1984:115). We also find the motif of future glory continuing in 1:10-12. In this case it also serves as a prophecy of future greatness (1:3-5,7,9)(Campbell 1995:79). Generally the motif of future glory is panegyric especially when referring to Christ, and secondarily when referring to Christians. For further discussion on this topic see Quintilian - *The Institutio Oratoria* 3.7.11; Cicero - *De Partitione Oratoria* 2.6. (The translated work's reference can be cited in the bibliography).

to them.⁵³⁶ In this context the concept of honour is redefined in the sense that one's honour is now a product of one's relationship with Christ, the One honoured by God. Suffering for Christ is thus given the function not of purifying but of catalysing the disclosure of the intended results (εἶς) of faith, namely, praise and honour and glory (1:7). Peter virtually equates salvation (1:5,9) with the honour-praise-glory complex (1:7) since:

- a. Both are imminent eschatological realities.
- b. Both are the results of faith.
- c. Both are implicitly the work of God.

This is why Jesus is presented as the servant who suffered unjustly and was consequently glorified by God (1:11; 3:18). As Jesus suffered, so too will Peter's readers suffer. But as Jesus was glorified, so too will Peter's readers by glorified. When Jesus suffered He was shamed, but that shame reversed with honour as He was glorified. So too, will the Christian experience that reversal from shame (which they are experiencing currently) to honour.

⁵³⁶ For a similar reading of 2:7 examine the New Jerusalem Bible: "to you believers it brings honour". It must, however, be noted that this reading stands in sharp contrast to the New Revised Standard Version, the Revised English Bible, and the New American Bible, all of which understand τιμῆ as referring to the value or preciousness of Christ in the eyes of the believers. However, against this view, Michaels (1988:104) incisively explains:

"In the immediate context it is not so much a question of how Christian believers perceive Christ as of how God ... perceives him (sic), and of how God consequently vindicates both Christ and his (sic) followers".

For similar views on the understanding of 2:7 cite the following scholars Bigg (1901:131); Goppelt (1978:145); Kelly (1969:93); Selwyn (1946:164).

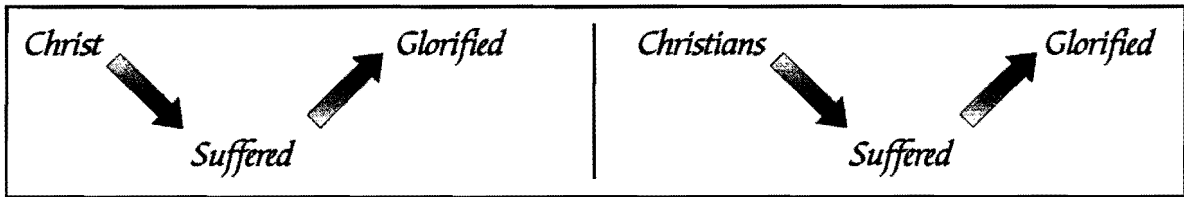


Figure 16

In figure sixteen we find that the pattern of reversal from suffering to glory that Christ experienced is the same for the Christian. Christ thus becomes the model for them to model their experience on. Christians are to walk the same route as Christ did. Unfortunately, this route includes suffering.

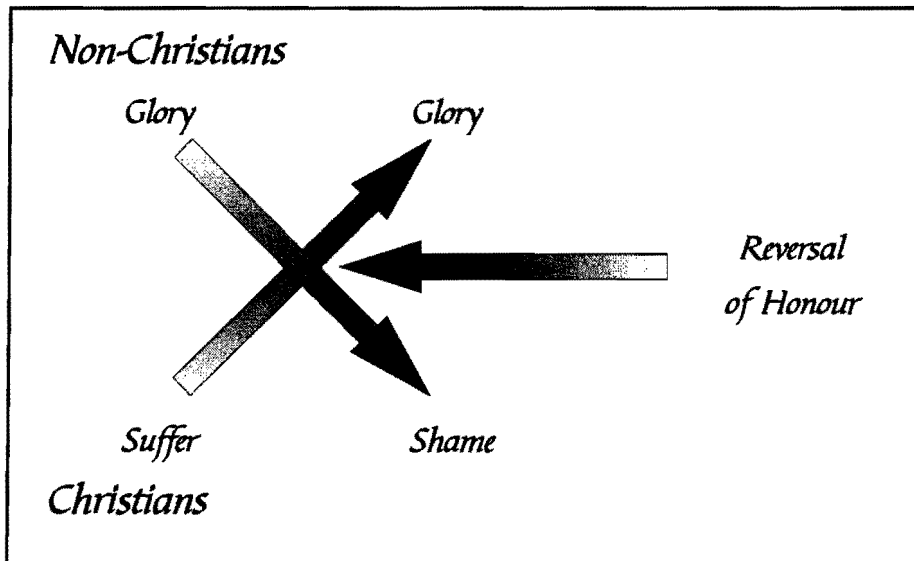


Figure 17

Figure seventeen shows the reversal of non-Christians with Christians diagrammatically. Non-Christians viewed themselves as honourable and hence glorified while their view of Christians was one of shame, hence their suffering. Thus we find the non-Christians starting the diagram on the left top with glory (albeit their own glory) and Christians (bottom left) starting with suffering. Peter reverses this view and says that the non-Christians will move down their arrow from glory / honour to shame whilst Christians will move up their arrow from suffering / shame to glory / honour just as Christ their example did. Where these two

arrows cross the reversal takes place. The further the arrowheads move from one another the bigger the reversal, hence more glory and worse shame. This reversal could well be illustrated with the following texts:

1:11 ἔραυνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας.

1:21 τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα, ὥστε τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι εἰς θεόν.

4:13-14 ἀλλὰ καθὼς κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν χαίρετε, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι. εἰ ὀνειδίξεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι, ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται.

Figure 18

Figure eighteen illustrates the contrast between suffering and glory. The reversal from the one (suffering) to the other (glory) is evident in the above texts. In 1:11 this reversal is applicable on Christ. The Greek states that glory follows suffering. It would appear as if the one followed the other naturally and directly. It almost seems like cause and effect to Peter. If, however, we project the pattern of figure sixteen (that which happened to Christ, happens to Christians) onto this verse, then this reversal would also become applicable to Christians. The second verse makes the transition (from what happens to Christ also happens to Christians) more obvious. This can be seen in the word ὥστε. Thus the reversal from death (suffering) to glory also applies to Christians. Christ is given glory in 1:21 so that (ὥστε) the reader's

faith and hope are set on God. The question is why, or for what reason are their faith and hope set on God? It would seem as if the text argues implicitly that the reason is that they too will be glorified. The fact that Christians participated in the suffering of Christ in 4:13 infers that they will also participate (be blessed - μακάριοι) in His glory. In verse 5:1 we find one of the most direct statements that Christians are to share in Christ's glory. A Christian is a κοινωνός⁵³⁷ of this glory. Thus, there is progression as far as the certainty of this reversal from suffering to glory with Christ is expressed in first Peter.

The death of Christ therefore serves a twofold motif in Peter:

- a. Salvation and atonement.*
- b. The model for suffering and glory.*

Peter's initial response to his readers' suffering problem in 1:3-9 is to grant the assurance that:

- a. Their eschatological salvation / commendation is as certain as their rebirth as both are effected by God through Christ. Christ's suffering and glorification were the means by which God effected the believers' rebirth and imminent salvation.*
- b. Their salvation / commendation is very near. The believer's reception of praise, glory and honour / grace / salvation will occur at the revelation of Christ.*
- c. The suffering - glorification / commendation sequence is typical of Christian life. In 1:6,7 we realize that Christians have to suffer for a brief time in order that (ὅτι) their faith might ultimately be shown to result in praise, honour and glory. Thus the course of Christian life is not merely suffering and subsequent honour but suffering*

⁵³⁷ *This word carries the notion of having something in common. In another derivative this word has to do with the community. Thus Christ could be said as having formed a community with us, or that we have the glory in common with Christ.*

and consequent honour. Christ has already exhibited the sequence of suffering followed by glory.

This is all made possible by the foundation / presuppositions that Peter lays:

- a. God is the One who bestows honour, both on Christ and on Christ's followers. All other bestowals of honour especially by society is futile.*
- b. God has already granted Christ eschatological honour / glory.*
- c. The blood of Christ shed for the believer's redemption was, in advance of Christ's glorification already imbued with honour, and highly valued in God's sight (τίμιον).*

Christ can also be seen as a type or simile, since the Christian goes through what He went through. Christ was chosen by God just as Christians were. Both suffered and the Christian will still continue to suffer for doing right.⁵³⁸ Both have been / will still be honoured. Both are holy. The Christian's faith in God will vindicate them just as Jesus was vindicated.⁵³⁹ Jesus was raised from death to a position of the highest δόξα. Peter states that Jesus' experience can also be theirs. They too can experience this reversal of honour. Christ is also referred to as the paschal lamb (1:19). This deduction is made due to the familiar phrase ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου that is used to refer to the paschal lamb or the sacrificial lamb. This can either be seen as the fulfilment of the Old Testament,⁵⁴⁰ or as yet another

⁵³⁸ *Christ had no part in sin (ἁμαρτία)(2:22), deceit or treachery (δόλος)(2:22). Therefore Jesus suffered unjustly, innocently and blamelessly. In the same way Christians suffer unjustly. Peter points out that unjust suffering is honourable to God.*

⁵³⁹ *Campbell (1995:106).*

⁵⁴⁰ *First Cor. 5:7 claims that Christ is the paschal lamb and therefore the fulfilment of the Old Testament sacrificial system.*

metaphor:⁵⁴¹ The Old Testamentic sacrificial system could well point to Christ, and Christ to the martyrs. Another view is that the sacrificial system pointed forward to Christ (which is the fulfilment thereof) whilst the Christian's suffering and slaughter pointed backwards to Christ's. Hence we have figures nineteen and twenty:



Figure 19

OR



Figure 20

The figures above point to the two different views as to where the emphasis lies. In the former possibility the emphasis would fall on the Christian while on the latter the emphasis is on Christ. Nonetheless, Christ's blood was shed as ransom (λυτρόω).⁵⁴² The blood that Christ shed was not only blood but deemed by Peter as precious blood. The adjective τίμιος does not only mean precious but can also be defined as "esteemed" or "held in honour". One can apparently observe how Peter uses the honour, semantic word-field⁵⁴³ to

⁵⁴¹ Campbell (1995:103) states that the reference to the paschal lamb serves as a metaphor.

⁵⁴² λυτρόω recalls Mark 10:45. The word has the definite idea of freeing by payment. Similar usage can be cited in Tit. 2:14.

⁵⁴³ Peter uses the honour / shame word-field to put forward his case. Just as an example we find the following honour / shame terminology in 2:6-10. Together with other words they constitute the honour / shame word-field:



<u>Honour</u>	<u>Shame</u>
ἐκλεκτὸν (2:6)	(οὐ μὴ) καταισχυθηῖ (2:6)
ἔντιμον (2:6)	προκόμματος (2:8)
ἀκρογωνναῖον (2:6)	σκανδάλου (2:8)
τιμὴ (πιστεύουσιν)(ἀπιστούσιν) (2:7)	προκόπτουσιν (2:8)
κεφαλὴν (2:7)	ἀπειθοῦντες (2:8)
ἀπεδοκίμασαν (2:7)	(ποτὲ) οὐ λαὸς (2:10)
γένος ἐκλεκτὸν (2:9)	οὐκ ἠλεημένοι (2:10)
βασιλείον ιεράτευμα (2:9)	
ἔθνος ἅγιον (2:9)	
λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (2:9)	
ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε (2:9)	
καλέσαντος (2:9)	
θαυμαστὸν φῶς (2:9)	
(νῦν δὲ) λαὸς θεοῦ (2:10)	
(νῦν δὲ) ἐλεηθέντες (2:10)	

Similarly we find the rest of the semantic word-field of honour and shame in first Peter based on the New Revised Standard Version:

Honour

Nouns: > grace, mercy, inheritance, praise, glory, honour, reverent fear, head of the corner, deference, credit, reverence, lord, Sarah's daughters, heirs, blessing, right hand (of God), gift, strength, crown of glory, power, kiss of love.

Verbs: > to glorify, to accept the authority of, to do right, to conduct oneself honourably, to honour, to fear, to win over, to obey, to do what is good, to pay honour to, to do good, to live in the spirit, to exalt, to restore, to support, to strengthen, to establish.

Adjectives: > chosen, blessed, glorious, precious, without defect or blemish, good, acceptable, royal, holy, honourable, very precious, better, hospitable, chosen together.

Shame

Nouns: > exiles, sufferings, evildoers, slander, ignorance, griefs, cross, humble mind, evil, abuse, deceit, disgrace, murderer, thief, criminal, mischief maker, sordid gain.

Verbs: > to be put to shame, to reject, to stumble, to fall, to malign, to do wrong, to suffer unjustly, to be beaten, to suffer, to abuse, to return abuse, to threaten, to hinder prayers, to do evil, to harm, to blaspheme, to be reviled, to be clothed with humility, to oppose the proud, to humble oneself.

Adjectives: Foolish, humble

Challenge, Counter-Challenge and Verdict

Nouns: > judgement, adversary, devil

Verbs: > to judge impartially, to punish, to judge justly, the face to be against, to give an accounting, to judge, to be judged.

illustrate how honourable Christ is. The end result of this honour attachment is that Christ's honour is also transferred to the Christian (1:7; 2:16-18,22; 4:13). Christ's blood is precious because it was shed according to God's plan and that makes it honourable. If the suffering of Jesus is honourable, then so also is that of those for whom He stood ransom. Since Christ's suffering eventuated into vindication and honour (by God), so too will His people be exonerated from their suffering. The glorious future of Christ was foreknown (προεγνώσμενος). So it is also with Christians: They are elected (in the foreknowledge - πρόγνωσις) to the glorious future of God the Father (1:2).

Christ also serves as an example for the Christian to model their lives on. This is important for a couple of reasons:

- a. Once this principle is accepted it shows that suffering is to be anticipated.*
- b. It illustrates how they should react to such suffering.*
- c. It exhibits how they should live.*
- d. It describes what the final outcome will be.*
- e. It gives them hope since they are to experience the same outcome - glory.*

In 3:18-22 we find what that example entails, viz. His suffering and sacrificial death (shame), His resurrection and triumphant ascension to the supreme place of glory (honour). The point that Peter advocates is this: in a similar way that Christ suffered innocently (the righteous for the unrighteous)(3:18) and was exalted to honour, so too can those who follow His example anticipate the bestowal of divine honour. Christ's example, however, is not only one of honour, exaltation and glory. It is also one of suffering. The significance of Christ's example of suffering is not only that He suffered, but also the way in which He suffered. Thus, the example of how to suffer is also embodied in Christ's ὑπογραμμός, for when He suffered

Adjectives: > kind, gentle, harsh, righteous, unrighteous

He did not make threats, but instead, entrusted himself to God (4:19). It is in this context that 4:1 warns Christians to arm themselves for that (suffering) which is still to come. Reminiscent of 2:11, here again the Christian's life is portrayed as a warfare. The word ὀπλίσασθε (aorist middle imperative) is used metaphorically since this is a military term meaning arm yourself.⁵⁴⁴ But suffering is temporary whilst God's honour, exaltation and glory is eternal. Christians should therefore follow the example that Christ left them. The word employed for "example" (2:21) is ὑπογραμμός which is a hapax legomenon to the New Testament. It appears as if all other New Testament references to example, use the word δειγμα and its derivatives. ὑπογραμμός, however, refers to the example or pattern of letters⁵⁴⁵ in ancient copybooks that were to be traced or copied by the student. We also find the word in reference to an artist's design or outline which he leaves for his pupils to fill in.⁵⁴⁶ This word is more imaginative for Peter's purpose. He attempts to portray the fact that Jesus has left an outline or pattern that Christians should follow.⁵⁴⁷ When the pattern to be followed happens to be a human being then perhaps the terms "role model" is the best translation that conveys all of the above ideas. We know that Christians should follow Christ's ὑπογραμμός because ὑπογραμμός appears in conjunction with the purpose clause ἵνα (in order that, so that) you should follow in His steps. The usage of this word in reference to Christ's example developed further during later Christian literature.⁵⁴⁸ Part of

⁵⁴⁴ Michaels (1988:225).

⁵⁴⁵ Dixon (1989:55).

⁵⁴⁶ Dixon (1989:55). Also refer to the thoughts of Selwyn (1981:179); Kelly (1969:119,120) for further nuances included in the word ὑπογραμμός.

⁵⁴⁷ For further discussion on the word ὑπογραμμός see Bruce (1976:2:292); Selwyn (1949:92); Campbell (1995:184).

⁵⁴⁸ Later in Christian literature this word (ὑπογραμμός) referred to Christ's example of humility (first Clement of Alexandria 16:17) and of endurance (Polycarp 8:1-2). Also see

Christ's example to follow is not only the good deeds and kindness but also includes awaiting God's just and fair declaration of their honour, despite the fact that they are suffering unjustly (ἀδίκως) (2:19; 3:18) in the meantime. The call to follow Christ can also be detected in 4:1,2. The final call is to live according to the will of God (4:2).

Another example of Christ is baptism.⁵⁴⁹ Peter employs baptism as the ἀντίτυπον (3:21) (antitype) to the flood. The saving significance of the latter thus corresponds to the ritual significance of the former. Typologically then the baptized reader is connected to Noah. Association with Noah, being one of the honourable Biblical characters, is prestigious for Peter's audience, and thus honourable. Baptism is equated to an ἐπερώτημα (demand, desire, plea) to God. In baptism the resident aliens and visiting strangers ἐπερώτημα with God for their vindication and honour - the same vindication and honour that have been refused them by society.⁵⁵⁰ Baptism represents numerous transitions advantageous for remaining a Christian:

- a. Baptism propels the Christian from a lost status to a saved status before God.*
- b. Baptism represents a transfer from being dirty to being washed. This is portrayed in the contrast between the old and the new life.*
- c. Baptism is a shift from death to life.*
- d. Baptism is an advance from shame to honour. Peter views the old life as shameful*

the discussion in Elliott (1985:190) entitled "Backward and Forward".

⁵⁴⁹ *The meaning of baptism is discussed by Neyrey (1990:79-92). Baptism is also significant to group identity as discussed by Malina (1986:21-22; 139-143). In the Pauline theology baptism is seen as a ritual marking the crossing of a boundary. Therefore baptism is closely connected with μετάνοιαν (Campbell 1995:254-257).*

⁵⁵⁰ *Campbell (1995:256).*

and the new as honourable.

- e. *Baptism represents the public act through which the above mentioned earthly reversal of roles takes place. The parousia is the act through which the heavenly and eternal reversal of roles takes place.*

The question of a good conscience before God is also referred to in 3:21. A conscience in the dyadic culture of the Mediterranean world "is that set of norms, expectations and dictates placed upon one by one's culture".⁵⁵¹ However, to a large extent Peter's readers have formed a new sub-culture called the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ. Referring to this new sub-culture, baptism could well be the symbol for, and the conferment of honoured membership into the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ. Membership into the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ could also be interpreted as salvation. Thus baptism is a transfer of status not only from shame to honour but also from being lost to being saved and subsequently from death to life, hence salvation. Salvation is also linked to honour and shame since σώζω in the Old Testament can signify the vindication of the dishonoured and oppressed.⁵⁵² There is a social dimension to σώζω / σωτηρία in that it involves a reversal vis-à-vis their culture in the form of honour and shame. Salvation involves the whole person and brings a present renewal in human / divine relationships.⁵⁵³ In first Peter σώζω and its cognates can refer to an eschatological salvation as in 1:5,9, but it is deliverance that is at least partially experienced in the present (1:9). This is expressed by the synonymous λυτρόω (1:18) and possibly also by διασώζω in 3:20. σωτηρία forms part of the three honours mentioned in 1:3-12. This, according to Peter, is an honour into which they were born (1:3). This term extends beyond the realms of eternal destiny, since it denotes one's present

⁵⁵¹ Campbell (1995:256-257).

⁵⁵² For such significance see Ps. 71:4; 75:9 (LXX).

⁵⁵³ Wilson (1953:413-415).

status of honour before God.⁵⁵⁴ In 1:10 the association is made between salvation and χάρις. Grace is one of the most significant positive words in the Petrine semantic word-field of honour and shame.⁵⁵⁵ Thus, acceptance of Christ not only implies glory but also means accepting Christ's example, His suffering and lastly, His glory. The following will serve as an illustration:

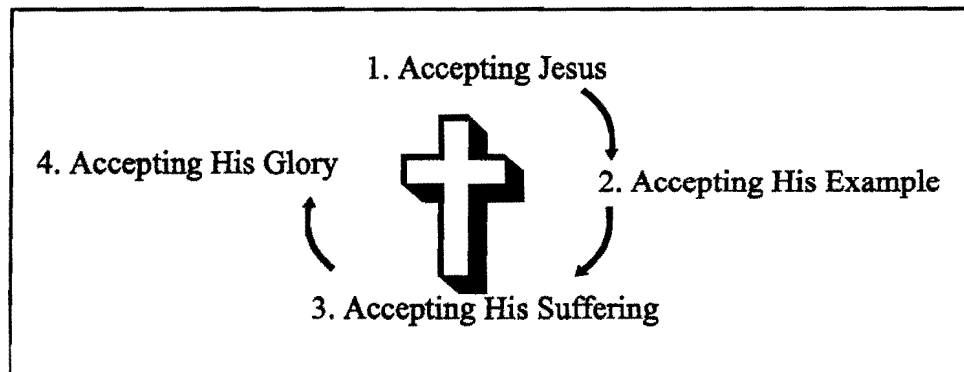


Figure 21

Figure twenty-one points out that accepting Christ does not instantly lead to the acceptance of Christ's glory. The attainment of such glory follows a process. Firstly, one needs to accept Christ. Secondly, one needs to accept His example⁵⁵⁶ which should change behaviour. Thirdly, the change in behaviour often leads to suffering. Accepting Christ and His example also means accepting suffering as an earthly consequence. Lastly, comes the acceptance of Christ's glory.

⁵⁵⁴ *Peter talks about salvation in the past tense. The Christian has been saved. It is not something that is to take place sometime in the future, just as they are already children of God and part of the house of God.*

⁵⁵⁵ *For further discussion on the social dimension of salvation in the New Testament see Wilson (1953:413-415).*

⁵⁵⁶ *The concept of the Christian following Christ's example as a major theological theme in first Peter is discussed by Perkins with reference to first Peter, first Clement and Isa. 53 (1995:18-19).*



First Peter calls Christians to break completely with their past and to adopt a lifestyle commensurate with their new identity and in conformity to the model of Christ's suffering.⁵⁵⁷

One of the solutions to the suffering problem is to change their understanding of suffering. Peter does this firstly, by changing their symbolic universe. Secondly, this is achieved by changing their role model from society to Christ. This helps them to understand that suffering seems to be normal for the Christian, but that suffering is only the beginning. The end is glorification. This understanding reveals certain reversals of roles. Peter not only changes their perspective as has been illustrated above, but he also creates a new community. This new community will now receive attention.

⁵⁵⁷ Further reading on the topic of following the example of Christ can be found in Perkins (1995:53-55); Tuck (1974:89); Barnes (1975:151).

Chapter 7. The Reversal of Roles as the Solution to the Believer's Alienness

The solution to the believer's problems cannot solely be solved by changing perspectives and attitudes. Peter is not only playing mind games with society and Christians, but he also needs to institute practical changes for their survival and retention as Christians. This is where the solution to the believer's alienness comes in. The author creates a practical, physical, new community to counter their alienness. This is done by:

7.1 Changing the Believer's Identity and Value

Peter not only changes their symbolic universe or perspective but also their identity away from alienness to the elect (1:2, 15; 2:6), priests (2:5, 9), etc. This identification in turn, also affects their perspective of themselves. As the elect they are precious contrary to the societal view, consequently a reversal of value. Their new value now also has a new source, namely God rather than society. The identification as priests serves a twofold purpose. Firstly, it fosters the idea that they are not outcasts and weird but that they share Jewish tradition. In fact, they are not only sharing Jewish heritage but are themselves part of it. Secondly, the designation as priest serves the purpose of exposing them as those who serve God in contrast to those who don't. This can be seen in the fact that the term "holy" is used in conjunction with priesthood (2:5). These new identifications also have honour and shame consequences for it places Christians above society (generally speaking). The following illustrates this concept:

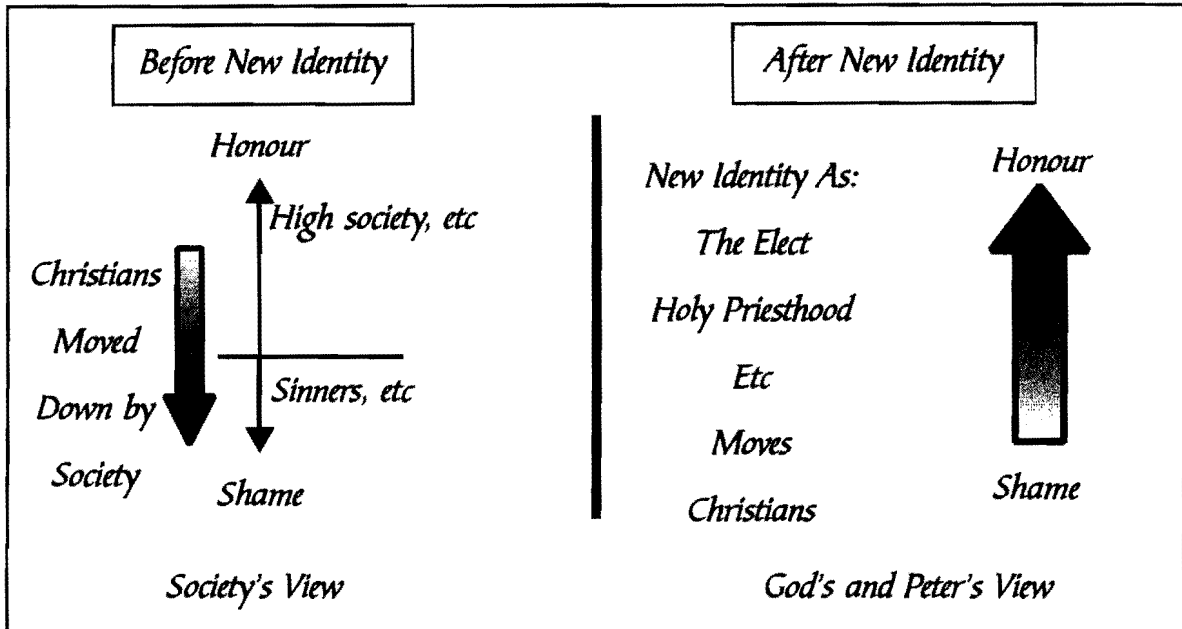


Figure 22

On the left hand side of figure twenty-two, Christians were moved down the "status line" from honour to shame by society. Somewhere on the status line is a cross line. People that ranked above that line was acceptable to society whereas people below were unacceptable. The placement of Christians below this particular line was shaming. However, Peter grants them a new identity (on the right) which moves them up the scale from shame to honour. This is restoring them.

To offer some kind of current relief from suffering the above would imply that God's approval ($\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$) is a present reality for the suffering addressees. This does not only become applicable at the eschaton but presently. Whenever a believer does good and suffers for it, God's approval is granted. This view in 2:19-20 is complemented in 2:7, where τιμὴ seems to be viewed as already granted to believers in Christ. It is thus also presumed that they have already suffered for doing good and being Christ-like. The purpose of their good behaviour is not only limited to the will of God but also to serve as a relief because good behaviour in

the face of maliciousness leads to the shaming (καταισχυθῶσιν) of the maligners (3:16).⁵⁵⁸ If the maligners' malicious accusations lead to shaming it could certainly not be envisaged to continue.

7.2 Changing the Believer's Community

It seems apparent that Christians did not really fit into society as they used to. This left them alien and "groupless". Peter now changes their societal community to a new community called the Christian church. They are now no longer alien but have found belonging in a new community. One way to facilitate the endurance and perseverance of the Christian is to create a community that would be conducive to the retention of its members. The supply of such a community represents a reversal of roles since it replaces a loss. Peter attempts to rebuild the shameful image of Christians with an honourable one - giving them value. Hence, whenever an explicit reference to insider - outsider conflict occurs, there is a corresponding reference to the honour to be granted to the believers. While Peter takes cognisance of the believers status as παροίκους he juxtapositions it with their exalted status as the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ. In so doing he establishes them as a heavenly community. Society has rejected them and ostracized them from the earthly community. Peter replaces their loss. As a new community they have a new social order and identity that surpass the earthly. As such they hold an honoured position before God (2:4-10; 4:17). The readers' status thus, although shameful in the eyes of the society, is one of honour and distinction before God.⁵⁵⁹ The role that the Christian plays in this new household is one of being God's child. This simile confers responsibility and obedience. The Christian's responsibility is now focussed upon his/her new Father and therefore not society. They are asked to adhere to civil rule, but not anymore because of social

⁵⁵⁸ Bechtler (1996:250).

⁵⁵⁹ Campbell (1995:88); Elliott (1990:165-266).

responsibility, but because God wants them to. If, however, civil authorities enforce requirements that conflict with what God requires, they are then to obey God, since their primary responsibility lies with God and not society. As children of God they now need to conform to His holiness. The ultimate point of this simile is that Christians / children embrace behaviour that is according to, and in conformity with behaviour expected by God, their Father, who has called them. In 1:17 the readers are informed that they are to conduct themselves in fear⁵⁶⁰ of their Father who judges their actions. God's holiness (1:15) consists not only of parental love but also the flip side of the coin, viz. judgemental wrath.⁵⁶¹ The theme of election⁵⁶² is closely related to the theme of the household of God. Only the elect are part of this household. The οἰκέται are paradigmatic for the entire οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ.⁵⁶³ As such one can presume that everything that is said of the οἰκέται in first Peter 2:18-25 also automatically applies to all Christians. They are chosen⁵⁶⁴ and called by God. And as such they enjoy honour from God just as Christ does.⁵⁶⁵ The very fact that these believers are chosen, royal and holy, intensifies the honourable nature of the attributes that these

⁵⁶⁰ The fear mentioned here is not to be associated with terror or with an attitude of worship. It should rather identify a motive for behaviour (Best 1971:88). Kelly (1969:71) interprets this fear as a "healthy dread".

⁵⁶¹ Reike (1964:84).

⁵⁶² 1:15; 2:4,6,9,21; 3:9; 5:10,13.

⁵⁶³ The house slaves should not be viewed in isolation as their function here is also representative in nature, see Elliott (1985:187; 199; 1990:206-207); Campbell (1995:199); Carrez (1980:216-217).

⁵⁶⁴ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, 2:9

⁵⁶⁵ 2:4,6,7.

adjectives⁵⁶⁶ modify and thus are good examples of amplification. Their honourable status is thus amplified. This amplification is also taken one step further by the contrasting of the shame of the antagonists. The contrast also serves as amplification of the Christian's honour. Other examples of amplification in first Peter can be cited in (2:9-10).⁵⁶⁷

In verse nine, the epithets are attended by five notable stylistic devices:⁵⁶⁸

- a. *Asyndeton* in the cola before the dependent clause ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς.
- b. *Homoeoptoton* with ος- three times and -ον endings three times.
- c. The utilization of the common Christian *topoi* of darkness and light.
- d. The adjective θαυμαστός is emotive, recalling the language of praise and worship in the Psalms, and is an example of grand diction, a word that imparts grandeur, beauty

⁵⁶⁶ Although these adjectives are in Peter's source (the LXX), they still function rhetorically as αὐξήσις (growth / increase / amplification). For a further discussion on amplification and related matters see Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric* 1.9.1368a.38-40; Cicero, *De Oratore* 3.26.104-27.107; Cicero, *De Partitione Oratoria* 15.52-17.58; Longinus, *On the Sublime* 11.1-12.2; Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria* 8.4; Lausberg (1960:401-409); Martin, J (1974:208-210); Watson (1988:26-28).

⁵⁶⁷ In this case, however, the amplification is done through accumulation (frequentation) which is one of nine types of amplifications identified in Watson's (1988:26-28) survey of the subject. The amplification is done by ordering the attributes in ascending grades of value. This kind of amplification is called augmentation which can include gradation and a climax. Other New Testament examples of this kind of amplification includes Rom. 5:3-5. Also refer to Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria* 8.4.26-27; Longinus, *On the Sublime* 12.2; *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 4.40.52-41.53.

⁵⁶⁸ Campbell (1995:134-135).

and force.

- e. The pronomination τοῦ καλέσαντος recalls 1:15 where the same figure is used for God as it is here. Yet, this is not all, because they are to receive even more honour both presently and eschatologically (1:7; 2:12,19-20; 3:14; 4:13-14; 5:4,10). It is aptly put when it is stated⁵⁶⁹ that the present suffering moves to future glory.⁵⁷⁰

We thus find two different views here. Firstly, society's view that Christians are worthless and shameful. Secondly, God's view that Christians are part of His house and therefore honoured. Firstly, God's honoured esteem of the hearers can be seen in:⁵⁷¹

- a. Their election by God. The fact that God elected them shows that God values them. Such election also serves as a distinction between themselves and society. It serves the function of calling them out of society into a new community.
- b. Their sanctification by the Holy Spirit. This changes them from what they previously

⁵⁶⁹ Kendall (1986:112-117).

⁵⁷⁰ *Asyndeton* - see Quintilian, *The Institutio Oratoria* 9.3.50; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.30.41. A Colon is a phrase that is brief and complete yet does not express an entire thought until it is supplemented with one or more cola. The four pairs of cola in verse nine are two pairs of isocola - two pairs which respective phrases have virtually an equal number of syllabi. The isocola can be divided by an A-B-A₁-B₁ pattern. Reading aloud these epithets would be rhythmically pleasant and symmetrical. *Homoeoptoton* - see *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.20.28. For a discussion on the light - darkness motif in the New Testament see Selwyn (1949:375-382). For references to the Psalms where Peter's language recalls the Psalms, see Ps. 8:1,9; 9:1; 25:7; 70:17; 85:10 (LXX). Examples of grand dictation can be cited in Longinus, *On the Sublime* 30.

⁵⁷¹ For a more complete discussion on these points see Campbell (1995:60).

were to what they ought to become, hence it also has to do with the formation of a new community.

c. *Their high calling and purpose.*⁵⁷² *This defines the new community.*

*Secondly, when becoming a Christian there is restoration. Through baptism*⁵⁷³ *there is a rebirth into a new family and household (οἶκος), the patriarch of this family / household being God (τοῦ θεοῦ). Therefore, on account of a spiritual birth, a new and higher honour is bestowed. Their previous family is replaced by the Christian church which now becomes the new community. Peter uses their own dyadic*⁵⁷⁴ *culture*⁵⁷⁵ *to change their view from shameful to honourable. God, the Father, and Jesus are their ancestors. On account of this their rebirth is a birth into a living hope (1:3). The origin, genealogy and birth of Christians are thus noble and honourable.*⁵⁷⁶

As the group is the judge of honour or shame and the group has now changed from society to the Christian church it also changes the judge. They are now judged by a new group using different values to reach a judgement which leads to a verdict of honour.

⁵⁷² *For a similar discussion consult Rhetorica ad herennium 1.5.8.*

⁵⁷³ *It seems possible for baptism to serve as an inauguration into the new community.*

⁵⁷⁴ *A term primarily from the world of Mathematics meaning relating to two. Malina (1981:55) coined this term in relation to cultures. It refers to the fact that self-worth is determined not only by yourself but also in relation to society. In fact, you don't know your self-worth bar the projection from society. Self-worth is thus related to two views viz. the person's and the group's (society).*

⁵⁷⁵ *For an example of where this term is used in this manner and context see Campbell (1995:245).*

⁵⁷⁶ *Campbell (1995:63).*

Peter's reasoning is: Stand firm (5:9,12) in the faith for a reversal of roles will transpire. The sufferers will have eternal life as children of God in the house of God while the persecutors will have to answer to God in the judgement (1:17; 4:5,6). And so Peter confirms and creates the social universe of his readers that is to be used to motivate and comfort them.

The directive in 4:7-11 pertaining to the conception and well-being of such a community consists of basically six directives:

- a. *Be serious and discipline yourselves (4:7).*
- b. *Maintain love for one another for love covers sins (4:8).*
- c. *Be hospitable to one another (4:9).*
- d. *Serve or minister to one another (4:10).*
- e. *Speak God's words (4:11).*
- f. *Serve with God's strength (4:11).*

The first three directives pertain to internal attitude. They are to implement these directives beginning with themselves. Then they should love and care for one another. The last three directives pertain to external actions. This formula represents the necessary components required to retain members. Love for one another represents a bond and acceptance amongst believers. Hospitality caters for their physical needs and contributes to their fellowship. Serving or ministering to one another furnishes their spiritual needs. The parallelism between this directive and the book's initial exhortation for intra-communal relations in 1:22 is remarkable:

ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε ἐκτενῶς (1:22)

εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες (4:8)

Peter prioritized the command in 4:8 with the introductory prepositional phrase πρὸ πάντων.

It has now been established that Peter created a new community. To a certain extent the differences between this new community and society (their previous community) have been discussed. However, this new community needs to be defined further. Hence the new community is characterized with the following sections:

7.2.1 Providing the New Community with an Eschatological Perspective⁵⁷⁷

Providing the new community with an eschatological perspective does not seem like a new theme since there appears to be an eschatological perspective even in the gospels. This can be seen in texts like Matt. 16:28 where Jesus says: "Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom". Jesus said furthermore that "the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand" (Mark 1:15).⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁷ *The opinion that Peter does in fact cast his rhetoric in an eschatological light can also be found and researched in a 294-page dissertation about "The apocalyptic perspective of first Peter". See Webb (1986). There is also an article on this topic entitled: "What is the Christian's Expectation?" (Parnham 1969).*

⁵⁷⁸ *Also see Matt. 4:17. There is a chapter written about the eschatology of the gospels in Jackson (1913:37-111). The basis for an eschatological reading of the gospels is not only found in the "kingdom" theme but also in, inter alia, the "present and coming age", the "judgement", the "hereafter" and the "resurrection" themes in the gospels. Christians did not only have an eschatological perspective applicable to the near future but also a view of realized eschatology as can be discovered in the book "The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity" by Aune (1972).*

There seems to be a recognition by many scholars "of the significance which eschatology had in the origin of the Christian faith and in its subsequent early theological and historical development" as Aune puts it.⁵⁷⁹

In first Peter 4:7-11 we find a directive to establish such a community as the one which is being described. Although there might be many reasons for doing so, one obvious reason seems to be that Πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν(4:7). The eschatology could be seen as, inter alia, a major reason for these directives since the eschatological phrase is followed by οὖν. We thus find that Peter casts these directives in an eschatological light. Davids describes Peter's eschatological perspective as follows:

"The whole of 1 (sic) Peter is characterized by an eschatological, even an apocalyptic focus. ... To some extent this fact is obvious".⁵⁸⁰

The end time refers to the effecting and culmination of the reversal of roles. This is when most of the promised reversals will take place. There seems to be no doubt that Peter and his readers considered themselves to be living in the end time (4:7). If 1:5,6 is examined it seems to imply that first Peter understands suffering Christians to be living in the last days.⁵⁸¹ They also viewed the commencement of the judgement to be at hand (4:5,17). The proximity of the

⁵⁷⁹ Aune (1972:2). Also see Perrin (1963) who presented a survey of eschatology in the synoptic tradition.

⁵⁸⁰ Davids (1990:15).

⁵⁸¹ It is understood that the ἐν ᾧ of 1:6 could possibly refer to either the previous noun "in the last time" or to the sentence that follows (as the New Revised Standard Version translates it). If it pertains to the end time it strengthens the case of an eschatological perspective [as Michaels sees it (1988:27-28)].

judgement also points to an eschatological view.⁵⁸² Yet, Peter advises them how to live in order that their future lives may possibly be better. Even if their future lives amongst the persecutors do not improve they are still to embark on the course that Peter sets out for them, as their ultimate destination requires that route, and their current situation is trivial in the long run. The possibly only missiological statement to the wives about their husbands is also reminiscent of future expectation. Their view of the present καιρός therefore was not one of the authentic καιρός ἔσχατος but rather at the time so near to the καιρός ἔσχατος that it can be equated to the time of the beginning of the events of the καιρός ἔσχατος. The present καιρός is the time to believe and rejoice in contrast to their past, in the light of their future, and in spite of their present. The present καιρός is thus the current time of the spreading of the gospel and the acceptance or rejection thereof. This καιρός is placed at the end of the last epoch of history. That point in time is marked by the awaited appearance of Christ. This is when Christ and His glory will be disclosed. In other words, we are dealing with the end-before-the-end. The end-before-the-end phase finds its commencement in Christ's past suffering. The καιρός ἔσχατος will be inaugurated with the revelation of Christ's glory. The imminence of the ultimate disclosure of Christ's glory means not merely that Christian suffering is about to come to an end but that Christians are about to be vindicated by God just as Christ was. Hence, cessation of suffering is a function of God's eschatological vindication, both in Christ's case and in that of Christians. Accordingly, the epistle in effect super-imposes Christ's experience onto that of His followers so that Christ's experience becomes the interpretive lens through which the Christian's experience and the template that describes the shape of Christian's life, are viewed. The positive restoration and glorification which happened to Christ will happen to them in the eschatos. The desire for the realisation of the future promise helps shape the present and makes their experience tolerable.

⁵⁸² See Perkins who categorically states that Peter has an eschatological view when he writes "The eschatological perspective of 1 (sic) Peter ..." (1995:32).

Part of, and seemingly inseparable from the eschatological perspective, is the judgement. As one would expect the natural reaction to Christianity by Rome was persecution. Peter's contra-reaction is typical of the honour and shame contest. His contra-reaction to persecution was the placing of an eschatological world view in the foreground.⁵⁸³ Coupled with the eschatological world view however, is the inseparable judgement. In the context of the honour and shame contest in first Peter there are a number of judgements. Firstly, the general public passes judgement on Christians. In so doing Christians lose their honour (negative judgement). It is possibly also this judgement that is the cause of the societal suffering. In all likelihood there was a second judgement, viz. that of the courts of law. In this case the judgement is also negative since this appears to be the source of the official / governmental suffering. Peter's plea for good behaviour could be motivated out of his desire to stop these court judgements. But then there is a third judgement, viz. that of God. Peter attempts to teach that the first two judgements are not important, and in fact, false. Only the judgement of God is real, and it is this judgement that determines the long term outcome. All other judgements have only short term consequences. With this in mind Peter employs legal⁵⁸⁴ language of appeal and vindication in the construction: παρεδίδου δέ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως (2:23,24). The verb παρεδίδου in association with κρίνοντι has the sense of handing over to someone's custody for trial or judgement. This is the course of action that Jesus chose instead of the

⁵⁸³ To see that an eschatological world view is one of Peter's responses to persecution see Warden (1986:193-196).

⁵⁸⁴ On the subject of this (παρεδίδου) term (and its derivatives) as legal language see Mark 10:33, 15:1; Luke 20:20; 22:4; John 18:30. There are also similar, (similar to 2:23) legal references in Eph. 5:2. In first Peter 2:23 the reflexive pronoun is understood as the handing over to God as the righteous judge (Robertson 1933:105-106). The word κρίνω (and its derivatives) is also utilized as a legal term in human courts (John 18:31; Acts 13:27; 23:3; 25:10; 26:6) as well as in divine courts (first Peter 1:17; 4:5-6).

customary retaliation. He rather entrusts Himself to God, for He, in contrast to both societal and governmental judgements, is certain to bring an impartial and fair verdict (1:17). But stating it in this manner also implies that the current verdict is partial and unfair. In this sense then there is a true (God) and a false (society / courts) judgement. Peter goes further than just asserting that man's judgement does not really matter in God's eyes. He uses the contrast between the just and unjust, and the righteous and unrighteous judgements to imply that Jesus is innocent, and one can therefore expect a favourable verdict. The point of the argument is that the Christian's plight is similar to that of Christ's, and that the Christian can therefore also expect to be exonerated.

When it comes to the last part of chapter four Peter places the disobedient in an inferior position in his reasoning on the κρίμα that leads from the greater to the lesser (4:17-19).⁵⁸⁵ Peter once again employs antithetical parallelism to make his point. The following is contrasted in this section:

first Peter 4:17b-19

17b εἰ δὲ πρῶτον ἀφ' ἡμῶν, τί τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπειθούντων τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίῳ

18 καὶ εἰ ὁ δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται, ὁ ἀσεβῆς καὶ ἀμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανείται

19 ὥστε καὶ οἱ πάσχοντες κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ πιστῶ κτίστη παρατιθέσθωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐν ἀγαθοποιίᾳ.

Figure 23

⁵⁸⁵ For a discussion on inductive argumentation such as Peter is using here, see Quintilian - *The Institutio Oratoria* 5:11.9.

In figure thirty-three we have some contrasts. The last word in verse nineteen suggests that Christians are doing good. This is deduced because they need to “continue” to do good deeds. Therefore the contrast is made between the obedient (Christians) and the disobedient (non-Christians). This contrast is subsequently followed up by another, viz. if the judgement commences with those doing good, what will happen to those that don't? The implied contrast here is vindication versus condemnation. Then there is also the contrast between salvation for Christians versus the implied damnation for the non-Christians. We therefore find a reversal here. Verse nineteen says that Christians are suffering. The preceding section implied that Christians would be saved while the non-Christians would suffer. This implies that disobedience could be equated to a slide from honour to shame in God's eyes. This thought can also be deduced from 2:7,8 where those who believe (obey) have τιμή in contrast to those who disbelieve (disobey) for they stumble and are shamed. With this rhetorical⁵⁸⁶ question Peter presents to the readers, his differentiation between his readers (the saved) and the disobedient (the lost)(4:18).

The section continues with a plea for ἀγαθοποιῶν (continuing to do good)(New Revised Standard Version); (doing what is right)(New American Standard Bible)(4:19). The correct way to interpret this word is right behaviour in society, expressed in submission to political authorities, to masters, to husbands, in honourable treatment of wives (2:13-3:7) and generally in honour to all (2:17; 3:8-12).⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁶ Bullinger discusses the erotesis (interrogating) figure of speech in (1898:943-956). This question is also a quote from Prov. 11:31.

⁵⁸⁷ Goppelt (1978:317-318).

This judgement is about slander and vindication, honour and shame or in other words, accusation⁵⁸⁸ and exoneration.⁵⁸⁹ For in 5:8 the devil is described as ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν (your adversary)(Authorized Version). But this word is a legal⁵⁹⁰ term describing not just an adversary but specifically an adversary in a court of law. Hence, accusations and exoneration. The solutions that Peter offers against these accusations are:

- a. Appeal to God for vindication (ἐπικαλέομαι)(1:17).*
- b. Entrust themselves to their faithful Creator (2:23).*
- c. Continue to do good (3:11,13; 4:19).*
- d. Continue to follow Christ's example (2:21).*
- e. Resist in faith (5:9).*

The interesting fact about these accusations / slander / defamation is that they seem to have their ultimate source in the devil,⁵⁹¹ explaining the contrasts between good and evil. Jesus stands as the Head of Christians whilst the devil is the head of the accusers. Because Christians belong to the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ and because Jesus is the patriarch of this house, the accusers stand in opposition, not only to Christians, but also directly to God. Since the devil accused God (Job 40:2; Rev. 12:7-10) and also stands in opposition to God, it is logical to deduce that the accusers are categorized under the devil, the great accuser.

⁵⁸⁸ There is other biblical evidence where the devil is described as the accuser, for example see Rev. 12:9-10.

⁵⁸⁹ Campbell (1995:314).

⁵⁹⁰ For more discussions on the legality of this term see Campbell (1995:314-315) and Caird (1956:33).

⁵⁹¹ Campbell (1995:315).

Hence, we find the following table:

<u>Good</u>	<u>Evil</u>
Jesus	Devil
Christian	Gentile
Good Works	Slander / Defamation / Accusations
Honour	Shame
Experience Suffering	Inflict Suffering
Saved	Lost

Figure 24

God is the final arbiter in the honour contest and not society as was customary. In 2:23 God's judgement is declared to be just. But the verse also implies that society's judgement is unjust. This thought is further enhanced in 1:17 where God judges impartially, implying partiality in society's judgement. In 4:5,6 God also performs the duties of judgement. The strongest evidence that God is the final arbiter is presented in 4:17. It is time for the "judgement to begin" inferring that the judgement has not commenced yet. If this is the case, then society's judgement is swept away as insignificant and of no consequence in God's perception. Therefore only His judgement is significant. Society's adjudication may mean something to society and in the short term on earth, but does not amount to anything in God's and the Christian's views. Peter informs his readers what God's judgement will be, viz. the bestowal of His χάρις and δόξα. The author goes even further than this by asserting that God is the God of πάσης χάριτος (all grace). This means that every true favour and distinction of honour come only from God and not as they thought from society. In fact, the honour that society bestows is temporal and based on a false concept of what honour really is. Thus in essence, society's honour is a false honour for they have no right to bestow true honour since that belongs to God only. Therefore the calumny of the Gentiles against Christians is

insignificant and worthless. The true eternal verdict of the honour contest which is being waged between the believers and the antagonistic world can only be delivered by God. Following only God's rules of what constitutes honour and how and to whom honour is bequeathed, counts. Thus the antagonists are taking part in this honour contest but competing with the wrong rules and therefore aiming at the wrong goal. The end result is that the Christians' opponents are shamed instead of honoured.

It is in view of the eschatological judgement that the author reminds his readers that they are παρεπίδημοι (1:1; 2:11). Peter further calls them πάροικοι (2:11) and refers to their παροικία (1:17). Two thoughts are implicit in these words: firstly, their alienation from the present world and secondly, the anticipation of the next. Part of this anticipation is the judgement. In fact, no transition can be made from the present world to the next without the judgement which is to preempt the next world. Their anticipation is a pleasant one due to the expected cessation of their current hardship caused by the afflictions which seemingly were a daily part of the lives of the readers. It was these very afflictions which led the believers to find consolation in the judgement which was soon to transpire, and which prompted them to remain Christians. Because of this view we repeatedly find the suffering of the believers fused with the eschatological anticipation and in turn fused with the judgement. When referring to the judgement there is also a dualistic view caused by their suffering and eschatological anticipation. Firstly, the judgement of Christians represents a positive judgement in the sense that their good names / reputations are to be restored. They are to be vindicated, the result being glorification. Secondly, the judgement of the non-believers represents a negative judgement as they are going to be found guilty, and God is therefore against them, the result being shaming. Christians are to behave in order that neither God nor the believer may be maligned in the present world or in the eschatological judgement. It would seem as if bad behaviour on the part of the Christian will result in the shaming of God (if that were possible) during the

judgement.⁵⁹² Christians are God's children and their shaming leads to their Father's shaming. The following is thus the result:

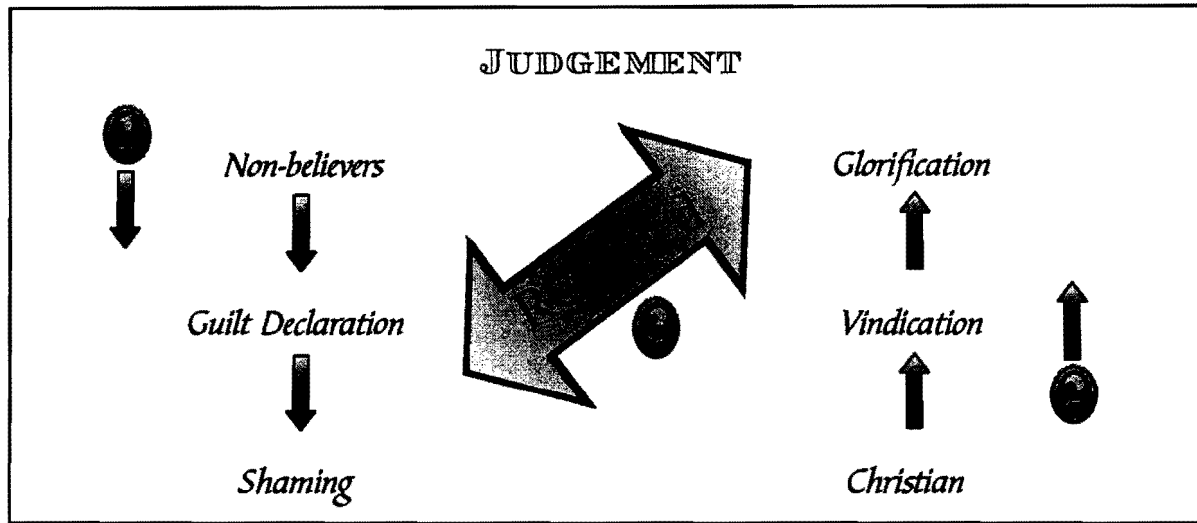


Figure 25

The reversal that takes place in the judgement is portrayed in figure twenty-five. Firstly, the non-believers are declared guilty. A guilty verdict results in shaming. Secondly, Christians are vindicated in the judgement which results in glorification. This represents a reversal as the two groups were at opposite ends previously, as the non-believers shamed Christians.

The eschatological anticipation together with the positive promise of the judgement amongst other things, in the mind of the author, makes bearable whatever present suffering may be brought on them. Their good works will result in their vindication as well as the condemnation of their oppressors in the judgement.⁵⁹³ A comparison between 3:15 and 4:5 reveals yet another

⁵⁹² Warden (1986:203).

⁵⁹³ For a discussion on the concept of good works that is connected with eschatology in Peter see Van Unnik (1954:98). Bear in mind that although Van Unnik (1954:98) acknowledges that "a strong eschatological note runs through the whole letter", he could have given more attention to the connection between the "eschatological note" and good works.

reversal of roles between the Christian and the non-believer. In 3:15 the Christian is requested to give an account (αἰτοῦντι ... λόγον) to society. The term ἀπολογία points in the direction of judgement. Thus Christians give an account to society in order for society to judge them. The verdict is presupposed to be negative, hence the harsh treatment. Similarly⁵⁹⁴, but this time reversed, the non-believer is to give an account (ὑποδώσουσιν λόγον) to God. The verdict is also presupposed to be negative. The moral of the two judgements is rather to be judged negatively by man than by God, since according to Peter, man's judgement is of no lasting consequence, because of the fact that God's judgement is the only proper one.⁵⁹⁵

The living hope in 1:3 together with the inheritance which is kept in heaven (1:4), is realized in the eschatos with the judgement. The hope of the culmination of this present age, gives the readers cause to rejoice when they suffer ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς (1:6). It is this living hope among other things that makes suffering bearable, giving reason to rejoice, and motivating them to remain Christian.

7.2.2 Providing the New Community with Structure⁵⁹⁶

Peter provides the new community with structure. To do this he uses, amongst others, the term and concept with which they seem well familiar - a house. The οἶκος (house) concept

⁵⁹⁴ Michaels gives support to Windisch's case after supplying additional arguments. To see these arguments on the similarities between 3:15 and 4:5 and the reversal of roles between the Christian and the non-believer see Michaels (1966-1967:398). On the subject of the eschatology of first Peter in Michaels see (1966-1967:401).

⁵⁹⁵ Peter refers to God's judgement as impartial (1:17) and just (2:23).

⁵⁹⁶ It is said that "one of the greatest strengths of Christianity was its social organization", in other words its structure (Wardman 1982:133).

was seen by the early Christians as an image for the Christian community.⁵⁹⁷ What better concept for Peter to use than the concept of a house which should, no doubt, be seen as an institution with strong structural lines.⁵⁹⁸ In fact, the very existence of the household was dependent upon the adherence to such a structure. When the οἶκος (house) concept is used of the new community Peter provides, in so doing, structure to the new community. An illustration where Peter uses the term οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ in reference to the new community is 4:17.⁵⁹⁹

“For the time has come for judgement to begin with the household of God; and if it begins with us, what will be the end of those who do not obey the gospel of God”

Here the household of God is equated by Peter with “us” which is the new community - the church. Not only does the author equate the two but he does so in sharp contrast to those not part of their community - the “those who do not obey”. The household then seems to separate the two groups into an “us” and “them”, the new community and those not part of it.

⁵⁹⁷ Aune (1972:130); Michaels (1988:271). There are also other New Testament references (like Heb. 3:2-6) which define the house of God as the church. An example of such definition is first Tim. 3:15: “... the household of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and bulwark of the truth”.

⁵⁹⁸ It is noted that some believe that the house of God refers to the temple rather than the household (Michaels 1988:271). However, that would not detract from what is said here, since the reader would probably also see structure in the temple, both in its outlay and in the services, possibly even in the positions held there.

⁵⁹⁹ Also possibly see first Peter 2:5.

The sentiment in 4:7-11 is emphasized by a third repetition of Peter's directive in 5:5,6. Here the relationships within the Christian community are given structure. The structure is explained by yet another set of metaphors - the shepherd (ποιμάνετε)(5:2) and the flock (ποιμνιον)(5:2,3). Similarly the designations of elders (πρεσβύτεροι)(5:1,5) and younger ones (νεώτεροι)(5:5) are used. The purpose of these metaphors is to distinguish between individuals in positions of leadership and their social-structural inferiors.⁶⁰⁰ The elders are shepherds who are to tend to the flock, and the younger ones are to subject themselves (ὑποτάγητε) to the elders. The elders are not to lord it over (κατακυριεύω) their charges but to become moral examples (τύποι) for them. This implies that the social position of the elders are not one of domination by force but rather leadership by example. Given the nature of first Peter's paraenesis, which focuses on sibling love, one must conclude that the moral example the elders are to provide their flocks with, consists of their embodying love, along with such virtues as hospitality, sympathy, and even humility.

7.2.3 Providing the New Community with Cohesion

It is suggested that Christians were marginalised and disenfranchised by society, but that Peter offers a solution in the form of a tightly bound support group which he calls the house-church.⁶⁰¹ The "house-church" provides the believers the social and spiritual cohesion that the

⁶⁰⁰ *If a word like "inferior" is permissible in the Christian's context. It would suffice to say that Peter does not replace the internal structure of the new community with a replica of society's structure. The "superiors" are shown to be leaders and not bosses. Furthermore, the societal pyramid of status is turned upside down in another reversal as the superiors are there to serve and not to be served. It is in this sense that the members of the new community are not really superior or inferior.*

⁶⁰¹ *Beker (1987:63-68).*

larger society denied them. Unfortunately this also served as an irritation to society as it was seen as a defiant step against them, the social order and Roman rule. The purpose of good conduct is to gain their antagonists' respect and in so doing curb suffering but also to strengthen their cohesion. What Peter has to say in 4:7-11 has an abundance of cohesive attributes. Firstly, the casting of πάντων (all things) into an eschatological light somehow, hints of urgency (4:7). Urgency usually acts as a contributing factor in fostering cohesion. Secondly, being clear minded and self-controlled would probably lessen words and actions that would be counter-cohesive. Thirdly, love is the glue of cohesiveness which also covers sins. The covering of sins within a group gets rid of that which stands between people, resulting in cohesiveness. Fourthly, hospitality and service are outward actions that illustrate and build cohesiveness. Lastly, verse eleven could serve as a summary of the whole section in as much as the preceding section dealt with both actions and words. Here it is said that both actions and words need to be like God's.

7.2.4 Providing the New Community with a Calling, Namely, ἐκλεκτοῖς

This adjective occurs frequently in the literature of Hellenistic Judaism. ἐκλεκτοῖς designates the faithful ones who will be vindicated in the end.⁶⁰² Anyone who fits into that description was called ἐκλεκτοῖς, for example the people of Israel. In Christian vocabulary the word means Christians as the eschatological people of God.⁶⁰³ This word appears five times in first Peter (1:1; 2:4; 2:6; 2:9; 5:13). The concept of ἐκλεκτοῖς as the people of God, comes to the fore in these verses as they have to do with group identity, definition and cohesion. In 1:1 the word has to do with their calling as a group. It also refers to their identity as "elected

⁶⁰² Michaels (1988:7); Gottlob Schrenk (1967:4.183).

⁶⁰³ See Matt. 22:14; Mark 13:20; Matt. 24:22; Mark 13:22; Matt. 24:24; Mark 13:27; Matt. 24:31; Luke 18:7; Rom. 8:33; Col. 3:12.

sojourners” which is the earliest mention of the new identity that Peter is in the process of creating. There is a slightly different slant in the next occurrence of ἐκλεκτοῖς as here (2:4) the word defines the value of their new identity as precious. We find the exact same construction in 2:6. However, in 2:9 we find an exposition of what exactly is meant by their election as precious. Thus there is a progression in Peter’s construction of their new identity as ἐκλεκτοῖς. The progression moves from the readers’ calling to their value in God’s eyes followed by a strongly worded expression of that value in 2:9. The election circle is completed with 5:13 which ties up with 1:1 reiterating their calling.

By addressing his readers as ἐκλεκτοῖς Peter is accomplishing, inter alia, three things:

- a. He is creating an analogy with Israel’s election. This could be seen as an attempt to legitimate their existence as a group to those (Israelites) who reject them.*
- b. He is metaphorically transferring a predicate of the LXX people of God to its Gentile addressees.⁶⁰⁴*
- c. He is building on the theme of vindication in the end time. Their election could serve as a type of verdict from God which could be seen as a forerunner of the judgement as God’s election could be interpreted as favour, in which case their election would point to eschatological vindication.*

The reader’s election also forms part of a paradox for they are elected by God but rejected by society (2:4). Here we also find a reversal, this time from rejection to election (2:4). Peter attempts to show that this is normal for Christian life. The fact that they are elected contributes to the creation of the new community called Christians by legitimating their existence as a group because God elected them to be such a group.

⁶⁰⁴ Schrenk (1967:190).

7.2.5 Providing the New Community with Purpose, viz. Discipleship

It appears that the word "discipleship" as we use it today does not really occur in exactly the same way in the New Testament.⁶⁰⁵ It is true that the μαθητής (disciple) word-group is widespread in the gospels, but there still was no corresponding noun for discipleship. Another option that conveys the idea of discipleship is one argued by certain scholars,⁶⁰⁶ viz. the verb ἀκολουθεῖν. This word (to follow) bears the idea of discipleship but it represents an action and not a concept.⁶⁰⁷ The word that seems to dominate the Pauline writings associated with discipleship is μιμηταί (imitator) (first Cor. 4:16; 11:1; Eph. 5:1; first Thess. 1:6; 2:14; etc). This word is depicted as the concrete, obedient following of the example and word of Christ, and therefore the definition of μιμηταί is deduced to be a synonym of μαθητής.⁶⁰⁸

An attempt was made to define discipleship as having two common features, firstly, faith in Jesus and secondly, a lifestyle that is modelled after the example of Jesus himself.⁶⁰⁹

This lifestyle once again has three characteristics, firstly, missionary activity and secondly, self-denial (even to include suffering and death), and thirdly, service.⁶¹⁰ Thus we have the following

⁶⁰⁵ Dixon (1989:4).

⁶⁰⁶ Examples of scholars holding to the validity of this option in connection with discipleship are Rengstorf (1967:406); Kittel (1964:214).

⁶⁰⁷ Kittel (1964:214).

⁶⁰⁸ Michaelis (1967:671-673). This view is also shared by Schnackenburg (1968:118).

⁶⁰⁹ Segovia (1985:17-20).

⁶¹⁰ For a full discussion on the definition and implications of discipleship see Segovia (1985:17-20).

outline of discipleship in figure twenty-six:

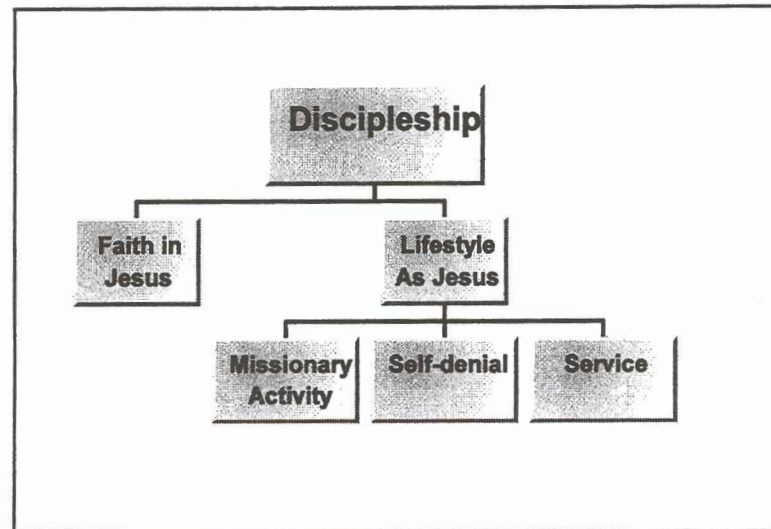


Figure 26

This concept was described to include the following:

- a. Jesus calls people to follow Him.*
- b. This call inaugurates something new, as it changes all things.*
- c. Following Jesus implies togetherness and service to Him.*
- d. It entails giving up all ties, including to oneself.*
- e. As Jesus' life led to rejection, suffering and death, similarly would the follower's life.⁶¹¹*

Although references to follow Jesus frequents the gospels this concept has seemingly received hardly any attention elsewhere in the New Testament. It appears as if there are only two New Testament references with regards to following Jesus outside the gospels.⁶¹² The concept of

⁶¹¹ *Schweizer (1960:20).*

⁶¹² *Dixon (1989:9).*

*discipleship within the first letter of Peter consists, inter alia, of the following:*⁶¹³

- a. *Humility (3:8; 5:5,6).*
- b. *Self-sacrifice (2:5).*⁶¹⁴
- c. *Loving action (1:22, 2:17; 3:8; 4:8; 5:14).*
- d. *Righteous prayer (3:7,12; 4:7).*
- e. *A genuine proclamation through good behaviour (2:12,15; 3:16).*⁶¹⁵

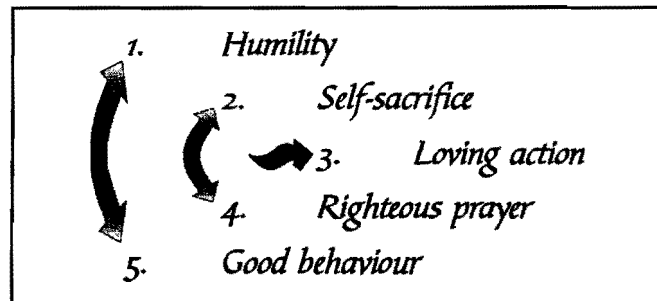


Figure 27

⁶¹³ *The first reference is in Rev. 14:4 which mentions the 144 000 followers (ἀκολουθοῦντες) of the Lamb. The second reference concerns our topic of discussion since it is found in first Peter 2:21. It reads as follows: "For to this you have been called, because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, so that you should follow (ἐπακολουθήσητε) in his steps" (New Revised Standard Version).*

⁶¹⁴ *Also see the texts on suffering (examples of which are: 1:6; 2:19-23; 3:14,17; 4:12,13,15,16,19; 5:10) and the endurance thereof since the endurance of suffering is a self-sacrificial action.*

⁶¹⁵ *The five demands of discipleship which form the concept of discipleship is the conclusion of a Ph.D. dissertation by Dixon (1989) on "discipleship in 1 (sic) Peter as a model for contextual mission". The five points as they appear here have been modified and / or quoted from the work of Dixon (1989:140).*

In figure twenty-seven we find another structure. Humility could be seen as a proclamation through good behaviour. Righteous prayers for other people could be seen as a self-sacrificial act. The apex is loving action. All the other points could be classified as loving action. Discipleship is not just about adopting a belief system but rather following in Christ's footsteps which would include loving action. Discipleship is rather important to Peter since it contributes to the formation and creation of the Christian community. This could be illustrated in the fact that the above mentioned components of discipleship contributes in providing Christians with similar goals, attributes and behaviour, in other words, discipleship provides the new community with a common purpose. This in turn creates the feeling of unity through both the same belief system and actions. Discipleship thus acts as a binding factor in the Christian community.

7.2.6 Providing the New Community with Ties to God Through Holiness

The new community needs to be connected to God. Peter makes use of various connections to God.⁶¹⁶ This time the author uses the tie of holiness which connects the new community with God in basically two ways. Firstly, they are dedicated and set aside for God and secondly, God's presence is with them. Peter's reasoning regarding holiness follows the following logic. The major premise is that I, (God), am holy. The minor premise is that you (God's people) should be like God. Therefore the conclusion is made that you (God's people) should be holy

⁶¹⁶ *Examples of such connections between the new community and God are, inter alia:*

- a. God is their Father.*
- b. They are God's children.*
- c. Christ is their Example.*
- d. God is the Judge.*
- e. God honours and values them.*

too.⁶¹⁷ Peter writes, “but just as he who called you is holy, so be holy in all you do” (1:15). There appears to be a further link that leads to holiness. Peter refers to his readers as the children (1:4) of God and to God as their Father (1:2,3,17). The relationship between fathers and children in a patriarchal system could well be one that is epitomized by obedience. Hence, because they are God’s children they should be obedient. Since their Father is holy, obedience to such a Father would also lead to holiness.⁶¹⁸

He even goes further than that by calling them a holy nation and a holy priesthood (2:5,9).

The term ἅγιοι which is used here seems often to be confused with a state of sinlessness. The word ἅγιός (holy) has a two fold meaning. Firstly, it deals with the concept of setting something aside for a specific purpose (usually religious to God or a god). Christians ought to set themselves aside for the specific purpose of serving Jesus. This means having Jesus as Lord of their lives. Secondly, it deals with the concept of God’s presence. After the Christian has decided to set his/her life aside for Jesus he/she then invites God’s presence into his/her life. This is how the ground surrounding a burning bush could be holy (Ex. 3:5). This is what should drive them to live the way Peter wants them to live. This is what should help them through suffering. Their final hope is then to be physically united with God at His coming, but in the mean time to be spiritually united with God now. Other “holy” references include: 1:16; 2:5; 2:9; 3:5.⁶¹⁹ The previous argument of the statement of God’s holiness, the Christian’s

⁶¹⁷ Campbell (1995:92).

⁶¹⁸ Refer to Perkins who describes the link between children and obedience as follows: “First Peter returns to the association between believers as ‘children’ and ‘obedience’ ...” (1995:36-40).

⁶¹⁹ The twofold concept of holiness (setting aside and God’s presence) can be seen in 1:16,17 where Peter writes: “Since you call on a Father who judges each man’s work

calling and spiritual childhood with the conclusion of the Christian's holiness, includes both components of holiness - you are His child, meaning, you are set aside, and you are His, implying God's presence. Christianity therefore implies holiness. Once a person lives in this state his behaviour becomes altered and this is what Peter wants. Good deeds thus serve to identify God's people (2:12; 3:17). Seen from society's perspective, good works and / or evil deeds, are defined in the context of submission. Submission was considered to be a good work as it contributed to orderly society. Refusal to submit was considered to be an evil deed. [Since good works are intertwined with holiness, non-believers will be shown to be unholy by the believers' holiness in the end time].⁶²⁰ The spinoff of holiness is that "governments are inclined to look approvingly on well conducted citizens".⁶²¹

The theme of holiness in first Peter has different facets. Examples of which are:

impartially, live your lives as strangers here in reverent fear." Firstly, they call on their Father (thus His presence) and secondly, they are called to live a certain life (thus setting their lives aside). The same could be said of 2:5 where the spiritual house and holy priesthood might imply God's presence and the sacrifices might have a bearing on their conduct, in other words setting their lives aside. In 2:9 we also find both concepts of "holy" in as much as their belonging to God and their identity as "chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation" could refer to His presence. The declaration to follow (2:9), viz. praises to Him as well as the calling out of darkness into His wonderful light could then provide the second part of being holy - the setting aside, as they are to live a new life. Our last reference (3:5) also refers to a person as holy because of her setting her life aside for her husband.

⁶²⁰ Warden (1986:217).

⁶²¹ Kelly (1969:109).

- a. *Personal holiness. This aspect of holiness refers to the holiness of the individual in terms of self-control and abstention from certain desires. Examples of this theme can be found in 1:13-2:10; 4:3.*
- b. *Social holiness. The issue at hand here is not so much personal holiness, but the problem of relating to non-Christian society. Here issues of obedience to human institutions, masters, husbands, etc are addressed. An example of this theme can be found in 2:11-4:11.*
- c. *Communal holiness. This theme is concerned with that which leads to solidarity. For example Peter is concerned about the use of the tongue which could destroy solidarity (3:10). Peter addresses topics like love, hospitality, service, leadership and humility (4:7-11; 5:1-7).⁶²²*

The concept and usage by Peter of holiness contribute to the creation of the Christian's new identity and calling. In fact, holiness plays a part in defining the very notion of Christianhood. Holiness says both that they belong to God and therefore that they dwell in His presence as well as defining the way they live by setting their lives aside to live the life God wants them to. Thus holiness defines who they are and how they live in terms of their new calling.

7.2.7 Providing the New Community with a New Allegiance

The question of allegiance appears to be rather important to the reader of first Peter. Their allegiance determines who they ought to obey as obedience or disobedience is determined by their allegiance. Peter differentiates between a primary and secondary obedience. The primary obedience is radical and absolute, while the secondary obedience is subordinate to the primary obedience and therefore a limited commitment. Only God deserves the primary obedience (ὕπακοή 1:2,14,22). Humans will have to be satisfied with the secondary obedience that is

⁶²² Davids (1990:17-19).

due to every person (πάση ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει).⁶²³ The concept of obedience in first Peter helps the new community to make the choice of allegiance between God or society⁶²⁴ by providing Christians with a new allegiance - that to God. It also serves the purpose of legitimating their limited disobedience to society. It helps to rationalize their choice of whom to serve. Obedience also helps define the new community as people who are obedient to God. Their new identity as God's people calls Christians to depend on such defining concepts as, inter alia, obedience and holiness for their very existence as a group.

7.2.8 Providing the New Community with Behavioural Directions

One of the defining attributes of a new community is what they do and don't do. Behavioural directions are provided to help define the group but also to guide them.⁶²⁵ In 4:15 Peter refers to the behavioural advice⁶²⁶ he had given to the slaves and the wives earlier on. But this time his advice is applicable to everyone. This seems evident due to the use of τις ὑμῶν. He asks

⁶²³ *First Peter 3:6 seems to be the only exception to the consistency within first Peter that applies ὑποτάσσω to human relationships (2:13,18; 3:1,5; 5:5) and ὑπακοή to God / Christ and the Christian message (1:2,14,22). Michaels (1988:124) refers to this exception as "one passing reference ... within a biblical illustration". Best (1971:113-114) suggests that πάση ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει may well function as a title for the entire social code (2:13-3:7).*

⁶²⁴ *It is acknowledged that allegiance and or obedience to society is not always conflicting with that to God. The problem arises when there are conflicting expectations.*

⁶²⁵ *Piper (1980).*

⁶²⁶ *To read texts in first Peter that address good behaviour see 2:12, 15, 20; 3:11-13, 16, 17; 4:19. Because of the frequent mention of good behaviour / deeds / conduct we could possibly conclude that the theme is important to Peter and therefore to his readers and subsequently, to Christian living.*

them to refrain from certain behaviour which he makes a list of (murder, thievery, criminal activity and meddling into other's affairs)(New International Version). When it comes to the word "meddling" Peter makes use of yet another hapax legomenon - ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος.⁶²⁷ This word has been translated in various ways: revolutionary (Moffat); busybody, spy (Phillips); mischief maker (New Revised Standard Version). It is admitted that the meaning of this word "has not yet been determined with certainty".⁶²⁸ But the thought that emanates from ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος would suggest that Peter is telling his audience not to play Christ or God in other peoples' lives. The new community is therefore called to live upright lives.⁶²⁹ What according to Peter constitutes an upright live might include:

⁶²⁷ Sander suggests that ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος means a wrong or alien bishop. This is deduced from the -επίσκοπος section of the word. According to Sander it therefore refers to one who does not lead the flock in purity and innocence to Christ, but rather leads them to the devil (Sander 1966:xxxiv-xxxvii). If we take the addressees into account we do find certain sections of the book devoted to certain portions of the wider audience, for example: house servants, slaves and wives. However, the church leaders (elders) are only singled out or addressed in the last chapter of the book. It would also seem that in this section in particular (4:12-) the wider audience is addressed since this section starts with the salutation of friends and all the attributes, happenings and deeds that ought to be refrained from, pertaining to everyone. Ramsay (1919:293) for example interprets this word as the "tampering with the slaves and the families of others". For further discussion on the word see Michaels (1988:267-268); Brox (1986:220); Ramsay (1919:293); Campbell (1995:292-295); Selwyn (1949:225); Best (1971:164,165).

⁶²⁸ Campbell (1995:295).

⁶²⁹ The question of how Christians should live and why, in support of the notion that they should live righteous lives, is discussed by Perkins (1995:19-21; 46-47).

7.2.8.1 Living Like a Spiritual Sacrifice

Part of living an upright life is to live like a spiritual sacrifice. The thought of a life that is acceptable (2:5) to God constitutes uprightness. The conception of metaphorical sacrifices certainly seems to permeate Scripture (Hos. 6:6; Mic. 6:6-8; Rom. 12:1,2; Phil. 4:18; Heb. 13:16). The metaphorical nature of this sacrifice in 2:5 is confirmed with the inclusion of the word πνευματικᾶς. The πνευματικᾶς θυσίας refers to a life lived in accordance with the letter's ethic, amid a hostile society.⁶³⁰ Dismissing societal responsibilities in obedience to the will of God could be perceived as an act of worship (2:5).

7.2.8.2 Girding up the Loins

The metaphor rich first Peter here employs yet another, this time (1:13) one that echoes the tradition preserved in Luke 12:35. Luke utilizes this tradition to signify readiness. This is confirmed by the use of the image of lighting and burning lamps.⁶³¹ In the ancient

⁶³⁰ This can be said in the light of 2:9-17, especially verse nine and 12. The letter's emphasis on doing good is also in abundance.

⁶³¹ Luke may have interpolated an element of Matthew's parable of the virgins (25:1-13). Yet, it is worthy to note that the two authors used different words for lamp. Matthew used λαμπάς while Luke used λύχνος. However, the message in both remains the same - γρηγορέω (watch) (Matt. 25:13 and Luke 12:37). Although that verb does not appear here in Peter (first Peter 1:13) he makes use of a word of similar meaning - νήφοντες. This word, having to do with sobriety, in this context also connotes the meaning of watchfulness. Especially if this word is used metaphorically since you cannot be watchful if you are not sober. Campbell (1995:84) writes: "the verb νήφω can refer to sobriety in regard to alcohol, but seems to carry its figurative sense in 1 (sic) Pt. (sic) 1:13; 4:7; 5:8".

Mediterranean people wore long gowns. Before strenuous work could have been done they needed to be girded up. Similarly, the Christian needed to be ready for strain. Thus this metaphor has a twofold purpose. Firstly, to connote readiness and secondly, to express a warning of what is yet to come. This has a bearing on an upright life, as part of their uprightness is to be ready and prepared to face hardship in a Christian way. Here the behavioural directive is to gird up the loins to hardship rather than experiencing hardship in a pagan way.

7.2.9 Providing the New Community with Attitudinal Directions

It was discussed how a new community was created. Furthermore, it was seen how the author provided the new community with a new way of thinking. That was followed up with directions as to their lifestyle. Lastly, the new community is supplied with attitudinal directions. This divulges what attitudinal attributes Peter wanted them to have. Amongst others, the following three attitudes are perceived:

7.2.9.1 The Attitude of Received Grace - χάρις

Society did not seem to have a graceful disposition towards the new community, hence their maltreatment of the believers. Peter did not want them to feel this way - worthless and without grace. He knew that the attitude of grace and worthiness was important for their disposition. Therefore he wanted to instill the attitude of received grace which was to serve both their moral and future hope. This living hope stems from the χάρις that is to be granted at the parousia. In first Peter the word χάρις belongs to the semantic field of honour

and shame.⁶³² The word boasts ten appearances in first Peter.⁶³³ When Jesus is to be revealed in the ἔσχατος, the readers' faith leads to praise, glory and honour (1:7). They receive the praise, glory and honour, due to the grace of God. Thus χάρις is directly linked to the ἔπαινος, δόξα and τιμή granted to the faithful at the parousia. These terms are indicative of the bestowal of divine favour. Shamefulness will therefore be reversed into honour. Society grants grace to people who pledge their allegiance to it. Since Christians did not fall into this category, society granted disfavour. Peter illustrates that the reverse is also

⁶³² The word χάρις was classified to belong to the honour word-field by Campbell (1995:84).

⁶³³ These references are: 1:2,10,13; 2:19,20; 3:7; 4:10; 5:5,10,12. In 1:2 we see that grace is to be multiplied. However, this multiplication of grace does not refer to a corporate multiplication to the whole society, but rather to the addressees of the letter, in other words Christians. God's grace is thus elective in the sense that it is only bestowed on people who choose to be Christian. God's grace is declared to be the readers' in 1:10. Grace is promised to be revealed in the end time in 1:13. The connection between grace and God's approval / favour is made in 2:19,20. This classifies Christians in a different category in God's eyes. In 3:7 we read that God's grace is to be inherited (we know that only children of God will inherit this grace) therefore they are once again being separated into different groups. Christians are declared stewards of God's grace in 4:10. Humility is one of the conditions to the reception of God's grace (5:5). The source of true grace is God (5:10,12). This has grave implications as to what society's "grace" really constitutes. The concept of grace for Peter is thus:

- a. The only source of true grace is God - therefore society does not really have grace to bestow.
- b. Grace is only to be had by the people who fall into Peter's new community - Christians.
- c. True grace will finally be granted at the parousia.

true of society, viz., that God grants grace to people who pledge allegiance to Him. Since society does not fall into this category they fall into disfavour with God. This constitutes a reversal. This reversal can be seen in the following explanatory diagram:

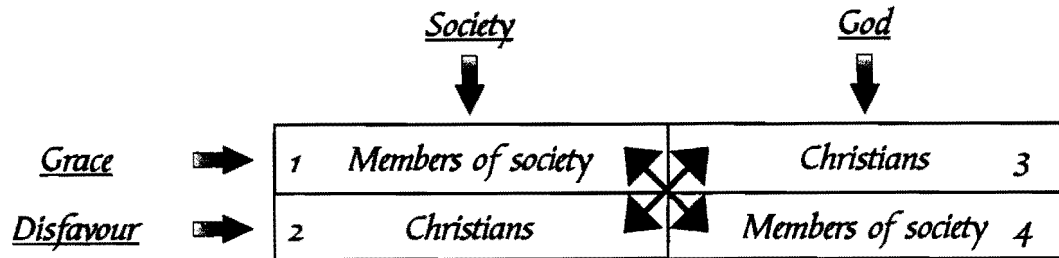


Figure 28

When one starts with society and moves down, as the arrow suggests, and also move from left to right the first block in figure twenty-eight indicates how society grants grace to its own members while the block below, block two, shows how society affords disfavour to Christians. Peter explains that God grants grace to Christians, as can be seen from block three, and disfavour to the members of society in block four. The two groups thus reverse places.

Furthermore, these (ἔπαινος, δόξα and τιμή) are attributes of God. This implies that He is to share His own attributes and in fact, Himself, with the faithful. In a certain sense Christians are to become like God as they are partakers of His glory and honour. The logic then for the Christian vis-à-vis the reversal of earthly shame to honour is this: If χάρις is indicative of divine favour and if Christians receive divine favour then surely they are worthy of honour from fellow humans. And if fellow humans don't agree, they are to be shamed by God via the judgement.⁶³⁴ This logic is relayed⁶³⁵ as follows: "Exaltation and grace are

⁶³⁴ In first Peter the One who exercises the prerogative of judgement is unspecified. However, God (יהוה) (in Isa. 28:16 in the LXX) is evidently the One who lays the stone in Zion and establishes faith in Him as the criterion for an honourable verdict (2:6). Hence one may presume that God is the judge. Judgement is not explicitly assigned to Jesus Christ as His

synonymous: χάρις refers to vindication, honor (sic), and deliverance from a humble state".⁶³⁶ Thus it could be seen that the attitude of received grace would not leave the new community morally denigrated and alien as society left them, but would rather rejuvenate them as worthy and rich in grace.

7.2.9.2 The Attitude of Hope - ἐλπίς⁶³⁷

It appeared as if Christians were in a hopeless situation, viz. being alien and harassed⁶³⁸ (2:21-24), amongst other things. Society certainly seemed to think so. Peter wanted to provide them with hope. He wanted them to have an attitude of hope since this attitude made bearable whatever they were enduring.⁶³⁹ It provided something for them to hold on to while their very social foundation was pulled out from under them by society. It was with this in mind that

agent (1:7;13; 2:12; 3:16; 4:5,6,17; 5:10). Jesus apparently is the judge in 5:4 (as the ἀρχιποίμην). God the Father is clearly the judge in 1:17 ad 2:23.

⁶³⁵ Campbell (1995:86).

⁶³⁶ This connection between χάρις and exaltation for the sufferers also appears in first Peter 5:10. "Additionally" Campbell (1995:86) writes, "the term is linked to δόξα and thus acquires an eschatological dimension in its denotation of honored (sic) elevation for suffering ones".

⁶³⁷ It is shown that hope for the Christian is a major theme in the book of first Peter. Davids (1990:19); Piper (1980).

⁶³⁸ Perkins (1995:17).

⁶³⁹ Peter does not only provide the readers with rhetoric to help them make their suffering bearable, but if it were possible even to rejoice about their suffering (Perkins 1995:17)(1:4-9).

the attitude of hope was discussed. The living hope described in 1:3 has been widely interpreted.⁶⁴⁰ The idea of hope appears to be a core⁶⁴¹ rhetorical device that Peter employed to motivate Christians in a hopeless situation. They had all the reasons in the world to forsake their faith. Everything seemed to be going against them. But Peter gave them hope which was to serve as a motivating factor. This hope has a twofold base. Firstly, it is based on the resurrection of Christ (1:3) and secondly, it is based on the parousia (1:13). Without the resurrection of Christ there is no hope. Without the parousia there is no hope. If the hope in 1:3 is compared with that of 1:13 the following emerges: the noun ἐλπίς is used in 1:3 whereas the verb ἐλπίζω is used in the form of an aorist, active imperative in 1:13. To a certain scholar this usage represents an ingressive use of the aorist and when the aorist is used in this manner, it is believed that it implies a new attitude and thus he translated it “start to hope”.⁶⁴² A possibly more accurate view of this hope is held by Goppelt⁶⁴³ who saw here an exhortation for the readers to illustrate the hope they already had.

⁶⁴⁰ Bigg (1902:100) states that the hope is living because it is active. Selwyn (1981:124), probably due to the context of the letter, called it “a hope that is never extinguished by untoward circumstances”. Kelly (1969:48) noted that this hope will not disappoint because it is “certain and effective now”. For Reicke (1964:79) this is a hope to live by. Beare (1970:82) relates the living hope to the livingness of the sacrifice of Rom. 12:1; of the water of John 4:10; 7:38.

⁶⁴¹ It is classified as such because this concept frequents the pages of first Peter. For example, we find references to hope in 1:3, 13, 21; 3:5, 15.

⁶⁴² Beare (1970:96).

⁶⁴³ Goppelt (1978:116).

The combination of the tense of the verb with the associated adverb τελείως supplies a sense of urgency. Furthermore, their need to rely fully on the grace of God is implied.⁶⁴⁴ They are to prepare themselves to a state of readiness for the struggle to come.

Their preparations should include psychological⁶⁴⁵ and emotional (stability) readiness.⁶⁴⁶

As this hope includes readiness, this life of hope becomes a life of holy conduct (1:15).⁶⁴⁷ Another part of this life and readiness involves prayer which should directly influence the Christians' social lives as they are to live in reverend fear (1:17).⁶⁴⁸ The underlying principle of 3:7 which deals with husband-wife relationships and that relationship's influence on prayer, is that one's relationship to others affects one's relationship to God.⁶⁴⁹ A good life and righteousness are also linked to prayer in 3:10-12. As logic would reason and Goppelt⁶⁵⁰ perceived, prayer is characteristic of the Christian community.

This is one of the ways in which Peter assists his readers to build a new group identity. He realizes that cohesion and hope play a major role in keeping them together which in turn will help them cope. He creates the new cohesive group identity by providing hope through:

⁶⁴⁴ Selwyn (1981:140).

⁶⁴⁵ *Psychologically they need to be prepared: ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν. And emotionally they need to be prepared: νήφοντες.*

⁶⁴⁶ Goppelt (1978:116).

⁶⁴⁷ *This further step implies that readiness includes a holy life, see Piper (1980:215).*

⁶⁴⁸ Dixon (1989:77).

⁶⁴⁹ Best (1971:128).

⁶⁵⁰ Goppelt (1978:282,283).

- a. *Pointing out that they are elected by God (1:1,2; 2:6; 5:13).*
- b. *Making them all disciples of Jesus thereby guiding the way they should live (2:21).*
- c. *Identifying them as holy which should make them willing to set their lives aside for God and not for society, realizing that God is with them during their time of trouble since His presence is with them (1:15,16; 2:5, 9).*
- d. *Legitimizing their disobedience (limited) to society in favour of obedience (absolute) to God (1:14).*
- e. *Persuading them to behave well (2:12, 15, 18, 20; 3:10,11, 13, 16,17; 4:19).*
- f. *Convincing them that they should be ready to defend their faith (3:15).*
- g. *Placing them under the grace of God (1:2, 10, 13; 5:5).*
- h. *Contrasting their immortality (ultimately) with the mortality of society (5:10).*
- i. *Providing hope for the future (1:3, 13, 21; 3:5, 15).*

Thus a strong committed group which is full of hope, is constructed.

7.2.9.3 The Attitude of Eternity Versus Temporality

Christians seemed to have lost many things⁶⁵ⁱ that would probably have influenced them negatively. One way of pointing out that their loss, although real and valued, should not cause negativity, was by conveying the attitude of temporal loss versus eternal gain. This was done by use of the simile of grass and wild flowers.

Here (1:24) we have another simile that illustrates the eternal nature of God's glory. This glory stands in sharp contrast to the transient glory and honour bestowed by society. The readers need to set their hope upon God's glory (1:13,17). The reality of the audience's situation

⁶⁵ⁱ *Such losses might include: honour, family, inheritance, society as a group, belonging, etc.*

was that the esteem of pagan society had been denied them. Not only was esteem denied but they were slandered, abused and reckoned as evil-doers (2:12; 3:16; 4:4). This is where this simile comes in. It serves as an evaluation of an earthly, pagan, societal esteem. The simile does not deny the existence or even the beauty of this esteem but points out that it is transient. Peter attempts to say that the pagan notion of glory is false. The glory and honour of the heathen will fade and fall like flowering wild grass.⁶⁵² The sufferers are thus consoled since the shame that they are experiencing happens to be the false opinion of a false glory embraced by society at large. Contrasted to this type of honour and glory we find the glory that God bestows which lasts forever. The true glory has already been conferred on them. Now they just need to be patient as they are waiting for the recognition of their true glory by their adversaries (2:12). This recognition forms part of the last stage in the honour contest.⁶⁵³

This simile also serves as a contrast between mortality (that which is temporary) and immortality (that which is eternal). One could possibly see a few applications of this contrast. Firstly, society's glory is mortal (temporary) whereas God's glory is immortal (eternal). Secondly, society's judgement is mortal (temporary) compared to the immortal (eternal) judgement of God. Thirdly, society itself is mortal (temporary) whereas Christians will become immortal (eternal) at the parousia. All of these thoughts represent reversals. By arming the new community with this attitude Peter lifts their morale.

⁶⁵² Peter uses three words to attack this false glory of society, namely: δόξα, ξηραίνω and ἐκπίπτω (1:24). The latter two are gnomic aorists which express proverbial and universal truths (Campbell 1995:110; Michaels 1988:78). These words can be categorised as shameful in the honour - shame word field. This passage is almost a verbatim quote from Isa. 40:6-8.

⁶⁵³ Campbell (1995:110-111). Also examine the earlier discussion in this dissertation dealing with the honour and shame contest.



7.3 Changing the Believer's Status

Part of the believers' alien problem was the image that they had no status. This might even have played a part in the very reason why they were alienated in the first place. Peter does not leave them without a proper measure of status. In fact, he gives them more status than what they have lost. The author effects this by implementing the honour and shame dynamic positively for Christians. Peter utilizes this cultural value in the reversal from shame to honour for Christians and the reversal from honour to shame for pagans.

This appears to be exactly what Peter does in his epistle. Firstly, he changes the group by clearly defining an "us" and "them" scenario. Secondly, he changes their perspective by nullifying the value of society's honour and attaching great value to God's honour. Thirdly, he changes the deeds and attitudes for which honour is ascribed. Fourthly, he changes and legitimates their symbolic universe.

Previously the honour and shame contests were used by society against the believers. Now the author implements these same contests with certain responses for the benefit of Christians. Examples of such honour and shame contests and responses in first Peter are:

Example 1.

First Peter 2:12-15

- 12: τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα, ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς.
- 13: Ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον, εἴτε βασιλεῖ ὡς ὑπερέχοντι,
- 14: εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν κακοποιῶν ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν.
- 15: ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶν τὸ θελημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθοποιούντας φιμοῦν τὴν τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνδρώπων ἀγνωσίαν,

Figure 29

In figure twenty-nine we see that Christians should be characterized by good conduct. When society speaks of them as wrongdoers, they may see the good deeds of those they are speaking about, and glorify God. Glorification of God by the antagonist implies that the believers were correct. This acknowledgment should raise the Christian's status too. In 2:12 the following transpires:

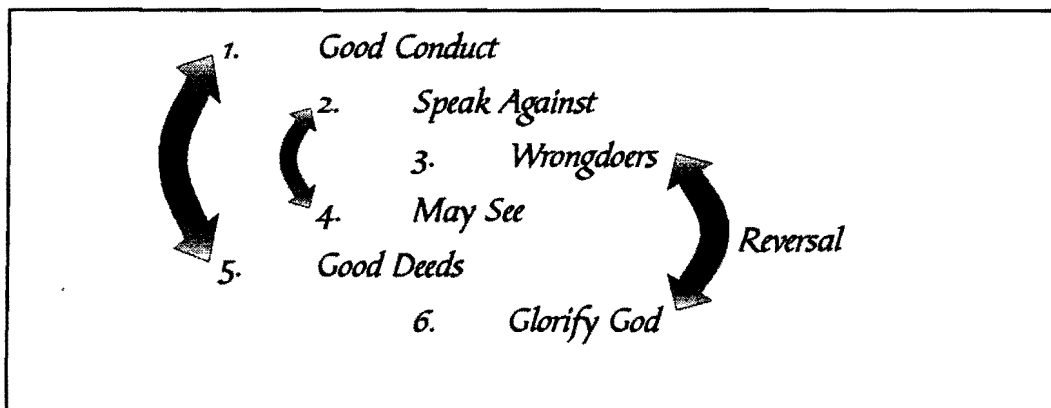


Figure 30

In figure thirty we find that the very people who classify or accuse Christians of being wrongdoers, ultimately glorify God as a result of the good conduct of Peter's readers. As

mentioned before, God's glorification by society implies:

- a. That the adversaries acknowledge that they were wrong.*
- b. That the previous acknowledgement implies that Christians were right.*

This represents a reversal from the antagonists. In 2:13,14 we find that the readers are asked to be subject to human institution for the Lord's sake. The interesting thing is that this institution punishes the wrong and praises the right through the use of certain institutional representatives. The inference then seems plausible that Christians would be praised by these representatives as their conduct is correct. Here we find another reversal. Society calls Christians "wrongdoers" but the institutional representatives praise them (although praise is deduced). In 2:15 we find that the adversaries will be silenced through the Christian's right doing. This reversal takes place when society speaks against Christians but is silenced. All of these reversals are enveloped with one more reversal. In 2:12 the antagonists call Christians wrongdoers while they themselves are called ignorant and foolish by God. This contributes to the elevation of the believer's status.

Another way in which Peter bolsters his audience's status is by denying the adversaries' honour challenge. The author repeatedly and throughout the book denies and estranges Christians from κακοποιεῖν (3:17), κακοποιός (2:14, 4:15) and κακία (2:1, 16). The denial can also be seen in the word order which together with the similarity of the genitive, plural (-ων) endings, creates a startling contrast between ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων and the preceding phrase, ὡς κακοποιῶν. By so doing the author places emphasis on the fact that such accusations are not true and that these denials also serve as a counter challenge. Peter builds on this contrast later on with the use of κακοποιῶν, and ἀγαθοποιῶν (2:14,15). Peter goes one step further by anticipating the outcome in favour of Christians which is to glorify

God.⁶⁵⁴

The change in perception that Peter makes can apparently be clearly seen in verse thirteen. The imperative ὑποτάγητε implies that subjection is a matter of choice. Christians are therefore not forced into adherence by societal pressure but Peter rather convinces them to cooperate "for the sake of the Lord" (2:13). This is further enhanced due to the fact that ὑποτάγητε refers to respect rather than total submission.⁶⁵⁵ This way of thinking represents a major paradigm shift for his readers.

Verse fifteen commences with the use of a purpose clause (ὅτι) making the verse paraenetical and explanatory. The adverb οὕτως in the place of the expected τοῦτο points to the importance on how the will of God is accomplished rather than on what is accomplished. This accentuates ἀγαθοποιούντας rather than φιμοῦν making the point that doing good is important rather than silencing the foolish.⁶⁵⁶ Peter is thus saying, don't just talk and debate

⁶⁵⁴ *It is important to note that the most important people in society determine the criteria for what constitutes honour and shame for the whole society. Society behaves accordingly and therefore earns the honour from the esteemed elite. By placing God above the most important people, Peter changes the Person who determines the "rules". God is also the Judge who determines the outcome. The honour bestowed upon them by God thus cancels out the shame from society.*

⁶⁵⁵ *For a discussion on the reference of ὑποτάγητε see Michaels (1988:124).*

⁶⁵⁶ *Although the syntax places more importance on ἀγαθοποιούντας than on φιμοῦν notice is given that the juxtaposition of truth with ignorance is important themes in the determination of honour and shame. Thus it is admitted that the role of φιμοῦν is not negated as the ignorant are labelled foolish (2:15). However, the end result is still the same regardless of the means (ἀγαθοποιούντας or φιμοῦν) viz., honour to Christians and*

like the non-Christians but let your actions speak for themselves. Two aspects come to play in this particular reversal of honour and shame. Firstly, Peter assumes that God is good and righteous. Whoever obeys God is therefore also good and righteous. The shame which is to befall the antagonists is the result of non-conformity with God's criteria of good and righteous. Secondly, one manner of acquiring shame is the acknowledgment by the opponents that they are wrong or if they are persuaded over to your side. Their silencing serves as just such an acknowledgement which would lead to shame. Because of these two aspects (good behaviour - obedience to God and the antagonist's silencing) there is a reversal of honour and shame. Peter's readers are thus honoured while society is shamed.

Example 2.

First Peter 3:13-17

- 13: Καὶ τίς ὁ κακῶσων ὑμᾶς ἐὰν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζηλωταὶ γένησθε
 14: ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι. τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε,
 15: κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ἔτοιμοι ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαὶν παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι ὑμᾶς λόγον περὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐλπίδος,
 16: ἀλλὰ μετὰ πραΰτητος καὶ φόβου, συνείδησιν ἔχοντες ἀγαθὴν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλεῖσθε καταισχυρθῶσιν οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀνατροφῆν.
 17: κρεῖττον γὰρ ἀγαθοποιοῦντας, εἰ θέλοι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, πάσχειν ἢ κακοποιοῦντας.

Figure 31

We also find reversals in this section (figure thirty-one)(3:13-17). Firstly, they are to be blessed if they suffered unjustly. Secondly, those who reviled their good behaviour would be put to shame. Here, in figure thirty-one, Peter assumes that his readers will suffer regardless of

shame to the non-believers.

doing good. The challenge to their honour then comes in the form of a face-to-face confrontation in which the non-believer demands of the believer an ἀπολογία for the hope that they embrace. The fact that apologetics is required, substantiates that a challenge to honour has been made, hence a defence is necessitated, therefore we are dealing with an honour and shame contest here. Peter's command to be ready at any time confirms the agonistic character of Mediterranean honour / shame society in which challenges to honour can arise in any social encounter. The believers' response should be one of gentleness and respect as well as the display of good behaviour. This will cause the attempted defamation to fail, leading to the accuser's καταισχυθῶσιν (dishonour) and vice a versa, glory and honour to the readers.

Verse fourteen starts with the connective ἀλλά which serves the purpose of bolstering the assurance given in verse thirteen. It is not meant to contrast the assurance of verse thirteen.⁶⁵⁷ The question in verse thirteen is a rhetorical question which implies a negative answer, hence it serves as assurance. Yet this assurance suggests that his readers are fearing κακῶσων (harm). It appears as if Peter has more than just social friction in mind when it comes to the suffering of his readers. In fact, the two optatives used in connection with suffering could present the possibility that πάσχειν in verses fourteen and seventeen could be translated as "suffer death". The use of αὐτως in the place of αὐτοῦ once again refers to the antagonist (3:14).

The word ἀγιάσατε in verse fifteen does not denote making holy but rather designates the acknowledgement or declaration of holiness. This is important since Peter attempts to explain the concept that Christ's holiness is declared by Christians who believe in Him. This declaration is the counter-challenge for fear which is the antagonist challenge to their honour. A challenge is also represented in the words αἰτεῖν λόγον. As in verse fourteen, the word

⁶⁵⁷ Michaels (1988:185).

ἀλλά here in verse sixteen introduces additional information and not a contrast. The fact that they are reminded to be humble implies that they have reason for not being humble. This in turn implies, once again, victory for his readers over the challenge presented them by the accusers. This is confirmed by the statement following the purpose / result clause ἵνα, so that those who denounce you may be put to shame.

Example 3.

First Peter 4:14

14: εἰ ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι, ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης κααὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται.

Figure 32

Here, in figure thirty-two, the challenge to their honour is expressed with the verb ὀνειδίζεσθε which is a virtual synonym of the word ἐπηρεάζοντες used in 3:16. The contrast is created by the word ridicule (in the passive here) on the one hand and the beatitudinal μακάριοι on the other hand. In this challenge there is no explicit defamation based on the charge of improper conduct but rather a general notion of reviling someone simply for being a believer in Christ. However, 4:15 probably infers that charges of wrongdoing or mischief making had been brought against them. The fact that honour is at stake here, is substantiated in 4:16 where Peter commands them not to be μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω (ashamed).

If the Spirit rests upon Christians, and they are rejected, then there seems to be a parallel rejection in Peter's mind, viz. the rejection of the Spirit by the rejecters. It could be phrased as follows:

“... blasphemy of the Holy Spirit is a sin committed not by Christians but by their enemies”.⁶⁵⁸

Once again we have the two groups contrasted here. The one group commits blasphemy whilst the other glorifies God. If this contrast is taken to its full conclusion then the result can be inferred from 4:16 which not only informs Christians not to be ashamed, but also implies that the non-Christians are to be shamed.

The concern illustrated by these three examples of the honour / shame contests is that the Christian should maintain his honour in the midst of threats from outside the Christian community. This concern permeates the whole letter.⁶⁵⁹ Just about every issue in the letter has

⁶⁵⁸ Michaels (1988:266).

⁶⁵⁹ There are also other challenges / accusations mentioned in the book that might originate from the disruption of the hierarchical household structure (slaves and wives that forsook the religious practices of their paterfamilias) and that of society (Christians who withdrew from certain ceremonies, etc). This topic will be discussed elsewhere. For further discussion thereof see Balch (1981:81-121; 1984:161-173); Corley (1994:350-354); Fiorenza (1994:260-266). Whether these challenges / accusations form part of the honour / shame contest is another question. Bechtler (1996:132,133) does not agree that they indeed do form part of such a contest because of:

- a. *The generalness of the statements about the confrontation.*
- b. *The words that are being addressed to the slaves seem to be formulated to serve as an example to all the addressees and not only to instruct the slaves.*
- c. *Stereotypical wording that does not necessitate the specific criticism of the disruption of the household order.*

to do with the values of honour and shame. Peter presents the reversal of these values as part of the reasoning for remaining Christian in the face of hardship. The moral is that Christians are presently shamed while the pagans enjoy earthly honour but a reversal will occur leaving the pagans shamed and Christians honoured. This is achieved by postulating another system of calculating honour and shame (we will deal more in depth with this model later on).

As mentioned before, honour and shame are perspectives in the eyes of a certain community. Peter alters this perspective by changing the composition of the community. Already in 1:3-5 the idea of a new group is fostered with the creation of the family model in which God is the Father and the believers are the children. Secondly, in reference to our three examples of the honour and shame contest discussed above, it seems as if a scenario of "us" and "them" is created, resulting in the enhancement of the birth of a new group, viz. Christians. Christians functioned as a group for some time, but they appear not to have perceived themselves outside of the general community. Peter got them to see themselves as a group outside of the general community. Now he starts to shape their (the "us"-community) perspective of what constitutes honour and how honour is judged.

Society still judges Christians in the same manner as they used to do. Their verdict was shame on Christians, hence the suffering. On the other hand, Peter judges Christians as honourable. He persuades them that God is judging them honourably too. He attempts to convince them that they should judge themselves honourably also. He helps them to do this by assigning them a new identity. This identity consists of the following:

-
- d. *The address to the slaves and wives (household code) does not play a prominent role in the book and only occupies a few verses.*

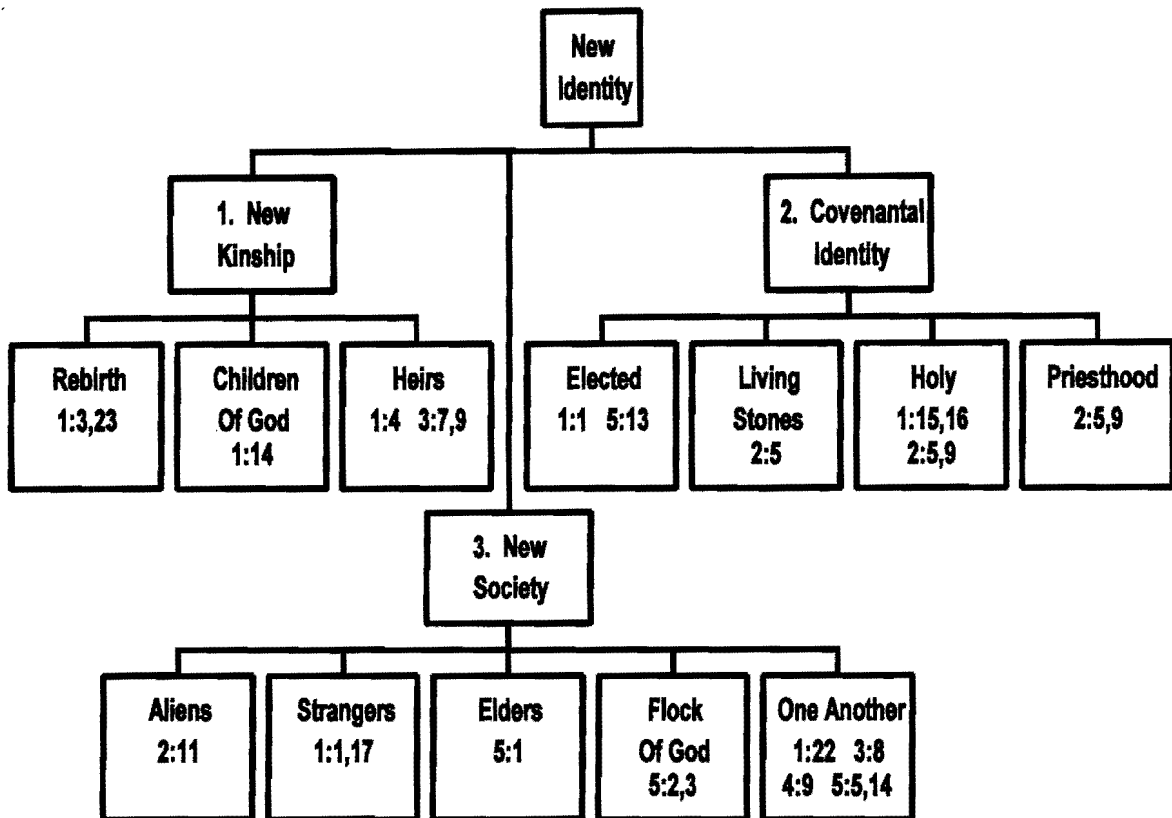


Figure 33

In figure thirty-three we see that Peter provides them with a new identity consisting of inter alia three identity forming concepts. Although it appears as if society has expelled them from the customary societal kinship structures, Peter firstly, points out that they now form part of a new kinship structure. The author points this out in three main ways by writing about their rebirth, the notion that they are children of God, and that they are heirs of God. Secondly, Peter replaces their old covenantal identity, that they appeared to have lost, in four ways: They are the elect of God; they are the living stones; they are holy; and they form a priesthood. Thirdly, Peter forms their new identity by replacing their societal group with one of their own - thus a new society. The author distantiates the new society from the old by utilizing the known concepts of aliens and strangers. The new group's identity is not only built on what is different but also on their own structure of which eldership forms a part. Lastly, they are the flock of God and such they are to treat one another in a certain way. In a



certain sense this new way of treating each other lays down the societal rules of this new group.

Thus by creating a new identity it also creates a new set of criteria which is used to determine honour and shame. The new set of criteria results in a different verdict from that of society's. Whereas society's verdict is shameful towards Christians, both God's, and their own verdict is now honourable. This represents a reversal of honour and shame and this is the reason why Peter uses these values towards his goal - the reversal of roles as reasoning for remaining Christian in the face of hardship.

It was seen that society treated the believers as if they were alien. Peter employs this very concept to confirm their alienness (1:1,17; 2:11). However, although they do not really fit into society anymore, the author does not want to leave them alien and groupless in a group orientated society. He replaces their previous group with the creation of a new community. This chapter explored that community in three ways:

- 1. The Christians' identity and value was changed.*
- 2. The community itself was changed.*
- 3. The believers' status was changed.*

The creation of the new community and the way in which the author achieved such a creation resulted in numerous reversals.

Lastly, the solution to the macro and micro cosmic problems needs to be dealt with.

Chapter 8. The Reversal of Roles as the Solution to the Macro and Micro Cosmic Problems

It was illustrated how the political (macro), societal (macro) and household (micro) situations generated problems for Christians. Peter used admonitions and the reversal of roles once again to solve these problems. The fact that Peter was a married man (Matt. 8:14) himself should help the readers to accept his advice. Had the letter come from Paul, for example, the impact would not have been the same. The authorship of the letter is rather important to the acceptance of what it has to say. These admonitions and the reversal of roles will now be examined.

The household code represents such a reversal of roles. Peter replaces the lost family with a new family. The reversal is then from loss to replacement. His advice of submission also eventuates in a reversal. Peter furthermore gives advice on remaining Christian using the household code since he apparently uses the household code as a simile that is applicable to all his readers (3:8). The "finally, all of you," of 3:8 does seem to suggest that the household code is carried over to all the readers. Since they are all part of the new household anyway, it does make what Peter has to say applicable to all of them.

8.1 Recommendations to the Households

Concerning the household code and the suggested reversals, first Peter deals with basically three sets of recommendations:



Recommendation set one

First Peter 2:13-25

- 13: Ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον, εἴτε βασιλεῖ
ὡς ὑπερέχοντι,
14: εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν
κακοποιῶν ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν·
15: ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθοποιούντας φιμοῦν τὴν
τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνωσίαν,
16: ὡς ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐπικάλυμμα ἔχοντες τῆς κακίας τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῦ δοῦλοι.
17: πάντας τιμῆσατε, τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπάτε, τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε,
τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε.
18: Οἱ οἰκέται ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις, οὐ
μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκολοῖς.
19: τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις εἰ διὰ συνείδησιν θεοῦ ὑποφέρει τις λύπας
πάσχων ἀδίκως.
20: ποῖον γὰρ κλέος εἰ ἀμαρτάνοντες καὶ κολαφιζόμενοι ὑπομενεῖτε;
ἀλλ' εἰ ἀγαθοποιούντες καὶ πάσχοντες ὑπομενεῖτε, τοῦτο χάρις
παρὰ θεῶ.
21: εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε, ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν
αὐτοῦ,
22: ὃς ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι
αὐτοῦ,
23: ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει, πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει, παρεδίδου
δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως·
24: ὃς τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν,
οὐ τῷ μῶλωπι λάθητε.
25: ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ
τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.

Figure 34



- a. *Slaves (οἰκέται) are to submit to masters. Although there is no such instruction to the masters. It is interesting to observe that the same kind of instruction is also given to Christians, viz. the readers are urged to be subject to governments with no corresponding recommendation to governments (2:13-25). In fact, when it comes to the οἰκέται, Peter goes even further since he is especially interested in the need to submit to unjust masters (2:18-20). The command in 2:18 is a participle rather than an imperative - ὑποτασσόμενοι. Once again, we have the allusion of suffering for doing good. This can be seen in the description of some masters as σκολιοῖς (2:18). The same thought is also expressed later on in the household code when he speaks about unbelieving husbands thus making the presumption that the wives could also endure suffering for doing good. This idea can also be deduced from the appearance of παντί in the phrase ἐν παντί φόβῳ which serves the purpose of intensifying reverence. It is possible to see the παντί φόβῳ as a type of contrast between reverence on the one hand and the unjust master on the other. Such a contrast will also benefit the idea of suffering for doing good. Our assumption here is confirmed with verse nineteen that spells it out clearly, "while suffering unjustly". This section does not only deal with the relationship between masters and slaves for it is also rather general in nature to include all Christians. It can be stated as follows: "Their experience, whether actual or hypothetical, becomes a paradigm for the experience of all Christians everywhere in the empire".⁶⁶⁰*

⁶⁶⁰ Michaels (1988:135).

Recommendation set two

First Peter 3:1-7

- 1: Ὅμοίως (αἱ) γυναῖκες, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἵνα καὶ εἴ τινες ἀπειθοῦσιν τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναστροφῆς ἄνευ λόγου κερδηθήσονται,
- 2: ἐποπτεύσαντες τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἀγνὴν ἀναστροφήν ὑμῶν.
- 3: ὧν ἔστω οὐχ ὁ ἕξωθεν ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν καὶ περιθέσεως χρυσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων κόσμος
- 4: ἀλλ' ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τοῦ πραέως καὶ ἡσυχίου πνεύματος, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ πολυτελής.
- 5: οὕτως γάρ ποτε καὶ αἱ ἅγαι γυναῖκες αἱ ἐλπίζουσαι εἰς θεὸν ἐκόσμου ἐαυτὰς ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν,
- 6: ὡς Σάρρα ὑπήκουσεν τῷ Ἀβραάμ κύριον αὐτὸν καλοῦσα, ἧς ἐγενήθητε τέκνα ἀγαθοποιούσαι καὶ μὴ φοβούμεναι μηδεμίαν πτόησιν.
- 7: Οἱ ἄνδρες ὁμοίως, συνοικοῦντες κατὰ γνώσιν ὡς ἀσθενεστέρῳ σκεύει τῷ γυναικείῳ, ἀπονέμοντες τιμὴν ὡς καὶ συγκληρονόμοις χάριτος ζωῆς εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐγκόπτεσθαι τὰς προσευχὰς ὑμῶν.

Figure 35

- b. *Recommendations regarding husband and wife relationships, although recommendations to the wives dominate the discussion (3:1-7). The excessive recommendation directed at the wives in contrast to the moderate directive directed at the husbands might allude, once again, to the possibility that the author is interested more in the subordinate or suppressed party in relationships. If this is so then the deduction that they should act in a certain way regardless of their suffering, is plausible. This is accentuated by the phrase τινες ἀπειθοῦσιν τῷ λόγῳ steered towards the husbands. The recommendation to the wives can be subdivided into three parts. Firstly, subjection (3:1,2). Secondly, information as to what pleases God (3:3,4). Lastly, a case study expounding on what the author has in mind (3:5,6). Submission in certain*

relationships in first Peter could well be defined as doing good (3:6; 2:15,20). There is an exact repetition of the phrase ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν found in verse one and verse five. Albeit that this phrase is imperatival in verse one and circumstantial in verse five, it forms an inclusion, framing that which is in between.⁶⁶¹ The use of the word ἰδίους in this phrase (which is not really needed) suggests that Peter is concerned with their relationship rather than women and men generically. The clause introduced by καὶ εἴ τινες conveys the idea that the conversion of unbelieving husbands is only a possibility. Wives are to adhere to what Peter suggests even if their husbands are not won over.

The adornment issue mentioned in verse three goes deeper than just worldliness. If seen in the context of the whole section where he alludes to good behaviour this issue creates a contrast between outward adornment and good deeds. This can be extrapolated in the symmetric arrangement of this section. The οὐχ in verse three anticipates the ἀλλά with which verse four commences. Similarly the κόσμος (external adornment)(3:3) in this context anticipates the contrast with the different "κόσμος" of the heart (3:4). There is a movement from adornment (3:3) to the person (3:4) which would hint at good behaviour. Yet, another pointer to this probability is the contrasts created between ἐξωθεν and κρυπτός; and between gold, etc and the heart. The focus is on the women and her good behaviour. These contrasts can be categorised and summarized into one single contrast, viz. that of societal value on the one hand and Godly value on the other. Peter says this himself by the phrase "which in God's sight is very precious" (Revised Standard Version). The two contrasting values saturate the whole book (rejected stone becomes cornerstone, etc.). Here the Godly

⁶⁶¹ For further discussion on the structure of this section and the consequences thereof see Michaels (1988:156).

values are emphasised by the word ἀφθάρτω.⁶⁶² Here, in the household code Peter presents yet another reversal, this time of values.

Recommendation set three	First Peter 5:1-5
1.	Πρεσβυτέρους οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος καὶ μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων, ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι <u>δόξης</u> κοινωνός·
2.	<u>ποιμάνετε</u> τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποιμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ (ἐπισκοποῦντες) μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς ἀλλὰ ἐκουσίως κατὰ θεόν, μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως,
3.	μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων ἀλλὰ τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου·
4.	καὶ φανερωθέντος τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος κομειίσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς <u>δόξης</u> στέφανον.
5.	Ὅμοίως, νεώτεροι, ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις· πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε, ὅτι (ὁ) Ὁ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

Figure 36

c. Guidance is given to steer elder and younger peoples' relationships (5:1-5).⁶⁶³ Different

⁶⁶² This idea is almost a hallmark of Peter. Other examples of him contrasting Godly value with societal value elevating God's values above that of society's are: *incorruptible* inheritance (1:4); the redemption *not* with *perishable* things (1:18); the rebirth *not* from *perishable* seed but from *imperishable* quality (1:23), etc.

⁶⁶³ As previously stated, this matter is included in the household code for the purpose of this discussion. Having said that, it is also important to note that this section (5:1ff) seems to be an ecclesiastical structure rather than that of the household. Furthermore, admonitions to parents and children are lacking entirely. However, since Peter himself perceives the

from the other recommendations, Peter here starts with the people in authority. The previous two sets of recommendations started with the submissive parties. Here we have a reversal of responsibility. In society the submissive parties (by definition Christians) had the responsibility of examining their behaviour and to see that they acted in a way becoming to Christians in order that such behaviour could influence the non-Christians. However, in the church (house of God) this is reversed for the people in authority now have the responsibility to influence and guide the "subordinate" members of the household. This is confirmed not only by the sequence but also by the weight of the argument falling on the authoritative parties rather than on the subordinates as in the previous cases. In 5:2 the aorist imperative ποιμάνετε could be seen as a command which brings home the concept of responsibility. Furthermore, the members are ἐν ὑμῖν hinting at responsibility once more.

8.1.1 Advice on Internal Household Attitudes

The frequent recurrence of the theme of sibling love or mutual love in the remainder of the letter confirms that it constitutes the heart of first Peter's ethics for life addressed within the new community (1:22; 2:17; 3:8; 4:8; 5:14). Their relationship with each other within the Christian community is to be characterized by the love appropriated to siblings, which, metaphorically speaking, they are. They now belong to the same family, with God as their

ecclesiastical structure as a family (4:17) it is included in this discussion as the church forms a new kind of family and consequently a household. The line of thought in 4:17 is that the judgement is to commence with the family of God. (τὸ κρίμα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ δὲ πρῶτον ἀφ' ἡμῶν). In the next sentence he defines this family as "us". Therefore, Peter and his readers formed a new family, the family of God, placing God in the patriarchal position. This is confirmed when Peter designates them as a spiritual house in 2:5.

paterfamilias and patriarch. It is therefore fitting that first Peter draws the household code to a close with a piece of general paraenesis applicable not merely to slaves or wives or husbands but rather to all the addressees (πάντες) (The fact that all are addressed is emphasized). The letter reminds the readers (all of them) that they should be like-minded / agreeing. This reminder is communicated by means of a catena of five adjectives: like-minded / agreeing; sympathetic; loving of their sisters and brothers; compassionate / tenderhearted, and humble-minded. These attributes are typical of groups and families. In this case the order in which the attributes appear and the attributes themselves form a parallelistic structure with love in the apex. Like-mindedness is very similar to humility in the Greek. So is sympathy and compassion. Love is then enveloped by the attributes mentioned above. The following structure is forthcoming in the catena:

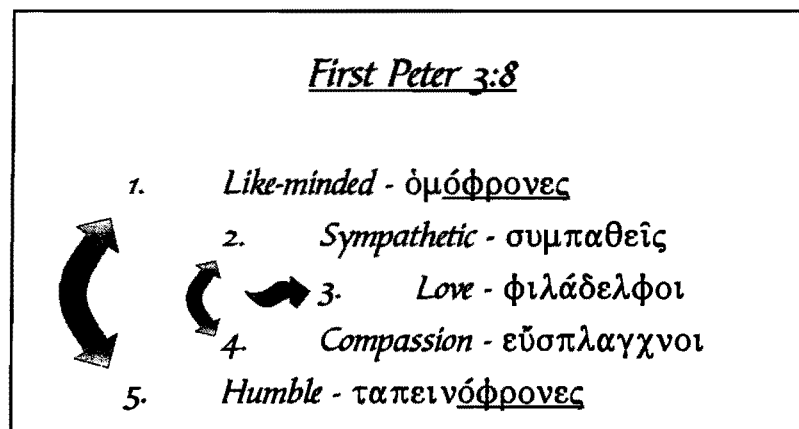


Figure 37

Figure thirty-seven illustrates the similarity between like-mindedness and humility. It also shows how these attitudes envelope love to highlight it as the apex of the construction.

8.1.2 Advice to Slaves

Peter again instructs the slaves to submit to their respective masters on the basis that good behaviour will help them (2:18). This instruction is not only in reference to good (ἀγαθοῖς)

and gentle (ἐπιεικέσιν) masters but also to harsh (σκολιοῖς) ones. The advantage of submission / good behaviour is identified by the phrase: τοῦτο γάρ χάρις (2:19-20). In this instance the word χάρις does not only refer to “grace” but also to approval, credit, favour, honour or that which brings God favour. This (grace, approval, credit, favour and honour) was just the opposite of what the slaves were confronted with at that time. The main thesis of Peter in this section (2:18-25) is “advantage” (God’s approval). God’s approval is linked to the bestowal of honour, as we can see from χάρις παρὰ θεῷ (2:20) which in itself is honour. Peter’s thesis here does not state that the οἰκέται should endure suffering because suffering in itself is honourable but because it gains God’s approval and that is honourable.⁶⁶⁴ Their honour was challenged in the form of cruelty, infliction of pain and unjust severe treatment.

Peter rectifies this situation by stating that the οἰκέται and the entire οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ, have been honoured by God (1:3-12; 2:4-10). This seems a little strange in view of the fact that slaves in the Roman world had no honour in the first place. They had no honour to defend. After all, they were human chattels. In fact, the masters had the legal power of life and death over their slaves. Regardless of their (the slaves’) legal insignificance, the honoured status of the οἰκέται in the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ transposes into a new self-perception which accepts their equality (4:5-6) before God. Thus, even people with no status whatsoever, become honourable to God.⁶⁶⁵ We have simile after simile in this situation: firstly, we have Christ as

⁶⁶⁴ Campbell (1995:209).

⁶⁶⁵ For further discussion regarding this topic see Judge (1982:1124-1125); Liversidge (1976:29-31); Malina (1981:36); Malina and Neyrey (1991:31); Rollins (1976:830-832); Veyne (1987:51-69). There are also other stories in the New Testament in connection with οἰκέται - see Acts 10:1-24. The power of the master over the slave is well illustrated in the book of Philemon where Paul could do no more than plead with Philemon to take Onesimus back

the simile of the οἰκέται and secondly, we have the οἰκέται as the simile of the οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ.



Figure 38

Figure thirty-eight shows how Christ becomes a simile for the household servants and how they in turn become a simile for the household of God. As the simile then predicts in the fact that Jesus entrusted himself to the One who judges justly (2:23), so the οἰκέται along with all Christians are to commit themselves to God's care and righteous judgement (2:25; 4:19).⁶⁶⁶ The honour / shame contest between the slave and master could therefore look as follows:

leniently. Even so, the final decision was Philemon's to make.

⁶⁶⁶ *There might also have occurred problems of the opposite nature. If a slave for example had a master who was Christian too, then the slave could, in theory, have claimed brotherly treatment. He might even have claimed equality in God's eyes and therefore also in the workplace.*

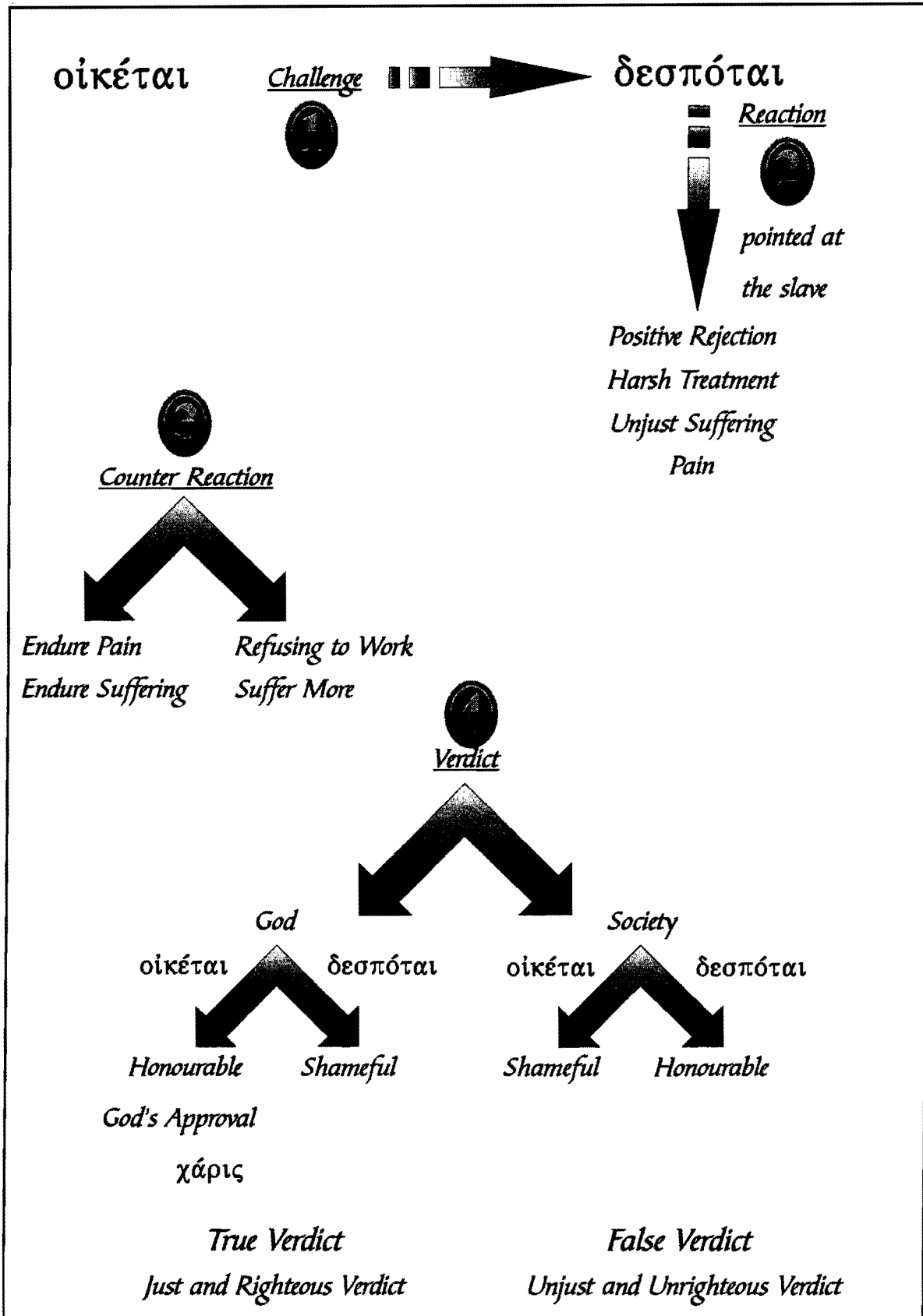


Figure 39

In figure thirty-nine the slaves firstly, challenge the masters by defying their religion in favour of their own. Secondly, the masters react to this challenge by treating them harshly and letting them suffer. The reaction leaves the slaves with one of two choices in section three of the figure. Their counter reaction could either be to endure the pain and suffering or to cease working in which case the probable response from the masters would be to cause even more suffering. This interaction between the slaves and the masters has two verdicts as a consequence, referring to number four in the figure. Firstly, we have God's verdict on the left. He honours the slaves and shames the masters. Conversely, society also has a verdict, one that shames the slaves and honours the masters. Lastly, Peter also has a verdict as he judges the two verdicts mentioned above. He views God's verdict as just and righteous whilst viewing society's verdict as false and unjust.⁶⁶⁷

Peter also uses the slave concept in relation to their relationship with God (2:16). While masters are not actually mentioned, it is surmised that the "free men" could previously possibly have been slaves.⁶⁶⁸ However, this scenario is highly unlikely since the concept is used metaphorically in reference to their freedom in Christ. However, that freedom in Christ also places them in bondage to God.⁶⁶⁹ Thus their servitude is merely exchanged.

⁶⁶⁷ Peter's judgement can be seen in 1:17 which creates a contrast between God's impartial judgement on the one hand and the inference that society's judgement is partial on the other. In 4:5 the deduction can be made that society is in the wrong as they will have to answer to God for some or other wrong deed. Harsher judgement is also spoken of for society in 4:17.

⁶⁶⁸ Best (1971:17).

⁶⁶⁹ That their new found freedom meant a kind of bondage to God can be seen in Danker (1983:87).

But the addressees (even the slaves) are also free persons. A comparison of 2:11-17 with 1:13-21 explains the sense in which they are indeed free. Through the death of Jesus Christ, God has ransomed them from the futile behaviour that is so typical of unbelieving gentiles (1:18,19) so that they can now abstain from fleshly passions (2:11). This freedom, however, does not free them from the obligation to live responsibly within society by “exhibiting good conduct” (2:12) or “doing right” (2:12,14), by subjecting themselves to the Emperor and to his governors (2:13,14), and by honouring all people, especially the Emperor (2:17).

The audience of the book had its relation to society at large unsettled with its classification in the book's opening paragraphs and in 2:11 of πάροικοι and παρεπίδημοι. If πάροικοι and παρεπίδημοι symbolize the addressees' otherness, their alienation, their inferior status vis-à-vis the larger society, (whose way of life they have rejected and whose hostility they must consequently endure) then the metaphors of free persons and slaves in 2:16 reconstitute their relationship to society in terms of their obligation as God's slaves. As such they are to respect the Emperor and his representatives and they are not to engage in the kinds of antisocial behaviours that governors are commissioned to punish.

Peter employs a host of metaphors⁶⁷⁰ that radiates a twofold message. Firstly, the readers are called upon to view themselves in terms of the LXX as Israel - God's own people, whose election resulted in a socially marginalised existence amid diverse societies over the course of centuries. Secondly, they are called upon to realize that election by God most often results in rejection by society. Peter attempts to convince them that God's election outweighs society's rejection. He does this by revealing that their present position as God's people and their future salvation and

⁶⁷⁰ *This is by no means a comprehensive list of all the metaphors in first Peter. But examples of metaphors that emit the twofold message are: the elect transients of the diaspora; resident aliens; holy priesthood; chosen race; royal priesthood; holy nation; people for God's own possession and the people of God.*

vindication are secured by God's past act in Christ. This assurance became effective for them at their conversion. In fact, their very conversion constituted them as God's people (2:10). Consequently, their previous existence can now be seen retrospectively as that of a non-people in the sense that they were living in darkness (2:9); enslaved by ignorance to passions (1:14); conducting themselves in the futile ways of their ancestral customs (1:18) viz: licentiousness, passions, drunkenness, revels, carousing, lawless idolatry and wild profligacy (4:3,4). Although society viewed them as the previous figure suggested, they are now to view themselves as follows:

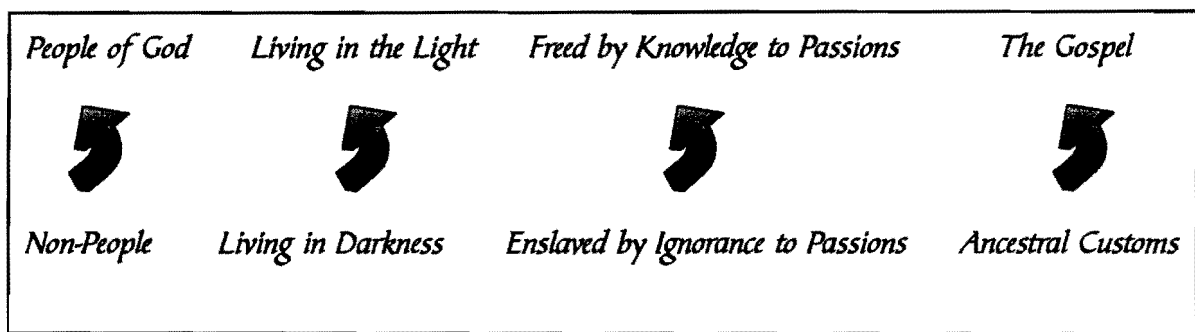


Figure 40

Peter restores the image of figure ten with the image of figure forty, because Christians are now to move in the opposite direction and reverse with the previous direction. They have become people of God. They are now living in light, and they are freed. The gospel constructs their lives rather than ancestral customs. The Christian's break with the past is also signified and emphasized in the metaphors of the rebirth, and of the children in the household of God. Although they broke with the past they are to adhere⁶⁷ to the prescribed behaviour in accordance with Greco-Roman social conventions, but no longer out of recognition of society's claim but in obedience to God's demand. Although Christians then upheld a different viewpoint their goals in life changed. Previously they were aiming to climb the social ladder. Presently

⁶⁷ *Their adherence to society is no longer a blind adherence but subjected to the will of God. God's will takes preference whilst society's is subservient.*

they are elevated by Christ. Yet, it was a different type of status and achievement. They no longer looked at the societal hierarchy with covetous eyes but rather aimed to serve. Their new found birth and faith resulted in servanthood. As slaves of God they were the servants of all.⁶⁷² Rather than obtaining honour they were to be humble, forgiving and loving to all. This new outlook on life was made possible through a new value system evaluated by different criteria which Peter provided in his letter, their worth being determined by their relationship to God through Jesus Christ rather than their relationship to society and societal position (Mark 10:42-45). Hence the following applied.⁶⁷³

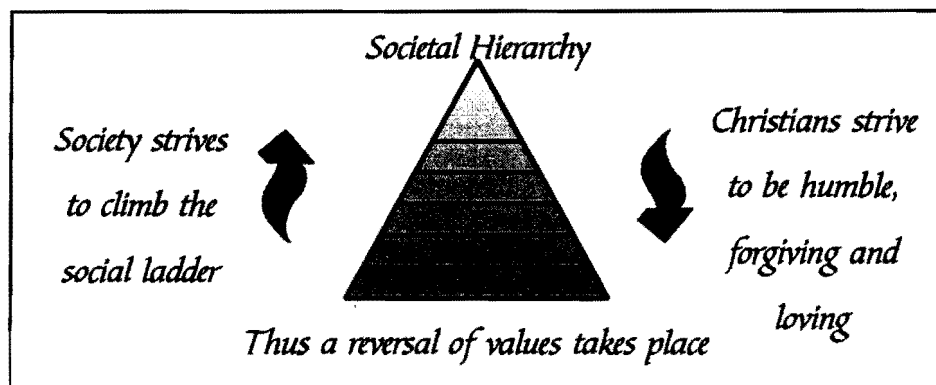


Figure 41

Figure forty-one represents the societal hierarchy (centre of figure) both on government level and social, personal level. On the left side of the figure, society strives to reach the top. In so doing they will want to push others down as the concept of limited good persuaded them that, that is in their own interest. Peter convinces his readers to reverse this value. Instead of striving for the top at the cost of others they should strive for the bottom - servanthood, as the right side of the figure indicates. They are to strive for the bottom by being humble,

⁶⁷² Dixon (1989:85).

⁶⁷³ Where Christians were to strive for humility see 3:8; 5:5,6, for love see 4:8; for forgiveness see 3:9; 2:18.

forgiving and loving.

Although Christians were on top of the hierarchical scale due to God placing them there with His bestowal of honour and His approval of them, they behaved as if they were at the bottom. They never again need to compete for honour or position as such competition is based on the concept of limited good. That concept is also changed by Peter.⁶⁷⁴ The concept of limited good only applied to humans and commodities. God is not limited in any way. As slaves that have now become the children of God their possibilities also become limitless. God's goodness and grace are inexhaustible. The question then was not what was achieved but rather who was served. Since the Romans controlled the law and since status was very much a legal issue the Christian's legal status in Asia Minor was negatively effected by their conversion, the result being that they surrendered most of the civil rights.⁶⁷⁵ Here again Peter illustrates the reversal of roles as the reasoning for remaining Christian in the face of hardship.

Christians are now to recognize that they are members of an alternative social entity and that this alternative community provides their acceptance over and against the claims and threats of the larger society. The slaves therefore now have a new identity and self-esteem. As with so many metaphors and similes in Peter the instruction to slaves plays a paradigmatic role for the gross community. Slaves that suffered for doing what was right were following in Christ's footsteps as He suffered for doing what was right. Similarly Christians will suffer for doing what is right.

⁶⁷⁴ To see how Peter changed the concept of limited good see Dixon (1989:85).

⁶⁷⁵ For a discussion on what civil rights were sacrificed by the readers by becoming Christian see Dixon (1989:86).

8.1.3 Advice to the Wives

The instruction to wives in 3:1-2, although not directed exclusively to believing wives of unbelieving husbands, has the purpose of winning non-Christian husbands over to the faith. The *ἵνα* clause of the first two verses confirms this view. When it comes to verse six, notwithstanding, the concluding participles appear to be clearly referring to the situation of Christian wives of non-Christian husbands. This would be of great value since the conversion of the pater would include the whole household's conversion and thus advance the gospel and growth of the church. This motif appears to be the only missiological motif in Peter.⁶⁷⁶ The

⁶⁷⁶ This conclusion is reached based on the following. Their calling in 2:9 was to effect the proclamation of God's mighty deeds. This proclamation has no connotation with proclaiming God's deeds to outsiders for the purposes of proselytizing. On the contrary, as pointed out (Balch 1981:132-136):

- a. When ἐξαγγείλητε is used in the LXX of the proclamation of God's deeds or God's praises it is used to God in worship. Examples of such usage in the LXX are: Ps. 55:9 (ἐξαγγελιά); 70:15 (ἐξαγγελεῖ) and 106:22 (ἐξαγγελιάτωσαν).
- b. Both in Ex. 19:6 (which 2:9 quotes) and in the interpretation thereof given in Rev. 1:6 and in first Peter 5:10, the task of the priesthood God has formed, is directed toward God and not toward outsiders.
- c. Peter does not elsewhere refer to its readers' task as missionary preaching. In fact, as mentioned before, there is but one missiological statement in the whole book. That statement also has to do with their actions as proclamation and not proselytizing.
- d. The non-believers are classified as > rejecting the Lord (2:4); > they do not believe (2:7); > they have stumbled ... as they were destined to do (2:8).

Another argument can be observed in the fact that the purpose clause of 2:9 (like the three

vocabulary used in this early Christian missionary topos is κερδαίνω.⁶⁷⁷ It stems from a

words preceding it - λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν) is derived from Isa. 43:21 which purpose clause appears to refer to Israel's vocation of proclaiming God's mighty acts to God in worship. The appearance in Isaiah is somewhat different as Peter altered the verse. In Isa. 43:21 the notion of purpose is conveyed by the infinitive rather than by ὅπως with the subjunctive. The verb used in Isaiah is διηγέομαι rather than first Peter's ἐξαγγείλητε. However, Peter's modifications do not alter the sense of the clause. Furthermore, this interpretation is confirmed by the purpose clause of 2:5. Elliott (1966:183) interprets the purpose clause of 2:5 as "a pronounced missionary impulse". Balch (1981:132,133) also decisively refuted this interpretation. In Elliott's (1986) response to Balch he substantiates this by not invoking 2:5 in support of his position which states that God's intention in transforming the addressees into a holy priesthood is that they should offer spiritual sacrifices to God (Ps. 49:13,14, 23; 50:17-19; 140:2). Thus the proclamation mentioned here could well be equated to worship instead of missionary activity.

The proclamation, albeit worship to God, will one day be recognized by society which now persecutes them. The "day of visitation" (2:12) is expected to bring both retribution against the non-believers (4:5,17,18) and the full disclosure of Christ's δόξα (4:13), along with the believers' participation in that δόξα (1:7; 5:10). 2:12 Refers to the eschatological judgement. During this judgement even the disobedient non-believer will recognize that those whom they had been denouncing as wrongdoers / evildoers (κακοποιοί) had in fact been doing good all along. Further substantiation of this possibility can be found in Balch (1981:108-108; 121); Bechtler (1996:13).

⁶⁷⁷ Further reference can be found (regarding metaphors) in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4-34-45; Aristotle, *On The Art Of Poetry* 21; (Regarding κερδαίνω) Daube (1947:109-120); Davids (1990:116); Fee (1987:426-427). Other Biblical references include: Matt. 16:26; Mark

commercial term meaning commercial gain, to win something, to make a profit or to gain. Peter's use is to win⁶⁷⁸ someone. This usage metaphorically signifies making a person a Christian. The indirect blessing that accompanies the husband's conversion is the cessation of the adverse treatment. The instruction itself commands these women to adopt the disposition expected of wives in Greco-Roman society, viz. submission. When slaves and wives converted to Christianity, they refused to partake in the worship of the gods of their masters and husbands. Here Peter counsels conformity to the ideals of society, but with an exception: he does not call for slaves and wives to return to the worship of the gods of the paterfamilias. If the husband is not converted it still leaves the Christian with a problem as Roman society does not distinguish between the religious and the socio-political. It is hoped that conformity would stop the slander against them. Furthermore, it is Peter's intention for the agitators to be shamed by the good behaviour of Christian wives and slaves within their households.⁶⁷⁹

Conversely, the directive to the slaves and wives is also given with the possibility that their masters' hostility would not decrease if they were to follow the letter's counsel (1:17; 4:15). Nor does 2:18-25 hint that the letter hopes to silence the slander directed against Christianity's encouragement of slaves to forsake their masters' religion. If Christians do not always agree on what constitutes doing good, it cannot be expected for society to agree on the composition of doing good. Hence, although first Peter commands the doing of good, it does not expect its addressees' good behaviour to be recognized as such by society. In fact, the overarching

8:36; Luke 9:25; Acts 27:21; first Cor. 9:19-22 (five times); Phil. 1:21; 3:7,8; Tit. 1:11; James 4:13.

⁶⁷⁸ *The concept of being won is further embellished by the aorist active tense ἐποπτεύσαντες (having beheld) (Young's Literal Translation) that is preceded by the future passive indicative tense κερδηθήσονται (they may be won) (Young's Literal Translation).*

⁶⁷⁹ *Balch (1981:81-116).*

expectation is that the calumny will not be stopped and might even get worse. It is for this reason that first Peter presciently surveys the morrow of the eschatological day of reckoning when its readers will finally be vindicated before their accusers.

Accordingly, the hope that Peter proffers vis-à-vis suffering, slander, problems of wives or slaves, etc, involves the end, judgement, the eventual reversal of honour, the eventual bestowal of glory, etc. Concerns about the stoppage and cessation or lessening of the earthly suffering is secondary and does not seem to be primary. The Christian life, ergo, leads to the following in figure forty-two which is just the earthly consequences of becoming Christian:

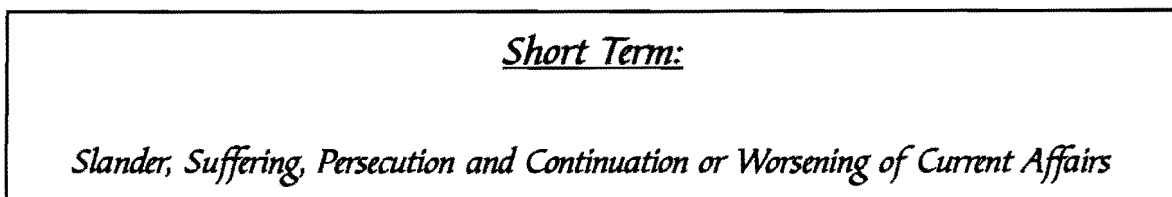


Figure 42

But:

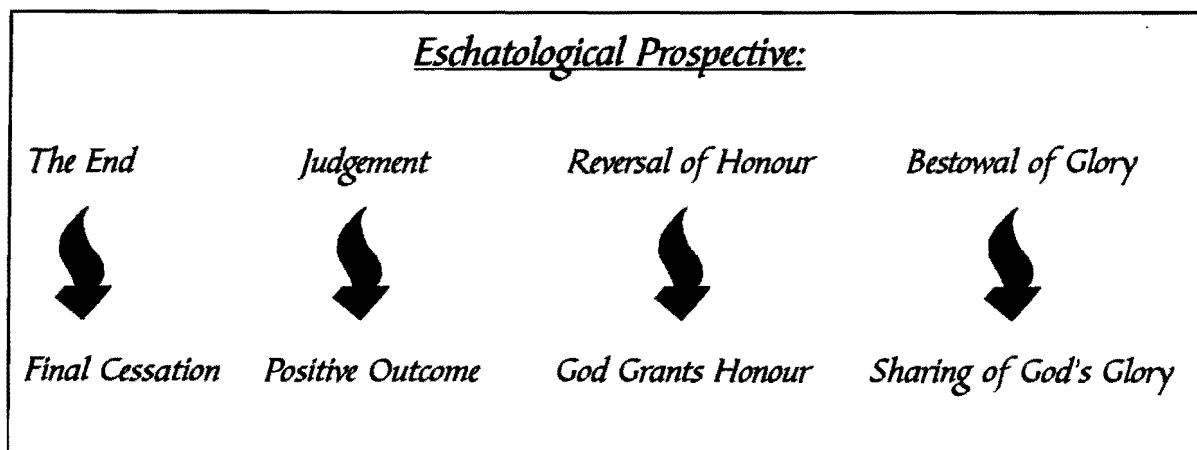


Figure 43

In contrast to figure forty-two we find Peter's eschatological prospective in figure forty-three. The eschatological prospective for the author's audience means the final end and cessation of their suffering. The judgement is seen in a positive light since it means vindication.

Condemnation is for the antagonists. The reversal of condemnation of Christians by society to their vindication by God is also in line with their concept of limited good. The judgement thus is also the execution of their reversal from shame to honour. The end is thus an end of glory for the readers of first Peter.

As with the οἰκέται then wives should submit in order for them to gain. Their gain is seated in a dual advantage, viz. the conversion of their husbands and with that the secondary advantage of solving their household problems with their husbands in that the husband's conversion would cancel any threats / challenges / defiance by the wife since the wife would then be following the husband's religion as society dictates. It would unite husband and wife instead of the current discord. As 3:7 states, a converted husband is more likely to treat his wife better. The submission then, as with the slaves, is not only about an honourable deed in itself (although it is, it is not limited to, rather it goes beyond that) but rather about the gaining of the above said advantages. Submission therefore is not only to pacify the husband but also for their own κερδαίνω (gain). Wives need to recognize their husbands' authority as the paterfamilias (as society dictates / deems honourable). Their display of blameless behaviour would grant their husbands honour in that society and would recognize his good control over his wife. Deference of wives to their husbands is equivalent to ὑπακούω (obedience)(3:6). Obedience upholds the honourable status of the husband since he is thus recognized as κύριος of the home (3:6). Furthermore it opens up the possibility of the husband's conversion, something that would not have been possible had the wife not submitted. There is also a further danger in that the wife may seek her honour exclusively in her new identity and new honour within the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ (2:4-10). This is what Peter is striving for when he writes to males. But when it comes to females they still need to seek their honour at home, since their honour is embedded in her husband's. It is for this reason that it is so very important for the wife to win the husband over to Christianity in which case both can find their honour in their new home the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ. It is also for this reason that

Peter urges them that:

“your beauty should not come from outward adornment, such as braided hair and the wearing of gold jewellery and fine clothes. Instead, it should be that of your inner self, the unfading beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is of great worth in God's sight” (3:3,4)(New International Version).

As a woman's honour is to be found in secluded and inconspicuous domesticity, it is not appropriate for Christian woman to seek honour externally.⁶⁸⁰ What Peter is saying is that wives are at liberty to believe in Christ and to be obedient to Him, but they must otherwise live within the dictates of the cultural honour code for wives.

The whole question of the motif and reasoning for wives to submit to their husbands is well summarized in the following citation:

“Hence 1 (sic) Pt. (sic) 3:1-6 is not merely about female roles in a patriarchal society, but reflects the writer's concern for the honor (sic) of the married women in the church, of their husbands who are shamed if their spouses become dishonorable, (sic) and for the testimony that the entire household of God manifest”⁶⁸¹.

⁶⁸⁰ *External seeking of honour could be done by extravagant and ostentatious dress in public (Campbell 1995:215).*

⁶⁸¹ *Campbell (1995:217).*

Peter calls the wives whom he addresses τέκνα Σάρρα (3:5). This honourable position is conditional⁶⁸² on doing what is right (3:5). The text implies that Sarah did what was right and therefore that they are Sarah's daughters only if they follow her example. As kinship is one of the ways in which one can gain honour, this statement bestows honour on the readers on account of birth. Sarah did what was right and therefore had honour. They were now her daughters and therefore they had honour, both for doing what is right but also because of Sarah's honour (your mother).⁶⁸³ Sarah's imitators then metaphorically become her children. But this declaration goes beyond just the bestowal of honour. It also makes them part of God's promise to Abraham and subsequently both heirs⁶⁸⁴ and part of the chosen race.⁶⁸⁵

The women, like the men, now become heirs⁶⁸⁶ of χάρις ζωής or in other words heirs of "the

⁶⁸² *There is a debate as to the conditionality of this statement. Michaels (1988:166-167) opposes the conditionality. Campbell (1995:223-224) supports the conditionality.*

⁶⁸³ *Sarah held a position of dignity and honour in the current society, and as such she commanded respect (Cicero, De Inventione 2.55.166).*

⁶⁸⁴ *When it comes to inheritance laws in the Roman Empire, women were the equals of men and could even have a will (Veyne 1987:73,75). Peter is therefore not introducing a new concept here, but rather emphasizing the closeness and bond between husband and wife and their relationship with each other and with God. This is why he calls husband and wife co-heirs when he says to the husband in reference to the wife: "as heirs with you" (3:7)(New International Version)(Emphasis mine).*

⁶⁸⁵ *For a discussion of the implications of this declaration see Grudem (1988:142); Campbell (1995:223).*

⁶⁸⁶ *For a discussion on this topic, especially the original (Greek) reading please refer to Goppelt (1978:222); Kelly (1969:134); Metzger (1971:690-691); Campbell (1995:230); and*

gracious gift of life" (3:7).⁶⁸⁷

Thus, instead of discord, Peter advances the idea of the joint membership of husband and wife. As such they are both heirs and share in the inheritance of the household of God. This membership / partnership is intended to encourage social cohesion.⁶⁸⁸ A second reason is that nothing may stand in the way of their prayers (3:7). There is even the possibility, as is suggested, that προσευχὰς ὑμῶν (prayers of you) could refer to prayers jointly offered by husband and wife.⁶⁸⁹

8.1.4 Advice to Children

The advice given to children embarks on the concept of newborn babies. In 2:2 we find this simile between the readers and newborn babies (ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη). Unlike the obedience of the children towards their paterfamilias the question here bears no relevance to obedience. Rather the question touches the issue of survival. Survival past infancy was a real

Michaels (1988:155).

⁶⁸⁷ *There are different views on ζωῆς as it is used here (3:7). Kelly (1969:134) holds the position that ζωῆς is exegetical and as such renders the construction "the grace which consists in life". Campbell, (1995:230) however, suggests as possible translations: "life-giving grace, regenerative grace, vivifying grace".*

⁶⁸⁸ *Elliott (1990:135-136). On the topic of conformity which builds cohesion see 1:14; 3:8; 4:4; 5:1; 5:13.*

⁶⁸⁹ *Goppelt (1978:222). Also see Marshall (1991:103-104). Conversely, there is also the view held by Campbell (1995:231) and Grudem (1988:145) that προσευχὰς ὑμῶν (prayers of you) refers only to the husband's prayer, since the husband is the only one who is being addressed in this particular verse.*

concern since the mortality rate amongst infants in the Roman Empire was exceptionally high. As many as a third of all the babies never lived beyond the first year. Of those who did make it beyond the first year only one half reached their fifth birthday.⁶⁹⁰ The main thoughts that emanate from this simile encompass absolute dependence on God and spiritual growth. Prior to this reference (2:2) Peter has already twice referred to the readers' conversion and initiation into the Christian community as a rebirth⁶⁹¹ using the word ἀναγεννήσας (1:3,23). There seems to be little doubt that the metaphor of rebirth was familiar to the addressees, possibly as a part of their baptismal catechesis and / or liturgy. Both these two illustrations (children and newborn babies) serve to advance the idea of reliance on God, their Father. As children they are obligated to obey God, but as newborn babies they are dependent upon the nourishment of God's word.

From newborn babies the author moves on to address his readers "as obedient children" (ὡς τέκνα ὑπακοῆς) who invoke God as their father (1:14-17).⁶⁹² This section (1:14-17) will now be examined:

⁶⁹⁰ This statistic comes from the work of Frier (1982:213-251). Garnsey and Saller (1987:138) estimate the same statistics to be slightly lower. They calculate the figures at 25% or more not reaching one year old and 50% not reaching the age of ten instead of five years as Frier states.

⁶⁹¹ The rebirth has also been viewed in the light of a baptismal background by Goppelt (1978:84); Kelly (1969:47-49); Windisch and Priesker (1951:59). A scholar against the baptismal view is Büchsel (1964). Ambivalent scholars are Selwyn (1946:123) and Best (1971:75).

⁶⁹² There seems to be two possibilities here: firstly, Peter might be calling his readers children and God their father. Secondly, Peter might be using an overarching household motif. Elliott (1981:202) supports the latter view.

First Peter 1:14-17

- 14: ὡς τέκνα ὑπακοῆς μὴ συσχηματιζόμενοι ταῖς πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις
- 15: ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν καλέσαντα ὑμᾶς ἅγιον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅγιοι ἐν πάσῃ ἀναστροφῇ γενήθητε,
- 16: διότι γέγραπται (ὅτι) ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος (εἶμι).
- 17: καὶ εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸν ἀπροσωπολήπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου ἔργον, ἐν φόβῳ τὸν τῆς παροικίας ὑμῶν χρόνον ἀναστράφητε,

Figure 44

In figure forty-four we find a Father and children. Just as in a normal household, the children should follow the father's example. Therefore, we might be dealing with a family setup here. With God as head of the household their status rises since the status of the group depends also on the head of the household's status. Both in the Greco-Roman world and in the earlier Hebrew world, children occupied the lowest step on the social staircase. Beyond the household there was no place for children in the adult society. Even within the household they were utterly dependent upon the head of the household - the paterfamilias. Subserviency was expected of children to the paterfamilias. They were to be obedient forever. These expectations were not something that could be outgrown with time.

The social staircase ascended in honour and status. But there was also the social staircase that descended further into shame. People on this staircase were unacceptable to society on the upper staircase. Slaves were such people. A device to keep them dehumanized was the custom of addressing adult male slaves as "boy" (παῖς) (Matt. 8:6,8,13; Luke 7:7).⁶⁹³ The lesson to

⁶⁹³ Finley (1980:96).

be learned by Peter's audience is just as the paterfamilias demanded complete obedience, the addressees are to render obedience to God their father.

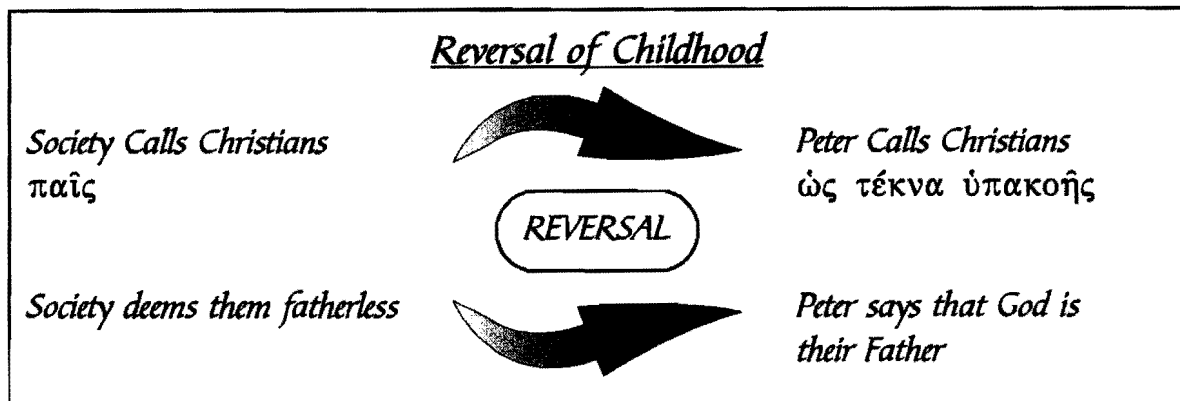


Figure 45

In figure forty-five we find a reversal of childhood. On the one hand, society saw Christians as outcasts and slaves. The custom to oppress adults by calling them "boy" did exist. As slaves they were owned and not reckoned a people, therefore they were fatherless. On the other hand, Peter reverses this view by calling them obedient children. He even goes one step further by calling God their Father. The reason why society might call them "boy" was because of their disobedience to society. Peter does not only call them children of God but obedient children.

As mentioned before the possibility did exist that Christians would lose their inheritance on becoming a believer. In answer to this possibility Peter says that they are not to distress since they are born anew (1:3,4) into a new family with a new patriarch - God. This means not only a high degree of honour on account of birth (family / genealogy) but also a heavenly inheritance. This inheritance is everlasting. The father does not even need to die before the inheritance becomes available, because as Christians, they obtain their inheritance and retain their Father simultaneously. Peter uses the word πατροπαράδοτος⁶⁹⁴ (1:18) meaning

⁶⁹⁴ πατροπαράδοτος is cited in ancient texts from the first century BC. As a result

inherited and handed down from one's father or forefathers. The New Revised Standard Version translates it as "inherited from your ancestors" (1:18). Thus we find that the possible loss is replaced.

In a certain sense the household, if defined as the Christian group / church, stands in opposition to the community. It represents another new community. These two communities are opposites. They behave in opposite ways ("speech" sins versus blessings; bad deeds versus good ones, etc). They have opposite value systems. They have different judges. Seen in this light, the new community is the reverse of the old (society). There are many other reversals hidden in this reversal such as the reversal of values, behaviour, speech, etc.

In the previous sections Peter dispatched some practical advice to Christians: submission to their families (as long as submission would not breach any Christian principles) and to God. Although Peter's advice in the household code dealt with the "how" of remaining and growing as a Christian, it also revealed the reversal of roles.

As was explained, Christians faced various problems when becoming believers. The author proposed numerous solutions. On the one hand some of these solutions pertain to their immediate situation (for example the creation of a new community) whilst on the other hand some of these solutions pertain to the future (for example their vindication and glorification). In this sense there seems to be tension between the so called "already" and the "not yet". Peter states that certain things have already happened (past) but there are also things yet to happen (future). As with the section on holiness we also find the theme of the already and the not

it may have been known to Peter. Although πατροπαράδοτος appears in ancient texts the word is very rare. In the New Testament it is a hapax legomenon. It is possible that the author constructed this word as a neologism. If this were not the case then this word is at least a compound word.

yet in the two occurrences of the word χαίρω in 4:13. The first occurrence (χαίρετε) refers to the act of rejoicing in the present (already), whereas the second occurrence (χαρήτε) refers to the eschatological joy at Christ's glorious revelation (not yet).⁶⁹⁵ Similarly the sufferers have been saved but they will also still be saved at the parousia. Furthermore, this theme also applies to the bestowal of glory and honour. The dualism of the fulfilment of these themes refer to the fact that, that which they have already received, serves as a foretaste (already) of that which is yet to come (not yet) to a greater extend in the future. As such the time of the greater rejoicing is at the revelation of Jesus' glory at the parousia. With this event also coincides the bestowal of the greater glory to the believers. Thus, there is tension between the "already" and the "not yet". As such the eschatological joy of 4:13 stands in opposition (tension) to the present πύρωσις τὸν πειρασμόν in 4:12.

8.1.5 Advice on Other Relationships

The book of Peter does not only focus on the vertical relationship between God and the believer but also concerns itself with horizontal, interpersonal relationships between man and man, in this case among fellow Christians as well as among Christians and pagans. It is in this context that Peter writes that evil and abuse are not to be repaid in kind (3:9). The main message of this verse is non-retaliation. The verb λοιδορεῖν expresses connotations of non-retaliation.⁶⁹⁶ The purpose of non-retaliation is in order that (ἵνα) they may inherit a blessing. Peter does not want a contest of insults as non-Christians would have reacted had they been exposed to insults. This reprimand bears the sentiments of 2:23. In 2:23 Jesus was insulted, but He did not insult. To make the point even more acutely, there is a movement

⁶⁹⁵ Michaels (1988:262).

⁶⁹⁶ Paul uses this word in the context of non-retaliation in first Cor. 4:12. Peter does the same thing elsewhere in reference to Jesus (2:23).

from verbal to physical abuse, namely suffering. Even so, Jesus did not “threaten”. Even though Christians might be experiencing physical suffering, they are still not to respond with verbal attacks and insults. Christians are not only told what not to do but they are also told what they should be doing instead - εὐλογοῦντες (blessing) (3:9). We find a great contrast here. Firstly, society commits sins of speech, for example: καταλαλεῖν (2:12; 3:16; 2:1); ἐπηρεάζειν (3:16); βλασφημεῖν (4:4,14b); ὀνειδίζειν (4:14a). Secondly, in contrast to such speech, Christians are asked to bless. The point Peter wants to make is that the Christian should not retaliate but rather show kindness towards enemies. The logic that the author employs to make this point is as follows: the major premise is that those who bless inherit a blessing. The minor premise is that you bless. Therefore the conclusion is made that you will inherit a blessing (3:9). The honour / advantage of εὐλογία becomes the inducement for blessing one’s enemies. Peter goes beyond just making a statement, and proves his point by quoting from Ps. 34:12-16 which says that blessing others leads to life and good days. Again we find antithetical parallelism in Ps. 34:12. One can deduce a definition for the word “blessing” in verse 10,11 as an utterance for ἀγαθός (good) and εἰρήνη (peaceful) purposes. The usage of Ps. 34 suites Peter perfectly as this passage seems to be loaded with the imagery of the three zones of human experience described by Malina.⁶⁹⁷ The three zones are Semitic, biblical expressions that typically describe dyadic human personality in psychic processes, language (and the reception thereof) and outward expression. The Semitical, biblical expressions representing the three zones of human experience are: eyes and heart (psychic processes), mouth and ears (language and the reception thereof) and hands and feet (outward expression).

⁶⁹⁷ To read Malina’s explanation on the three zones of human experience see Malina (1981:60-67). For your perusal, he has also co-authored material on this subject which can be found in (Malina and Rohrbaugh 1992:55-56, 226-227, 336).

We find that all three zones are represented in the quotation of Ps. 34:12-16 (LXX):

- a. *“... loves life and desires” - heart and “see many good days” - eyes (Ps. 34:12)(New International Version).*
- b. *“Keep your tongue from evil” - mouth “and your lips from speaking lies” - mouth (Ps. 34:13)(New International Version).*
- c. *“Turn from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it” - hands and feet (Ps. 34:14)(New International Version).*

It is noted that the presence of all three zones represents a total human experience.⁶⁹⁸ Even here Peter alludes to the honour / shame contest, for God's eyes (psychic zone) are on the righteous, His ears (language zone) are open to their prayer and His face (psychic zone) is against the evil doers (Ps. 34:15,16). Now the head and the face are closely associated with honour⁶⁹⁹ and dishonour.⁷⁰⁰ For God to set His face “against” is to oppose another's honour with one's own, in other words, to dishonour the person whom your face is against by means of a facial affront. Thus we find dishonour being portrayed by God to the evildoers. Antithetically we also find honour being portrayed by God to the righteous by turning His face toward them and in so doing away from the evildoers.

⁶⁹⁸ Malina (1981:62).

⁶⁹⁹ One finds that the face is associated with honour in the sense that it is used in a honorific way when crowning, bowing or being bowed to, takes place.

⁷⁰⁰ Similarly the face can also be used to display dishonour or shame. Examples thereof includes: the slapping of the face and uncovering of the face. For further explanations regarding this subject matter see Malina (1981:35); Malina and Neyrey (1991:35).

We know that the righteous are being honoured for the Lord's eyes are on them protectively while His ears are attentive to their prayer (Ps. 34:12-16).

Not only are Christians not to act with retribution but rather to bless the enemy. Not only do the three zones of human experience portray God's honour to the Christian and dishonour to the pagan, but Peter appeals to Christians to acknowledge that there is a general consensus of right and wrong even amongst the pagans. The reason why Peter dwells on this subject is that he wants to instill the hope that the pagan's sense of right and wrong will recognize the goodness of Christian behaviour at least to some extent. This in turn will lead to the cessation or lessening of suffering. But the argument does not stop there, even if this is not the case because they should suffer for doing what is right because they still remain μακάριοι (blessed)(3:14).⁷⁰¹ This theme is further developed in 4:14 where the word μακάριοι also appears. The point of this section (4:14) is related to the affirmation given in 4:13. There the certainty of eschatological joy is conveyed because the readers share Christ's sufferings and they await the revelation of His glory that signifies the bestowal of glory (not yet) on them too. In the mean time (already) that divine glory already rests upon them in the person of the Holy Spirit. Thus the major premise is that those on whom the Spirit is resting, are blessed. This is followed by the minor premise which is that the Spirit is resting on them. The conclusion is that they are thus blessed.⁷⁰² The roles are reversed here since suffering gives way to glory and blessings. Initially their role is to endure suffering, but now a reversal takes

⁷⁰¹ *Instead of the common word εὐλογία (blessing) Peter here uses the same word as in the beatitudes - μακάριοι for blessing. Rather than "bless and speak good of" which εὐλογία denotes, Peter conveys a different message, viz. "happiness" in God's eyes - μακάριοι. If your actions then do not please the pagans then at least you are still cause for God's happiness.*

⁷⁰² *Campbell (1995:290).*

place and they are to enjoy glorious blessings in the place of enduring suffering.

8.1.6 Advice on Dealing with Human Institutions

The catalyst for reversing from shame to honour is good behaviour. Good behaviour within the context of the household code is submission. Peter thus urges his readers to submit to human institutions (2:13). The opening exhortation, ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει, is applicable to all the readers. The word “κτίσει” is almost used exclusively of divine creation in the LXX and the New Testament. The Greek-speaking world frequently chose to use the word δημιουργός and its derivatives to present views on the formation of the world. However, there appears not to be one reference in all of the LXX that uses the δημιουργός word-group for the creative work of God.⁷⁰³ Rather the κτίζω word-group is used. Peter’s use in this sense of κτίσει is new.⁷⁰⁴ The use of this word might instill the idea that human institutions fall under God as well. The household code has everything to do with subordination and the placement of a pecking order. Peter might well be saying by his choice of κτίσει that God is on top of the pecking order and not the Emperor, and that the Emperor and government are subordinate to God.

Although the translation of “every human institution” (Revised Standard Version) is correct, and although Peter urges his readers to subject themselves to such institutions, everything still remains subordinate to God. It is Peter’s wish that the believers align themselves properly with the orderly framework of society. This is confirmed by the use of the imperative ὑποτάγητε

⁷⁰³ On the lack of the occurrences of this word pertaining to God’s creative power see Warden (1986:212).

⁷⁰⁴ Foerster (1966:102).

and the imperative force of the participles which follows in 2:18 and 3:1.⁷⁰⁵ Whether this principle is used for political government only does not deter from the fact that this principle remains valid for domestic, social and political relationships⁷⁰⁶ with the proviso that these relationships do not demand action outside of the will of God. Although Peter asks his readers to subject themselves to the authorities, he does so without inferring that the authorities hold their positions according to God's approval. On this point it is written that: "1 (sic) Peter makes no such general affirmation of God's approval of the state's power".⁷⁰⁷ Neither does Peter state that submission to the authorities is realized due to a requirement of God. In 2:13,14 we find a more stereotypical form of the household code but even here the author presents no divine approval of governments. In fact, it appears as if there is no developed, theological treatment of church-state relationships in Peter. It is possible to agree with the author who writes:

"We conclude that 2:13-17 presents no divine sanction, or even a supporting statement, for the function of Roman provincial government in western Asia Minor".⁷⁰⁸

8.2 The Similarity Between the Household and Christ

Peter associates the suffering and enduring Christ with the οἰκέται. In so doing the household servants in following Christ become the archetype for the entire Christian

⁷⁰⁵ See the discussion of the imperatival participle in David Daube's well known article: "Participle and Imperative in 1 (sic) Peter" in Selwyn (1947:482,483).

⁷⁰⁶ Warden (1986:211,214).

⁷⁰⁷ Warden (1986:215).

⁷⁰⁸ Warden (1986:219).

community.⁷⁰⁹ The servants enjoyed no meaningful personal status and honour. Yet, although they were worthless to other people, indirectly they helped to determine their owner's honour, since the number of servants contributed to his social standing. In this sense the servants contributed considerably to the status of their owner.

Similarly, the Christian seems worthless to society yet valuable to God. The whole purpose of the servant is to serve the master. When it comes to household conduct the servants hold the primary and exemplary position. This can be deduced from the fact that οἰκέται is mentioned first in the household code.⁷¹⁰ The association is that Christ had to submit to unjust suffering in order to fulfill God's purpose (2:21,24) just as they had to endure suffering to fulfill God's will. All the readers are implicitly addressed in view of this instruction to domestic slaves. This is shown by the generalizing τις in 2:19.⁷¹¹ This deduction can also be made on the basis of the many points of correspondence between the material in 2:19-25 and similar statements directed to the entire readership elsewhere in the letter.⁷¹² The verb πασχω refers to both Christ (2:21,23) and to Christians (2:19,20) sharing a similar experience. In so doing the household servants in following Christ become the archetype for the entire Christian community especially as far as behaviour is concerned.⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁹ A more detailed discussion about the household servants becoming a typological example of all the readers of Peter can be found in Elliott (1990:206-207).

⁷¹⁰ To see the order of subjects in the household code and the implications thereof see Campbell (1995:24).

⁷¹¹ Michaels (1988:139).

⁷¹² Compare for example the following: 2:19,20 with 3:9, 14-17 | 2:21-24 with 3:18; 4:1, 13-16 | ἐν φόβῳ of 1:17 with ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ of 2:18. For other parallels, see Elliott (1981:205-208) and Tarrach (1980:123).

⁷¹³ Elliott (1990:206-207).

Part of this household is the corner stone⁷⁴ (Christ) and the other stones (Christians) that constitute the house (spiritual house). Here too, the above reversal of honour takes place. For Christ was the rejected (shame for Christ) stone that became the corner stone (honour for Christ). Whilst this stone lay on the building cite many people tripped (shame for the rejecters) over it. Those who believe in Christ now become living stones (2:4). These stones are rejected by society too (shameful) but elected by God and are precious (honourable) to Him (2:4). This section in 2:4 which deals with the building metaphor shifts the focus from individuality (your good behaviour)(2:1-3 individual growth) to the corporate sphere. This is important for the fostering of togetherness and a group identity. This shift from singular (individual) to plural (group identity) can be observed with:

⁷⁴ *The stone metaphor is so prominent in 2:4-10 that rhetorically it becomes an extended metaphor. The stone metaphor serves as a typology (Campbell 1995:123). There are many examples of typology in the Bible such as: Adam-Christ; Eve-Church; etc. For a list of such typologies see Lausberg (1960:901). Others view the stone not as a typology but as an allegory (Bronx 1986:96-107). Lausberg discusses the difference between typologies and allegories in his book Der erste Petrusbrief (1960:901). Campbell (1995:123) draws the conclusion that the stone is used typologically and not allegorically since Peter does not extract hidden meanings but rather contemporizes them. There are suggestions that the milk and stone metaphors ought to be considered to be drawn from the mystery religions. As such the milk refers to the drink of the initiation ceremonies as the φαρμακον ἀθανασίας. Meteorite stones, the stone relief of Mithras and the cone-shaped stone of Paphos that represent Aphrodite-Astarte are candidates for the sources of Peter's lithic terminology which is linked with milk in a cultic sense (Perdelwitz 1911:66-70). However, milk and stones are Old Testament themes too. Peter's elaborate use of the Old Testament (LXX) does sway one to think that this is rather his source than that of mystery religions.*

- a. *The phrase καὶ αὐτοὶ (2:5) which introduces the transition from the singular λίθον ζῶντα to the plural λίθοι ζῶντες.*
- b. *The identification of the readers with ὑμῖν οὖν (2:7) resulting in the application to them of the conclusionary clause of verse six.*
- c. *The εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθησαν ending in verse eight corresponds with the τίθημι of the first quotation in verse six. Here are two distinct groups with two distinct identities. Firstly, the chosen and precious stone which is vindicated and secondly, those who disobey the word who are shamed and that stumble.*
- d. *The group is identified by ὑμεῖς δέ (2:9) as “a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God’s own people” (2:9) (Revised Standard Version). This does not only serve the function of creating a group, but it also defines the group positively. The honour mentioned here stands in sharp contrast to the shame in verse six and defines the honour the author has in mind.*

The picture that society had of Christians as a collective, corporate group was negative. The picture which Peter paints of the same group is positive. He thus replaces the image they had of themselves as a group. These two pictures represent a reversal of honour through the creation and evaluation of a new group identity. That which happened to Christ thus happened to the Christian, and subsequently Christians shared⁷⁵ the honour that their Lord enjoyed.⁷⁶ As glory is experienced by the audience and as glory is given to God, the present slanderers would give glory to God as they see the honourable deeds of those whom they presently defame. This constitutes a reversal of status.

⁷⁵ *For similarities between what Christians shared with Christ himself see Beare (1970:124).*

⁷⁶ *There is a connection between τιμὴ and ἔντιμος (2:4,6,7). This is made clear by the article ἡ with honour (τιμῆ) in verse seven.*

8.3 *The Building of a Spiritual House*

Peter tendered certain solutions to the physical households in the form of recommendations. Then the similarity between the households and Christ was discussed. The author moves from the physical to the spiritual. Consider the following reversal and twists when Peter builds a spiritual house in 2:4-10:⁷⁷

⁷⁷ We are dealing with a number of reversals in this section. Examples of such reversals are:

- a. Rejection by man reverses with the choosing by God (therefore precious as the Greek text explains).*
- b. The readers are also placed in the same situation with a similar verdict which follows man's rejection, viz. that they are holy and they offer acceptable sacrifices - it is possible to deduce that sacrifices of society are not acceptable and that the sacrifices of Peter's readers are mentioned in contrast to society's, in which case that would amount to another reversal.*
- c. Those who believe in the chosen and precious cornerstone will not be put to shame. Once again, the author does not spell it out, but the deduction could be made that those who do not believe will be put to shame. Thus, the believers reverse their positions with the non-believers as far of shaming is concerned.*
- d. The stone is judged to be precious by the believers but becomes a stumbling block to the non-believers.*
- e. The stumbling of the non-believers is reversed with the identity of the readers as chosen, holy, royal and belonging to God.*
- f. The reader's own position also experiences certain reversals in this section. They were not a people before but now they are. Similarly, they once did not receive mercy but now they do.*

First Peter 2:4-10

⁴πρὸς ὃν προσερχόμενοι λίθον ζῶντα ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων μὲν
ἀποδοκιμασμένον παρὰ δὲ θεῷ ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον, ⁵καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς
λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς εἰς ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον
ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους (τῷ) θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ. ⁶διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ·
ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον
ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον
καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνηθῆ. ⁷ὑμῖν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ
τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ἀπιστοῦσιν δὲ
λίθος ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες,
οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας
⁸καὶ
λίθος προσκόμματος
καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου·
οἱ προσκόπτουσιν τῷ λόγῳ ἀπειθοῦντες εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθησαν.
⁹ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς
εἰς περιποίησιν, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους
ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς.
¹⁰οἳ ποτε οὐ λαὸς
νῦν δὲ λαὸς θεοῦ,
οἱ οὐκ ἠλεημένοι
νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες.

Figure 46

These reversals from shame to honour appear to be the central concern of 2:4-10.⁷⁸ This is

⁷⁸ *Examples of two scholars, suggesting that this is in fact the main concern of this section, are Campbell (1995:119); Elliott (1990:127).*

emphasized by the antithetical parallelism⁷¹⁹ between 2:4 and 2:6 using honour and shame. When it comes to Christians the promise is made that they will not come to shame (2:6-7). Conversely, the disbelievers will stumble (2:7). The antithetical parallelism⁷²⁰ thus contrasts two groups, the τιμή of the first group has its contrasting counterpart in the πρόσκομμα / σκάνδαλον of the second group. The second group (which is the disbelieving Gentiles) who are the antagonists in the book, consequently meet shame and disgrace. Thus first Peter 2:4-10 constitutes an explication of the Christian's honoured position as members of the οἶκος πνευματικός⁷²¹ (spiritual house) of God. This goes to show that man's view is not important but rather what God thinks is important. The builders rejected the stone but that very stone is chosen by God to occupy the place of honour in the building (2:4-10).⁷²² In first

⁷¹⁹ *The thesis in 2:4 is that Christians are "chosen by God and precious to Him". In Verse six we find the antithesis that Christians "will never be put to shame". The honour word-field used in verse four is ἐκλεκτον ἔντιμον. The positive (denial of the negative) confirmation of the positively put shame word-field in verse six is κατασχυθη. Everything else in this particular section is subordinate to this dualism (Campbell 1995:119).*

⁷²⁰ *Another example of antithetical parallelism is 2:10 where we again find two pairs of isocola. Here Peter seems to be making use of the material in Hos. 1:9; 2:1; 2:23; 1:6 (LXX). Peter also utilizes other types of parallelisms. Look for example at the parallels found between 2:24 and 2:20.*

⁷²¹ *Commentators are divided over whether to read οἰκοδομεῖσθε as an indicative or an imperative. In either case, an identity for the addressees is presented, whether in terms of that which God is doing for them or that which God intends doing for them if they obey the imperative.*

⁷²² *One has to assume by the context that this building is the οἶκος πνευματικός and therefore the household of the Spirit. In turn that household is the church or Christian community that is a family of brothers and sisters in the faith. Although they themselves*

Peter 2:4-10 we find two sets of destinations. Firstly, there is the destiny of τιμή for those who believe in the stone whom God has chosen (2:6). Secondly, those who remain unbelievers will stumble and fall and therefore will be subjected to shame.⁷²³ The very image of the builders tripping and falling over the stone that they have rejected during their work serves as a device with which the orator stirs up⁷²⁴ hatred for someone or severe aversion for something.⁷²⁵ This reversal of honour is well explained by a certain scholar when he writes: "The readers' vindication and honor (sic) necessarily require their opponents' dishonor (sic) and shame, an agonistic reversal" (3:16; 2:12).⁷²⁶ In conclusion then, Peter describes his readers as

have been rejected by the native and majority ethnic groups in the society of Asia Minor they have now found a place of belonging. Not only do they now belong but they are also God's elect children and seen by God as precious. Hence they are honoured (2:7).

⁷²³ Both προσκόπτουσιν and ἀπειθοῦντες are in the present active tense (2:8). To stumble is therefore to fall into shame. Shame according to Peter is to fall into a dishonourable verdict (God's verdict). Peter now assigns this verdict to the antagonists of the letter since they currently oppose the audience by rejecting their message (λόγος 3:1 for ἀπειθέω τῷ λόγῳ) as equal to disobey the message of the gospel. This usage of λόγος serves as a pun on its other appearance in the verse where it refers to a word or verbal utterance). By contrast, Christians enjoy an exalted status (2:7)

⁷²⁴ Campbell (1995:130).

⁷²⁵ For a discussion on this topic see Cicero, *De Inventione* 1.53.100. Also cite Lausberg (1960:438).

⁷²⁶ Campbell (1995:130). Honour and shame are similar to modern commodities, for they are susceptible to the principle of limited goods. They are limited in quantity and in short supply (Dixon 1989:41). Applied, that means that in order to increase your share of honour, someone else's honour needs to decrease (Malina 1981:75-76). There is therefore not enough to go round (that also adds value since the scarcer an object the more valuable). It is generally

living λίθοι who are being built into a spiritual house (2:5).⁷²⁷ They are coming to Jesus.⁷²⁸

The purpose (εἰς) for which Christians as “stones” form part of the spiritual house of God is to become a holy priesthood(2:5). Now the author explains what the house is being used for and who uses it. In turn the priesthood’s purpose is “offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ” (New International Version)(2:5). These sacrifices pertain to the Christian’s new lifestyle of service.⁷²⁹ The Christian’s social identity is thus being reshaped by

not something that can be created but rather it is something that is traded. Both parties place their share of honour at risk in a contest for that honour (see explanation on the honour context elsewhere). The winner takes all and the loser loses all. Public esteem is therefore only conferred either on the party that successfully challenges or the party that successfully answers a challenge. The only way that Christians can increase their share of honour is by others losing theirs. Before Peter shared this concept with them, the honour of societies went up because their honour went down. Now the reverse takes place.

⁷²⁷ The “stone” in reference to Christ serves as a typology. In reference to the spiritual house it serves as a metaphor. But since λίθοι ζῶντες is preceded by ὡς, in reference to Christians, it must be serving as a simile. The spiritual house is in the nominative case and not in the accusative case as one might expect if it is translated: “you also, like living stones, are being built into a spiritual house” (New International Version)(2:5). For further discussion on this topic see Campbell (1995:125).

⁷²⁸ We have an antecedent in 2:3 of ὃν in 2:4. For Peter, ὁ κύριος is Jesus Christ (1:3). Also read 3:15a: κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, where that which applies to the tetragrammaton (יהוה) in Isa. 8:13 (LXX) is transferred by Peter to Jesus Christ. This is also applicable to first Peter 2:8 (Isa. 8:14).

⁷²⁹ A description of what exactly this entails are penned by Selwyn (1949:285). He, however, goes beyond the New Testamentic evidence when he suggests that the πνευματικὰ

Peter. Previously the resident aliens and visiting strangers in Asia Minor did not know honour. As παροίκοι και παρεπιδήμοι they experienced cultural and political estrangement. Neither did they have any sense of belonging - that is why Peter uses these terms in reference to them. Their new identity revolves around the new family or household of God. This identity is also being shaped by their new identity as a priesthood. Understood in the role that the priests played whose functionaries approached God in worship, thanksgiving and repentance on behalf of the people, this awards a unique and privileged identity. For this is an honoured position. This position is above that of those outside the priestly community - the Gentiles.⁷³⁰ Now they have a distinguished identity as the λαὸς θεοῦ.

8.4 The Reversal of Image Between Believers and Society on a Macro Level

The author has dealt with the physical households as well as with the spiritual. However, he does not only give advice, but also reverses the image between the believers and society on a macro level. This is done by using another image to exhibit the shamefulness of the antagonist in contrast to the exalted and honourable position of Christians. The usage of the verb φιμοῦν (2:15) serves as example. The entire verse (2:15) is paraenethical and explanatory. The replacement of the pronoun τοῦτο by the adverb οὕτως places emphasis on the how in stead of the what of the accomplishment. The significance of this phrase is thus on ἀγαθοποιούοντας rather than φιμοῦν. Therefore, Peter is not attempting to make the

θυσίαι have a sacramental association. To him it consists of righteousness, prayer, praise, penitence, kind and loving deeds, etc. He goes so far as to say that they are components of the celebration of the eucharist in the church (Selwyn 1949:294-298). This association occurs in the second century where the sacrifices that Christians offered were the eucharistic bread and cup (Didymos 14:1-2; Justin, Apol. 1.65,67).

⁷³⁰ Campbell (1995:127).

point that the foolish will be silenced but rather that they will be silenced by doing good. Although the emphasis does not fall on φιμοῦν, we should take note what is happening here. This verb which is translated with the words “to silence,” refers to the muzzling of oxen as they tread the grain on the threshing floor (first Cor. 9:9; first Tim. 5:18). In Peter’s usage of this term we find the adversaries being compared to oxen that require muzzling. This term is therefore loaded with negative pathos and dishonour. This word stops just short of being an insult and was probably interpreted as such by the people whom it was directed against. The author uses this term to reproach the accusers. The verb φιμοῦν is one of the components that Peter makes use of in his motif of reversal of honour.⁷³¹ But Peter does not only use imagery and metaphors to point to the negative (from honour to shame) reversal of honour of the Gentiles indirectly, but he also makes direct statements of this effect when he writes: “So that those who speak maliciously against your good behaviour in Christ may be ashamed” (3:16)(New International Version). The language of 3:16 is reminiscent of that of 2:12. It describes the same contest for honour between Christians and their slanderous opponents. This contest is also governed by the concept of limited good. The result is the same, as reversal in status eventuates from the process of challenge and response.⁷³² By God’s

⁷³¹ This construction (φιμοῦν τὴν ἀγνωσίαν)(2:15) is metaphorical. It forms part of the κατάχρησις type of metaphors which is a figure of diction in which an inexact use of a like and kindred word occurs for the precise and proper one. For references concerning this topic see *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.33-45.; Cicero, *De Oratore* 3.43.169-170; Quintilian - *The Institutio Oratoria* 8.2.4-6; Lausberg (1960:562). For other examples where the word φιμοῦν is also used as a κατάχρησις see Matt. 22:12,34.

⁷³² The honour / shame contest (see one of the previous chapters in this dissertation explaining such contests) takes the following form: There is a treat: οἱ ζηλωταὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ > τὰ, ἔθνη / οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστροφῆν. This is then perceived as an attack on the self-esteem / established order.

choosing they had become society's elite.

8.5 God Versus Society

The last solution on offer by the author sees society on a macro level on the one hand and God on the other hand. A seemingly clear picture is painted placing God, Christ and Christians together on the one end of the scale and Satan, Rome and society on the other end. In God's sight the following picture emerges:

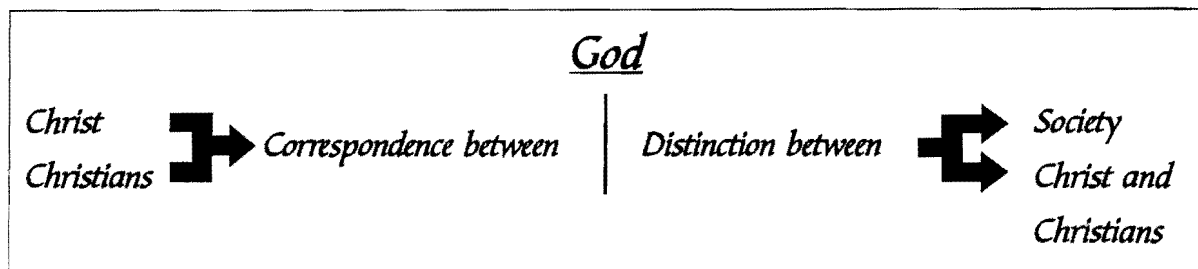


Figure 47

In figure forty-seven we find that God sees a correspondence between Christ and Christians. But when it comes to Christians and society God sees a distinction.

We also find the following contrasting evaluations in first Peter:

This is challenged by positive rejection: ἐν ᾧ καταλαλεῖσθε / οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστροφῆν. This is followed by the counter challenge: συνείδησιν ἔχοντες ἀγαθὴν (3:16b) - ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστροφῆν. The verdict is expressed with: ἵνα καταισχυθῶσιν οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστροφῆν (Campbell 1995:248).



<u><i>Society's Evaluation</i></u>	<u><i>God's Evaluation</i></u>
<i>Honours themselves in contrast to Christians</i>	<i>Honours Christians in contrast to society</i>
<i>Shames Christians</i>	<i>Shames society</i>
<i>Rejects the living stone</i>	<i>Chooses the living stone</i>
<i>Rejects Christians</i>	<i>Chooses Christians and rejects society</i>
<i>Society's evaluation is worthless</i>	<i>Only God's evaluation is meaningful</i>

The question that Peter stands to answer is how to remain Christian in the face of such macro and micro cosmic problems commonly termed persecution and hardship. By placing God in opposition to society the following reversals take place in answer to this question. Society causes loss while God eventuates gain. It is acknowledged that they are facing hardship and experiencing great loss, but because of God they also stand to gain. By becoming a Christian you gain a better culture since the value system, honour and shame dynamic and motifs are now according to God's will. You gain more honour than what you lose. This is achieved by changing the whole honour and shame system, by legitimating a new symbolic universe and by the honour that God bestows. Another factor in the rise of honour is the new birth into the family of God. Since God is the King of the universe and Christians are His children they accumulate honour on account of birth. They therefore also gain a new heavenly family. Their kinship is replaced by the church as their new earthly family, hence their designation as brothers and sisters. Lastly they also gain a new inheritance, one that does not defile. This is an eternal inheritance. Peter thus completes the circle in the following manner:

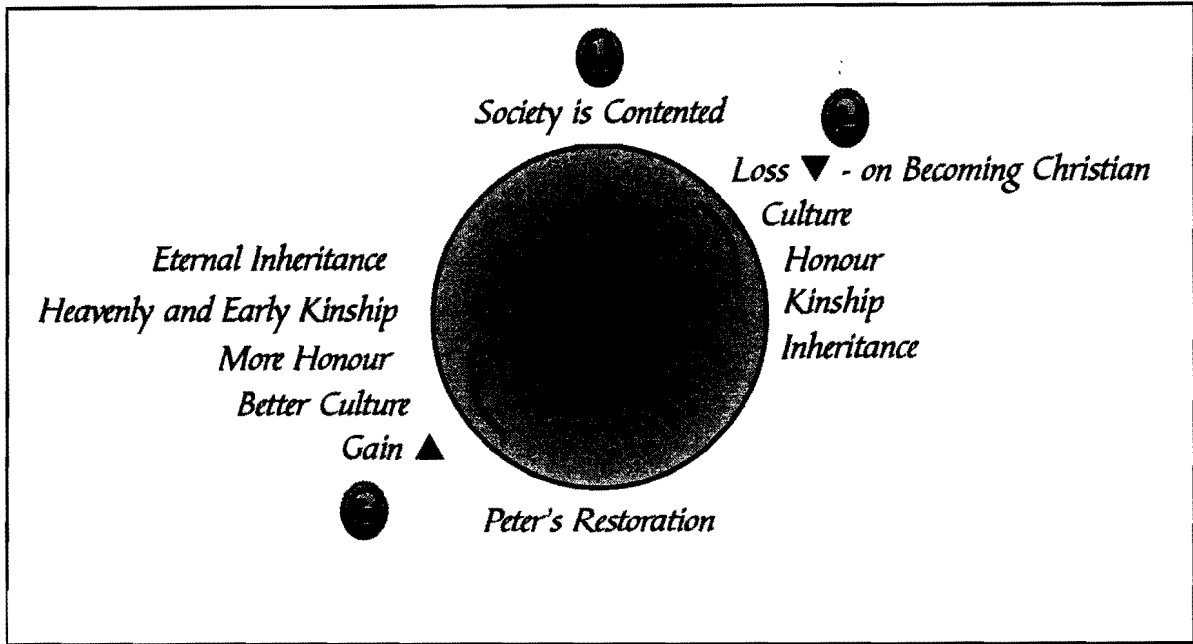


Figure 48

Figure forty-eight starts with society in contentedness. When people become Christian they fall out of society's contented state and they lose as a result. Thirdly, Peter restores what they have lost by presenting gains in access of what they have lost.

Seen in the context of honour and shame the above movements represent a reversal of honour and shame. In keeping with the example of Christ the Christian moves from shame to honour. The pagans on the other hand also experience a reversal of honour and shame, but they move from honour to shame. The Christian thus moves with Christ whilst the pagan moves in the opposite direction away from Christ and the Christian. The following reversal of honour and shame applies to Christians and pagans:

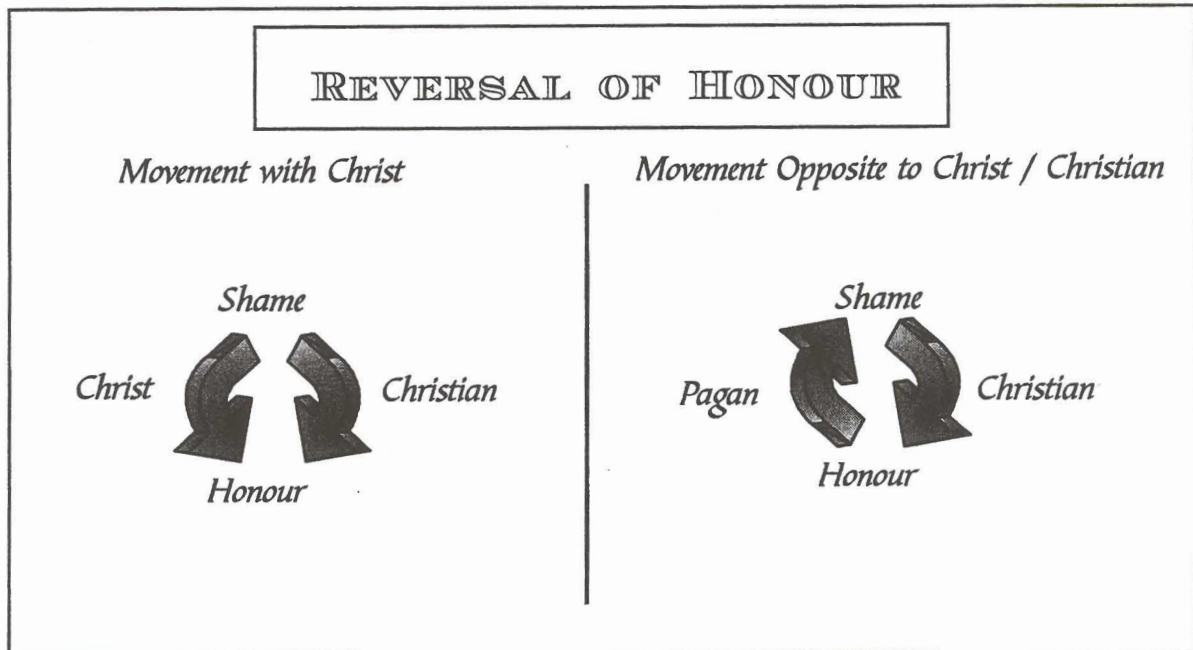


Figure 49

Figure forty-nine represents a reversal of honour. There are two groups. On the left there is movement with Christ. Both Christ and Christians started off being shamed. Now they are honoured. On the other hand the pagan's movement is opposite to Christ and the Christians'. They move from honour (self bestowed honour) to shame. Therefore, the pagans and Christians reverse places when it comes to honour and shame. The solution to the macro and micro cosmic problems faced by Christians is thus, once again, the reversal of various roles.

Both the effects of the Roman governmental system and that of the general society through the dynamic of honour and shame impacted negatively on Christians causing certain problems on a macro level. But they also faced problems on a micro level within the household structures. We have now seen how Peter solves these macro and micro problems with the reversal of roles.

Chapter 9. Conclusionary Remarks

The readers of the first epistle of Peter were faced with a peculiar situation. On the one hand they experienced societal pressure and governmental action. On the other hand they encountered a paradigm shift in attitude, values and priorities. These Christians certainly had enough reason to fall into apostatecy. Peter faced a daunting task in his epistle attempting to encourage them to remain in the faith. Peter's reasoning for enduring hardship and method of remaining Christian, was the reversal of roles. His arguments were, amongst others, as follows:

- a. New symbolic universe. He introduced and legitimated a new symbolic universe. There is a new value system apparent in the establishment of this universe. Both these value systems and these universes reversed roles with the old ones since they are opposites.*
- b. New family. He introduced them to a new family. Their Christian community with God as the Patriarch was their new family. Since they experienced loss by becoming Christians their new family represented many gains. This was also a reversal of roles.*
- c. An eschatological perspective - He assisted them to see and understand the situation through the viewpoint of eschatology. This viewpoint reversed their situation with their antagonists' since they were to exchange places. This exchanging of places was due to two events:
 - c.1 The judgement. In this event the antagonists would be declared guilty, and the believers would be vindicated. Previously society declared the believers guilty and exonerated the antagonists. The judges also reversed this process: previously society was the judge while God became the Judge in the end time.*
 - c.2 The glorification. Peter's readers were to be glorified as Christ was. Society at large was to be shamed. Society shamed the believers and glorified themselves. God would reverse this situation.**



- d. *Discipleship. The believers were to become true disciples. This represented a reversal of aspirations as they previously aspired to reach the pinnacle of societal status. Peter persuaded them that they were to be servants rather.*
- e. *Good behaviour. They were to emphasize good behaviour as this would lead to the public shaming of their accusers and the approval of God. The reversal was found in both society's and God's approval which exchanged places.*

The reversal of roles thus takes centre stage in Peter's reasoning for remaining Christian in the face of hardship.

9.1 Conclusion

During this dissertation we asked the questions:

- a. *Why remain Christian in the face of hardship and suffering?*
- b. *How to remain Christian in a Christian-unfriendly world?*

We have seen that Peter used rhetoric to provide his readers with valid reasons to remain Christian, such as, amongst others:

- a. *Current hardship and suffering will end.*
- b. *Christians will be vindicated.*
- c. *The antagonists will be judged.*
- d. *Christians will be glorified.*
- e. *Christians are to gain an eternal inheritance.*
- f. *The above mentioned reasons were based upon the suffering of Christ.*

We have also seen that in each of these reasons presented by Peter there were several reversals of roles. (In fact, these reasons were conveyed to the converts by means of such reversals).

Peter also showed his readers how to remain Christian in their practical experience by:

- a. Changing their way of thinking.*
- b. Providing a new, caring environment via the Christian community. He gave them guidelines as to how such a community should function.*
- c. Showing them how to make current hardship tolerable in view of a glorious eschatological end.*
- d. Giving them the principles of discipleship and beseeching them to run their lives accordingly.*
- e. Displaying good behaviour at all times.*

In each of these practical solutions to the "how" problem (methodology) we find reversals of roles. In this instance he does not use the reversals as arguments or reasons, but the reversal of roles here becomes consequential to the adherence to, inter alia these five principles.

The hypotheses of this dissertation is that Peter rhetorically provides the suffering Christians with:

- a. Reasons to remain Christian through the reversal of certain roles.*
- b. Practical ways to remain Christian which, if accepted and adhered to, would eventuate in further reversal of roles.*

The contribution of this dissertation is that it fills the void of:

- a. *Defining the problems faced by the Christian readers of First Peter.*
- b. *Providing them with both reasons and practical advice on “why” and “how” to remain Christian.*
- c. *Motivating modern Christians to remain Christian in a world where the Christian faith does not seem to attract the secular mind.*
- d. *Showing future Christians how to deal with suffering that might come their way.*
- e. *Providing modern churches with factors they need to focus on if Christianity is to survive.*

The hypothesis of this dissertation was communicated by showing that the readers of first Peter faced enormous problems. Society exerted almost unbearable pressure,⁷³³ such as the use of the honour and shame dynamic, in order to induce the Christians to relinquish their faith. It appeared as if the Christians were mentally on a different planet as to the general society, for their way of thinking was totally different from society's.⁷³⁴ The political landscape did not look much better for the Christians either. As Pliny's letter illustrated, Roman rule had an adverse effect on them, so much so that Rome perceived them as political opponents. This perception was not entirely unwarranted as there were startling similarities between Christianity and other mostly unpopular groups. Furthermore, Christianity seemed to have mostly attracted

⁷³³ *Other examples of pressure was shown to be, inter alia, ostracization, apologetic demand, possible loss of inheritance and even the possible loss of kinship. The Romans also applied such pressure, although not necessarily for religious reasons.*

⁷³⁴ *This seemed to be one of the objectives of the author of first Peter. This objective was achieved by creating and legitimating a new symbolic universe, identity, value system and even included a new community.*

followers from those who were in disfavour with Rome. Lastly, the Christians' views on many topics seemed to have contradicted Roman wishes.⁷³⁵

Christians did not only feel the pressure externally from society and the government but also from within their very households. Husbands probably did not take kindly to the fact that their wives forsook their religion in favour of Christianity. Their reaction was presumably even worse when it came to their slaves doing the same thing as the wives did. It also seemed plausible to conceive that their parental homes would have added to such pressure. From the Christian's perspective, there seemed to be some kind of malicious attack on their faith from everywhere.

Peter did not deny that these pressures existed. Rather, he used the very concepts that were used to work against them, rhetorically to persuade them to remain firm in their faith. Just about every concept that impacted negatively on the Christians was reversed so that then the same concepts worked for them, and against the enemy. Their way of thinking and values were reversed as was their role model.⁷³⁶ Their identity reversed from being rejected by society to being elected by God. Similarly society's identity reversed from being elected by themselves to being rejected by God. Not only do we find single reversals in which case only the Christians make certain reversals but we also find double reversals in the sense that the so called "other group" (non-believers) makes a reversal with Christians, albeit that their reversals

⁷³⁵ *Examples of contradicting thoughts were the belief that all things were coming to an end, and the usage of the designation "lord".*

⁷³⁶ *Society and / or societal values no longer held the position of role model for Christians. Nor did those who were held in high esteem by society retain their positions of moral influence. Jesus now holds that position.*

seem always to be in the opposite direction to the Christians' reversals.⁷³⁷

This can be illustrated as follows:

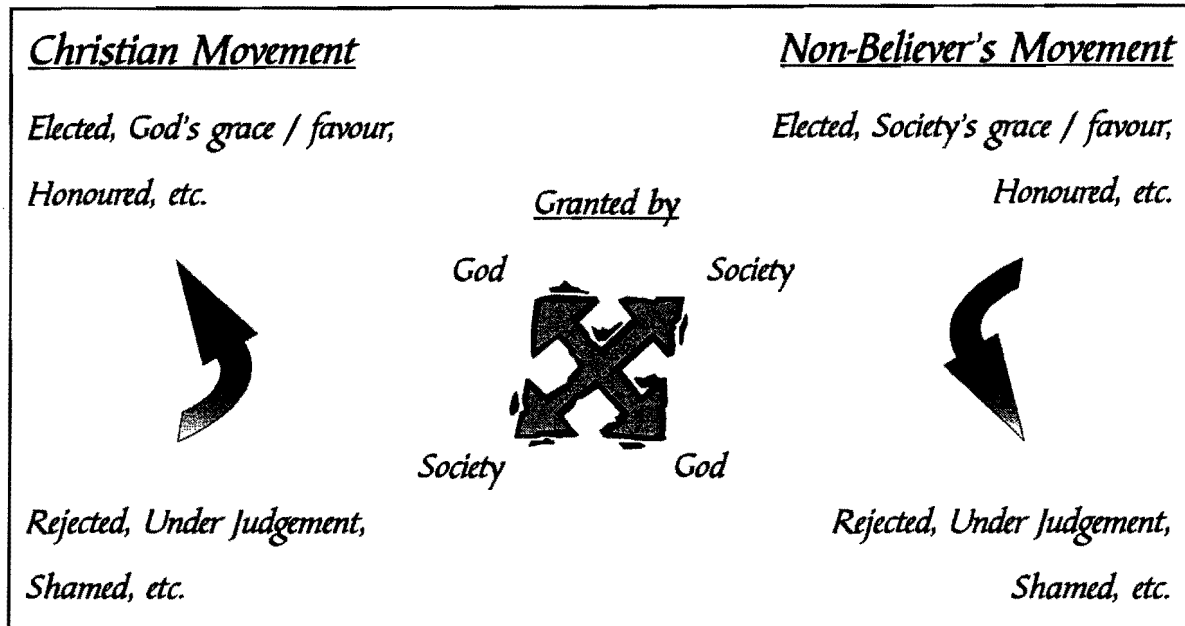


Figure 50

Figure fifty illustrates a double reversal. On the left hand side are the Christians who always seem to be making a movement from bottom to top.⁷³⁸ Thus they move from being rejected, shamed, etc. to being elected, honoured, etc. On the other side are the non-believers who always seem to be making a movement from top to bottom, the reverse of the Christians. Non-believers move from being elected, etc. to being rejected, etc. Therefore we do not only have one group reversing but both. However, they reverse in opposite directions. The interesting part

⁷³⁷ *An example of such a double reversal can be seen in the judgement where it is not only the Christians that reverse their position but also the non-believers that reverse their position. These two groups therefore seem to be exchanging places.*

⁷³⁸ *It would seem as if society keeps on placing the Christians at the bottom whereas Peter comes along and places them on top.*

is that there is also a reversal as far as the identity of who bestows these grading judgements, is concerned. Again there are two identities, God and society that reverse.

Such reversals, amongst others, are used by Peter to help his readers to visualize and create not only a new personal identity, but also to visualize and create a new corporate identity. Their community is thus replaced by a new corporate body, viz. the church. Even here, we find reversals being employed to convey the message. Amongst other things, their structure is reversed, their purpose is reversed and their behaviour is reversed. The end result, according to Peter, is a magnitude of reversals that will finally change everything. This climax is reached in the parousia. Here, God makes known His judgement (according to what Peter anticipates), viz. the Christians are vindicated / honoured whilst the non-believers are condemned / shamed. In this great day, Peter's readers are saved.

Reading through this dissertation one might conclude that there seems to be a great measure of repetition characterised by a noticeable diversity but also a marked sameness. This is inevitable seeing that the concept of reversals permeates the first epistle of Peter like a golden thread of which the glistening appears and reappears repeatedly and in a great variety of aspects relating to the lives and adverse circumstances of Christians in their society, adding different perspectives regarding reversals relevant to their existence as Christians in a present situation and in the future. In various ways the author repeatedly employs the reversal of roles as the reasoning of remaining Christian in the face of hardship.

Chapter 10. Bibliography

- Achtemeier, P J 1989. 1 (sic) Peter. In The Books of the Bible. New York. Volume 2, 345-357.
- _____. 1989. Newborn Babes and Living Stones: Literal and Figurative in 1 (sic) Peter. in To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor (sic) of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. (Eds: Horgan, M P and Kobelski, P J) New York. 207-236.
- _____. 1993. Suffering Servant and Suffering Christ in 1 (sic) Peter. in The Future of Christology. (Eds: Malherbe, A and Meeks, W) 176-188.
- _____. & Epp, E J 1996. 1 (sic) Peter. in A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible. Hermeneia Series. (Ed: Eldon, J E) Minneapolis.
- Adam, A 1952. Das Sintflutgebet in der Taufliturgie. in Westminster Dictionary, Volume 3, 20-21.
- Aland, K 1968. The Relation between Church and State in Early Times: A Reinterpretation. Journal of Theological Studies, Volume 19, 115-127.
- Applebaum, S 1974. The Organization of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. in The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions. (Eds: Safrai, S and Stern, M) Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 1. Assen. Volume 1, 464-503.
- _____. 1976. The social and Economic status of the Jews in the Diaspora. in The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions. (Eds: Safrai, S and Stern, M) Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 1. Assen. Volume 2, 701-727.
- Applegate, J K 1992. The Co-elect woman of 1 (sic) Peter [Symbol or Real Person?] New Testament Studies, 38:587-604.
- Arichea, D C and Nida, E A 1980. A Translator's Handbook on the First Letter from Peter. Helps for Translators. New York, London, and Stuttgart.
- Arnold, W T 1906. The Roman System of Provincial Administration to the Accession of Constantine the Great. Second Edition. Oxford.

- Aune, D E 1972. The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity. Leiden.
- Balch, D L 1981. Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 (sic) Peter. Chicago.
- _____. 1984. Early Christian Criticism of Patriarchal Authority: 1 (sic) Peter 2:11-3:12. Union Seminary Quarterly Review, 39, 161-173.
- Balz, H 1991. μταιιος. in Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament. Editors: Balz, H and Schneider, G Grand Rapids. Volume 2, 396.
- Barnes, A 1975. Notes on the New Testament: Explanatory and Practical. (Ed: Frew, R) Grand Rapids.
- Bauckham, R J 1992. The Martyrdom of Peter in Early Christian Literature. Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. (Ed: Haase, W) Berlin / New York. Volume 26/1, 539-595, Part 2.
- Bauer, W 1957. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Fourth Edition. (Revised and Augmented by William F. Arndt and Gengrigh, F. Wilbur) Chicago.
- Beare, F W 1970. The First Epistle of Peter. Third Revised Edition. Oxford.
- Beasley-Murray, G W 1962. Baptism in the New Testament. London.
- Bechtler, S R 1996. Following in His Steps: Suffering, Community, and Christology in 1 (sic) Peter. Ph.D. Dissertation: Princeton Theological Seminary.
- Beker, J C 1994. Suffering and Hope: The Biblical Vision and the Human Predicament. Second Edition. Grand Rapids.
- Benko, W 1984. Pagan Rome and the Early Christians. Bloomington.
- Berger, A and Nicholas, B 1970. Law and Procedure, Roman. in The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Second Edition. (Ed: Hammond, N G L and Scullard H H) Oxford. 583-590.
- Best, E 1971. 1 (sic) Peter. New Century Bible. London.
- _____. 1969. 1 (sic) Peter and the Gospel Tradition. New Testament Studies, 16, 95-113.



- Bigg, C 1901-1902. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude.* in International Critical Commentary. Second Edition. Edinburgh.
- Blazen, I T 1983. *Suffering and Cessation from Sin According to 1 (sic) Peter 4:1.* Andrews University Seminary Studies, 21, 27-50.
- Blevins, J L 1982. *Introduction to 1 (sic) Peter.* Review and Expositor, 79, 401-413.
- Boismard, M É 1966. *Pierre (Première épître de).* in Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément. (Eds: Cazelles, H and Feuillet, A) Paris. Volume 7, 1415-1455.
- _____. 1956. *Une liturgie baptismal dans la Prima Petri.* Revue biblique, 63, 182-208.
- _____. 1957. *Une liturgie baptismal dans la Prima Petri.* Revue biblique, 64, 161-183.
- _____. 1961. Quatre hymnes baptismales dans la premiere épître de Pierre. Paris.
- Boissevain, J 1979. *Towards a Social Anthropology of the Mediterranean.* Current Anthropology, 20, 81-93.
- Bornemann, W 1919-1920. *Der erste Petrusbrief - eine Taufrede des Silvanus?* Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 19, 143-165.
- Bradley, K R 1987. Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control. New York / Oxford.
- Brox, N 1979. *Der erste Petrusbrief.* in Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, 21 Zurich.
- _____. 1986. *Der erste Petrusbrief. Second Edition.* in Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar über das neue Testament, 21. Zürich.
- _____. 1989. *Der erste Petrusbrief. Third Edition.* in Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar über das neue Testament, 21. Zürich.
- Bruce, F F 1976. ὑπογραμμός. in The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (Ed: Brown, C) Grand Rapids. Volume 2, 291.
- Büchsel, F 1964. γεννάω, γήννημα, γεννητός. in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, (Ed: Kittel, G)(Translated: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 1, 665-675.

- Bullinger, E W 1898. Figures of speech Used in the Bible Explained and Illustrated. London.
- Bultmann, R 1967. Bekenntnis und Liedfragmente im ersten Petrusbriefe. Exegetica. Tübingen. 285-297.
- Burkett, W 1987. Ancient Mystery Cults. Cambridge.
- Cadoux, C J 1925. The Early Church and the World: A History of the Christian Attitude to Pagan Society and the State Down to the Time of Constaninus. Edinburgh. (Reprinted 1955).
- Cahill, P J 1982. Hermeneutical Implications of Typology. Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 44 (2), 266-281.
- Caird, G B 1956. Principalities and Powers: A Study in Pauline Theology. Exford.
- Campbell, B L 1995. Honor, (sic) Shame, and the Rhetoric of 1 (sic) Peter. Ph.D. Dissertation: Fuller Theological Seminary.
- Campbell, J K 1974. Honour and the Devil. in Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society. (Ed: Peristiany, J G) The Nature of Human Society Series. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1966). Reprinted: London. 139-170.
- Carcopino, J 1977. Daily Life in Ancient Rome: The People and the City at the Height of the Empire. (Ed: Rowell, H T). London.
- Carrez, M 1980. L'esclavage dans la premiere epître de Pierre. in Études sur la premiere lettre de Pierre. Lectio Divina 102. Paris. 207-217.
- Carter, W 1994. Households and Discipleship: A Study of Matthew 19-20. Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplements, 103. Sheffield.
- Cerfaux, L and Tondriau, J 1957. Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine. Bibliothèque de Theologie, ser. 3. Tournai, Belgium. Volume 5.
- Chase, F H 1898. Peter, First Epistle of. in A Dictionary of the Bible, Dealing with Its Language, Literature, and Contents Including the Biblical Theology. (Ed: Hastings, J) Edinburgh. Reprinted: Peabody: 1988. Volume 3, 779-798.
- Chin, M 1991. A Heavenly Home for the Homeless: Aliens and Strangers in 1 (sic) Peter.



Tyndale Bulletin, 42:96-112.

- Cicero, 1977. *Pro Flacco*. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated by Macdonald, C) Cambridge.
- _____. 1927-1929. *The Letters to His Friends*. Three Volumes. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Williams, W G) Cambridge.
- Clarke, A 1931. *Clarke's Commentary*. New York. Volume five.
- Clement of Alexandria, 1939. *Exhortation to the Greeks*. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated by Butterworth, G W) Cambridge.
- Clowney, E P 1992. *The Message of 1 (sic) Peter: The Way of the Cross*. *Reformed Theological Review*, 51:31.
- Cohen, S J D 1989. *Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew*. *Harvard Theological Review*, 82, 13-33.
- _____. 1992. *Was Judaism in Antiquity a Missionary Religion?* in *Jewish Assimilation, Acculturation and Accommodation: Past Traditions, Current Issues and Future Prospects*. (Ed: Mor, M) Lanham, New York, London. 14-23.
- Cohwell, E C 1939. *Popular Reaction Against Christianity in the Roman Empire*. in *Environmental Factors in Christian History*. (Eds: Mcneill, J T, Spinka, M and Willoughby, H Jr.) Chicago. 53-71.
- Contreras, C A 1980. *Christian Views of Paganism*. in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Principat. (Ed: Temporini, H) Berlin. Volume 23, Part 2, 974-1022.
- Corley, K E 1994. *1 (sic) Peter, Searching the Scriptures*, in *A Feminist Commentary*. (Ed: Fiorenza, E S) New York. Volume 2, 349-360.
- Coser, L 1956. *The Functions of Social Conflict*. New York.
- Cothenet, E 1980. *Les Orientations Actuelles De L'exegeses De La Premiere Lettre De Pierre*. in *Etudes Sur La Premiere Lettre De Pierre*. Paris. 13-42.
- Couch, J E 1972. *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*. in *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 126. Göttingen.

- Cross, F L 1954. 1 (sic) Peter: A Paschal Liturgy. London.
- Cullmann, O 1962. Peter - Disciple, Apostle, Martyr: A Historical and Theological Study. Library of History and Doctrine. Second Edition. (Translated: Filson, F V) Philadelphia.
- _____. 1956. The State in the New Testament. New York.
- Cunningham, A 1982. The Early Church and the State. Philadelphia.
- Dalton, W J 1989. Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 (sic) Peter 3:18-4:6. Rome.
- Danker, F W 1983. Review of A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 (sic) Peter, Its situation and Strategy, by Elliott, J H Interpretation, 37, 84-88.
- Daube, D 1947. κερδαίνω as a Missionary Term. Harvard Theological Review, 40, 109-120.
- Dauids, P H 1990. The First Epistle of Peter. in New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids.
- Davis, J 1977. People of the Mediterranean: An Essay in Comparative Social Anthropology. in Library of Man. London.
- Delaney, C 1987. Seeds of Honor, (sic) Fields of Shame. in Honor (sic) and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean. (Ed: Gilmore, D D) Washington: American Anthropological Association, 22, 35-48.
- Daley, B E 1991. The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology. Cambridge.
- De Ru, G 1966. De Heilige Doop - Gebed of Gave? Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift, 20, 255-268.
- De Ste Croix, G E M 1963. Why were the Early Christians Persecuted? Past and Present, 26, 24-31.
- Dibelius, M 1953. An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon. Tübingen.
- Dill, S 1905. Roman Society From Nero to Marcus Aurelius. London.

- Dixon, M C 1989. Discipleship in 1 (sic) Peter as a Model for Contextual Mission. Ph.D. Dissertation: The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.
- Eck, O 1940. *Urgemeinde und Imperium: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Stellung des Urchristentums zum staat*. Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Verlag. 42/3.
- Elliott, J H 1981. A Home for the Homeless: A sociological Exegesis of 1 (sic) Peter, Its Situation and Strategy. Philadelphia. Reprinted: 1990.
- _____. 1992. *Peter, First Epistle of*. in The Anchor Bible Dictionary. (Ed: Freedman, D N) New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Auckland. Volume 5, 269-278.
- _____. 1976. *The Rehabilitation of an Exegetical Step-Child: 1 (sic) Peter in Recent Research*. Journal of Biblical Literature, 95, 243-254.
- _____. 1966. *The Elect and the Holy: An Exegetical Examination of 1 (sic) Peter 2:4-10 and the Phrase βασιλείον ιεράτευμα*. Novum Testamentum, Supplements, 12. Leiden.
- _____. 1986. *1 (sic) Peter, Its Situation and Strategy: A Discussion with David Balch. Perspectives on First Peter*. National Association of Baptist Professors of Religion special Studies Series. (Ed: Talbert, C H) Macon. 9, 61-78.
- _____. 1985. *Backward and Forward 'In His Steps': Following Jesus from Rome to Raymond and Beyond. The Tradition, Redaction, and Reception of 1 (sic) Peter 2:18-25*. in Discipleship in the New Testament, (Ed: Segovia, F F) Philadelphia. 184-208.
- _____. 1995. *Disgraced Yet Graced: The Gospel According to 1 (sic) Peter in the Key of Honor (sic) and shame*. Biblical Theology Bulletin, 25, 166-178.
- _____. 1970. *Ministry and Church Order in the New Testament: A Traditio-Historical Analysis*. Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 32 (3), 367-391.
- Fee, G D 1987. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. in The New International Commentary on the New Testament . Grand Rapids.
- Feldman, L H 1992. *Was Judaism a Missionary Religion in Ancient Times?* in Jewish Assimilation, Acculturation and Accommodation: Past Traditions, Current Issues and Future Prospects. (Ed: Mor, M) Lanham, New York, London. 24-37.

- Feldmeier, R 1992. *Die Christen als Fremde: Die Metapher der Fremde in der antiken Welt, im Urchristentum und im 1. Petrusbrief. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 64. Tübingen.*
- Ferguson, J 1977. *Greek and Roman Religion*. Manchester.
- Filson, F V 1955. *Partakers with Christ: Suffering in First Peter. Interpretation, 9, 400-412.*
- Finley, M I 1980. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*. New York.
- Fiorenza, E S 1994. *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*. Tenth Anniversary Edition. New York.
- Foerster, W 1964. Διαβάλλω, διάβολος. in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. (Eds: Kittel, G and Friedrich, G)(Translated and Ed: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 2, 71-81.
- _____. 1966. Κτίζω, κτίσις, κτίσμα, κτίστης. in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. (Eds: Kittel, G and Friedrich, G)(Translated and Ed): Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 3, 1000-1035.
- Foerster, W and Fohrer, G 1971. Σώζω, σωτηρία, σωτήρ, σωτήριος. in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. (Eds: Kittel, G and Friedrich, G)(Translated and Ed: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 7, 965-1024.
- France, R T 1998. *First Century Bible Study: Old Testament Motifs in 1 (sic) Peter 2:4-10. Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association, 18:26-48.*
- Frederick, S C 1975. *The Theme of Obedience in the First Epistle of Peter*. Ph.D. Dissertation: Duke University.
- Fredriksen, P 1991. *Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2. Journal of Theological Studies, 42, 532-564.*
- Frend, W H C 1967. *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus*. New York.
- _____. 1976. *Religion Popular and Unpopular in the Early Christian Centuries*. London.
- _____. 1982. *The Early Church: From the Beginning to 461*. Trowbridge.

- Frier, B 1982. *Roman Life Expectancy: Ulpian's Evidence.* Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 86, 213-251.
- Furnish, V P 1975. *Elect sojourners in Christ: An Approach to the Theology of 1 (sic) Peter.* Perkins (School of Theology) Journal, 28/3, 1-11.
- Gager, J G 1985. The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity. New York, Oxford.
- _____. 1975. Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity. Englewood Cliffs.
- Garnsey, P 1974. *Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire.* in Studies in Ancient Society. (Ed: Finley, M I) London, Boston. 141-165.
- Garnsey, P and Saller, R 1987. The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture. Berkley.
- Geertz, C 1973. The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays. New Testament: Basic.
- Gilmore, D D 1982. *Anthropology of the Mediterranean Area.* Annual Review of Anthropology, 11, 175-205.
- _____. 1987. Honor (sic) and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean. Washington: American Anthropological Association.
- Glenny, W E 1992. *The Israelite Imagery of 1 (sic) Peter 2.* in Dispensationalism, Israel and the Church. (Eds: Blaising, C, et al). Grand Rapids. 156-187.
- Gloer, W H 1988. Eschatology and the New Testament: Essays in Honor (sic) of George Raymond Beasley-Murray. Peabody.
- Goldstein, H 1975. Paulinische Gemeinde im ersten Petrusbrief. Stuttgart: KWB Verlag.
- Goodman, M 1994. Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire. Oxford.
- Goppelt, L 1978. Der erste Petrusbrief. Eighth Edition. (Ed: Hahn, F) Göttingen.
- _____. 1976. Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Göttingen.

- _____. 1993. *A Commentary on 1 (sic) Peter*. (Ed: Hahn, F)(Translated: Alsup, J E) Grand Rapids. German Original, *Der erste Petrusbrief*. Göttingen.
- Grant, R M 1970. *Sacrifices and Oaths as Required of Early Christians*. *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*. (Eds: Grandfield, P and Jungmann, J A) Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. Volume 1, 18-35.
- Green, G L 1990. *The Use of the Old Testament for Christian Ethics in 1 (sic) Peter*. *Tyndale Bulletin* 41:276-289.
- Greenwalt, C H, et al 1983. *The Sardis Campaigns of 1979 and 1980*. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 249, 1-44.
- Grenz, S J 1997. *Abundant Living in a Hostile world*. *Preaching*, 13:15-18, 20-22.
- Gross, C D 1989. *Are the Wives of 1 (sic) Peter 3:7 Christians?*. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, 35:89-96.
- Grudem, W A 1988. *The First Epistle of Peter: An Introduction and Commentary*. in *Tyndale New Testament Commentaries*. Leicester.
- _____. 1991. *Wives Like Sarah, and the Husbands who honor (sic) them: 1 (sic) Peter 3:1-7*. in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*. (Eds: Piper, J, et al) Westchester. 194-208, 499-503.
- Grundmann, W 1964. δῆμος, ἐκδημέω, ἐνδημέω. in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. (Ed: Kittel, G)(Translated: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 2, 63-65.
- Gundry, R H 1966-1967. *Verba Christi in 1 (sic) Peter*. *New Testament Studies*, 13, 336-350.
- _____. 1974. *Further Verba on Verba Christi in First Peter*. in *Billica*, 55, 211-232.
- Guterman, S 1951. *Religious Toleration and Persecution in Ancient Rome*. London.
- Guthrie, D 1970. *New Testament Introduction*. Third Revised Edition. Downers Grove.
- Guthrie, D; Motyer, J A; Stibbs, A M; Wiseman, D J 1986. *New Bible Commentary*. Third Revised Edition. Leicester.

- Hall, R 1976. *For to This You Have Been Called: The Cross and suffering in 1 (sic) Peter.* Restoration Quarterly, 19, 137-147.
- Harnack, A von 1908. *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, Two Volumes. (Translated: Moffatt, J) New York.
- _____. 1897. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius. Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.* Leipzig. Volume 1, Part 2.
- Harrison, P N 1936. *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians.* Cambridge.
- Hauck, F. 1949. *Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, Judas und Johannes.* in *Das Neue Testament Deutsch* 10. Fifth Edition. Göttingen.
- Hengel, M 1986. *Earliest Christianity: Containing Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity and Property and Riches in the Early Church.* (Translated: Bowden, J). London.
- Hill, D 1976. *On suffering and baptism in 1 (sic) Peter.* *Novum Testamentum*, 18, 181-189.
- _____. 1982. *To Offer Spiritual Sacrifices ..." (1 (sic) Peter 2:5): Liturgical Formula and Christian Paraenesis in 1 (sic) Peter.* *Journal for the study of the New Testament*, 16, 45-63.
- Hillyer, N 1992. *1 (sic) and 2 (sic) Peter , Jude.* in *New International Biblical Commentary.* Peabody.
- Holmer, U and De Boor, W 1978. *Die Briefe des Petrus und der Brief des Judas.* Wuppertal.
- Holmes, M W 1992. *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations of Their Writings.* Second Edition. (Translated and Ed: Lightfoot, J B and Harmer, J R)(Revised: Holmes, M W) Grand Rapids.
- Hopkins, K 1974. *Elite Mobility in the Roman Empire.* in *Studies in Ancient Society.* (Ed: Finley M I) London, Boston. 103-120.
- Horace, 1926. *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica.* Loeb classical Library. (Translated: Fairclough, H R) Cambridge.
- Jackson, H L 1913. *The Eschatology of Jesus.* London.

- Janse van Rensburg, J J 1990. *The use of Intersentence Relational Particles and Asyndeton in First Peter.* Neotestamentica, 24, 2:283-300.
- Johnson, D E 1986. *Fire in God's House: Imagery from Malachi 3 (sic) in Peter's Theology of Suffering (1 (sic) Peter 4:12-19).* Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society, 29 (3), 285-294.
- Jones, A H M 1960. Studies in Roman Government and Law. Oxford.
- _____. 1972. The Criminal Courts of the Roman Republic and Principate. Exford.
- _____. 1940. The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian. Oxford.
- Jones, D L 1980. *Christianity and the Roman Imperial Cult.* Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, volume II.23.2, 1023-1054.
- Josephus, 1930-1965. Antiquities. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Thackeray, H. St. J. et al) Cambridge. Volumes 4-8 of 8 Volumes.
- Judge, E A 1982. *Slave, Slavery in the New Testament.* in New Bible Dictionary. (Eds: Douglas, J D and Hillier, N) Second Edition. Leicester, Wheaton. 1124-1125.
- _____. 1960. The Social Pattern of the Christian Groups in the First Century. London.
- Juvenal, 1918. Satires. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Ramsey, G G) Cambridge.
- Kelly, J N D 1969. *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude.* in Black's New Testament Commentary. London.
- Kendall, D W 1984. The Introductory Character of 1 (sic) Peter 1:3-12. Ph.D. Dissertation: Union Theological Seminary.
- _____. 1986. *The Literary and Theological Function of 1 (sic) Peter 1:3-12.* Perspectives on First Peter. (Ed: Talbert, C H) NABPR Special Studies Series. Macon. 9,103-120.
- Keresztes, P 1980. *The Imperial Roman Government and the Christian Church: From Nero to the Severi.* Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Principat. (Ed: Temporini, H) Berlin. Volume 23, Part 2, 247-315.
- Kittel, G 1964. ἀκολουθέω. in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. (Ed: Kittel, G)(Translated: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 1, 210-216.



- _____. 1968. (λαλέω→λέγω), καταλαλέω, καταλαλιά, κατάλαλος. in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. (Eds: Kittel, G and Friedrich, G) (Translated: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 4, 3-4.
- Knox, J 1953. Pliny and 1 (sic) Peter: A Note on 1 (sic) Peter 4:16-18 and 3:15. Journal of Biblical Literature, 72, 187-189.
- Koester, H 1957. Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 65. Berlin: Akademischer Verlag.
- _____. 1982. Introduction to the New Testament, Volume 1. History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age. Philadelphia.
- Kolenow, A B 1980. Relationship Between Miracle and Prophecy in the Greco-Roman World of Early Christianity. Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Principat. (Ed: Temprini, H) Berlin. Volume 23, Part 2, 1470-1506.
- Krentz, E 1998. Order in the "House" of God: The Haustafel in 1 (sic) Peter 2:11-3:12. in Common Life in the Early Church. (Eds: Hills, J, et al). Harrisburg. 279-285.
- Kümmel, W G 1975. Introduction to the New Testament. Revised Edition. (Translated: Kee, H C) Nashville.
- _____. 1973. Introduction to the New Testament. 17th Edition. (Translated: Kee, H C) Nashville.
- Lausberg, H 1960. Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft. Munich. 2 Volumes.
- Leaney, A R C 1967. The Letters of Peter and Jude: A Commentary on the First Letter of Peter, a Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter. in Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge.
- Levick, B 1985. The Government of the Roman Empire. A Sourcebook. London.
- Liversidge, J 1976. Everyday Life in the Roman Empire. London: B.T. Batsford / New York.
- Lohmeyer, E 1954. Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Lolosser und an Philemon. in Meyer Kommentar. Göttingen.

- Lohse, E 1954. Paraenese und Kerygma im 1.Petrusbrief. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 45, 68-89. 1986. Paraenesis and Kerygma in 1 (sic) Peter. Perspectives on First Peter. (Ed: Talbert, C H)(Translated: Steeley, J) Macon.
- _____. 1974. The New Testament Environment. (Translated: Steely, J E) Nashville.
- Love, S L 1993. A Macrosociological View: The Household: A Major Social Component for Gender Analysis in the Gospel of Matthew. Biblical Theology Bulletin, 23. 21-31.
- Lyaill, F 1984. Slaves, Citizens, Sons: Legal Metaphors in the Epistles. Grand Rapids.
- MacMullen, R 1981. Paganism in the Roman Empire. London.
- _____. 1974. Roman Social Relations: 50 B.C. to AD. 284. New Haven / London.
- _____. 1966. Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire. Cambridge.
- Magie, D 1950. Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century After Christ, Two Volumes. Princeton.
- Malina, B J 1993. The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology. Revised Edition. Louisville. First Published: 1981.
- _____. 1986. Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology: Practical Models for Biblical Interpretation. Atlanta.
- _____. 1981. The New Testament World : Insights From Cultural Anthropology. Atlanta.
- Malina, B J and Neyrey, J H 1991. Honor (sic) and Shame in Luke-Acts: Pivotal Values of the Mediterranean World. in The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation. (Ed: Neyrey, J H) Peabody. 25-65.
- Malina, B J and Rohrbaugh, R L 1992. Social Science commentary on the Synoptic Gospels. Minneapolis.
- Malina, B J, Joubert, S J and van der Watt, J G 1996. A Time Travel to the World of Jesus: A Modern Reflection of Ancient Judea. Johannesburg.

- Manley, G T 1944. *Babylon on the Nile*. *Evangelical Quarterly*, 16, 138-146.
- Marill, A C 1998. *To all Those Scattered Throughout: Foundations for a Theology and Spirituality for Redemptive Ministry to Exiles, Refugees*. Dissertation. Catholic Theological Union.
- Marshall, H I 1991. *1 (sic) Peter*. in *InterVarsity Press New Testament Commentary Series*. Downers Grove, Leicester.
- Martin, J 1974. *Antike Rhetorik: Technik und Methode*. in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*. Munich.
- Martin, R P 1978. *New Testament Foundations: A Guide for Christian Students*, Volume 2. Grand Rapids.
- _____. 1962. *The Composition of 1 (sic) Peter in Recent Study*. in *Vox Evangelica: Biblical and Historical Essays by Members of the Faculty of the London Bible College*. London. 29-42.
- Martin, T W 1992. *Metaphor and Composition in 1 (sic) Peter*. *Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series* 131. Atlanta.
- _____. 1992. *The Present Indicative in the Eschatological Statements of 1 (sic) Peter 1:6,8*. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 111:307-312.
- McCartney, D G 1991. *Logikos in 1 (sic) Peter 2:2*. *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche*, 82, 1-2:128-132.
- Meeks, W A 1983. *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*. New Haven / London.
- Metzger, B M 1971. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. N.p.: United Bible Societies.
- Meyer, M W 1987. *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook*. New York.
- Michaelis, W 1967. *μυμητής*. in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. (Ed: Kittel, G)(Translated: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 4, 659-674.
- Michaels, J R 1988. *1 (sic) Peter*. in *Word Bible Commentary* 49. Waco.

- _____. 1966-1967. *Eschatology in 1 (sic) Peter 3:17*. *New Testament Studies* 13, 394-401.
- Millar, F 1973. *The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions*. in *Le culte des souverains dans l'empire romain. Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique: Fondation Hardt* 19. (Ed: den Boer, W). 19, 145-175.
- _____. 1977. *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC - AD 337)*. London.
- Millauer, H 1976. *Leiden als Gnade: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Leidenstheologie des ersten Petrusbriefes*. *Europäische Hochschulschriften*. Bern. 23, 56.
- Moffatt, J 1914. *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*. New York.
- Moule, C F D 1955-1957. *The Nature and Purpose of 1 (sic) Peter*. *New Testament Studies* 3, 1-11.
- Moulton, J H and Howard, W F 1979. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. Edinburgh. Volume 2.
- Moulton, W F and Geden, A S 1963. *A Concordance to the Greek New Testament*. Fourth Edition. Revised: Moulton, H K Edinburgh.
- Mumro, W 1983. *Authority in Paul and Peter: The Identification of a Pastoral Stratum in the Pauline Corpus and 1 (sic) Peter*. *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 45 Cambridge.
- Myers, E P 1985. *A Study of Baptism in the First Three Centuries*. Ph.D. Dissertation: Drew University.
- Nash, R H 1984. *Christianity and the Hellenistic World*. Grand Rapids.
- Nauck, W 1955. *Freude im Leiden. Zum Problem einer urchristlichen Verfolgungstradition*. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 46:68-80.
- Neugebauer, F 1980. *Zur deutung Und Bedeutung Des 1 Petrusbrief*. *New Testament Studies*, 26, 61-86.
- Newsome, J D 1992. *Greeks, Romans, Jews: Currents of Culture and Belief in the New Testament World*. Philadelphia.

- Neyrey, J H 1990. Paul, in Other Words: A Cultural Reading of His Letters. Louisville.
- Nilsson, M P 1925. A History of Greek Religion. (Translated: Fielden, F J) Oxford.
- Nock, A D 1933. Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo. London, New York, Toronto. Reprinted: 1988. Lanham.
- _____. 1972. Paul and the Magus. in Arthur Darby Nock: Essays on Religion and the Ancient World: Selected and Edited, with an Introduction, Bibliography of Nock's Writings and Indexes. (Ed: Steward, Z) Oxford. Volume 1, 308-330.
- O'Connor, D W 1969. Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archeological Evidence. New York / London.
- _____. 1991. Holiness of Life as a Way of Christian Witness [1 (sic) Peter]. International Review of Mission, 80:17-26.
- Osiek, C 1984. What are they Saying About the Social Setting of the New Testament. New York.
- Parker, D C 1994. The Eschatology of 1 (sic) Peter. Biblical Theology Bulletin, 24:27-32.
- Parnham, F S 1969. What is the Christian's Expectation? Evangelical Quarterly, 41 (2), 113-115.
- Patterson, O 1982. Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study. Cambridge / London.
- Perdelwitz, R 1911. Die Mysterienreligionen und das Problem des 1 Petrusbriefes: Ein literarischer und religionsgeschichtlicher Versuch. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 11/3. Giessen.
- Peristiany, J G 1966. Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society. Chicago.
- _____. 1974. Honour and Shame in a Cypriot Highland Village. in Honour and shame: The Values of Mediterranean society. (Ed: Peristiany, J G) The Nature of Human Society Series. Chicago. Reprinted: (1974). London.
- Peristiany, J G and Pitt-Rivers, J A 1992. Honor (sic) and Grace in Anthropology.

Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Cambridge. 76, x-260.

Perkins, P 1985. Peter. in Harper's Bible Dictionary. (Ed: Achtemeier, P J)(General Editor). San Francisco. 776-778.

_____. 1994. Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church. (Studies on Personalities of the New Testament). Columbia.

_____. 1995. First and Second Peter, James, and Jude. in Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching. (Ed: Achtemeier, P J). Louisville.

Perrin, N 1963. The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus. Philadelphia.

Piper, J 1980. Hope as the Motivation of Love: 1 (sic) Peter 3:9-12. New Testament Studies, 26, 212-231.

Pitt-Rivers, J A 1966. Honour and Social Status. in Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean society. (Ed: Peristiany, J G) Chicago. 21-77.

Pliny, 1915. Letters. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Melmoth, W)(Revised: Hutchinson, W M L) Cambridge.

_____. 1938-1962. Natural History. Ten Volumes. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Rackham, H; Jones, W H S and Eichholz, D E) Cambridge.

Plutarch, 1927-1969. Moralia. Sixteen Volumes. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Babbitt, F C et al.) Cambridge.

_____. 1926. The Parallel Lives. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Perrin, B) Cambridge. Eleven Volumes.

Polan, S M 1979. Marriage in the Lord: A Significant Mode of Christian Presence. Bible Today, 102, 2014-2017.

Priesker, H 1951. Die Katholischen Briefe. Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 15. Third Edition. Tübingen.

Ramsay, W M 1893. The Church in the Roman Empire. London.

_____. 1919. The Church in the Roman Empire Before AD. 170. New York, London.

- Reicke, B 1964. *The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude.* in The Anchor Bible. New York. Volume 7.
- _____. 1946. The Disobedient Spirits and Christians Baptism: A Study of 1 (sic) Peter iii:19 and Its Context. Copenhagen.
- Rengstorf, K H 1967. μαυθάνω. in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. (Ed: Kittel, G)(Translated: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 4, 390-461.
- _____. 1967. μαθητής. in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.. (Ed: Kittel, G)(Translated: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 1, 390-461.
- _____. 1953. *Die neutestamentliche Mahnung an die Frau sich dem Manne unterzuordnen.* in Verbum Dei Manet in Aeternum, Festschrift für Otto Schmitz. (Ed: Foerster, W) Wittenberg.
- Richard, E 1986. *The functional Christology of First Peter.* in Perspectives on first Peter. (Ed: Talbert, C H) Macon. 121-139.
- Robert, L 1975. *Une nouvelle inscription grecque de Sardis: Règlement de l'autorité perse relatif à un culte de Zeus.* in Comptes rends de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 306-330.
- Robertson, A T 1933. Word Pictures in the New Testament. The General Epistles and the Revelation of John. Nashville. Volume 6.
- Robinson, D W B 1975. *Towards a Definition of Baptism.* Reformed Theological Review, 34 (1), 1-15.
- Robinson, J A T 1976. Redating the New Testament. Philadelphia.
- Rodgers, P R 1981. *The Longer Reading of 1 (sic) Peter 4:14.* Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 43 (1), 93-95.
- Rollins, W G 1976. *Slavery in the New Testament.* in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, (Ed: Crim, K) Nashville. Supplementary Volume, 830-832.
- Rose, H J 1959. Religion in Greece and Rome. New York.
- Rostovtzeff, M 1957. The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire. Second Edition. Two Volumes. Oxford.

- Rousseau, J 1986. A Multidimensional Approach towards the Communication of an Ancient Canonized Text: Towards Determining the Thrust, Perspective and Strategy of 1 (sic) Peter. Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Pretoria.
- Rowen, D 1996. *What is the Point of all this Blessing? [Church as Community in 1 (sic) Peter]*. Stimulus, 4:5-9.
- Saller, R 1991. *Corporal Punishment, Authority, and Obedience in the Roman Household. in Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*. (Ed: Rawson, B) Oxford. 144-165.
- Saller, R P 1982. Personal Patronage under the Roman Empire. Cambridge.
- Sander, E T 1966. ΠΥΡΩΣΙΣ and the First Epistle of Peter 4:12. Th.D. Dissertation. Harvard Divinity School.
- Schaefer, H 1949. *Paroikoi*. in Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Revised and Ed: Wissowa, G et al) Stuttgart. 18/4, 1695-1707.
- Schelkle, K H 1961. *Die Petrusbriefe: Der Judasbrief*. in Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 13/2. Freiburg, Basel, Vienna.
- Schertz, M H 1992. *Non-retaliation and the Haustafeln in 1 (sic) Peter*. in The Love of Enemy. (Ed: Swartley, W) Louisville. 258-286.
- Schoedel, W R 1967. *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*. in The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary. London, Camden, Toronto. Volume 5.
- Schmidt, K L and Schmidt, M A and Meyer, R 1967. *πάροικος, παροικία, παροικέω*. in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. (Eds: Kittel, G and Friedrich, G) (Translated and Ed: Bromiley, G W) Grand Rapids. Volume 5, 841-853.
- Schmidt, K L 1964. *διασπορά*. in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. (Ed: Kittel, G) Grand Rapids. Volume 2, 98-104.
- Schnackenburg, R 1968. Christian Existence in the New Testament, Volume 1. (Translated: Weick, F) Notre Dame.
- Schneider, J 1971. *Of Vigilance and Virgins: Honor, (Sic) Shame and Access to Resources in*

Mediterranean Societies. Ethnology, 9, 1-24.

Schrenk, G 1964. ἐκδικέω, ἐκδικος, ἐκδίκησις. in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. (Ed: Kittel, G) Grand Rapids. Volume 2, 442-446.

Schutter, W L 1989. Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 (sic) Peter. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament Tübingen. Volume 2, 30.

Schweizer, E 1992. The Priesthood of all Believers: 1 (sic) Peter 2:1-10. in Worship, Theology and Ministry in the Early Church. Essays in Honor (sic) of Ralph P Martin. (Eds: Wilkins, M, et al) Sheffield. 285-293.

Schweizer, E F 1960. Lordship and Discipleship. Naperville.

_____. 1973. Der erste Petrusbrief. Third Edition. Zurich.

Segovia, F F 1985. Introduction: Call and discipleship - Toward a Re-examination of the Shape and Character of Christian Existence in the New Testament. in Discipleship in the New Testament. (Ed: Segovia, F F) Philadelphia.

Seland, T 1995. The "Common Priesthood" of Philo and 1 (sic) Peter: A Pholonic Reading of 1 (sic) Peter 2:5,9. Journal for the Study of the New Testament, 57:87-119.

Selwyn, E G 1981. The First Epistle of St. Peter. Second Edition. Grand Rapids.

_____. 1947. The First Epistle of St. Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Essays. Second Edition. London.

_____. 1949. The First Epistle of S t. Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Essays. London.

Sevenster, J N 1975. The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World. Supplements to Novum Testamentum. Leiden.

Sherwin-White, A N 1973. The Roman Citizenship. Second Edition. Oxford.

_____. 1963. Roman Law and Roman Society in the New Testament. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Reprinted: 1992. Grand Rapids.

Shimada, K 1966. The Formulary Material in First Peter: A Study According to the Method of "Traditionsgeschichte". Th.D. Dissertation: Union Theological Seminary.

Reprinted: Ann Arbor. 1968.

Simmel, G 1955. Conflict. (Translated: Wolff, K H) Glencoe.

Sinclair, T A 1951. A History of Greek Political Thought. London.

Slaughter, J R 1994. Peter's Instructions to Husbands in 1 (sic) Peter 3:7. in Integrity of Heart, Skillfulness of Hands. (Eds: Dyer, C, et al) Grand Rapids. 175-185.

_____. 1995. The Importance of Literary Argument for Understanding 1 (sic) Peter. Bibliotheca Sacra, 152:72-91.

_____. 1996. Instructions to Christian Wives in 1 (sic) Peter 3:1-6. Bibliotheca Sacra, 153:63-74.

Sly, D I 1991. 1 (sic) Peter 3:6b in the Light of Philo and Josephus [Obedience in the Abraham / Sarah Stories]. Journal of Biblical Literature, 110:126-129.

Smallwood, E M 1981. The Jews under Roman Rule, From Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 20. Leiden. Second Edition.

Snyder, S 1995. Participles and Imperatives in 1 (sic) Peter: A Re-Examination in the Light of Recent Scholarly Trends. Filologia Neotestamentaria, 8:187-198.

Spicq, C 1966. Les épîtres de Saint Pierre. Strack, H L and Billerbeck, P in Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. Paris.

Stambaugh, J E and Balch, D L 1986. The New Testament in Its Social Environment. Library of Early Christianity, 2. Philadelphia.

Stevenson, G H 1939. Roman Provincial Administration Till the Age of the Antonines. New York.

Stibbs, A M and Walls, A F 1959. The First Epistle General of Peter: An Introduction and Commentary. in Tyndale New Testament Commentary. London, Grand Rapids.

Strack, H L and Billerbeck, P 1922. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. München. Two Volumes.

Streeter, B H 1929. The Primitive Church: Studied with Special Reference to the Origins

of the Christ Ministry. London.

Strobel, A 1958. Zum Verständnis von Mt 21:1-13. Novum Testamentum, 2, 210-219.

Syha, D 1980. 1 (sic) Peter Studies: The State of the Discipline. Biblical Theology Bulletin, 10, 155-163.

Tacitus, 1931-1937. Annals. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Jackson, J) Cambridge. Volumes 2-4 of 4 Volumes.

_____. 1925-1937. Historiae. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Moore, C H and Jackson, J) Cambridge. Five Volumes.

Tàrrech, A P 1980. Le milieu de la première épître de Pierre. in Revista Catalana de Teologia, Volume 5, 95-129, 331-402.

Taylor, L R 1931. The Divinity of the Roman Emperor. Philological Monographs, 1. Middletown: The American Philological Association.

Tertullian, 1931. Apology. Loeb Classical Library. (Translated: Glover, T R) Cambridge.

Thiede, C P 1986. Babylon, der andere Ort: Anmerkungen zu 1 Petr 5,13 und Apg 12, 17. Biblica 67, 532-538. Reprinted: 1987. Das Petrusbild in der neueren Forschung. (Ed: Thiede, C P) Wuppertal. 221-229.

_____. 1988. Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome. Grand Rapids.

Thompson, J W 1994. The Rhetoric of 1 (sic) Peter. Restoration Quarterly, 36, 4:237-250.

Thornton, T C G 1961. 1 (sic) Peter, A Paschal Liturgy? Journal of Theological Studies, 12, 14-26.

Thurén, L 1990. The Rhetorical Strategy of 1 (sic) Peter, with Special Regard to Ambiguous Expressions. Åbo, Finland.

Tidball, D 1984. The Social Context of the New Testament: A Sociological Analysis. Grand Rapids.

Tiede, D L 1970. The charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series one. Missoula.

- Trebilco, P R 1991. *Jewish communities in Asia Minor*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series. Cambridge. 69, 145-185.
- Trombley, F R 1993. *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*. Two Volumes. Leiden.
- Turcan, R 1996. *The Cults of the Roman Empire*. (Translated: Nevill, A) Oxford.
- Van Unnik, W C 1962. *First Letter of Peter*. in Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. (Ed: Buttrich, G A) Nashville. Volume 4, 758-766.
- _____. 1954. *The Teaching of Good Works in 1 (sic) Peter*. New Testament Studies, 1, 92-110.
- Veyne, P 1987. *The Roman Empire*. in A History of Private Life: I. From Pagan Rome to Byzantium. A History of Private Life, (Eds: Aries, P and Duby, G) (Translated: Goldhammer, A) Number 1. Cambridge.
- Volf, M 1994. *Soft Difference: Theological Reflections on the Relation Between Church and Culture in 1 (sic) Peter*. Ex Auditu, 10:15-30.
- Von Harnack, A 1897. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*. Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius. Leipzig. Volume 1, Part 2, 451.
- Waltzer, G 1949. *Galen on Jews and Christians*. Oxford.
- Wand, J W C 1934. *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*. London.
- Warden, P D 1986. *Alienation and Community in 1 (sic) Peter*. Ph.D. Dissertation: Duke University.
- _____. 1989. *The Prophets of 1 (sic) Peter 1:10-12*. Restoration Quarterly 31:1-12.
- _____. 1991. *Imperial Persecution and the Dating of 1 (sic) Peter and Revelation*. Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society, 34:203-212.
- Wardman, A 1982. *Religion and Statecraft Among the Romans*. Baltimore.
- Watson, E F 1988. *Invention, Arrangement, and Style: Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 (sic) Peter*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 104. Atlanta.
- Webb, R L 1986. *The Apocalyptic Perspective of First Peter*. Vancouver.



- Weidemann, T E J 1987. Slavery. Oxford.
- Weidinger, K 1928. Die Haustafeln: Ein Stück urchristlicher Paraenese. Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 14. Leipzig.
- Whitcomb, J C 1977. Contemporary Apologetics and the Christian Faith. Part III: Prooftexts for Semi-Rationalistic Apologetics. Bibliotheca Sacra, 134 (536), 291-298.
- Whittaker, M 1984. Jews and Christians: Graeco-Roman Views. in Cambridge Commentaries on the Writings of the Jewish and Christian World. Cambridge.
- Wilken, R L 1984. The Christians as the Romans Saw Them. New Haven / London.
- Wilson, B R 1959. An Analysis of Sect Development. American Sociological Review, 24, 3-15.
- _____. 1973. Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological study of Religious Movements of Protest among Tribal and Third-World Peoples. New York.
- _____. 1961. Sects and society: A Sociological Study of the Elim Tabernacle, Christian Science, and Christadelphians. Berkeley.
- Wilson, R McL 1953. Soteria. Scottish Journal of Theology, 6, 406-416.
- Winbery, C L 1982. Introduction to the First Letter of Peter. Southwestern Journal of Theology 25, 3-16.
- Windisch, H 1930. Die Katholischen Briefe. in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 15. Tübingen. Second Edition.
- Windisch, H and Priesker, H 1951. Die katholischen Briefe. in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 15. Tübingen. Third Edition.
- Zerwick, M 1963. Biblical Greek. Rome. 110-111.