

i:19 αἵματι ὡς ἀνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ. Doubtless the author had Isa. liii:7 in mind. In the previous verse there was an allusion to Isa. lii:3 and other references to Isa. liii abound in this epistle. J. Jeremias¹ has pointed out that like Jesus Himself, the primitive community of the earliest period viewed Him as the Servant of the Lord in Isa. liii. This identification is specifically made in Acts viii:32. In John i:29 & 36 the Baptist refers to Christ as ἀμνός, while elsewhere in the New Testament the word used is ἀρνίον. The innocence and purity of the Old Testament sacrificial lamb and the lamb's function in redeeming and restoring man's relationship with God are employed in the early church community as the essential interpretation of Jesus Christ. We should note, however, that in contrast to the passages in John, the author does not speak of Christ as actually the lamb, but only compares Him to it. This could be a pointer to the early date of his material, while the use of ἀμνός reflects its Judean provenance, for both John i:29 & 36 and Acts viii:32 derive from that stratum of the tradition.² Metaphorically, I Peter applies ἀσπίλος to the sacrificial blood of Christ in order to convey the thought of His sinlessness. This word originally expressed a cultic concept applicable to objects which were pure and "free from blemish",³ and included the thought that God, who is Holy, accepts only that which is morally blameless.⁴ It is in this moral sense that Jas. i:27 uses the term in the phrase ἀσπίλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου. When I Peter comes to apply this teaching in his catechetical instruction in ii:11, he uses ἀπέχεσθαι in a parallel sense.⁵ But here it is James who develops most fully the religious and moral content of this original cultic concept. The constant use of such metaphorical concepts may indicate that the Temple cult was still functioning, not only when

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1. See J. Jeremias, *TDNT* I, pp. 338-341. 2. *Ibid.*
 3. See Ex. xii:5; xxix:1; Lev. xxii:17-25; Ezek. xliv:22f.
 4. See A. Oepke, *TDNT* I, p. 502.
 5. Cf. Eph. iv:22, where ἀποτίθεσθαι is used instead.

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the catechetical source was compiled, but also at the time of these epistles' composition.

i:20 προεγνωμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, qualifies χριστοῦ in the preceding verse, and expresses the belief in God's foreknowledge as simply as in the speeches of Peter recorded in Acts ii:23 and iii:18. In the form ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, the phrase is often used in the New Testament to denote time as in Matt.xiii:35; xxv:34 and Lk.xi:50 in the context of salvation history. In its present form, it presupposes the pre-existence of Christ in His pre-election or in God's love for Him as Son in John xvii:24. The same thought is expressed in different language in other parts of the New Testament. Further, it should be noted that verse 20 derives from a liturgical hymn closely related to the confessional Christ hymn in Phil.ii:6-8.¹ According to Jewish apocalyptic teaching, the Messiah was pre-creationally chosen,² while the Talmud ascribes the same origin to the Torah and the name of Messiah.³ The use of such a Jewish concept is not only an indication of an early Judean background for I Peter, but also suggests that it was addressed to Jewish Christians, for the scant details of the allusion would be meaningless to Gentile readers.

i:21 θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὀψῶν... The author appeals to the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus just as Peter does in his Pentecost sermon in Acts ii:32-36; iii:15; iv:10 and as is done throughout the Book of Acts.

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1. Verses 18-21 bear all the marks of confessional material closely resembling Phil.ii:6-11, and are equally Judean. See M-E. Boismard, *Quatre Hymnes Baptismales dans la Première Epître de Pierre*, LD 30, Paris: Cerf, 1961, pp. 61-67; R.P. Martin, *An Early Christian Confession*, London: Tyndale, 1960, pp. 7-18; E. Lohmeyer, *KYRIOS JESUS: Eine Untersuchung zu Phil.2,5-11*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961, pp. 3-89.
 2. See Enoch xlvi:6; 2 Esdr.vii:28; xiii:1; ψ cx:3. Cf. Str-B II, p. 334.
 3. Pesatim 54a, cf. Ned. 39b. See A.S. van der Woude, *TDNT IX*, p. 525. Cf. Str-B II, p. 335.

i:22 ἡγνισμένοι. The verb ἀγνίζω translating קדש, טהר or טהר is used in the LXX of ritual purification of objects¹ and people² in worship. Generally this is also the New Testament usage of the word,³ while the corresponding adjective ἀγνός in translation of טהר and טהור tends to be used in a moral and figurative sense rather than a ceremonial one. In the present verse the author appears to combine the two senses of this word, as the ritual purification of baptism is seen to be effective in the moral life of his readers. The same thought occurs in I Pet.iii:21. In baptism, therefore, they have purified their souls and this should issue in mutual love.⁴ Remarkably, this spiritual use of ἀγνίζω in the New Testament is peculiar to our author (Peter?), James⁵ and 1 John,⁶ the very people whom Paul describes as the "Pillars" of the church in Jerusalem.⁷ Admittedly, the object of ἀγνίζειν varies between ψυχὰν (I Peter), καρδίαν (James) and ἑαυτοῦ (1 John), but generally all three writers are expressing the same idea, and it suggests that in their writing they are drawing on a common Christian heritage which dates back to the time when all three of them were joint leaders of the Jerusalem church. They may well have been influenced by a passage like Psalm xxiv:4, "He who has clean hands and a pure heart, who does not lift up his soul to what is false, and does not swear deceitfully".⁸ Indeed, they may also have been inspired by the expression of the general thought in IQS iii:4-9, "For it is through the spirit of the true counsel concerning the ways of man that all his sins shall be expiated... And when his flesh is sprinkled with purifying water, it shall be made clean by the humble submission

1. Num.xxi:23. 2. Ex.xix:10; Num.viii:21; Jos.iii:5.

3. See Jn.xi:55; Acts xxi:24,26; xxiv:18.

4. See F. Hauck, *TDNT* I, p. 123.

5. Jas.iv:8.

6. 1 Jn.iii:3.

7. Gal.ii:2,9. However, the scholarly world is most doubtful whether the John of this verse can be identified with the John of the epistles or the "Johannine circle".

8. Cf. Ps.lxxiii:13; Job xvii:9; xxii:30; Sir.xxxviii:10.

of his soul to all the precepts of God".¹ Yet the thought of each writer bears a common Christian stamp in that they all imply that the spiritual cleansing is accomplished in obedience to the Truth revealed in Christ - ὑπακοή τῆς ἀληθείας. In I Pet. i:22 this way of referring to the Gospel is particularly appropriate as an indication of the contrast between the truth of Christianity and the falsehoods of heathenism. Similarly, λόγος ἀληθείας in Jas. i:18 may be taken as a reference to the Gospel in terms of the soteriological interpretation adopted above.²

i:22 ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε. The exhortation here, which is repeated in iv:8, is particularly reminiscent of John xiii:34f. and xv:12,17. It may well be an indication of Petrine authorship of the letter if confirmation can be found on other grounds, for the association of this command to be lovers of the brethren with being humble-minded in I Pet. iii:8 (φιλάδελφοι...ταπεινώφροντες), recalls the foot washing episode in the Upper Room. That symbolic action must have made a deep and lasting impression on Peter's mind as a practical example of such love and humility. Inevitably, it would feature in his ethical teaching. I Peter sums it up in the word φιλαδελφία or its cognates, which he uses more frequently than any other New Testament writer.³ This has led E.P. Groenewald to suggest that he employs φιλαδελφία as a substitute for ἐκκλησία which he never uses.⁴ It seems that the Judean church similarly avoided using ἐκκλησία as a

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1. Translation by G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 2nd ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977, p. 75.
 2. Cf. Jas. iii:14, where he denounces behaviour which is contrary to obedience to the truth. While in this context κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας could refer merely to Jesus' summary of the Torah, it can also be understood in the wider sense of the soteriological truth of the Gospel.
 3. Cf. Rom. xii:10; 1 Thess. iv:9; Heb. xiii:1.
 4. E.P. Groenewald, "Die Christelike broederskap volgens die Heilige Skrif", *Arcana Revelata*, F.W. Grosheide FS, Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1951, p. 28. Detailed discussion of this point will be presented later, see pp. 71-72 infra.

self descriptive term, for it never appears in Mark or John and James prefers συναγωγή.¹ This impression is confirmed by a very interesting comment from Epiphanius that Jewish Christians call the place of meeting συναγωγή and *not* ἐκκλησία.² Against this background, I Peter's aversion to ἐκκλησία is a strong argument in favour of the early Judean provenance of the letter, which in turn enhances its claim to Petrine authorship.

i:23 ἐκ σποράς...ἀφάρτων διὰ λόγου ζώντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος. C. Bigg has found echoes of the parable of the sower in this passage.³ Indeed, the Lucan explanation ὁ σπόρος ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ (Lk.viii:11) is particularly apt here, for it supports the view that the participles ζώντος and μένοντος are to be read with λόγου, instead of θεοῦ.⁴ In this way the stress is laid on the lasting quality of the word which is appropriate to the argument and is confirmed by the appeal to Isa.xl:6-8 in the next verse. This prophecy is quoted again in Jas.i:10f, but does not feature in any of the Pauline or Johannine literature. However, a hint of it may be found in Mk.xiii:31⁵ which reports Jesus claiming the same lasting qualities for his words as he had done for the law in the accounts of Matt.v:18 and Lk.vi:17. The apocalyptic setting of the Marcan saying conveys the same sense of urgency as I Pet.iv:7, with its claim that the end of all things is at hand, and confirms the escha-

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1. Jas.ii:2, who may alternatively be using it of the building. ἐκκλησία in Jas.v:14 is exceptional. Its use here could possibly be explained if he was addressing his letter to Antioch, the headquarters of the Pauline mission to the Gentiles. See note 1, p. 29 supra.
 2. Epiph. Haer.30:xviii:2, συναγωγὴν δὲ καλοῦσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκκλησίαν. Cf. W. Schrage, *TDNT* VII, p. 841.
 3. Mk.iv:3-20; Matt.xiii:1-23; Lk.viii:4-15. See C. Bigg, *op.cit.* p. 123.
 4. As is the case in Dan.vi:26. Heb.iv:12 also describes the word of God as ζῶν. Although this expression is not used in exactly the same form in the rest of the NT, it was not foreign to early Christian thought. See E.A. La Verdere, "A Grammatical Ambiguity in I Pet.1:23", *CBQ* 36:89-94, 1974.
 5. Cf. Matt.xxiv:35; Lk.xxi:33.

tological context in which Isa.xl was understood. Indeed, the association of the enduring qualities of the law and the word of God over against the transitoriness of earthly things, possibly reflects the popularity of the Isaiah passage in the early Judean church as they awaited the restoration of the tribes of Israel to the eternal rule of God. The entire section of the Deutero-Isaianic prophecy must have greatly exercised I Peter's mind, for every leading thought is reflected in his letter. It too was addressed to an exiled and oppressed people to bring them hope and comfort and God's promise of eternal deliverance.¹ Though God would come in might, they too were assured that He would care for them like a shepherd.² It almost seems as if I Peter, like the author of Baruch iv:1,27-5:9, modelled his letter on the Isaiah passage as he re-interpreted that great message of comfort in the light of Christ's parousia. In doing so, he must have had Jewish readers in mind, for no Gentile would appreciate the stirring feelings which the fulfilment of that prophecy would evoke in Jewish hearts.

i:24. ἔφλοῦσθη ὁ χόρτος. Verses 24 and 25 present another parallel with the thought and language of the epistle of James i:10-11. While ἔφλοῦσθη ὁ χόρτος evokes an image of the Old Testament phrase "flower of the field",³ both authors are clearly influenced by the LXX version of Isa.xl:6-8, as may be seen from the following table:-

I Pet. i:24 - 25.

ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν ὡς χόρτος,
καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅσα ἐπιθέσθαι
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ χόρτου.

ἔφλοῦσθη ὁ χόρτος, καὶ
τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέλιπεν
τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐπιπέσει
ὡς ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν γῆν.

LXX Is. xl:6 - 8.

ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν ὡς χόρτος
καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅσα ἐπιθέσθαι
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ χόρτου

ἔφλοῦσθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ
τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέλιπεν
ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐπιπέσει
ὡς ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν γῆν
ὡς ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν γῆν.

Jam. i:10 - 11.

ὅτι ὡς ἡ χόρτος χόρτου
καταλείπεται

ἀπέλειπεν τὸ ὄμμα αὐτοῦ
τῆς μαλακίας
καὶ ἐξέλιπεν τὸν χόρτον
καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέλιπεν
καὶ ἡ καταλείπει τὸν
ποσώνου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.

1. Isa.xl:3-5. Cf. I Pet.i:1; ii:11.
2. Isa.xl:10f. Cf. I Pet.ii:25.
3. See Ps.ciii:15.

Both I Peter and James follow the LXX in its omission of two clauses of the Hebrew¹ after ἐξέπεσεν. Furthermore, they also follow it in its unique mistranslation of Isaiah x1:6 ἡπην γιγ as ἄνθος χόρτου rather than ἄνθος ἀγροῦ. Manifestly, James does not quote the passage precisely, but alludes to it more loosely, since he really wants to focus on the final plight of the rich man. He therefore inserts a clause "and its beauty perishes" - καὶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἀπόλετο - to replace the thought of the word of God which abides for ever, and in so doing, rearranges the parallelism. He then adds the final conclusion to press home his point - "So will the rich man fade away in the midst of his pursuits." I Peter, on the other hand, follows the LXX much more closely. He merely inserts ὡς before χόρτος, and substitutes αὐτῆς for ἀνθρώπου and Κυρίου for τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. His main purpose in quoting this passage from Isaiah is to contrast the brevity of earthly beauty with the enduring reliability of the Lord's utterance, which he equates with the Gospel which has been preached to his readers. To give it this Christian slant, he simply replaces ῥῆμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν by ῥῆμα Κυρίου and explains in the following sentence that this "word is the good news which was preached to you".

The similarities between these two passages can, therefore, only be explained by the fact that both authors are referring to the LXX version of Isa.x1:6-8. No other common source or literary connection can be suggested. Yet James' insertion of the clause καὶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἀπόλετο raises a very interesting and noteworthy point. Dibelius² has shown how the expression which James uses for "beauty" literally means "the beauty of its countenance". While this may be traced back to the Hebrew usage of the word עֲנַנִּים it is not to be regarded as a "slavish translation of a text from the Old Testament," but as "a peculiarity of the Greek spoken by Jews"³ and may therefore be regarded as a "usual Semitism".⁴

1. "When the breath of the Lord bloweth upon it; surely the people is grass.

2. Op. cit. p. 86.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

So here we have clear evidence of a Jewish writer making use of the LXX version rather than the Hebrew text, which we might have expected such Jewish writers to use. In our estimate of I Peter this point weighs very heavily against the arguments of those who deny the Petrine authorship of the letter on the grounds that a Jewish Apostle would use the Hebrew text rather than the LXX in contradistinction to the practice of I Peter.

A further parallel between I Peter's interpretation of τὸ θεῖον ῥῆμα Κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα as "the good news which was preached to you" in i:25, may also be found in James i:21, ἔμφυτον λόγον. M. Dibelius argues that the expression "implanted word" is correctly interpreted as the Gospel.¹ The whole of verse 21 leads up to the injunction, "be doers of the word and not hearers only", and within that context "the implanted word which is able to save your souls" can only mean the good news of the Gospel. The phrase comes at the end of a catalogue of vices which is headed by a "tell-tale" imperative participle ἀποθέμενοι, clearly indicating that James is using catechetical material at this point. From this it may be deduced that in early Christian paraenesis, it was common to refer to the Gospel as the ἔμφυτον λόγον,² along with other expressions like ῥῆμα Κυρίου, λόγος ἀληθείας, τῆς ἀληθείας, or δέχεσθαι τὸν λόγον,³ to indicate its permanence or durability.

ii:1 Ἀποθέμενοι... πᾶσαν κακίαν. This verse clearly refers back to i:22f where the readers are reminded of their baptismal rebirth. They have been born anew and should love one another. Therefore they must put away all malice and guile, insincerity, envy and slander. ἀποτίθεσθαι is used in the same technical sense in Rom.

1. Op. cit. p. 113.

2. Cf. Barn. ix:9 ὅτι δὲ τὴν ἔμφυτον εὐαγγέλιον τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν; Barn. i:2 ἔμφυτον τῆς πνευματικῆς εὐαγγελίας χάριν εἰλήφατε.

3. 1 Thess. i:6; ii:13; Acts viii:14; xi:1; xvii:11.

xiii:12; Eph.iv:22-25; Col.iii:8; Heb.xii:1 and Jas.i:21, where it also heads lists of their past and pre-Christian sins.¹ Selwyn's² explanation is that the authors are using common catechetical material. The sequence of "put off" (*ἀποτιθεσθαι*) and "put on" (*ἐνδύσασθαι*) which is found in the Pauline parallels further suggests that as in I Peter, the *Sitz im Leben* of these passages is the catechetical instruction in preparation for receiving baptism. The imagery is that of the baptismal candidate who strips off his old garments before baptism and afterwards rises from the water to be reclothed in a new vesture. This sacramental act symbolizes the renunciation of his past unworthy life and the adoption of a new life with God.

The general sequence of thought and language of I Pet.i:23-ii:2 is also strikingly similar to that of James i:18,21. After reminding their readers of their rebirth by a word of God, they both call on them to renounce all *κακία* and encourage them to receive "the milk of the word" or the "word" which leads to salvation. Admittedly, there are also differences. James, for instance, interrupts the sequence in vs 19-20 with his admonition on hearing, speaking and anger. He also uses *ἀκούω* instead of I Peter's *ἀναγεννώ*. However, as we have just discussed above,³ we may also interpret *ἀκούω* as referring to rebirth within its context in Jas.i:18. These differences rule out any possibility of either author depending directly on the other, but the similarities strongly enhance the views of A. Seeberg,⁴ P. Carrington⁵ and E.G. Selwyn⁶ that they are drawing on common catechetical instruction.

1. Of these Col.iii:8-10 and Eph.iv:31 are particularly noteworthy, as they also employ *κακία* in the list of sins. Cf. 1 Clem.xiii:1; 2 Clem.i:6.

2. Op. cit. pp. 393-400. 3. See p. 36 supra.

4. A. Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, Leipzig: Deichert'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903. Reprinted München: Chr. Kaiser, 1966, pp. xxv-xxvi.

5. P. Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism, Cambridge: CUP, 1940, pp. 47-49.

6. Op. cit. pp. 393-400.

The obvious Jewish background of this material cannot be neglected. The Book of Proverbs abounds with similar admonitions,¹ while Ecc1. vii:9 and Sir.v:12-13² are particularly close. The same is true of I Pet.i:24-ii:17. F.W. Danker³ has shown very convincingly how the thought of I Peter in this passage runs parallel to that of the Hodayoth. In the same context in which God is addressed as a rock of strength,⁴ the people under God's care⁵ are contrasted with the transitoriness of natural man. Similarly, I Peter in quoting Isa. xl:6-9 emphasizes the same contrast between those who abide in the word of God and natural man's temporary state. The antidote to this ephemeral condition is a life nourished by the Lord to whom he refers as a "living stone"⁶ and "rock"⁷ in the following verses. Lists of unbecoming kinds of conduct similar to those occurring here in James and I Peter may be found not only in Rom.i:29; 2 Cor.xii:20; Eph.iv:31; 1 Tim.i:9f; Barn.xx:1, but also in the ethical propaganda of Hellenistic Judaism.⁸ Indeed, passages like IQS iv:9-11; x:21-23 show that such lists were also prevalent in contemporary Palestine.⁹ Without doubt, therefore, they would constitute the most natural source material for the formulation of catechetical codes of instruction as the leaders of the church at Jerusalem sought to direct the Christian behaviour of converts to the faith.

1. Prov.x:19; xv:1-2; xvi:32; xvii:27.

2. "Be quick to hear, and deliberate in answering. If you have understanding, answer your neighbour; but if not, put your hand on your mouth."

3. F.W. Danker, "I Peter 1:24-2:27 - A Consolatory Pericope", *ZNW* 58:93-102, 1967.

4. IQH ix:28.

5. IQH i:30-32.

6. I Pet.ii:4.

7. I Pet.ii:8.

8. See Tob.iv:3-21; Sir.vii:18-35; Jos. Ap. 2:xix-xxviii.

9. See S. Wibbing, Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament, BZNW 25, Berlin: Topelmann, 1959, pp. 87f & 93f; A. Vögtle, Die Tugend- und Laster kataloge im Neuen Testament, NTAbh XVI, 4/5, Münster, 1936.

At this juncture it is important to draw attention once again to a most important feature which confirms that the leaders of the early church adopted this teaching through Judaism rather than Hellenism, for in the New Testament lists, as is the case in ii:1, the writers use a participle instead of the imperative, which would normally be expected in Greek. D. Daube¹ has shown that this practice is found regularly in contemporary Hebrew, where it reflects the Rabbis' habit of using the Hebrew participle when framing codes of conduct. Most likely, therefore, the catechetical codes of the New Testament letters passed through a Jewish or Jewish Christian stage. The fact that they have not been altered to comply with normal Greek grammar indicates that there was great respect for their original verbal formulation. Such esteem implies that these rules must have originated very early in the Christian Church, and may very well have had Apostolic authority from Jerusalem.

A striking example may be found in the use of ἀπέχεσθαι in I Pet.ii:11; 1 Thess.iv:3; v:22 and 1 Tim.iv:3. Even more significantly, it also occurs in Acts xv:20 & 29 in the Apostolic Decree issued from Jerusalem.² This further corroborates the view that these catechetical codes found their origin in Jerusalem. Indeed, Selwyn³ may be correct in supposing that at first, prior to the Apostolic Decree, they were used in the Judaeo-Christian milieu as a type of Holiness code, simulating Levitical teaching. Later, as the Church expanded into a wider sphere, they would be used as a code of behaviour to guide the new converts in disentangling themselves from their former way of life in Gentile society.

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1. D. Daube, "Participle and Imperative in I Peter", Appended Note in E.G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, 2nd ed. London: MacMillan, 1947, pp. 467-488.
 2. Jas.i:27 may also be regarded as a parallel since it expresses the same idea by ἀσπιλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν ἀπὸ... Cf. Eph. iv:22, where ἀποτίθεσθαι is used.
 3. Op. cit. p. 400.

ii:2 ὡς ἀπλιγέννητα βρέφη. The author's graphic description of his readers as new-born babes extends the picture of rebirth which he has already used in i:3 & 23. While the expression echoes Mark x:15 and ix:42, the passage as a whole has a different emphasis. Instead of thinking simply of "childlike" faith, he stresses their newly acquired condition of innocence, which they must develop to enable them to give a reasoned account of their faith "with gentleness and reverence" keeping their conscience clear. (iii:15) Obviously, he does not want them to remain as children. They must grow up as mature and responsible Christians, who will exemplify their faith in purity of life.

ii:4-8 λίθον ζῶντα...ἀποδοκιμασμένον. In Acts iv:8-12, Peter during his address to the rulers of the people and the elders, quotes Ps.cxviii:22 to describe Jesus Christ of Nazareth. The author of I Peter uses it in exactly the same way, combining it with Isa.xxviii:16 and viii:14 in his description of Jesus. Schelkle¹ lists evidence to show that as early as the writings found at Qumran, there was a tradition of interpretation within late Judaism and the early Synagogue which applied certain "stone" texts (including those cited here) to the Messiah and the coming eschatological Messianic age. From this stage it was but a small step for Jesus to apply them to Himself and for the first Christians to follow suit. The fact that this λίθος complex is used in Mk.xii:10f and parallels, Rom.ix:32f; Eph.ii:20 as well as the passages already mentioned, shows that many of the first Christian teachers made use of this combination of texts.² Most scholars have, therefore, concluded that the author is making "full use of the primitive Christian tradition",³

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1. K.H. Schelkle, Die Petrusbriefe. Der Judasbrief, 4th ed. HTKNT, Freiburg: Herder, 1976, pp. 61-62.
 2. See J.H. Elliott, The Elect and the Holy, NovTSup XII, Leiden: Brill, 1966, pp. 16-38. Cf. E. Best, "I Peter II 4-10 - a reconsideration", NovT 11:270-293, 1969.
 3. E. Best, I Peter, London: Oliphants, 1971, p. 100. Cf. J.H. Elliott, op. cit. p. 32. and C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, Welwyn: Nisbet, 1952, pp. 41-43.

and we may well ask whether this was part of a primitive catechism formulated during the very beginnings of the church in Jerusalem.¹ There can be little doubt that the Christians in the Apostolic age had collected a catena of Old Testament quotations which they could interpret Christologically in proving to Jews that the Messiah had indeed come in Jesus. The text of such Old Testament passages is very illuminating. I Peter's version of Isa.xxviii:16 deviates from the LXX and is much closer to Rom.ix:33 and x:11, indicating that the New Testament writers probably relied on a common Christian tradition or "testimonium" book as suggested by J.R. Harris.² Indeed, the discoveries of Cave IV at Qumran suggest a precedent in sectarian Judaism for compiling such collections.³ Quotations of Ps.cxviii occur frequently in the Gospels, particularly verse 26, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord", which features prominently in the accounts of the Palm Sunday procession into the Temple,⁴ and demonstrates the Messianic interpretation it was given by the early Judean church, if not by Jesus Himself. Such an interpretation of verse 22 of the psalm is confirmed in Rabbinic Judaism,⁵

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1. See J.H. Elliott, "The Rehabilitation of an Exegetical Step-Child", *JBL* 95:243-254, 1976, p. 254; C.H. Dodd, *More New Testament Studies*, Manchester: MUP, 1968, p. 12; E.G. Selwyn, *op. cit.* pp. 363-466.
 2. J.R. Harris, *Testimonies*, 2v. Cambridge: CUP, 1916-20, I, pp. 18f, 26f; II, pp. 89-91. Cf. D. Plooij, *Studies in the Testimony Book*, Amsterdam:NHUM, 1932, pp.5-48, who illustrates Paul's use of such a "Testimony" in writing to the Corinthians, and argues generally that the early Palestinian Christians applied the noblest of OT prophecy to Jesus the Messiah. J.H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy*, *NovTSup* XII, Leiden: Brill, 1966, p. 38, maintains that in I Pet.ii:4-10 the author infuses this original Christological complex with soterial significance.
 3. 1QS v:5; vii:17f; viii:7f. See G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Qumran in Perspective*, London: Collins, 1977, pp. 80-82. Cf. M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, London: Nelson, 1961, pp. 80 and 128-129.
 4. Mk.xi:1-10; Matt.xxi:1-9; Lk.xix:29-38.
 5. See Str-B I, p. 876.

while J. Jeremias quotes instances where the stone was paraphrased as "the mighty king, heroic and terrible" in references to the Messiah.¹ The quotation of this psalm with its strong Temple associations suggests that Jewish worship was still flourishing there. Once it had been destroyed, it would have been far more difficult to argue that the Messianic promises of the psalm had been fulfilled in the coming of Jesus. Its extensive use in I Peter is a tentative indication that the letter was probably composed before 70 AD.

Again, we cannot fail to note the special significance which the author, if he was Peter, would attach to the associational "overtones" between λίθος on the one hand and Πέτρος - Κηφᾶς - קִפְּתָא - Cephas - Rock on the other.² In so many ways Peter himself had lived out that imagery in his own life through his own stumbling denial and his restitution as a foundation of the Church. It would be most natural for him, therefore, to use the stone imagery in exhorting his readers to lead a life of sacrificial service to God.

ii:5 οἰκοδομεῖτε οἶκος πνευματικὸς. Here, as frequently in the LXX³ "house" also specifically denotes "temple". The author stresses that as baptized persons his readers are united with Christ and form the true temple of God which is Christ Himself. This Temple, in contrast to the localised and material Temple of Jerusalem, is a spiritual one. Both these ideas are deeply embedded in primitive Christian thought as is evidenced by Mk. xiv:58; xv:29; Matt. xvi:18 and John ii:19.⁴ The writer to the Hebrews also reflects this

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1. J. Jeremias, *TDNT* IV, p. 272. See Ps. cxviii:22; Isa. xxviii:16; Dan. ii:34f, 44f; Ex. xvii:6 & Num. xx:7ff.
 2. See C.F.D. Moule, "Some reflections on the 'Stone' Testimonia in relation to the name Peter", *NTS* 2:56-58, 1955; N. Hillier, "'Rock-Stone' Imagery in I Peter", *Tyndale Bulletin* 22:58-81, 1971.
 3. See Ps. lxxix:9; Isa. lvi:7.
 4. See E. Best, "I Peter II 4-10 - a reconsideration", *NovT* 11:270-293, 1969, who argues that in this passage Peter is indebted to primitive tradition.

tradition and his idea of the Church as the οἶκος of God, presided over by Christ as the High Priest in Heb.iii:8 and x:21 is similar to the neo-Levitical concept underlying this passage in I Peter. Inadvertantly the simile indicates that the Temple and its cult are still intact at Jerusalem, for it would have no significance for a post-70 AD, non-Jewish community.

Furthermore, Michel¹ has shown how οἰκοδομεῖν has Messianic significance and acquired an ecclesiastical "ring" at a very early stage. In Acts ix:31 and xx:32 it is a central concept in religious speech. The Old Testament influence on this word is clearly seen in the free quotation from Amos ix:11 and Jer.xii:15ff ascribed to James in Acts xv:16, and patently reflects the direct sense of "build" and the moral sense of "edification" in which this word is used. The wide use of this metaphor in the rest of the New Testament² suggests that the author, together with the other New Testament writers, is drawing on a "great primitive Christian allegory",³ which was part of the early tradition of the Jerusalem church by the time of the Council of Acts xv.

ii:7 κεφαλὴν γωνίας. The author, in line with Peter in Acts iv:11, continues to apply the λίθος complex of Ps.cxviii:22 to Christ. Manifestly the early community used this Psalm as scriptural evidence that Christ crucified was to be regarded as the rejected stone whom God, through the resurrection, had made the chief corner-stone in the heavenly sanctuary. Yet, as Jeremias⁴ has pointed out, the additional quotation from Isa.viii:14 in the following verses suggests that the author interprets the phrase as the sharp corner-stone over which men stumble and fall because of the σκάνδαλον which Jesus is for unbelievers.

1. O. Michel, *TDNT* V, p. 139.

2. Matt.xvi:18; Mk.xiv:58; xv:29; John ii:19; 1 Cor.iii:9-17; Rom.xiv:19; xv:2,20; Eph.ii:22; *et al.*

3. O. Michel, *op. cit.* p. 142.

4. J. Jeremias, *TDNT* I, p. 793. Cf. R.J. McKelvy, "Christ the Cornerstone", *NIS* 8:352-359, 1962.

ii:8 λίθος προσκόμιματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου. These words from Isa.viii:14 were probably seared into Peter's mind as a reflection of his experiences with Jesus at Caesarea Philippi as recounted in Matt.xvi:13-23 and Mark viii:27-33. After being honoured with the name Πέτρος, he too had stumbled and fallen in not wanting to accept the sufferings and death which Christ would have to endure.¹ The contrast between election to doom εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθησαν² and the election to salvation in the following verse reflect the idiom of the Temple and its cultic priesthood. The motivation for such language is most naturally found in a Jerusalem priesthood, inimical to the nascent church, which indicates a date well before 70 AD since the metaphors would cease to be effective after the Temple cultus had been swept away.

ii:9 ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐλεκτόν, βασιλείον ιεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν. In this "glittering cascade of phrases"³ from the Old Testament, the author describes his readers in honorific terms which applied to Israel by conflating the LXX readings of Ex.xix:6 and Isa.xliiii:20f. It should be noted, moreover, that λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν is the LXX rendering of הַלֵּוִי בְּיָדוֹ, the exclusive name for Israel in Ex.xix:5, indicating that I Peter is addressed to Jewish Jesus believers to whom the term would apply, rather than to Gentiles for whom it would have no special meaning.

ii:9-12 τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε...δοξάσωσιν τὸν Θεόν. The readers are to tell the excellencies of God by their exemplary conduct which is to redound to His glory. The occurrence of "light" in verse 9 may well indicate that the author is thinking of Jesus' admonition in Matt.v:16, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven". In I Peter the passage containing this exhortation is made up of thoughts

1. Matt.xvi:23.

2. Cf. Isa.viii:14 & 15.

3. A.T. Hanson, The Living Utterances of God. The New Testament Exegesis of the Old, London: DLT, 1983, p. 142.

and expressions which are most meaningful for a Jewish community in the diaspora. The light-darkness motif is applied to those who, in the words of Hos.i:9, were once no people, יְמַי אֵל , but have again become God's people through the wonderful deeds of Christ. Matt.iv:15-16 expresses the same idea. His quotation of Isa.viii:23-ix:1 indicates that he sees Jesus' return to Galilee as a sign of the forthcoming restoration of the "lost tribes", for as A.S. Geysler has pointed out, the dispersion had originally started with Zebulun and Naphtali according to 2 Kgs.xv:29.¹ Similarly, the description of the readers as $\text{παροίκιοι καὶ παρεπιδήμιοι}$ in contrast to Gentiles, is most effectively applied to descendants of those lost tribes.

Selwyn² has put forward an ingenious hypothesis that underlying verses 4-10, is an early Christian hymn which brought together these Old Testament texts. Elliott,³ in his monograph on these verses, denies this, since the passage reveals few of the normal characteristics of early Christian hymns, such as relative pronouns and participle clauses. Further, verses 9-10 are addressed to the readers rather than to God. Most likely the Testimonia hypothesis applies here as well, for it would explain the similarities and deviations between the LXX, I Peter, and Rom.ix:33. Patently, the author is making use of primitive tradition in the Judean church which grouped these Old Testament texts together and interpreted them as pre-figuring the restoration of Israel. However, as van Unnik points out,⁴ this still does not account for the full range of meaning here. The phrase καλὴ ἀκαιοτροφία which also occurs in Jas.ii:13, has the appearance of a catechetical cliché. Paul too is concerned that,

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1. A.S. Geysler, "Some Salient New Testament Passages on the Restoration of the Twelve Tribes of Israel", *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, BETL LIII, Leuven: LUP, 1980, p. 305.
 2. Op. cit. pp. 268-281.
 3. J.H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy*, op. cit. p. 138.
 4. W.C. van Unnik, "The Teaching of Good Works in I Peter", *NTS* 1:92-110, 1954, p. 103.

by their good behaviour, the Christians should gain a fair name among the non-Christians.¹ Again ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλοκότης "gives an eschatological tinge to the saying in I Peter".² In fact, we find evidence of this eschatological urgency throughout the letter,³ and it is characteristic of all teaching emanating from the primitive Jerusalem church, including that of Revelation.⁴ Further, ἀγαθός is one of I Peter's favourite words. Yet here and in iv:10 he uses καλός. This strongly reinforces the view that at these points he is making use of a common tradition. E. Best⁵ has even suggested that he knew the tradition behind Matt.v:10 and v:16. He points out that they both occur in Matthew's special material, and suggests that they were already associated together in the tradition I Peter is following. This use of M material, which has always been linked with the Jewishness of Matthew's Gospel and the Jerusalem church, again enhances the view that this is the source from which the catechetical material, utilized by the author, stems.

ii:11 and iv:12 Ἀγαπητοί. This form of address appears frequently in the Pauline letters,⁶ where it sometimes alternates or combines with ἀδελφοί.⁷ From such usage in the New Testament literature,

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1. 1 Cor.x:32; Col.iv:5; 1 Thess.iv:12; 1 Tim.iii:7;v:14; vi:1.
 2. E. Best, "I Peter and the Gospel Tradition", *NTS* 16:95-113, 1970, p. 109.
 3. See E.G. Selwyn, "Eschatology in I Peter", *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, eds. W.D. Davies and D. Daube, Cambridge: CUP, 1956, pp. 394-401.
 4. See A.S. Geysler, "The Twelve Tribes in Revelation. Judean and Judeo Christian Apocalypticism", *NTS* 28:388-399, 1982.
 5. Op. cit. pp. 109-110.
 6. Rom.1:7; xii:19; 1 Cor.x:14; 2 Cor.vii:1; 1 Thess.ii:8. Cf. 2 Pet.iii:1; 1 Jn.ii:7; iv:7 & Jas.i:16,19; ii:5 where it is always used in combination with ἀδελφοί as a qualification and not an appellation.
 7. Rom.x:1; xii:1; 1 Cor.x:1; xiv:20; xv:58; Gal.iii:15; iv:12; Phil.iii:13,17; iv:1; 1 Thess.v:25; Jas.i:2; ii:1; iii:1,10; v:19.

one wonders whether this was the usual appellative in sermons in the early church as indicated in Acts iii:17 and vii:2. Acts xv:13,23 suggest that it had an epistolary use as well. Selwyn has also noted that the passages in the epistles where the vocative ἀδελφοί or ἀγαπητοί is used with or without an injunctive verb like παρακαλῶ or ἐρωτῶ, are in many cases "dominated by precisely those themes which Dr. Carrington has isolated as belonging to the primitive Christian catechism".¹ He goes on to suggest that in the passages where this form of address is accompanied by a phrase like παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς the writers clinch their arguments by drawing attention to teaching already known to their readers from earlier catechetical instruction.

At this point it is also important to repeat that unlike the Pauline epistles, I Peter never uses ἐκκλησία to describe his addressees. Yet at ii:9 he offers a catena of Old Testament designations which provide a particularly rich description of what the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ really is. Probably Paul first started using the term ἐκκλησία when he and Barnabas were working together at Antioch, after taking it over from the "Greek speakers" in the Jerusalem church, who had adopted it from the LXX, which uses it to render the Hebrew *קהל*. K.L. Schmidt believes that these Greek speaking Jewish Christians had come from the Hellenistic Synagogue and "attached to themselves Gentile Christians, thus forming congregations after the pattern of the Hellenistic Synagogue."² It was also from this community that Paul initiated his "mission to the uncircumcised" and this suggests that the term ἐκκλησία became the technical designation of the Christian community in those circles. Peter, James and John on the other hand, represented the "mission to the circumcised"³ and it is striking that the title ἐκκλησία never occurs in Mark, Luke, John, or the Petrine epistles. James only uses it once in v:14, where its occurrence may be explained by the possibility that the letter was addressed to Antioch and its environs, for elsewhere James uses συναγωγή⁴

1. Op. cit. p. 388. 2. K.L. Schmidt, *TDNT* III, p. 516.

3. Gal.ii:9.

4. Jas.ii:2, for the building or the community, *קהל*.

and ἀδελφοί. It would seem then that in the "mission to the circumcised" which Peter and James represent, the term ἐκκλησία was traditionally avoided.¹ Thus at ii:17 and v:9 I Peter uses ἀδελφότης instead. E.P. Groenewald argues that he does so in order to maintain the distinction between obligations to mankind in general and φιλαδελφία within the more limited sphere of Christian brotherhood.² This reluctance on the part of I Peter to use a common Pauline expression like ἐκκλησία abrogates any theory of his literary dependence upon Paul and confirms that he represents the Jerusalem tradition of the "mission to the circumcised".

ii:11 The thought expressed in ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκινῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, is remarkably close to James iv:1-3, ἐκ τῶν ἡδονῶν ὑμῶν τῶν στρατευομένων ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑμῶν, which pictures an internal battle taking place within a person. Paul expresses a similar thought in Romans vii:22f where he speaks of the warfare of two laws - of God and of sin - within his members, ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν μου, while in Gal.v:16f he sets σὰρξ and πνεῦμα over against one another. The important point to notice here is that while all four passages use the imagery of warfare, the antagonists are variously described as "fleshly passions" (I Peter),³ "passions" (James),⁴ "laws of God and sin" (Romans) and "desires of the flesh"⁵ and the spirit⁶ (Galatians). James and Romans are the closest in describing the warfare as occurring within "the members"

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1. Even the occurrence of the term in Acts v:11 and viii:1&3, which may well derive from Luke's "Jerusalem source", need not contradict this view. Acts v:11 need not be a quotation from Luke's source. Instead it could be his editorial comment on the effect of the episode narrated. The occurrences in Acts viii:1&3 may be explained in the same way. Moreover, they occur in the context of Stephen's martyrdom, which was a result of his dispute with those who belonged to the "synagogue of the Freedmen" (Acts vi:9), the very group to which the Greek speaking Jewish Christians, who adopted ἐκκλησία, had originally belonged.
 2. See E.P. Groenewald, "Die Christelike Broederskap volgens die Heilige Skrif", *Arcana Revelata*, F.W. Grosheide FS, Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1951, p. 31.
 3. σαρκινῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. 4. ἡδονῶν. 5. σὰρξ. 6. πνεῦμα.

of an individual person. These differences rule out any theory of direct dependence of I Peter on James or Paul once again. While Dibelius tentatively maintains the possibility of an influence from the Romans passage on James,¹ the differences between them suggest that a more likely explanation is that the image of the strife of the "passions" (ἡδοναί) "in your members" in James iv:1 had already become current among Christians. This weighs strongly in favour of the thesis that the three writers are each freely adapting a common catechetical concept to suit their own arguments.

A similar thought of desire as the ultimate source of all human conflict also appears in contemporary Hellenistic ethical literature.² Thus Plato sees "the sole cause of wars and revolutions" as "nothing other than the body and its desires",³ while Philo maintains that all famous historical and legendary wars are caused by ἐπιθυμία.⁴

Yet the closest parallels to the idea and imagery used by the New Testament writers in this connection are to be found in the Qumran literature. There the spirits of truth and falsehood, which govern all human affairs, also struggle within the heart of man. Thus God "has appointed for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of his visitation: the spirit of truth and falsehood",⁵ and "until now the spirits of truth and falsehood struggle in the hearts of men".⁶ Similarly, the Rabbis spoke of יצר הרע and יצר הטוב as the evil and the virtuous impulses in man.⁷ Such ideas are most likely to have influenced the thoughts of the leaders of the church at Jerusalem. Naturally, they would also be reflected in the concepts which they employed in directing the ethical behaviour of catechumens.

1. Op. cit. pp. 30 & 216.

2. Ibid. pp. 215-216.

3. Phaedo, 66c. Cf. 82c.

4. De Dec. 151-153.

5. 1QS iii:17-18.

6. 1QS iv:23.

7. See BDB p. 428.

In comparing this passage with Acts xv:20 and 29, Selwyn sets out the view that the author is reflecting common Catechetical material which regarded the church as a "neo-Levitical" or priestly community.¹ This is in line with the spirit of the Apostolic decree recorded in Acts xv which was an attempt to settle the controversy about the status of non-Jews who had received Christian baptism. While Paul believed that they should be regarded as the equals of Jewish Christians, the Judaising party held that they had to complete their initiation through accepting circumcision and observing the Levitical torah. In Acts xv:29² the decree dispenses with circumcision and full Levitical requirements, but demands that they maintain a certain standard of Levitical purity by abstaining (ἀπέχεσθαι) from what has been offered to idols and from blood and from what is strangled and from unchastity. This virtually covers the prohibitions of Lev. xvii - xix. Such a solution to the controversy would be very congenial to what we know of the mind of Peter from the records in Acts and it also accords well with the Jewish atmosphere of this epistle and its description of its readers as a βασιλειον ιεράτευμα.

ii:12 τὴν ἀναστροφήν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν following immediately after the appeal to abstain from the passions of the flesh, expresses the same idea as ἀσπιλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου in Jas.i:27. Indeed, I Pet.iv:3-11 with its exhortation to give up the vices of the Gentile world and instead practise hospitality, rendering service in the strength of God, reads almost like a practical exposition of "pure religion" as defined in Jas.i:27, while at the same time re-emphasizing the original appeal in I Pet. ii:12. In the light of Enoch xlvi:7, "...they have hated and despized this world of unrighteousness, and have hated all its works and ways..."³ κόσμος may be interpreted as ἡτὴν ὀλιγὴν, "this sinful

1. Op. cit. p. 374.

2. Cf. Acts xv:20.

3. *APOT* II, p. 217. Cf. Isa.xiii:11, "I will punish the world for its evil".

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3. APOC II, p. 217. Cf. Isa.xiii:11, "I will punish the world for its evil".

Gentile world". Both James and I Peter therefore reflect the attitude of the Jerusalem church towards the Gentiles (even Gentiles within the Church) as may be seen from Acts xv:1-29 and Gal.ii:11-13. They exhort Jewish Christians to observe the laws of purity even in their dealings with Gentile Christians. An exposition of this approach may be found in Ps.Clem.Hom.13.iv:3 & 5, according to which Peter, in setting out "the conduct of our religion" (τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας τὴν πολιτείαν) warns the (Judean) church not to mix with Gentiles at table because their way of life is impure.¹

ii:12 ὡς κοισπιουῶν. The wrongdoing here is very general rather than specific as it is in the Johannine account of Jesus' trial in John xviii:30. The grim backcloth is supplied by Tacitus' remark that the Christians were "loathed because of their abominations",² as well as by Suetonius' unconcealed approval of Nero's violent measures against "a class of people animated by a novel and mischievous superstition".³

ii:12 ἡμέρα ἐπισκοπῆς is reminiscent of the words of Jesus to Jerusalem in Lk.xix:44. In the light of the general eschatological tone of the letter, the phrase clearly refers to the final day of judgement.⁴ Like James, Paul, and all the first generation church, I Peter expects the final parousia in his own life-time,⁵ and this

1. πρὸς τοῦτοις δὲ ἀδιαφόρως μὴ βιοῦντες τραπέζης ἐθνῶν οὐκ ἀπολαύσμεν, ὅτε δὴ αὐδὲ συνεσιδῶσαι αὐτοῖς δυνάμενοι, διὰ τὸ ἀκαθάρτως αὐτοὺς βιοῦν... θρησκεία γὰρ διαφερόντως τοῦτο ποιοῦμεν.

Dibelius (op. cit. pp. 121-123) does not accept this interpretation. He argues that if James was a law observant Jewish Christian, the question of purity laws would feature much more prominently in his work. Such arguments from silence, however, can be very misleading and need not deter us here.

2. Ann.xv:44.

3. The Twelve Caesars, Nero xvi:2.

4. See W.C. van Unnik, "The Teaching of Good Works in I Peter", *NIS* 1:92-110, 1954, pp. 103-105.

5. See I Pet.iv:7, "The end of all things is at hand".

is the presupposition governing his exhortation to good conduct which should lead the Gentiles witnessing it, to glorify God. Such thinking affords further proof of the priority of I Peter, since the eager expectation of the end cooled considerably after the demise of the original apostles. Furthermore, ἡμέρα ἐπιλοκότης is a stock expression of apocalypticism, derived from the prophets,¹ to indicate the eschatological judgement of Israel's foes. In Sir.xviii:20 it is applied on an individual and personal level, while a closer parallel to the epistle's general message of hope may be found in Wisdom iii:7f in a chapter which may have been as famous in the author's day as it is in ours.

"iii:1 But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
And there shall no torment touch them...

7 And in the day of their visitation they shall shine forth,
And as sparks in the stubble shall run to and fro.

8 They shall judge nations and have dominion over peoples;
And their Lord shall be king for ever."

Since the eschatological urgency of ἡμέρα ἐπιλοκότης would be lost to readers who were unfamiliar with its apocalyptic associations, I Peter's use of such terminology is a further indication that he is addressing Jewish rather than Gentile converts.²

ii:13-17. In this section the duties of the members of the Church towards the Civil Authorities and to God are enunciated. These instructions clearly resemble Paul's teaching in Romans xiii:1-7. As can be seen from the following table,³ there are not only a number of verbal resemblances, but the thoughts and ideas follow the same sequence as well, indicating that the two authors are using a common catechetical source.

1. See Isa.x:3; xxiv:21-22; xxix:6; Jer.vi:15-16; x:15.
Cf. Ex.xxxii:34.

2. See also Acts xv:14, where James refers to God's visitation of the Gentiles in a similar eschatological sense and as a prelude to the restoration of Israel.

3. Cf. 1 Tim.ii:1-3; Tit.iii:1-3,8; 1 Clem.lx:4-1xi:2; 1xiii:1.

	1 Peter ii. 13-17	Romans xiii. 1-7	
1	13. ὑποτάγητε πόσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει δια τὸν κύριον, εἴτε βασιλεὺς ὡς ὑπερέχοντι,	1. πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ, αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσὶν.	1
2	14. εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν, ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπαιμένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν κακοποιῶν ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν.	2. ὥστε ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγῆ ἀντίστηκεν· οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες ἑαυτοῖς κρῖμα λήθονται. 3. οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶ φόβος τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ κακῷ. θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν; τὰ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς.	2 3
3	15. ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀγαθοποιούντας φειδόμεν τῶν τῶν ἀφροῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγνωσίαν·	4. θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστι σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. εἴαν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῆς, φόβου· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν, ἐκδικῶς εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι.	3
4	16. ὡς ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐπικλήματα ἔχετε τῆς κικίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς δούλοι θεοῦ.	5. διὰ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. 6. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ φόρους τελεῖτε· λειτουργοὶ γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσκαρτεροῦντες.	4
5	17. πάντας τιμᾶτε τὴν ἀελοφόρητα ἀγαπάτε τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε τὸν βασιλεῖα τιμᾶτε.	7. ἀπόδοτε πᾶσι τὰς ὀφειλάς· τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος, τῷ τὸν φόβον τὸν φόβον, τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμὴν.	5

Ἐποτάγητε sets the subordination theme of the social code which is reflected in these passages. The literary history of ὑποτάσσω has an important bearing on the main thesis of this investigation. As Delling and Cranfield point out,¹ the word has no antecedents other than those in the LXX, while in the New Testament, with the exception of three verses in Luke,² it does not appear outside the Pauline epistles, Hebrews, James and Peter. These facts in themselves are indicative of a common paraenetical background to these passages.

In some of these passages the thought of submission is developed even further, so that God is viewed as the Creator to Whom all creatures are in subjection.³ This general thought of the sub-

1. See G. Delling, *TDNT* VIII, pp. 39-46. Cf. C.E.B. Cranfield, "Some observations on Romans xiii:1-7", *NZS* 6:241-249, 1960.

2. Lk.ii:51; x:17,20. Cf. G. Delling, op. cit. pp. 39-46.

3. 1 Cor.xiv:34; xv:27f; Eph.v:24; Heb.ii:8; Jas.iv:7; 1 Pet. iii:22.

ordination of everything to God should help us to resolve the *crux interpretum* in I Pet.ii:13. The RSV translation of *πάση ἀνθρώπινη κτίσει*, "every human institution", does not fit the general thought of the passage, nor the usual meaning of *κτίσις*. In the LXX it is always used of something created by God.¹ If we read verse 14 in conjunction with iii:22, it becomes apparent that the author did not regard the State of the Civil Authorities as mere "human institutions", but rather as created or instituted by God and subject to Him.² This interpretation would be further strengthened if we took *ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ πεποιημένοις* as referring back to *Κύριον* in vs 13 rather than to *Βασιλεῖ*. Such an interpretation would bring the thought of vs 14 into line with much of the teaching of the Old Testament and particularly that of Deutero-Isaiah xlv:1, "Thus says the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped, to subdue nations before him, and ungird the loins of Kings...",³ to which I Peter so frequently alludes. If this interpretation is correct, then the thought in this verse is very close to Paul's teaching in Rom.xiii:1-7 where he specifically views the State as derived from God's appointment.⁴

Similarly, both passages view the function of the civil power as that of restraining and punishing crime. Since *ἐκδίκησις* and *ἐκδικος* feature in both passages, this wording in one form or another may well have been part of the original code. I Peter and Romans also agree that the positive function of the civil power is to encourage well-doing.⁵ Note also the recurrence of *ἀγαθοποιεῖν* and *ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν* not only in contrast to *κακοποιός*, but also when

1. See W. Foerster, *TDNT* III, pp. 1023-1028.

2. See H. Windisch, rev. H. Preisker, *Die Katholischen Briefe*, HNT XV.3, Tübingen: Mohr, 1951, where an excellent and concise analysis of the passage is given on pp. 63-64.

3. Cf. Isa.v:25-30; Dan.ii:21,37f; iv:17,32; Wis.vi:3.

4. See O. Cullmann, *The State in the New Testament*, London: SCM, 1957, pp. 50-70.

5. I Pet.ii:14f. and Rom.xiii:3. Cf. 1 Tim.ii:2; Tit.iii:1,8.

it appears in conjunction with ἑταυρος in both letters. Since both authors claim that the ἀγαθοποιοί are praised, Le¹ believes that ἀγαθοποιεῖν must have a very special meaning. To substantiate this, he points to "Special Honours" lists as examples of rewards for exemplary conduct and meritorious service, and claims that something more than doing one's duty is implied here. They must do something which deserves special distinction. The combination of ἀγαθοποιεῖν and ἑταυρος would appear to confirm this interpretation, for as H. Preisker has shown,² ἑταυρος is used in the LXX sense where it only has value as the approval of man by God. Since both these passages in Romans and I Peter view the Government as a divinely commissioned body, it may fittingly bestow ἑταυρος in its capacity as the servant of God. This seems far more likely than Schelkle's interpretation of "praise" as acquittal in a court of law on the grounds that the first half of the verse deals with legal proceedings.³ For the rest, whichever way we interpret this saying, it is certainly also a call to Christians to become first class citizens in order to stop slander against themselves. By rendering special service (ἀγαθοποιεῖν), they "will put to silence the ignorance of foolish men".⁴

In discussing this teaching of good works, van Unnik⁵ laments the fact that the keyword of the passage, ἀγαθοποιεῖν, is passed over without comment in many expositions, and that the short discussions by Grundmann⁶ fail to give a full analysis and are quite unsatisfactory. To rectify this, he considers three possible interpretations (the Greek, Jewish and Christian) of "good works" to which I Peter's conception might be related. He finds that it is

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1. Op. cit. p. 173.
 2. H. Preisker, *TDNT* II, pp. 586-588.
 3. K.H. Schelkle, *Die Petrusbriefe. Der Judasbrief*, 4th ed. HTKNT, Freiburg: Herder, 1976, pp. 73-75.
 4. I Pet.ii:15.
 5. W.C. van Unnik, "The Teaching of Good Works in I Peter", *NTS* 1:92-110, 1954.
 6. W. Grundmann, *TDNT* I, p. 17, and *TDNT* III, pp. 536-550.

decidedly different from the Jewish type like the *גמילות חסדים* commended by the rabbis to assist the poor and others unable to fulfil the Law's requirements.¹ Nor does the concept imply the good works of later Christian theology which would atone for post-baptismal faults. Instead it appears to van Unnik that I Peter uses *ἀγαθοποιεῖν* with the same range of meaning as the Greeks. Yet its foundation is quite different from the Greek idea, for the "good deeds" are enjoined "not to earn glory for oneself, but to make the way free for the Gospel towards the disobedient".² Further, van Unnik argues that we must see *ἀγαθοποιεῖν* as part of the Christian's calling to holiness, as they follow the Lord's example. As their Redeemer, He did good in the midst of suffering. So must His followers. This thought is an echo of Peter's speech to Cornelius in Acts x:38, which C.H. Dodd believes to be part of the Jerusalem kerygma.³ Hence van Unnik concludes that for I Peter *ἀγαθοποιεῖν* was "a Greek word perfectly adequate to express how a Christian has to live with his fellow-men in love during this time of faith and hope".⁴

However, his analysis fails to take proper account of the Talmudic *ma'aser Torah* or *מעשים טובים*,⁵ "good works" or simply "works" for short as in James,⁶ by which contemporary pharisaism expressed the idea of doing the will (or Law) of God. In I Peter *ἀγαθοποιεῖν* is used to express this thought, not specifically to support the Imperial government, but rather to please God and to do His will. Thus those who falsely accuse them "will glorify God on the day of

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1. For the relevant Talmudic references see Str-B III, pp. 505 & 161, and Str-B IV, pp. 559-561.
 2. W.C. van Unnik, *op. cit.* pp. 108-109.
 3. C.H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, 2nd ed. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1951, p. 27.
 4. *Op. cit.* p. 110.
 5. See M. Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, New York/Berlin: Choneb, 1926, pp. 819 and 820.
 6. Jas. i:4; ii:14, 17, 22.

visitation".¹ The Christians will be doing God's will when by doing right (ἀγαθοποιεῖν) they "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men".²

In ii:20-21 the author turns to the thought of ἀγαθοποιοῦντας... πάσχειν as acceptable to God, for by so doing, the readers will be following in the steps of Christ. Doing good in the midst of suffering is applied to wives married to pagans in iii:6, while in iii:17 he comes back to his original theme, but here the meaning of ἀγαθοποιοῦντας is influenced by the eschatological hope of I Peter, in that it no longer expresses something which is simply morally preferable. Rather, it means that it is better to suffer now for doing good than to suffer in the final judgement for betraying Christ.³

Confirmation of this Talmudic interpretation of ἀγαθοποιεῖν may be found in I Pet.ii:19, where διὰ συνείδησιν Θεοῦ may be regarded as a synonym for "doing Torah" or "doing good works" in order to please God. Again in iii:10-12 the author quotes Ps.xxxiv:12-16 to justify his ethical stance. E. Lohse makes the point that I Peter exhorts his readers to cease from evil and *do good* precisely *because* the Lord favours the righteous and opposes those who *do evil*.⁴ This use of ἀγαθοποιεῖν further substantiates the argument for a Judean origin of the letter, and refutes W. Munro's theory that the teaching of I Peter was aimed to elicit support for the Roman government.⁵

The next parallel teaching in I Pet.ii:13-17 and Rom.xiii:1-7 is the view that the Christians owe the Civil Authorities not merely

1. I Pet.ii:12. 2. I Pet.ii:15. Cf. I Pet.iv:3-6; 12-19.

3. See J.R. Michaelis, "Eschatology in I Peter iii:17", *NTS* 13:394-401, 1967.

4. E. Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im 1 Petrusbrief", *ZNW* 45:68-89, 1954, p. 86.

5. W. Munro, Authority in Paul and Peter. The identification of a Pastoral Stratum in the Pauline Corpus and I Peter, *NTSMS* 45, Cambridge: CUP, 1983, p. 2.

outward submission, but inner loyalty. In I Peter ii:13 this is expressed by διὰ τὸν Κύριον, whereas in Romans xiii:5 it is διὰ τὴν συνέδῃσιν. Yet, interestingly enough, in I Peter ii:19 slaves' duties are envisaged as διὰ συνέδῃσιν Θεοῦ. Again, both passages stress that Christian duty knows no bounds. In I Peter they must honour all men (πάντας τιμῆσατε) while according to Romans they must render to all their dues (ἀπόδοτε πᾶσι τὰς ὀφειλάς).¹ Both passages recall Pirke Aboth iv:1, "Who is honoured? He who honours mankind", and they also reflect the early Christian practice of adding phrases of theological reflection or Christian teaching like διὰ συνέδῃσιν Θεοῦ or διὰ τὸν Κύριον to original Jewish documents.² Such a practice probably originated in the early Jerusalem Church, and its occurrence in I Peter and Romans here may be taken as a common dependance upon the Catechism emanating from that community.

If we follow the suggestion of Cranfield³ and take τῷ τὸν φόβον in Romans xiii:7 to refer to God, it would clearly be parallel to I Peter ii:17 with its four crisp commands. Both passages would then list the fear of God as the third command. Further, it is also noteworthy that in this verse in I Peter, the wording of Proverbs xxiv:21, "my son, fear thou the Lord and the king!" has been significantly altered.⁴ Clearly the author wishes to make a distinction between what is owed to God and what is owed to the Emperor. God is to be feared (φοβεῖσθε) but the Emperor is to be honoured (τιμῆσατε). Paul also supports this distinction between fear of God

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1. The precept tallies very closely with the lesson God taught Peter in the vision of Acts x:10-16 and the way in which he applies it to all men in Acts x:28, "but God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean".
 2. See Col.iii:18, ἐν Κυρίῳ; Eph.v:22, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ; 1 Clem. xxi:6, τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν... ἐντραπέμεν... Hence E. Bammel, "The Commands in I Peter II.17", *NZS* 11:279-281, 1965, suggests that the author has adapted a Jewish Haustafel and added διὰ τὸν Κύριον to turn it into a Christian ethic.
 3. C.E.B. Cranfield, op. cit. pp. 247ff.
 4. See E. Bammel, op. cit. pp. 279-281.

New Testament it denotes particular individuals like prophets¹ and Apostles.² Paul adds it to his self-description as an Apostle in Rom.i:1, while the two titles are also combined in 2 Pet.i:1. It is very important to notice here that I Peter does not describe his readers as δούλοι of any other person or master. They are strictly δούλοι θεοῦ. In other words, they live under a Theocracy, unlike the people of the Ancient Near East, amongst whom loyal subjects would generally describe themselves as δούλοι of their king or ruler. When I Peter does refer to their servitude in ii:18, he describes them as οἰκέται. In doing so he stands firmly in the Jewish tradition that a Jew could never be a slave of anyone but God. In this regard he shares a remarkable quality with James in that they both reflect the "slaveless" society of the Judean church as opposed to the Hellenistic churches. They consequently do not offer paraenesis for slaves, and this is an added indication of the Judean provenance of this Petrine teaching.

At this point it should also be noted that James does not include any teaching on obedience to the state as is found in I Peter and the Pauline epistles.³ It may well be that the Jewish theocratic view, that Jews were slaves of God and none other, was the major reason for this. As God's chosen people there was no way in which they could be subject to any authority other than God.⁴

1. Rev.x:7; xi:18.

2. Acts iv:29; Tit.i:1.

3. In his views, James appears to be much closer to Qumran, the Pharisees and Zealots. Hegesippus' story, although it has many legendary traits, relates that James was nicknamed Oblias, "bulwark of the people". (E.H. II, xxiii:7, LCL I, p. 170.) The Oblias part naturally derives from a misreading of the majuscule ΩΒΑΔΙΑΣ - ὠβαδίας = עבדי = Obadia = "servant of God" (and Lord Jesus Christ. - Jas.i:1).

4. It is just possible that the events surrounding Herod Agrippa's death in 42 AD as recorded in Acts xii:20-23, (Cf. Jos. Ant. 19:viii:2) may have influenced this teaching. Herod had allowed himself to be honoured as a god, which the church interpreted as the ultimate blasphemy leading to his death. After this the successive Roman Procurators in Judea were progressively more loathsome to the Jews, whose eschatological expectations were increasingly heightened and culminated in the outbreak of the Jewish war in 66 AD.

ii:18-25. οἰκέται are instructed to serve their masters faithfully even if they treat them harshly. By patiently enduring wrong, they will win God's approval as they follow in the footsteps of Christ, whose atoning suffering for their sins has brought them back to God. Similar instructions about the attitudes of slaves to their masters appear in Colossians iii:22-iv:1 and Ephesians vi:5-9,¹ but unlike I Peter they also add instructions to slave owners. As in the previous section, both the thoughts of this paraenesis and their sequence are the same in each of the epistles. The parallels are set out in the following table :-

	1 Peter ii. 18-25	Col. iii. 22-iv. 1	Eph. vi. 5-9	
1	18. οἰκέται, ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν κυρίῳ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκληροῖς.	22. οἱ δούλοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις, μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλείαις ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπλότῃ καρδίᾳ, φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον.	5. οἱ δούλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρομου ἐν ἀπλότῃ τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ.	1
2	19. τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις, εἰ διὰ συνείδησιν θεοῦ ὑποφέρει τις λύπας πάσχων ἀδικῶς.	23. ὁ εἰς ἐὰν ποιῆτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις,	6. μὴ κατ' ὀφθαλμοδουλείαν ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ὡς δούλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ ψυχῆς,	2
3	20. ποῖον γὰρ κλέος, εἰ ἀμαρτάνοντες καὶ καλαφιζόμενοι ὑπομνῆτε; ἀλλ' εἰ ἀγαθοποιῶντες καὶ πάσχοντες ὑπομνῆτε, τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεοῦ.	24. εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀπολήψασθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας τῷ κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε.	7. μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις,	2
	21. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε, ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἠπάσθη, κτλ.	25. ὁ γὰρ ἀδικῶν κομμεῖται ὁ ἠδικῆσεν καὶ οὐκ ἔστι προσωποληψία.	8. εἰδότες ὅτι ἕκαστος ὁ εἰς ποιῆσθαι ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομμεῖται παρὰ κυρίου, εἴτε δούλος εἴτε ἐλεύθερος.	3
	21.5. <i>Imitatio Christi.</i>	iv. 1. οἱ κύριοι, τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα τοῖς δούλοις παρέχετε, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔχετε κύριον ἐν οὐρανῷ.	9. καὶ οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀιέντες τὴν ἀπειλήν, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ὁ κύριος ἐστὶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ προσωποληψία οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῦ.	4

The main theme of subjection (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) of the slaves to their masters is found in all the parallel passages. However, I Peter describes them as οἰκέται rather than δοῦλοι as in the other epistles. It appears to be addressed to a special group of house-servants or "domestics" which would have included some professionally trained men like scribes, teachers and doctors, rather than to δοῦλοι,

1. Cf. 1 Tim. vi:1,2; Tit. ii:9,10.

slaves in general, which would include all kinds of labourers.¹ It is interesting that this rare word *οικέτης* should also be used in the description of the men Cornelius sent to Joppa to fetch Peter, as recorded in Acts x:7.²

Colossians - Ephesians describe the masters as *τοῖς κατὰ ἀρχὰ κυρίους* whereas *δεσπόταις* in I Peter is parallel to *ἰδίου δεσπότης* in I Timothy and Titus. The same pattern applies to the use of *ὑπακούειν* (Col.-Eph.) and *ὑποτάσσεσθαι* (I Pet.-Titus). These differences serve merely to question any theory of I Peter's direct dependence on Ephesians or Colossians and become unimportant in the general theme of submission, the real motive of which is the fear of the Lord. It is explicitly stated in Col.iii:22, while it is implied in *διὰ σκελεθῶν θεοῦ* in I Pet.ii:19.³ This is in keeping with such passages in I Peter as i:17; ii:17; iii:2,15, which also invoke reverence for God as the prime reason for their behaviour.

In ii:19, the genitive *θεοῦ* with *σκελεθῶν* has caused commentators a great deal of trouble, because its meaning is very obscure. No wonder a number of MSS have added *ἀγαθῶν* in line with iii:16 and 21. Possibly a gen. obj. would solve the problem, for then it could be translated not "God's conscience", but "a conscience (clear) before God" or "conscious of God's will" (NEB), because God is in his thoughts. Maurer suggests that iii:16 & 21, which parallel Acts xxiii:1 and xxiv:16, may have been inspired by a current baptismal formula. He also notes that the idea of a good and clear conscience, through the healing act of God in Christ, has no counterparts in the surrounding Greek world. By contrast, it may indeed have been inspired by the petition of Ps.1i:10, "Create in me a clean

1. See BAG p. 559; C.U. Wolf, *IDB* IV, pp. 291f; E. Best, op. cit. p. 117.

2. Cf. Lk.xvi:13; Acts x:17; Rom.xiv:4.

3. See C.A. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament*, London: SCM, 1955, pp. 105-108, who interprets it as doing good because they "share in the Church's sure knowledge of God".

heart, O God...", indicating that the hypothetical baptismal formula originated in the Judean church.¹

Verses 18-20 present the same theme as Lk.vi:27-29, namely to do good to those who hate you and to bear wrongful suffering patiently. Most scholars agree in assigning this passage to Q and many are of the opinion that the Lucan form is the original, as it retains the strict poetic form, showing parallelism and - on retranslation into Aramaic - rhythm and rhyme.² These reflections rather than exact literal quotations of Q material in I Peter provide important clues to the dating of the letter. They show how the author is relying on a very early pre-Q, fluid and oral corpus of Jesus logia, circulating in the church before 52-54 AD, when Q is usually thought to have become fixed.

According to G. Bertram, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκωλοῖς indicates that the author of I Peter is thinking particularly of harsh and ill-tempered masters and that he directs his teaching to the duties of servants in such situations.³ He now develops it in his own particular style. If a servant makes a mistake - ἀμαρτάνω - he cannot complain, as it is his due. But if he is punished for doing well - ἀγαθοποιούντες, he will find favour (χάρις) in God's eyes. This use of χάρις differs greatly from Paul's theological interpretation of the word. Instead verses 19 and 20 reflect Lk.vi:32-35. Both passages are in the form of rhetorical questions; both use χάρις in an untheological way in close connection with ἀγαθοποιέω. Despite van Unnik's view that, as ἀγαθοποιέω is missing in Matt.v:43-45 and is therefore due to Luke himself,⁴ the parallels between I Peter and

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1. See A. Maurer, *TDNT* VII, p. 918.
 2. See C.F. Burney, *The Poetry of our Lord*, p. 169, quoted by T.W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, London: SCM, 1950, p. 50.
 3. See G. Bertram, *TDNT* VII, pp. 403-408.
 4. See W.C. van Unnik, "The Teaching of Good Works in I Peter", *NIS* 1:92-110, 1954, p. 110.

Luke are striking enough to suggest that Matthew dropped ἀγαθοποιέω.¹ It is also possible that the amount of other material in Matthew outweighs what has been taken from Q. Hence we may accept that I Peter is reflecting a "Verbum Christi" here. The curious phrase τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις clearly echoes the repeated ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν in Luke, and once again indicates the author's affinity with the suggested pre-Q body of Jesus logia.

Colossians and Ephesians, however, give no hint that harsh masters are specially involved, but simply stress the thought that the Christian slave should willingly and thoroughly serve his master² because, in doing so, he will be serving Christ the Lord and will be rewarded by Him.

I Peter then develops the thought of Christ as an example to οἰκέται. It occurs in a lyrical passage which is sometimes seen as a "Song of the Suffering Servant", because it is based on Isaiah liii. Jesus, during His earthly ministry, was treated as a much-abused servant, thus setting an example to other οἰκέται. Therefore, they are urged to immitate Christ, for by His actions He has set the Christian free from ἀμαρτία to live for righteousness. Following in the steps of Jesus (ἐπακολουθήσητε) is also deeply ingrained in the Gospel tradition in Mark viii:34 (and parallels) and in John xiii:15, while Paul quotes the Judean Christ-hymn in Phil.ii:5-11 as he encourages his readers to follow the example of Christ.³ Similarly, I Tim.vi:1 mentions the favourable effect a slave's good conduct will have on men's attitude to Christianity. The same thought is

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1. In any case, in a later article, van Unnik suggests that the thought may be drawn from popular Greek philosophy which also influenced classical authors. See "A Classical Parallel to I Peter ii 14 and 20", *NZS* 2:198-202, 1956.
 2. Cf. Pirke Aboth i:3, "Be like slaves who serve the master not with a view to receiving a present: and let the fear of Heaven be upon you. *APOT* II, p. 69].
 3. For arguments for its Judean origin see E. Lohmeyer, *KYRIOS JESUS: Eine Untersuchung zu Phil.2,5-11*, Darmstadt: WBG, 1961; R.P. Martin, *An Early Christian Confession*, London: Tyndale, 1960.

also applied to the good behaviour of young married women in Titus ii:5, and in the general passage in I Peter ii:1-2 which introduces the whole teaching of subjection.

ii:22-25. J. Jeremias¹ suggests that in the poetic and didactic paraphrase of the Servant Song of Isaiah liii, I Peter is using a very ancient type of Christology. It seems to have been popular for a time while the Church was based in Judea, but passed into abeyance in later writings as the Church spread into the Greek world. Interestingly enough, in Acts iii:13,26 and iv:27,30, where Peter is the speaker,² Jesus is actually called "God's servant" $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ and in Acts viii:32-33 Philip cites Isa. liii:7-8 to explain His person and His death. Paul, on the other hand, does not exploit this image, though we can find possible traces of it in early tradition which he hands down in Phil. ii:5-11, where he refers to Jesus as a servant ($\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) in vs 7. Thus in his review of the interpretation of the "Ebed" passages, Jeremias comes to the conclusion that, "the christological interpretation of these passages derives from the Palestinian, pre-Hellenistic stage of the primitive Church",³ thereby demonstrating the author's close association with the Judean church, whose interpretation of the Passion in the framework of the Suffering Servant was probably its greatest achievement in the evolution of its Christology.

ii:23 $\lambda\omicron\iota\delta\omicron\varphi\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. In this verse the writer expands on Jesus' principle of non-retaliation as it is recorded in Mark xv:5 and in the Marcan passion narrative, as well as in Jesus' teaching according to the Q passage reflected in Matt.v:38-48 and Lk.vi:29-35.

ii:24 $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$. Under the general influence of the LXX and particularly through a passage like Deut.xxi:22f, preaching in the primitive Judean church as reflected in Acts v:30; x:39 and xiii:29 came to use $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ distinctively of "the cross". In fact the passages in

1. See J. Jeremias, *TDNT* V, pp. 682-717.

2. For a closer analysis of Peter's speeches in Acts see p. 152 infra.

3. Op. cit. p. 709. Cf. C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, Welwyn: Nisbet, 1952, p. 94.

Acts v:30 and x:39 suggest that this use of ἐόλον was a favourite expression of Peter.¹ C.H. Dodd² has noted that it is strange to find such a rough and ungrammatical passage as Acts x:35-38 in a work that usually has such excellent Greek. Therefore he agrees with Dr. Torrey that this is a translation from Aramaic and he is further convinced that by following Torrey's restored Aramaic version, we will be close to the original form of Peter's speech. Here too, then, we find I Peter reflecting the language of the primitive Judean church.

ii:25 Ποιμένα / πρόβατα (I Pet.v:2 & 4). The image of sheep inevitably draws in that of the shepherd. The obvious parallel here is to John x:11-13, where Jesus is reported as describing Himself as the Good Shepherd.³ But there are also hints in such passages as Mk.vi:34; xiv:27; Matt.x:6; xv:24; xviii:12 and Lk.xv:4-7 which suggest that Jesus spoke of Himself as shepherd in the Old Testament Messianic sense.⁴ Many scholars assign Matt.xviii:12 and its parallel Lk.xv:4-7 to Q, although T.W. Manson⁵ believes that there is an overlap of M and L material here. Most likely this is another instance of I Peter reflecting a pre-Q logia which describes the shepherd as one who goes and looks for his lost sheep and even gives his life for his flock,⁶ in the words Ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν (lives) ὁμοῦν. This statement would have special significance for the "lost" tribes in Mesopotamia, to whom Jeremiah and Ezekiel referred as the "lost" and "scattered" sheep of the Lord,⁷ and it may also indicate that their descendants are precisely the people to whom the letter is addressed.

iii:1-7, Col.iii:18,19 and Eph.v.22-33 cover the next item in the social code, isolated by Carrington, which lays down the behaviour

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1. See J. Schneider, *TDNT* V, pp. 38-40.
 2. The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments, op. cit. pp.27f.
 3. Cf. Rev.vii:17.
 4. See J. Jeremias, *TDNT* VI, pp. 486-502. 5. Op. cit. p. 283.
 6. Jn. x:11-13. 7. Jer.xxiii:1; 1:6; Ezek.xxxiv:11-12.

expected of a Christian amongst the members of the family, particularly the relationship between husband and wife. By and large the instruction is again given in the same sequence, which continues to be an indication of a common paraenetic background to these epistles. The parallels are set out in the following table :-

1 Pet. iii. 1-7	Col. iii. 18, 19	Eph. v. 22-33
1. ὁμοίως, γυναῖκες, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδράσιν, ἵνα, καὶ εἰ τινες ἀπειθοῦσι τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνατροφῆς ἀνευ λόγου κερδηθῆσονται.	18. αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὡς ἰστέον ἐν κυρίῳ.	[21. ὑποτασσόμεναι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ 22. αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδράσιν ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ 23. ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ τῆς γυναίκος, ὡς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος.
2. ἐποπτεύσαντες τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἀγνὴν ἀνατροφήν ὑμῶν.		24. ἀλλ' ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ Χριστῷ, οὕτω καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀδράσιν ἐν κυρίῳ. 25. οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κτλ.
3. ὡν ἔστιν οὐχ ὁ ἴσθον ἐμπλοκῆς τοῦ σώματος καὶ περιθέσεως, χροσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων κοσμίως.		
4. ἀλλ' ὁ κρυπτός τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος, ἐν τῷ ἀφάρτῳ τοῦ πρατοῦ καὶ ἁγνίου πνεύματος, ὁ ἔστιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ πολυτελής.		
5. οὕτω γὰρ ποτε καὶ αἱ ἅγιαι γυναῖκες αἱ ἐλπίζουσαι εἰς θεόν ἐκδοσῶν ἑαυτάς, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδράσιν		
6. ὡς Σάρρα ἠπήκουσε τῷ Ἀβραάμ κυρίαν αὐτὸν καλοῦσα, ἧς ἐγενήθητε τέκνα, ἀγαθοποιῶσαι καὶ μὴ φοβούμεναι μηδεμίαν πτόσην (cf. Προν. iii. 25).	19. οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ μὴ πικραίνεσθε πρὸς αὐτάς.	33. πλὴν καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ καθ' ἓνα, ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα οὕτως ἀγαπάτω ὡς ἑαυτόν, ἢ ἐξ γυνῆ ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα.
7. οἱ ἄνδρες, ὁμοίως, συνακουῖτε κατὰ γνώσιν κτλ.		

One thing which this table does not reflect is the fact that I Peter makes no reference to the relationship between parents and children, as is done in Ephesians vi:1 - 4 and Colossians iii:20f. The parallels in this section are restricted to instruction to wives and husbands. Indeed, I Peter gives far more attention to wives (vss. 1 - 6) than to husbands (vs. 7). The most probable reason for this is that the author is considering the fact that some of the wives are married to unbelievers - καὶ εἰ τινες ἀπειθοῦσι. That would put a much greater strain on their marriages than there would

be in those marriages where the husband became a Christian, since the wife was normally expected to adhere to the husband's religion.¹

ὑποτασσόμεναι (I Pet.iii:1) and συνουλοῦντες (vs 7) are further instances of the use of the participle as an imperative, parallel to Eph.v:21, at the opening of an ethical passage.² As we have already seen,³ this practice developed from a similar use of the participle in contemporary rabbinic Hebrew. It suggests that the authors had such great respect for the authority of this teaching, that they even incorporated the Hebraic formulation of it in their teaching. The indicated source for such authoritative teaching would be the Apostles in Jerusalem itself, affording a further pointer to a Jerusalem Catechism.

In iii:1 κερσαίνας may be used in a special missionary sense of "making a Christian" as Paul does in 1 Cor.ix:19-22, where he speaks of his attempts to win all kinds of people for Christ. Yet in its present context, it is used in a more intimate sense of believing women being "missionaries" within their own marriages. Paul gives similar counsel to husbands and wives in 1 Cor.vii:12-16.⁴ Like Matt.xviii:15, James v:19-20 applies the same thought to fellow believers who bring back a brother gone astray,⁵ and clinches his argument with a quotation from Prov.x:12, just as I Peter does at iv:8. The main thought in the present passage is, therefore, that the chaste behaviour of the wives, together with their fear of the Lord, is a silent testimony whereby their husbands will be won over to faith. In the development of this theme in verses 3-5, there is

1. Pagan moralists held that the wife ought to follow her husband's religion - See Plutarch, Praecepta Coniugalium 19. In Ad Uxorem, Bk.II, cc.4-7, Tertullian describes the difficulties which arose when the wife of a Pagan embraced Christianity.

2. Cf. Rom.xii:3-19.

3. See p. 63 supra.

4. This teaching probably also derives from the Jerusalem Catechism which in turn was based on the Jesus logion in Mk.x:2-12. Cf. I Pet.iii:7; Matt.v:32; xix:3-9.

5. See H. Schlier, *TDNT* III, p. 673.

a marked relationship to 1 Tim.ii:8-12. Both passages concentrate on the need for modesty in outward dress and demeanour in much the same language. From this it would appear that two separate instructions were sometimes merged, namely, for women to be submissive to their husbands and for women to be "missionaries" within their marriages. This last instruction probably developed in the Hellenistic diaspora where many "mixed" marriages would have taken place. D. Daube has argued that this term *κερδαίνω* is derived from the rabbinic vocabulary,¹ which favours the view that the authors of the epistles are drawing on a common Jerusalem Catechism. While pagan moralists and Jewish teachers alike have protested against luxury and ostentation in almost every age, this passage has a distinctive Jewish flavour about it. It stresses the quiet spirit, which the Jews believed to be highly prized in the sight of God. This way of thinking is clearly set out in 1 Sam.xvi:7, "Do not look on his appearance... for the Lord does not see as a man sees; man looks on the outward appearance, but the Lord looks on the heart". The same sort of thinking can be found in Jas.ii:1-9, which once again suggests a Jewish context for the catechetical material being used here.² This view is further enhanced by the way in which the author in iii:5-6 refers the ladies to the example of Sarah. She was regarded as the *matron par excellence* of the Chosen People.³ He clearly follows the rabbinic interpretation of Gen.xviii:12⁴ in regarding Sarah's manner of speech about her husband as demonstrating her obedience to him. Thus, if the wives he is addressing do what is right, they will truly be Sarah's daughters and need not fear *πίστεις*. This expression is borrowed from Prov.iii:25, clearly reflecting the Jewish context for

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1. See D. Daube, "*κερδαίνω* as a missionary term", *HTR* 40: 109-112, 1947.
 2. I Peter has summarized this whole idea in the *ἡραρῶ* *legomennon* *ἀπροσωπολήπτως* in i:17. See pp. 48-49 supra.
 3. Cf. Isa.1i:2; Heb.xi:11. With Rebecca, Leah and Rachel, she was accounted one of the four mothers of the people. See Str-B I, pp. 29-30.
 4. "After I have waxed old, shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also." See Str-B III, p. 764.

the thought. Moreover, this chapter of Proverbs was most probably in catechetical use in the primitive Jerusalem church as verse 34 is quoted in I Pet.v:5 and in Jas.iv:6. Indeed, ἀγαθοποιῶσαι in I Pet. iii:6 may even have been suggested by Prov.iii:27-29.

At I Pet.iii:2 we may follow Selwyn¹ and Best² in taking ἐν φόβῳ to refer to God rather than to the husband. They base that interpretation on the view that the exhortation receives its strength from the wife's relationship to God. Such an understanding of "fear of God" as reverence, is characteristically Jewish as may be seen from Ps.cxi:10, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom".³ On this interpretation, I Pet.iii:2 is clearly parallel to ὡς ἀνῆκεν ἐν κυρίῳ in Col.iii:18. The same thought is applied to slaves in Col. iii:22-24. They must serve their masters as serving the Lord and in fear of Him.

While in a diaspora context with its mixed marriages it would be more likely that the husbands would be the unbelieving partners, the exhortation in verse 7 is explicitly directed to believing husbands. They and their wives are described as "joint heirs" - συνκληρονόμοι - of the grace of life. It is very doubtful whether the author would have used that description of them if some of the wives were unbelievers. Moreover, in the light of the marriage customs at the time, where the wife followed the husband's religion,⁴ the author is probably thinking more of marriages where both partners had become believers. His reference to the hindrance of their prayers follows the general New Testament thought, that man's relation to God is not independent of his relation to his

1. Op. cit. pp. 143-144, 183.

2. Op. cit. p. 117.

3. Cf. Eccl.xl:26; Pirke Aboth iii:13.

4. See p. 92 supra.

fellows.¹ A particularly illuminating commentary on this passage is 1 Corinthians vii:1-7, where Paul insists that self control in conjugal relations is desirable if prayerful communication with God is to be maintained. This again is a typically Jewish thought, as can be seen from the Testament of Naphtali viii:8, "there is a time for intercourse with one's wife, and a time for abstinence so that one can pray".²

Thus, once again, the language and thought of this section, reflecting such pronounced Jewish traits, supports the thesis that the authors of I Pet.iii:1-7; Eph.v:22-33; Col.iii:18-19; 1 Tim. ii:9-15 and Tit.ii:4-5 were using an early Jerusalem Catechism which they each developed in their own way. Certainly, the subjection of wives to their own husbands; the role of the partners as missionaries within their marriages; the need for conciliating public opinion; modesty in women's dress; and husbands' consideration and love for their wives, formed part of the catechetical teaching. In Ephesians v:25-32, however, the author develops this ethical theme into a great theological passage, where the unity of a Christian's marriage symbolizes the union between Christ and His Church. It is significant that the thought of the Church as the Bride of Christ also appears frequently in Revelation,³ which has close connections with Jerusalem, suggesting that the theological concept of the Church as the Bride of Christ originated in the church there.⁴ On the other hand, the author of I Peter (like Paul in 1 Cor.vii) is more concerned to

1. See Matt.v:23; xxv:31-46; 1 Cor.xi:20-29; Jas.iv:1-4 and 1 Jn.iv:18-21.

2. See also Str-B III, p. 764.

3. Rev.xix:7-9; xxi:2,9; xxii:17.

4. The idea that Israel was the spouse (or bride) of God was common in Old Testament prophecy, e.g. Isa.liv:5, Hos.ii:7,19. It also occurs in contemporary rabbinic midrashim on Eccclus., while subsequently the Sabbath was also raised to the position of bride by the rabbis.

apply the teachings of this early Jerusalem Catecheism to the immediate matrimonial and social setting of his readers.

iii:8-12 is a final exhortation addressed to all Christians which is confirmed by an appeal to Psalm xxxiv:12-16. The τέλος (vs 8) shows that the author is concluding this paraenetic series, while the πάντες indicates that the whole church is being addressed. The teaching is simply and loftily expressed, bearing in mind that many of the addressees were οἰκέται¹ whom he had instructed to bear their unjust treatment patiently. In itself, this teaching is not original to the author. He is expressing the common teaching of the church of his day, with the result that this passage has many points in common with the teaching which is found in Rom.xii:9-18; 1 Thess.v:13-22; Eph.iv:1-3,31-32 and Col.iii:8-15 as may be seen from the following table :-

1. See pp. 85-88 supra.

<p style="text-align: center;">1 ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΙΙΙ.</p> <p>8 Τὸ δὲ τέλος, πάντες ὁμόφρονες, συμπαθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι, <u>εὐσπλαγ- 9 χνοὶ, φιλόφρονες</u>· μὴ ἀποδιδόντες <u>κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ</u>, ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ <u>λοιδορίας</u>· τούναντίον δὲ <u>εὐλογούν- τες</u>, εἰδότες ὅτι εἰς τοῦτο ἐκλήθητε, <u>10 ἵνα εὐλογίαν κληρονομήσητε</u>. Ὁ γὰρ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθᾶς, παυσάτω τὴν γλώσσαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ χεῖλην αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ λαλήσαι δόλον. ἐκ- κλινάτω ἀπὸ κακοῦ, καὶ ποιησάτω <u>ἀγαθόν</u>· ζητήσάτω εἰρήνην, καὶ δια- 12 ξάτω αὐτήν. ὅτι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους, καὶ ὡτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέη- σιν αὐτῶν· πρόσωπον δὲ Κυρίου ἐπὶ <u>ποιούντες κακὰ</u>.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ΡΩΜΑΝΩΝ ΙΙΙ.</p> <p>9 Ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος, ἀπο- στρυφύουσα τὸ πανηρόν, κολλώμενοι 10 τῷ ἀγαθῷ· τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλ- λήλους φιλόστοργοι· τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλή- 11 λους προηγούμενοι· τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ δουλοῦντες, τῷ πνεύματι ζῶντες, τῷ 12 Κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες· τῇ ἐλπίδι χαί- ροντες, τῇ θλίψει ὑπομείνοντες, τῇ 13 προσευχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες· τοῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες, τὴν 14 φιλαξενίαν διώκοντες. <u>εὐλογεῖτε</u> τοὺς διώκοντας ὑμᾶς· <u>εὐλογεῖτε</u>, καὶ 15 μὴ καταράσθε. Χαίρειν μετὰ χαί- ροισιν, καὶ κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων. 16 τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονοῦντες· μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι. μὴ γι- 17 νεσθε φρόνιμοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς. μη- δενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες· προνοοιμένοι κατὰ ἐνώπιον πάντων 18 ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δυνατόν, τὸ εἶξ ὑμῶν, μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">1 THESSALONIANS V.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">καὶ 13</p> <p>ἡγείσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκ περισσοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ διὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν. εἰρη- νεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Παρακαλούμεν 14 δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοὶ, νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους, παραμυθεῖσθε τοὺς ὀλι- γοψύχους, ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν, μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας. ὁρᾶτε 16 μὴ τις κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ τιμᾶ ἀποδῶ· ἀλλὰ πάντοτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν διώκετε καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς πάν- τας. πάντοτε χαίρετε. ἀδιαλείπτως 10,17 προσεύχεσθε. ἐν παντὶ εὐχαρι- 18 στεῖτε· τοῦτο γὰρ θέλημα Θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς. τὸ Πνεῦμα 19 μὴ σβέννυτε. προφητείας μὴ ἐξου- 20 θενεῖτε. πάντα δοκιμάζετε· τὸ κα- 21 λὸν κατέχετε. ἀπὸ παντὸς εἵδους 22 πνηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">EPHESIANS IV</p> <p>ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ δε- 4 σμῖος ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀξίως περι- πατῆσαι τῆς κλήσεως ἧς ἐκλήθητε· μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ 2 πραότητος, μετὰ μικροθυμίας, ἀνε- χομένοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ, σπου- 3 δάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης. Πᾶσα πικρία καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ὀργὴ 31 καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ βλασφημία ἀρθῆτω ἀφ' ὑμῶν, σὺν πάσῃ κακίᾳ· γίνεσθε 32 δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους χρηστοὶ, <u>εὐσπλαγ- χνοὶ, χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς</u>, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν.</p>

<p>COLOSSIANS III.</p>	
<p style="text-align: right;">καὶ 8</p> <p>9 ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα, ὀρ- γὴν, θυμὸν, κακίαν, βλασφημίαν, αἰσχρολογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος 9 ὑμῶν. Μὴ ψεύδεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἀπεκδυτάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἀνθρω- 10 που σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι ὃν νῦν, τὸν ἀνακα- νούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ' εἰκόνα 11 τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτὸν ὅπου οὐκ ἔστι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομῆ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦ- λος, ἐλεύθερος· ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καὶ 12 ἐν πᾶσι Χριστός. Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν,</p>	<p>ὡς ἐλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἅγιοι καὶ ἡγα- πημένοι, σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρῶν, χρη- στοτητα, <u>ταπεινοφροσύνη, πραότη-</u> 13 <u>τα, μακροθυμία</u>· ἀνεχομένοι ἀλλή- λων, καὶ χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, ὡς τις πρὸς τινα ἔχη μομφήν· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν, οὕτως 14 καὶ ὑμεῖς· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὴν ἀγάπην, ἧς ἔστι σύνδεσμος τῆς 15 τελειότητος. καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ βραβεύετω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι· καὶ εὐχάριστοι γίνεσθε.</p>

While these passages cover largely the same ground, there is a marked difference in character and form between the Rom. - Thess. and the Eph. - Col. passages respectively. Yet at the same time I Peter has parallels with both sets of passages.

The closest verbal parallels are found between I Peter and the Rom. - Thess. passages as follows :-

1 Thess.v:15	Rom.xii:14, 17	I Pet.iii:9
	12. 14 εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρξασθε	
5. 15	12. 17	3. 9
ὄρατε μὴ τις	μηδενὶ	μὴ
<u>κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ</u>	<u>κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ</u>	<u>ἀποδιδόντες</u> <u>κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ</u>
τινὶ ἀποδοῦ	<u>ἀποδιδόντες</u>	ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας τοῦναντίου θε
ἄλλα	προνοούμενοι καλῶς ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων.	εὐλογαῖτες.
πάντοτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν διώκετε εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς πάντας.		

Again, a close comparison of Romans xii and I Peter iii reveals the following parallel keywords and concepts in the same sequence.

Romans 12	I Peter 3
10 τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ... φιλόστοργοι	8 φιλάδελφοι
14 εὐλογεῖτε	9 εὐλογοῦντες
15α τὸ αὐτὸ... φρονούντες	8 ὁμόφρονες
16β τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγομένοι	8 ταπεινόφρονες
17 μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες	9 μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ
18 εἰσημεύοντες	11 ζητησάτω εἰρήνην
15 χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων	8 συμπαθεῖς

From this it becomes clear that the authors share a small vocabulary of catchwords which serve as a summary of their teaching, even though the context in which they write may be widely divergent. The imprecise similarities which these parallels reveal, make any theory of literary dependence between them improbable. The facts suggest instead that the authors are making use of a common oral paraenetic tradition which clustered relevant admonitions around differing situations of daily life.

Furthermore, in Rom.xii:9-18 we find short and often antithetic clauses as well as the tell-tale imperative participles, which are characteristic of Jewish paraenetic. This has led C.H. Talbert to argue very forcefully that there is a "Semitic ethical tradition behind Rom.xii:9b-21".¹ Hence, the Jewish paraenetic style which we have noted here, is a clear indication that the source of this material must be sought in the catechetical teaching of the early Jerusalem church. It has also often been noted that Rom.xii:9a Ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος is very abrupt. While it could be explained as a marginal gloss, Selwyn² is probably correct in regarding it as a heading, "Love's Sincerity", which introduced the catechetical material which Paul is using here.

By contrast, Colossians iii:8-15 is a smooth and well constructed passage in which the ethical antithesis is not given clause by clause, but in a general contrast between what the readers must "put away" and what they must "put on". Moreover, it does not contain any obvious references to the Old Testament, but like I Pet.iii:9, summarizes much of Jesus' ethical teaching which is found in the Sermon on the Mount.

1. C.H. Talbert, "Tradition and Redaction in Romans 12:9-21", *NTS* 16:83-93, 1969, p. 93.

2. *Op. cit.* p. 407.

Similarly, in Ephesians iv:1-3, 31-32 the parallels with I Peter are found in an extended passage of ethical exhortation. Like many other passages of ethical teaching¹ this material is also introduced by οὖν, probably indicating that the epistle writers are referring their readers to the catechetical instruction of the early church.

In his development of this material, I Peter emphasizes the thought of subjection - ὑποτάσσεσθαι - which sees the Christian life as the imitation of Christ. He ends this avowed summary of the catechetical virtues with a quotation from Ps.xxxiv:12-16 (LXX ψ xxxiii:13-17) which varies from the LXX version in a number of details as follows :-

I Peter 3. 10

ὁ γὰρ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν
καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθᾶς
πανσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν
ἀπὸ κακοῦ...

Ps. 33. 13 (LXX)

τίς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος
ὁ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν
ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθᾶς
παῦσον τὴν γλῶσσαν σου
ἀπὸ κακοῦ...

The psalm is introduced quite simply with γὰρ which shows that the author intended to use the Old Testament quotation as authoritative confirmation of his preceding argument in verse 9.

Traces of this psalm can also be found in 1 Thess.v and Rom.xii. For instance, the διώκετε of 1 Thess.v:15 together with the contrast between τὸ καλόν and εἶδος πονηρόν in vss 21 and 22 closely resemble Ps.xxxiv:15-16. Indeed, these verses of the psalm may also have influenced Paul's instruction in Rom.xii:9. Even though verbally it is based on Deut.xxxii:35, it is nevertheless closely akin to the thought expressed in Ps.xxxiv:16-17. These traces of the psalm in Rom.xii, 1 Thess.v and its use in I Pet.ii:3 & 4 led Selwyn² to argue that it was widely used in early Christian teaching, and that the early catechetical tradition had already adapted this psalm to the form reproduced in I Peter.³

1. See Rom.xii:1; Col.iii:5; Jas.i:21; I Pet.ii:1.

2. Op. cit. pp. 413-414.

3. Ibid. p. 190.

The thought of iii:9 *μη αποδιδόντες κακὸν ἐντὶ κακοῦ...*¹ is very similar to the sayings of Jesus recorded in the Q passage Lk.vi:27-28 and Matt.v:39 & 44, while the actual words are closer to paraenetic passages in the other epistles.² The fact that none of the epistle writers attribute the instruction to Jesus, confirms the view that they were drawing on an early Jerusalem Catechism based on pre-Q Jesus logia, as well as his example in terms of the Suffering Servant.³ Hence in guiding believers living in an hostile environment, they may even have been using the general code of teaching evolved and decided upon by James, John and Peter in Jerusalem, and accepted by Paul.⁴ Possibly it had become necessary for the Church to clarify its instruction in the face of conflicting advice within Judaism. For instance, the members of the Qumran Community are told that "they may love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in God's design, and hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in God's vengeance".⁵ I Peter, like James, follows the line of II Enoch 1:4, "If ill-requitals befall you, return them not either to neighbour or enemy, because the Lord will return them for you and be your avenger on the day of great judgement, that there be no avenging here among men",⁶ but the scriptural authority for his statement is Ps.xxxiv:12-16, which cautions against abuse of the tongue and advocates peace making.⁷ In passages of similar instruction, Paul and the writer to the Hebrews allude to Deut.xxii:35 and Lev.xix:18 with the statement, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord",⁸ substantiating the argument that the Jerusalem Catechism included

1. Cf. I Pet.ii:23, p. 89 supra.

2. Rom.xii:14; 1 Thess.v:15. See also O.F.J. Seitz, "Love your Enemies", *NTS* 16:39-54, 1969, p. 52, who argues that the synthetic parallelism of Lk.vi:27f shows that these four lines are preserved "with great fidelity" and "are probably of Palestinian origin".

3. See E.G. Selwyn, op. cit. pp. 412f. 4. Gal.ii:2-10.

5. 103 i:4.

6. Cf. *APOT* II, p. 460.

7. Cf. Jas.i:26.

8. Rom.xii:19; Heb.x:30.

centos of Old Testament texts to enhance its teaching. Nevertheless, the example of Jesus as one who did not revile in return, which is expressed in terms of the Suffering Servant in I Pet.ii:23, is the ultimate authority for the teaching given here.

iii:13-18a. E. Lohse pointed out that this section, in which suffering for righteousness sake is seen as a testing of character, is no *ad hoc* formulation. It is based on a host of early Christian traditions with a thoroughly Jewish flavour.¹ The author weaves these traditions together to suggest that the innocent man can face suffering with confidence, because he is sharing in Christ's passion and because he will ultimately be blessed in the coming of the End.² Similar teaching is found in Jas.i:12; I Thess.ii:4; I Cor.iii:13; Rom.viii:31 and in the teaching of Jesus in Matt.v:10.

iii:13 κακῶν. The form of the question here is very reminiscent of Isa.1:9 where the LXX version uses κακῶ.³ Remarkably, this word is not used anywhere else in the New Testament except in Acts.⁴ There in vii:6,19 it is used to describe sufferings under persecution analogous to the suffering of Israel in Egypt. However, it is important to note that it describes persecution of Christians at the hands of the Jews in xii:1 and xiv:2⁵ and Paul's harassment at Corinth in xviii:10. Acts xii:1-17 is also interesting in this context, as it describes Peter's experience at the instigation of Herod Agrippa I who harassed the Church because it pleased the Jews, even though in the end he had no real power to harm Peter. This close affinity between the expression of thought in I Peter and the description of persecutions experienced by the Judean church, enhances the view

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1. See E. Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im I Petrusbrief", *ZNW* 45:68-89, 1954, p. 81.
 2. See J.R. Michaelis, "Eschatology in I Peter iii.17", *NIS* 13:394-401, 1967.
 3. Cf. Pss.lvi:4; cxviii:6.
 4. See W. Grundmann, *TDNT* III, p. 484.
 5. Cf. I Thess.ii:14.

that the origin of the thought of I Peter must be found at least within that context. It could even be argued that it originated in the experience of Peter himself, if sufficient corroborating evidence could be found to support the traditional claims for Peter's authorship of this epistle.

iii:14 and iv:13f. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πᾶσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι. The author appears to be thinking of the words of Jesus in Matt.v:10. That beatitude goes on to tell the disciples that they should rejoice when they are reviled. The same thought of rejoicing in suffering also occurs in I Pet.i:5-9. There, as well as here, the heavenly reward at Christ's appearing is mentioned, just as the Gospel beatitude promises a reward in heaven. Nauck believed that the Epistle and Gospel were adapting a pre-Christian theme of Maccabean origin.¹ On the other hand, the common teaching presented in I Pet.iv:13f; Acts v:41; 2 Cor.i:3-11; Col.i:24 and Jas.i:2,² which similarly tells Christians to rejoice in suffering, shows that it may also have come to the New Testament writers via a Jewish orientated body of teaching like a Jerusalem Catechism, in which it had been expanded in the light of Jesus' passion and the experience of the first Christian martyrs.³

iii:15 ἀπολογία and its cognates are used of public defence in Acts xix:33; xxii:1; xxv:16; xxvi:1,2,24. It is worth noting that the application of this word to written treatises only occurred in the second century Christian literature, such as the Apologies of Justin Martyr and Aristides. Since in the present context it is not used in that way, the thought here must date from an earlier period.

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1. W. Nauck, "Freude im Leiden, zum Problem einer urchristlichen Verfolgungstradition", *ZNW* 46:68-80, 1955, pp. 69-71.
 2. Cf. Matt.xxiii:34-36.
 3. A similar catalogue of faithful endurance of suffering is given in Heb.xi.

iii:16 ~~ἐμπέδωτες~~ once again suggests that the author has Lk.vi:28 in mind. While there is a parallel in Matt.v:44, the wording in I Peter is closer to the Lucan version. Possibly the evangelists are drawing on material peculiar to each of them, although Manson suggests that a fragment of the antithetical saying has been preserved in their common source Q.¹ The uncertainty about the literary history of the saying implies that it was probably part of the pre-Q Jesus logia circulating orally in the early church and its application here points to an early date for the composition of the letter.

iii:18-22 has been the subject of much discussion and special study.² It begins with the particle ἔτι which suggests that a quotation is being introduced as in i:18 and ii:21. The style is very concise and the passage introduces ideas which, although not strictly pertinent to the argument, are part of the primitive kerygma. The most common conclusion, to date, appears to be that it opens and closes with a portion of an early Christian hymn,³ while verses 19-21 are part of a baptismal catechism.⁴ In attempting to establish the background to the thought of Christ preaching to the disobedient spirits, it has generally been accepted that the most direct influence must have come from 1 Enoch vi and the Book of Jubilees v, which is based on Genesis vi:1-8. While we cannot be absolutely sure of the dates of composition of the various parts of 1 Enoch, it is clear from the Aramaic portions of it which have been found amongst the

1. T.W. Manson, *op. cit.* p. 161.

2. See M-E. Boismard, Quatre Hymnes Baptismales dans la Première Epître de Pierre, LD 30, Paris: Cerf, 1961; R. Bultmann, "Bekenntnis- und Liedfragmente im ersten Petrusbrief", *ConNT* xi:1-14, Lund, 1947; F.L. Cross, I Peter, A Paschal Liturgy, London: Mowbray, 1954; W.J. Dalton, Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits, AnBib 23, Rome: PBI, 1965; Bo Reicke, The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism, ANSU XIII, Kobenhaven: Munksgaard, 1949; J.T. Sanders, The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background, Cambridge: CUP, 1971.

3. Cf. 1 Tim. ii:14.

4. See W.J. Dalton, *op. cit.* pp. 13-14.

Qumran Scrolls, that it was already in circulation at the time I Peter was written.¹ It is even quoted in Jude 14, while the reference to the imprisonment of the disobedient spirits until judgment, in 1 Enoch x:11-14, is echoed in Jude 6 and 2 Pet.ii:4. Moreover, in the Jewish Apocalyptic tradition, the story of the נפלים² was closely associated with the flood in the time of Noah.³ These apocalyptic accounts also continue the tradition that Noah was righteous,⁴ for their Jewish writers draw a contrast between Noah as a righteous person and the "fallen angels" or disobedient spirits. Only by taking this Jewish background into account, can this complicated passage in I Peter be understood.

As the author closes the passage, he refers once more to the hymnic material he echoed in the opening verse. It too uses technical terms from the Jewish Apocalyptic tradition with its references to angels, authorities and powers. Parallels to its main theme of the victory of Christ over the evil powers occur in 1 Cor.xv:24; Eph.i:21; Phil.ii:10; Col.ii:15 and Heb.i:13 which all use imagery inspired by Ps.cx:1, "The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool'". Not only was this verse in the psalm given a Messianic interpretation in rabbinical circles,⁵ it was also "one of the fundamental texts of the kerygma, underlying all the various developments of it..."⁶ Consequently, in a recent article, Matthew Black can argue that the terminology formed part of an early hymnic tradition which Peter and Paul cite

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1. See M.A. Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, Oxford: Clarendon, 1978, Vol. 2, pp. 6-8, who dates 1 Enoch vi to the first century BC.
 2. "Nephilim" - the sons of God who were regarded as fallen angels. See Gen.vi:1-4.
 3. See 1 Enoch vi:65; Jub.v; T Napht.iii:5; CD ii:18-20.
 4. See Gen.vi:9. Cf. Heb.xi:7. 5. See Str-B IV, 1, pp. 452-465.
 6. C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, Welwyn: Nisbet, 1952, p. 35.

independently.¹

iii:18 ὁ δίκαιος. Within the context of this verse, "The righteous" is manifestly a title for Jesus. Passages like Acts iii:14; vii:52; 1 Jn.ii:1,29; iii:7² show that it was used in this way in the early church. If Jas.v:6 could be interpreted in the same way, it would be another indication of close links between these two writers. While some Christian fathers like Oecumenius, Cassiodorus and at a later stage, Bede³ have interpreted the verse in James as referring specifically to Jesus' unjust condemnation and execution, that view is not favourably regarded today. Thus even J.B. Mayor,⁴ who is inclined to find a reference to the cross here, admits that "the righteous man" is primarily a generic term, whose reference is not exhausted in one individual. Greeven, in editing Dibelius' commentary, suggests that if the letter is indeed pseudonymous, it might be taken as a veiled melancholy allusion to the death of James who was called "the Just".⁵ Yet these modern arguments are not very persuasive. The *past tense* in Jas.v:6, κατεδικάσατε, ἐφονεύσατε and the definite article τὸν δίκαιον indicate a sequence of actions in the *past* which fit a specific person. If "the Just" were to be understood as a generic term, a present tense and not an aorist would have been required for these verbs.⁶ The great complaint of the primitive Judean church against "the Rich" (i.e. the powerful amongst the priesthood and those in the government) was constantly: "You have condemned and killed 'the Righteous One'". When in Acts Peter addressed the people in the Temple, he specifically named Jesus as "the Righteous One".⁷ Stephen did the same in Acts

1. M. Black, Πάσαι ἔξουσι αὐτῶ ὑποταγῶνται, in *Paul and Paulinism. Essays in Honour of C.K. Barrett*, edited by M.D. Hooker and S.G. Wilson, London: SPCK, 1982, pp. 74-82.

2. See G. Schrenk, *TDNT* II, pp. 186ff. 3. See S. Laws, *op. cit.* p. 205.

4. *Op. cit.* p. 155. 5. *Op. cit.* p. 240, n. 58.

6. The present tense indicates a *durative* or *ongoing* action, whereas the mode of the aorist is specific and in the past. See Blass Debrunner § 318 and J.H. Moulton and W.F. Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. 2, Edinburgh: Clark, 1929, pp. 119 & 135.

7. See Acts iii:13-18 and note especially vs 14, "you denied the Holy and Righteous one and asked for a murderer to be granted to you".

vii:51-52.¹ For the primitive Judean church, therefore, Jesus was the Righteous One *par excellence* and they explained His suffering and death by projecting into them the image of *the* suffering, righteous one, the עַד of Isa.liii:3-9,11. Their interpretation may also have been influenced by similar charges against the rich and powerful in the Prophetic² and the Wisdom literature³ particularly Wis.ii:18-20,⁴ which already echoes Isa.lii:13-liii:12 and is also very close to James. Since Jesus did indeed suffer such a fate in a most significant way, we may conclude that in the tradition of the primitive Judean church, both James and I Peter ascribe the title ὁ δίκαιος to Him.

iii:18 ἀνάξ. I Peter's teaching on the Atonement also reveals parallels with Hebrews. In laying special stress on the moral significance and atoning power of the death of Jesus, the author recalls the central theme of the Atonement which the writer to the Hebrews develops so fully with his emphasis on the unique offering of Christ ἐφ' ἀνάξ.⁵

iii:20 ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε recalls the saying in the Q passage reflected in Matt.xxiv:38-40 and Lk.xvii:26-27. Passages like Heb.xi:7 and 2 Pet.ii:5; iii:5-9 reflect the interest of the early church in applying the story of the Flood to Christian teaching. This was presumably based on the Q passage. However, in the Jesus logia the suddenness of the divine judgement is stressed, whereas in I Peter and the other epistles the emphasis is on the scope of God's vic-

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1. "...As your fathers did, so do you...they killed those who announced beforehand the coming of the Righteous One, whom you have now betrayed and murdered."
 2. See Amos v:11f; viii:4; Isa.iii:10(LXX),14f; v:23; Mic.ii:1.
 3. See Prov.i:10ff; Ps.xxxvii:14,32.
 4. "If the righteous man is God's son, he will help him, and will deliver him from the hand of his adversaries. Let us test him with insult and torture...Let us condemn him to a shameful death."
 5. Heb.ix:28. Cf. Heb.x:10=I Pet.ii:24; Heb.ix:14= I Pet.i:19.

torious redeeming power, which even extended to the fallen angels of Noah's day, as it reaches the heather of their own age. Nevertheless, the thought of Judgement was probably not far from the author's mind¹ even though in the present verse he may be influenced by the first generation church's catechetical application of the Flood story, for which the example was set by 1 Enoch.²

iii:21 ἀντίτυπον νόου αὐτοῦ βάπτισμα... The striking resemblances in the thoughts of this verse and Eph.v:26 show how widely the teaching of the sanctifying power of baptism was applied in the early church. Again the use of the ritual terminology of the Temple worship in Jerusalem provides significant confirmation of the early provenance of I Peter, since such imagery would lose its great effect after the destruction of 70 AD.

iii:22 ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ. This passage is a close reflection of Peter's sermon in Acts ii:33-36, in which he claims that Jesus has fulfilled the promise of Ps.cx:l. In rabbinical circles that psalm was traditionally given a Messianic interpretation, an interpretation which the New Testament writers adopted as well.³ Peter again makes the same claim in Acts v:31, while in Acts vii:56-57 it is yet again repeated in the account of Stephen's martyrdom. In fact evidence for this belief can be found throughout the New Testament, and it subsequently became part of the Apostles' Creed. All this evidence suggests that the statement of the exaltation is a precious fragment of the baptismal confession of faith of the Apostolic church, reaching back to its very roots in Jerusalem, like the Judean Christ hymn quoted by Paul in Phil.ii:6-11.

1. See I Pet.iv:5-6.

2. 1 Enoch ix:10; x:11-15; xii:4; xiii:3; xv:2. See also W.J. Dalton, Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of I Peter 3:18-4:6, AnBib 23, Rome: PBI, 1965, pp. 163-176, who in a detailed analysis shows how all the elements in I Pet. iii:19f are closely bound together in 1 Enoch.

3. See W. Grundmann, *TDNT* II, pp. 37-40.

iv:2 μηκέτι ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίας ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ... Not only is the will of God contrasted with the human passions, but also with βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν of the following verse. The author is qualifying his earlier exhortations to ἀγαθοποιῶν¹ by stressing that the prime motive behind that injunction is to do the will of God, just as "doing tsedaqa" implied fulfilling the Torah for the rabbis. Jas. iv:13-15 gives a practical exposition of the same teaching in which he characterizes βούλημα as planning a business or a pleasure trip and similarly contrasts it with ἐάν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ. The presentation of such parallel rabbinic-like teaching with James is an added argument in favour of the existence of a common Jerusalem Catechism from which both writers drew. Interestingly, the same contrast between God's will and human passions occurs in Jn. i:13, from which it might be inferred that the Logos Hymn is also a confessional product of the first generation Judean church.

iv:3 ἀθεμίτοις... The catalogue of misconduct listed in this verse closely resembles those in Rom.viii:13-14 and Gal.v:19-21 and also has similarities with late Jewish texts² and the Dead Sea Scrolls.³ These factors suggest that such lists formed part of the early catechetical material. The only other place in the New Testament where ἀθεμίτος occurs is in Acts x:28, where it is used by Peter of that which is forbidden by the law of Moses.⁴ Scholars have debated whether ἀθεμίτος in this verse of I Peter is to be taken in the same sense it has in Acts or in the classical Greek sense of "Forbidden by natural law". If the former sense is correct, the author would appear to be addressing Jews, whereas if it is the latter, his addressees would be Gentile. Such a debate, however, rests on flimsy evidence and may even have led to a false contrast, for the most natural assumption would be that amongst the Asiatic Christians there would be both Jews and Gentiles. Moreover, the Books of Maccabees⁵ suggest that Jews had been guilty of this kind of apostasy, while Josephus⁶ mentions Jews taking part in plays at the court of

1. I Pet.ii:13-iii:22.

2. As. Mos.vii:3-10.

3. 1QS iv:9-11.

4. See A. Oepke, *TDNT* I, p. 166.

5. 1 Mac.i:13,14; 2 Mac.iv:13f.

6. Jos. Vit.3.

Nero and his Jewish wife Poppea. Thus while the author might sometimes be addressing a particular section of the community, it is not inconceivable that he might be thinking of all alike who took part in the idolatrous civic festivals and rituals of the towns of Asia Minor. For a Jewish Christian community abstention from the heathen festivals was doubly imperative on account of *Kashrut* and monotheism.¹

iv:4 ἐν ᾧ ἐβρίζονται. *εβρίζειν*, which properly means "to entertain a guest", is used in later Greek in the sense of "astonish" as in Acts xvii:20.² Gentile society was "astonished" or "amazed" at the Christians who stood aloof from all the religious festivals of the world. They resented their puritanism and regarded them as the enemies of all joy and therefore of the human race. Local persecutions were the natural fruit of such an attitude.

iv:4 βλασφημοῦντες. As the author reminded his readers of the example of Jesus' suffering, so he emphasises the fact that they too will suffer blasphemy as the community of Christ. Similarly, in Acts xiii:45 and xviii:6 the Jewish opposition to Paul's preaching is regarded as blasphemy. This Jewish opposition is viewed as blasphemy because it opposes the proclamation of Jesus as the Messiah - the fundamental belief on which the Christian community was founded.³ In iv:12 - 19 the author develops this theme of suffering still further, even suggesting that the readers share in the suffering of Christ. Now, P.H. Rodgers⁴ has argued forcefully for the acceptance of the antiquity of the Textus Receptus reading of verse 14. After ἀναπαύεται it adds κατὰ μὲν αὐτοῦς βλασφημεῖται, κατὰ δὲ ὑμᾶς δοξάζεται. Rodgers further believes that this reading incorporates

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1. It would appear that the same problem arose among some of the readers of Jas.ii:7, where such behaviour is described as βλασφημεῖν, "slander". Cf. I Pet.iv:4, βλασφημοῦντες.
 2. See G. Stählin, *TDNT* V, pp. 1-36.
 3. See H.W. Beyer, *TDNT* I, pp. 621-625.
 4. P.H. Rodgers, "The Longer Reading of I Peter 4:14", *CBQ* 43:93-95, 1981.

an allusion to Isaiah lii:5 τὸ ὄνομα μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. This text from Isaiah was regularly cited in anti-Jewish apologetic as in Rom. ii:24 where in describing Jewish unbelief Paul writes, τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ὑμῶν βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.¹ Consequently, if the longer reading of this verse is correct, the persecutors in I Peter are Jewish rather than Gentile and this is a situation which is similar to that described in the passages in Acts which we have just examined. Indeed, it suggests that the background to I Peter may be much closer to the conditions described in Acts than has hitherto been generally accepted, and provides further evidence for believing that the letter is addressed to a Jewish Jesus community in the diaspora.

iv:5 κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. The use of the verb or noun κρῖνω with the phrase "the living and the dead" was one of the earliest expressions to become fixed in a liturgical or credal context in terms of the last judgement.² The same combination of words can be found in Peter's sermon to Cornelius and his companions in Acts x:42, which is set within the context of the early missionary activity of the Judean Church. It indicates once again that the origin of the thoughts in I Peter are to be found in the formularies and thinking of the Jerusalem Church.

The exegetical crux of vss 5 and 6 has been debated by scholars down the ages.³ Some argue that εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη refers to Christ's descent into Hades and His preaching to the spirits in iii:19, for, if there is to be universal judgement, then all people must be given an opportunity to hear the Gospel. The baptismal

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1. Cf. 2 Pet.ii:2; Jas.ii:7. See also B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, London: SCM, 1961, pp. 22-24.
 2. Cf. Rom.xiv:9; 2 Tim.iv:1; Jas.iv:12; Barn.vii:2; Pol.Phil. ii:1; 2 Clem.i:1.
 3. For a resumé of the various views, see J.N.D. Kelly, A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude, BNTC, London: Black, 1969, pp. 171-176.

overtone of the passage might even reflect the practice of baptism for the dead, mentioned in 1 Cor.xv:29. Others have suggested that νεκροῖς denotes the spiritually dead as in Eph.ii:1 and Col.ii:13.

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6. See ὁ δὲ διαλογος pp. 106f supra.

7. See A. Oepke, *TDNT* V, pp. 858-871. 8. Jdt.x:18.

9. 2 Mac.viii:12; xv:21; 3 Mac.iii:17. 10. Op. cit. p. 864.

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to prevent his readers from relapsing into an "eschatological frenzy".¹ In their situation he wants them to aim at sobriety and moderation. This view is supported by Selwyn, who, in discussing the eschatology in I Peter, comes to the conclusion that this epistle, "stands in that central tradition of New Testament teaching for which eschatology is for the most part eschatology fulfilled; fulfilled in the historical fact of the advent of the Messiah and in the life of the Church which has been built upon him and has its whole existence within him".² Similarly, in 1 Thess. v:6 Paul urges his readers to be wakeful and sober, not as men keeping watch through the night for the coming daylight, but because daylight has already arrived with the coming of Christ. So too in Ephesians the readers must be as watchful as a soldier on active service. The purpose of this watchfulness is clearly stated in v:8. The Christians must watch as a precaution against the devil.

According to Dom Gregory Dix,³ the focal points of this teaching are paralleled in Jewish Monotheism, Messianism and Eschatology. Admittedly, in its catechetical form, it has been released from its previous limitations by Christ's resurrection, but it nevertheless indicates that it emanates from a Jewish environment, suggesting that we are still dealing with a Jerusalem Catechism.

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1. See U. Luck, *TDNT* VII, p. 1102.

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such as those found in Mk.xii:30-33; John xiii:34-35; xv:12-17.¹ Yet in reinforcing that teaching, he quotes Proverbs x:12 in a form which is much closer to the Hebrew² than to the LXX version, "Love covers all those who do not love strife".³ The same is true of James at this point. This raises a problem. Why would James and I Peter suddenly translate from the Hebrew text when they normally use the LXX? Possibly, the answer is to be found in the view that this aphorism did not come to them by way of the LXX, but was already included in the early Judean Christian paraenetic tradition which they are both using to instruct the Greek speaking Jewish believers they are addressing. The saying is reproduced in its Petrine form in some of the early Fathers,⁴ while Clement of Alexandria,⁵ Origen⁶ and the Didascalia⁷ ascribe it to Christ. Origen⁸ cites it in connection with Lk.vii:47, where Jesus' teaching about the woman whose sins are forgiven parallels the admonition of I Peter and could even be understood as a paraphrase of the aphorism in Prov.x:12. Thus it is quite possible that the saying was included in some early collection of Jesus logia, or at least became proverbial in the Jerusalem church from whence it was passed on in its catechetical instruction. Then, like many proverbial expressions, it was interpreted and adapted to suit the varying contexts where it was applied, as is done in James v:20. Interestingly, when on rare occasions the rabbis comment on Prov.x:12, they interpret it in the same way as I Peter.⁹ It is also important to note that neither he nor James give any indication that by introducing this aphorism they are quoting or even alluding to authoritative scripture. This lends further support to the view for this saying they are both indebted not to scripture, but to a current corpus of teaching like an early Jerusalem catechism.

1. Cf. 1 Cor.xiii:13.
 2. חַסֵּד כֹּסֵה עֲוֹנוֹת כֹּסֵה כָּל אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֵאָדָר לִיבֵי אֲהָבָה - כֹּסֵה כָּל אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֵאָדָר לִיבֵי אֲהָבָה.
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 4. See 1 Clem.xlix:5; 2 Clem.xvi:4; Tert. Scorp.vi:11; Clem. Alex. Quis Div. 38.
 5. Paed.iii.12.91. 6. Hom.in Lev.ii:4. 7. Didasc.II.iii:3.
 8. Op. cit. 9. See Str-B III, p. 766.

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overtones of the passage might even reflect the practice of baptism for the dead, mentioned in 1 Cor.xv:29. Others have suggested that *νεκρός* denotes the spiritually dead as in Eph.ii:1 and Col.ii:13.

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an allusion to Isaiah lii:5 *τὸσὺτε λέγει Κύριος. Δι' ἡμῶν διὰ τὸ θανάτου μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.* This text from Isaiah was regularly cited in anti-Jewish apologetic as in Rom. ii:10 in describing Jewish unbelief Paul writes, *τὸ γὰρ θύναται τὸ εἶναι ἡμῶν βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.*¹ Consequently, if the reading of this verse is correct, the persecutors in I Peter are Jewish rather than Gentile and this is a situation which is similar to that described in the passages in Acts which we have just examined. Indeed, it suggests that the background to I Peter is much closer to the conditions described in Acts than has hitherto been generally accepted, and provides further evidence for the view that the letter is addressed to a Jewish Jesus community in the diaspora.

iv:5 *καὶ οὖν ζῶντες καὶ νεκροί.* The use of the verb or noun with the phrase "the living and the dead" was one of the early expressions to become fixed in a liturgical or credal context of the last judgement.² The same combination of words is found in Peter's sermon to Cornelius and his companions in Acts x:42 which is set within the context of the early missionary activity in the Judean Church. It indicates once again that the origin of the thoughts in I Peter are to be found in the formularies and traditions of the Jerusalem Church.

The exegetical crux of vs 5 and 6 has been debated by scholars down the ages.³ Some argue that *εἰς τὸσὺτο γὰρ καὶ νεκροί* refers to Christ's descent into Hades and His preaching to the dead in iii:19, for, if there is to be universal judgement, then all people must be given an opportunity to hear the Gospel. The

1. Cf. 2 Pet.ii:2; Jas.ii:7. See also B. Lindars, *New Apologetic*, London: SCM, 1961, pp. 22-24.
 2. Cf. Rom.xiv:9; 2 Tim.ii:1; Jas.iv:12; Barn.vii:2; Pol.ii:1; 2 Clem.i:1.
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iv:10 ὡς καλοὶ οἰκονομοὶ is very reminiscent of Lk.xii:41-44. In that context the question of the faithful and wise steward is addressed to Peter personally, although it is clear that the answer has a general application as reflected in Mk.xiii:37, "And what I say to you I say to all: Watch". The thought of good stewards also recalls the peculiar Lucan parable of the Unjust Steward, Lk.xvi:1-12.

iv:11 ἵνα ἐν πάντων δοξάζηται ὁ θεός is very similar to the saying of Jesus recorded in the Matthean source Matt.v:16. It may be based on an earlier Jewish idea expressed in the Testament of Naphtali viii:4, "If ye work that which is good, my children, both men and angels shall bless you; and God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you, and the devil shall flee from you".¹ This text was probably familiar in the early church as its last phrase is quoted in James iv:7. Similar teaching appears at I Pet.ii:12, where the context is much closer to that of Test. Napht. because both writers have τὰ ἔθνη in mind. On the other hand, the εἰσπροσθεὶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων of Matt.v:16 and the context of I Pet.iv:11 appear to restrict it to their own people. Possibly the author is alluding to two separate logia, one dealing with the Gentiles and the other with the believing community. Both are typical examples of Jewish beracha which involves giving כבוד to God, and their occurrence in this letter once again reflect the writer's Jewish heritage.

iv:12-19. The new beginning after the doxology of the previous verse first led R. Perdelwitz² to suggest that i:3-iv:11 was originally associated with an act of baptism, while i:1f and iv:12-v:14 were later additions to turn it into a letter, for in the first part the addressees' suffering is regarded as "potential", whereas in this section it is "actual".³ As there is no textual corroboration for such hypotheses, they have not generally been accepted by New Testament scholars.

1. As translated in *APOT* II, p. 339.

2. R. Perdelwitz, *Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des 1. Petrusbriefes*, Giessen: Topelmann, 1911, pp. 14-16.

3. For various hypotheses concerning the genre of the letter, see pp. 19-21 *supra*.

iv:12-19. When the author again speaks of exultation in the midst of suffering, which he now describes as a fiery trial in expectation of the Parousia, his thought is strikingly parallel to the Q passage in Matt.v:12; Lk. vi:23 as well as Rom.viii:17; 2 Cor.i:5-7; Phil. iii:10f; 2 Tim.ii:11; Heb.x:32-39; xi:26; xiii:13f; and Jas.i:2. Such parallels show that these ideas about the sufferings and ultimate vindication of the believers were a common theme in primitive Christianity, which various writers developed in their own way. A good example of this may be found in Paul's development of the theme in Rom.viii:18-25 and Col.i:24. Selwyn¹ believes that this paradoxical interpretation of persecution as a ground of rejoicing was a routine topic of a very primitive catechism. It was probably based on the Jesus logia and the apocalyptic belief that terrible sufferings and persecutions would precede the "last day", so that the occurrence of such fiery trials augured well for the coming of the Kingdom. However, we should reckon with the possibility that, as they are reported, these sayings themselves may reflect the influence of the persecutions which induced the need for sayings of Jesus on this subject. As a background to this New Testament teaching, W. Nauck² has presented evidence to show that the heroic attitude of rejoicing at being made to suffer in God's cause was well established in later Judaism. It was inspired by the cruel but glorious experiences of Maccabean times.³ The parallel between I Peter and Wisdom iii which refers to the Maccabean struggles, is particularly close. Clearly, this is just the sort of material one would expect the Jerusalem Church to assimilate and re-interpret in the light of its conviction of the imminence of the End and the second coming of Christ, who Himself had suffered. The identification of Jesus with the "Suffering Servant" and the latter's ultimate glory would also contribute significantly to the injunction: $\chi\acute{o}\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. From there it would be a small and logical step to include it in its catechetical instruction.

1. Op. cit. p. 450.

2. W. Nauck, "Freude im Leiden, zum Problem einer urchristlichen Verfolgungstradition", *ZNW* 46:68-80, 1955.

3. Cf. 2 Mac.vi:28-30; 4 Mac.vii:22; ix:29; xi:12; Jdt.viii:25-27; Wis.iii:4-6.

Throughout this passage in I Peter, we find various words and turns of phrase which reflect the Jewish origin of the teaching which the author presents. For instance, in the LXX version of the psalms,¹ *ὀνειδίζεσθαι* in vs 14 is frequently used to describe the insults heaped on God's people. In the New Testament it has also become associated with the indignities which Jesus had to endure.² Yet crowning all this suffering is the word *μακάριοι*. They are "blessed" *ὅτι τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐπ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται*. This difficult Greek phrase is reminiscent of the LXX version of Is xi:2 - *καὶ ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ* - and Is. lxi:1 - *Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ*. The author was probably also influenced by the thought that the presence of God was marked by the manifestation of the Shekinah - *שכינה*.³ Further, the admonition to "rejoice in so far as you share Christ's sufferings," in vs 13 reflects the kind of thinking expressed in 2 Macc. vi:12 - 17, 30f and in 4 Macc. ix: 29 - 32. The members of the Qumran Community have a similar attitude to suffering, albeit under different circumstances when they sing, "For I know Thy truth and I choose Thy judgement upon me; I delight in my scourges for I hope for Thy loving kindness...Thou hast not failed my expectation, but hast upheld my spirit in face of the scourge".⁴ And again, "The scorn of my enemies shall become a crown of glory, and my stumbling (shall change) to everlasting might".⁵ In vss 17-18, the author cites Prov.xi:31, "If the righteous is requited on earth, how much more the wicked and the sinner!" to drive home the contrasting fates of the obedient and disobedient in the judgement of God. Such thoughts of judgement first falling on the people of God, the sanctuary and the priesthood are also expressed by many prophets⁶ and are, therefore, together with the teaching of

1. E.g. *ψ* xli:11; liv:13; lxviii:10.

2. See Matt.xxvii:44; Rom.xv:3; Heb.xi:26; xiii:13.
See also J. Schneider, *TDNT* V, pp. 238-242.

3. See D. Moody, *IDB* IV, pp. 317-319. 4. 1QH ix:9-12.

5. 1QH ix:24. Cf. 1QH xi:8; 1QS iv:18-20.

6. See Isa.x:12; Jer.xxv:29; Ezek.ix:6; Zech.xiii:7-9;
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