

# Sharing in Christ's Glory: A Study of *Doxa* in 1 Peter

D N Campbell

 [orcid.org/0000-0002-0140-4053](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0140-4053)

Thesis accepted for the degree *Doctor of Philosophy* in *New Testament* at the North-West University

Promoter: Prof Dr JJ Janse van Rensburg

Graduation ceremony: May 2021

Student number: 12246786



## PREFACE

The seed of this thesis was sown over a dinner in Potchefstroom with my MA Supervisor, Prof Dr Fika Janse van Rensburg. Little did we know as we mulled this matter over that this academic quest would resemble an Odyssean journey.

Not long after graduating, I left the work of pastoral ministry in the Eastern Cape and headed to Scotland where I would establish a new Free Church of Scotland congregation in Dunfermline. Every Friday was my 'Potch' Day' set aside for study. As the congregation became established, so, with the constant encouragement of my Supervisor, did this thesis.

With future progress assumed, little did I expect that I would be appointed as Chaplain at Scotch College in Melbourne, Australia. In February 2014, we emigrated and I was soon studying for my Diploma of Education to allow me to teach. Settling into a new country, a demanding job and even more study meant that this thesis on 1 Peter, if not abandoned, soon became the relegated step-child of my life. Instead of deferring, I ploughed on.

I take this opportunity to thank those who have assisted me on this expedition -

To the staff of the libraries of New College (University of Edinburgh), Edinburgh Theological Seminary and Presbyterian Theological College, Melbourne, for all their assistance.

To the members of the Masters and Doctoral Studies Department in North-West University for all their help in navigating me through the administration down through the years.

To the Principal, Tom Batty, and staff of Scotch College, Melbourne, who have taken an interest in my studies and offered their kind encouragements.

To Dr Keith Alexander Campbell, my younger brother, who has carefully looked over each chapter and offered his own suggestions to improve my argument and the manuscript.

To Prof Dr Fika Janse van Rensburg, for his patience and wise counsel over the years guiding me through the intricacies of our beloved 1 Peter. He has stood resolutely alongside me when others may have doubted that this work would reach completion. For your faith in me and for your steadfast support, I thank you. We may now open those bottles of wine we put aside years ago to celebrate the end of this journey. We can savour the contents with glad and thankful hearts to the Lord.

To our girls, Ovi, Beth & Mari, who have grown up and become young women through the years of this thesis. At first you were bemused by my "Potch Day". By the end you would regularly enquire about the state of my thesis. I promised you that we would return one day to South Africa, the land of your births, to attend my graduation. God willing, that promise still holds.

To Julia, my beloved wife, who has shared with me in the work of the gospel on three continents for quarter of a century. Most of our married life has seen me studying and not once have you resented seeing me head to my library on my 'day-off' or in the evening. You have encouraged and supported me to the very end. This work is as much yours; and so I dedicate it to you.

Soli Deo Gloria

Melbourne, August 2020

## ABSTRACT

The renaissance in Petrine studies during the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a number of scholarly works examining 1 Peter with renewed vitality. Rather than being primarily concerned to identify possible underlying baptismal sources, scholars assumed the genuineness of the letter which in turn led to significant fresh academic endeavours that sought to help modern readers understand more fully Peter's overarching message, the purpose of the letter, and the social setting of its first readers in Asia Minor.

This study begins (Chapter 2) by presenting some underlying presuppositions concerning the authorship, date and provenance of the epistle before examining the setting and the religious and social background of the original recipients. The chapter then briefly outlines the arguments for accepting 1 Peter as a genuine letter to an audience with real concerns.

Chapter 3 reflects on some of the major works by Petrine scholars and their various hypotheses to fully understand the epistle. This study notes that some of these academic hypotheses have offered differing hermeneutical keys, usually based on the occurrences of particular Greek terms. Interestingly, however, none of these studies have considered the author of 1 Peter's frequent use of δόξα (*doxa*, glory) and its cognates. This study, therefore, considers the Jewish background of כבוד (*kabod*, glory) in the Hebrew Bible (Chapter 4), the Jewish Apocalyptic literature (Chapter 5) and the use of δόξα in the Septuagint (Chapter 6).

In Chapter 7, this study considers the use of δόξα and its cognates in 1 Peter as seen in the context of the overall letter. It examines how this term is intricately linked to the author's Christology and soteriology. It also considers the author's use of δόξα to encourage his original recipients who were suffering for their faith in Jesus Christ with the eschatological hope of sharing ultimately in Christ's glory.

**Key Terms** - 1 Peter, suffering, Jesus Christ, glory, δόξα, *doxa*, כבוד, *kabod*, Christology, soteriology, Asia Minor.



## OPSOMMING

Tydens die herlewing in Petrus-navorsing gedurende die tweede helfte van die 20ste eeu, het 'n aantal wetenskaplike werke 1 Petrus met hernude lewenskrag bestudeer. Eerder as om primêr daarop te fokus op moontlike onderliggende doop-bronne te identifiseer, het navorsers die egtheid van die brief aanvaar, wat op sy beurt gelei het tot beduidende vars akademiese pogings om lesers in die huidige tyd te help om die oorkoepelende boodskap van Petrus, die doel van die brief, en die sosiale konteks van sy eerste lesers in Klein-Asië.

Die studie begin (Hoofstuk 2) met die aanbieding van enkele onderliggende voorveronderstellings oor die outeurskap, datum en herkoms van die brief, voordat die oorspronklike ontvangers se omgewing en godsdienstige en sosiale konteks ondersoek word. In hierdie hoofstuk word die argumente kortliks uiteengesit vir die aanvaarding van 1 Petrus as 'n egte brief aan geadresseerdes met werklike bekommernisse.

Hoofstuk 3 besin oor enkele van die belangrikste werke van Petrus-navorsers en hulle verskillende hipoteses vir 'n geldige verstaan van die brief. Die studie wys dat sommige van hierdie wetenskaplike hipoteses verskillende hermeneutiese sleutels aanbied, meestal gebaseer op die voorkoms van bepaalde Griekse terme. Dit is egter opvallend dat nie een van hierdie studies die outeur van 1 Petrus se gereelde gebruik van δόξα (*doxa*, heerlijkheid) en etimologies-verwante begrippe oorweeg nie. Daarom is die fokus van my studie die Joodse agtergrond van כבוד (*kabod*, heerlijkheid) in die Hebreeuse Bybel (hoofstuk 4), die Joodse apokaliptiese literatuur (hoofstuk 5) en die gebruik van δόξα in die Septuaginta (hoofstuk 6).

In hoofstuk 7 word die gebruik van δόξα en verwante begrippe in 1 Petrus oorweeg, binne die konteks van die hele brief. Dit ondersoek hoe hierdie term verweef is met die Christologie en soteriologie van die outeur. Die outeur se gebruik van δόξα om sy eerste lesers wat swaarkry vanweë hulle geloof in Jesus Christus aan te moedig met die eskatologiese hoop om uiteindelik in Christus se heerlijkheid te deel, kom ook onder die loep.

**Slutelsterme** - 1 Petrus, lyding, Jesus Christus, heerlijkheid, δόξα, doxa, כבוד, kabod, Christologie, soteriologie, Klein-Asië.



# ABRIDGED TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	v
OPSOMMING .....	vii
ABRIDGED TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: THE PURPOSE OF 1 PETER.....	5
CHAPTER 3: THE SEARCH FOR THE CONTROLLING METAPHOR IN 1 PETER .....	21
CHAPTER 4: GLORY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.....	33
CHAPTER 5: GLORY IN THE JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE .....	47
CHAPTER 6: GLORY IN THE LXX.....	55
CHAPTER 7: Δόξα AND ITS COGNATES IN 1 PETER.....	61
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION.....	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	95



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM STATEMENT .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	Background .....	1
1.2	Problem Statement .....	1
<b>2.</b>	<b>AIM AND OBJECTIVES .....</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1	Aim .....	3
2.2	Objectives .....	3
<b>3.</b>	<b>METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>4.</b>	<b>CHAPTER BREAKDOWN .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>THE PURPOSE OF 1 PETER .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>PRESUPPOSITIONS .....</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1	Author.....	5
2.2	Date .....	6
2.2.1	Summary .....	6
2.3	Provenance .....	6
<b>3.</b>	<b>ORIGINAL RECIPIENTS OF 1 PETER.....</b>	<b>7</b>
3.1	Where did they Live? .....	7
3.2	Who were these People? .....	8
3.2.1	A Predominately Jewish-Christian Audience .....	8
3.2.2	A Predominately Gentile-Christian Audience .....	8
3.2.3	Conclusion on Ethnic Identity.....	9
3.3	Social Status .....	9
3.3.1	Aliens and Strangers .....	10
3.3.2	Servants and Slaves.....	10
3.3.3	Masters.....	10
3.3.4	Wives .....	11
3.3.5	Summary .....	11
3.4	Urban or Rural Congregations .....	11
<b>4.</b>	<b>THE INTEGRITY AND INTENTION OF 1 PETER .....</b>	<b>12</b>
4.1	The Genre and Integrity of 1 Peter .....	12
4.2	A Paraenetic/Horotatory Epistle .....	13
4.2.1	Historical Development .....	13
4.2.2	Definition.....	14
4.2.3	1 Peter a Paraenetic Epistle .....	14
4.3	Diaspora Letter .....	15
4.4	The Intention of 1 Peter .....	15

4.4.1	Internal Evidence .....	15
4.4.2	Corroborating Evidence .....	16
4.4.3	Degree and Character of Opposition in 1 Peter .....	16
4.4.4	Cause of the Suffering .....	16
4.4.5	Summary .....	18
4.4.6	Theological Understanding of Suffering.....	18
4.4.6.1	Graeco-Roman Culture.....	18
<b>5.</b>	<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>THE SEARCH FOR THE CONTROLLING METAPHOR IN 1 PETER .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH .....</b>	<b>21</b>
2.1	The First Half of the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century.....	21
2.2	The Second Half of the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century .....	22
2.2.1	The Gradual Demise of the Baptismal Theories .....	22
2.2.2	The Search for a Unifying Theme in 1 Peter .....	22
2.2.3	The Seismic Change of the Petrine Landscape.....	23
2.2.3.1	The Landscape Begins to Move .....	23
2.2.3.2	The Continuation of the Debate .....	25
2.2.3.2.1	Balch's Counter-Attack .....	25
2.2.3.2.2	Elliott's Response.....	25
2.2.3.3	The Aftermath – Conformity or Resistance .....	26
2.2.3.4	The Aftermath – Metaphors .....	28
2.2.3.5	The Aftermath – Theology .....	30
2.2.3.6	The Aftermath – Navigating the Impasse.....	30
<b>3.</b>	<b>SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>GLORY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>כבוד and יהוה כבוד in the Old Testament .....</b>	<b>33</b>
2.1	Preliminary Findings.....	33
2.2	יהוה כבוד in the Old Testament .....	34
2.3	Summary .....	35
<b>3.</b>	<b>יהוה כבוד IN THE PENTATEUCH.....</b>	<b>35</b>
3.1	The יהוה כבוד at Mount Sinai and the Tabernacle.....	35
3.1.1	Exodus 24:15-25:1 .....	35
3.1.2	Exodus 40:34-35 and Leviticus 9:23 .....	35

3.2	The Appearances of כבוד יהוה during Israel's Wilderness Wanderings .....	36
3.2.1	Exodus 16:10; Numbers 14:10; 16:19; 16:42 [17:7] and 20:6 .....	36
3.3	כבוד יהוה in the Worship of Israel .....	36
<b>4.</b>	<b>כבוד יהוה IN THE PSALMS .....</b>	<b>37</b>
4.1	Psalm 29.....	37
4.2	Psalm 24.....	38
4.3	Yahweh's כבוד and the King .....	39
4.4	Yahweh's כבוד and Creation .....	39
<b>5.</b>	<b>כבוד יהוה IN THE EARLY MONARCHY .....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>6.</b>	<b>כבוד יהוה IN THE PROPHETS .....</b>	<b>40</b>
6.1	כבוד יהוה as Judgement on God's People .....	40
6.2	כבוד יהוה as Judgement on Pagan Nations .....	41
6.3	כבוד יהוה as a Symbol of Encouragement .....	41
6.4	כבוד יהוה in the Call of the Prophets .....	43
6.4.1	Isaiah 6:3 .....	44
6.4.2	Isaiah 40:5 .....	44
6.4.3	Ezekiel 1:28.....	44
6.5	כבוד יהוה in the Prophets: a Summary .....	45
<b>7.</b>	<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>GLORY IN THE JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE .....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>GLORY IN THE THRONE VISIONS .....</b>	<b>47</b>
2.1	The Great Glory .....	47
2.1.1	The Throne Vision in 1 Enoch 14 .....	47
2.1.2	The Throne Vision in 2 Enoch 20-22.....	48
2.2	The Glory Language and Death .....	48
2.2.1	The Throne Vision in Testament of Abraham 15-20.....	48
2.3	Glory Language: Beyond the Titular .....	49
2.3.1	The Lord on his Throne/Seat of Glory .....	49
2.3.2	The Glory of the Lord's Chosen One.....	49
2.3.3	The Glory and the Angels.....	50
2.3.4	Throne Visions – A Summary .....	50
<b>3.</b>	<b>THE INFLUENCE OF THE THRONE VISIONS .....</b>	<b>50</b>
3.1	The Influence of the Throne Visions in Ezekiel and Daniel.....	50
3.2	The Son of Man and Glory in Other Apocalyptic Literature .....	52
3.3	God and Glory in the Apocalyptic Literature.....	52
<b>4.</b>	<b>OTHER APOCALYPTIC USES OF GLORY.....</b>	<b>52</b>

4.1	Theophany .....	52
4.2	Sinai Tradition .....	52
4.3	The Royal Tradition .....	53
4.4	Prophetic Tradition .....	53
<b>5.</b>	<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>GLORY IN THE LXX .....</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>A BRIEF HISTORY IN INTERPRETATION .....</b>	<b>55</b>
2.1	Holy Ghost Language .....	55
2.2	Human Language .....	55
2.3	Impasse .....	55
<b>3.</b>	<b>THE ADOPTION OF δόξα IN THE LXX .....</b>	<b>56</b>
3.1	Holy Ghost Language Strand and δόξα .....	56
3.2	The LXX as Koiné Greek Strand and δόξα.....	56
3.3	Breaching the Chasm .....	56
<b>4.</b>	<b>WHY δόξα? .....</b>	<b>57</b>
4.1	Mechanical Translation .....	57
4.2	The כבוד—δόξα Relationship Examined.....	58
4.3	כבוד—δόξα: A Tentative Way Forward .....	59
<b>5.</b>	<b>SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Δόξα AND ITS COGNATES IN 1 PETER.....</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>2.</b>	<b>THE OCCURRENCES OF δόξα IN 1 PETER 1:1-2:10 .....</b>	<b>61</b>
2.1	The Context of 1:1-2:10 .....	6159
2.1.1	The Wider Context 1:1-2:10.....	61
2.1.2	The Immediate Context.....	62
2.2	1 Peter 1:7,8.....	62
2.2.1	1 Peter 1:7- εὐρεθῆ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ62	
2.2.2	1 Peter 1:8 - πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρᾷ ἀνεκκλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένη .....	64
2.2.3	Summary of 1 Peter 1:7,8 .....	64
2.3	The Occurrence of δόξα in 1 Peter 1:10-12.....	64
2.3.1	1 Peter 1:11 - προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας 65	
2.3.2	Summary of 1 Peter 1:11 .....	66
2.4	The Occurrence of δόξα in 1 Peter 1:21 .....	66
2.4.1	The Wider Context of 1 Peter 1:13-21.....	66

2.4.2	1 Peter 1:21 - τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα.....	67
2.4.3	Summary of 1 Peter 1:21 .....	68
2.5	The Occurrence of δόξα in 1 Peter 1:22-2:3.....	68
2.5.1	The Immediate Context of 1 Peter 1:24.....	68
2.5.2	1 Peter 1:24 - διότι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου	68
<b>3.</b>	<b>THE OCCURRENCE OF δόξα IN 1 PETER 2:12 .....</b>	<b>69</b>
3.1	The Surrounding Context – 1 Peter 2:11-17 .....	69
3.2	The Immediate Context – 1 Peter 2:12.....	69
3.3	1 Peter 2:12 - ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς .....	70
3.4	Summary of 1 Peter 2:12 .....	71
<b>4.</b>	<b>THE OCCURRENCES OF δόξα IN 1 PETER 2:13-4:11 .....</b>	<b>71</b>
4.1	A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 2:18-25 .....	71
4.2	A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 3:1-7.....	72
4.3	A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 3:8-12.....	73
4.4	A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 3:13-17 .....	73
4.5	A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 3:18-22 .....	74
4.6	A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 4:1-6.....	74
4.7	1 Peter 4:7-11.....	75
4.7.1	The Immediate Context of 1 Peter 4:7-11 .....	75
4.7.2	1 Peter 4:11 - ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζηται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.....	76
4.7.3	1 Peter 4:11d - ὃ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.	76
<b>5.</b>	<b>THE OCCURRENCES OF δόξα IN 1 PETER 4:12-19 .....</b>	<b>77</b>
5.1	1 Peter 4:13 - ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρήτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι..	77
5.2	1 Peter 4:14 - ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται .....	77
5.3	1 Peter 4:16 - εἰ δὲ ὡς χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ.....	80
5.4	A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 4:17-19 .....	81
<b>6.</b>	<b>THE OCCURRENCES OF δόξα IN 1 PETER 5:1-14 .....</b>	<b>82</b>
6.1	Instructions to Elders - 1 Peter 5:1-4.....	82
6.2	1 Peter 5:1 - ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός.....	83
6.3	1 Peter 5:4 - καὶ φανερωθέντος τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος κομειῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον .....	84
6.4	A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 5:5-11 .....	85
6.5	1 Peter 5:10 - ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ .....	86

6.6	A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 5:11-14 .....	87
7.	<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>87</b>
8	<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>91</b>
1.	<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>91</b>
2.	<b>SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS</b> .....	<b>91</b>
2.1	Chapter 2 – The Purpose of 1 Peter .....	91
2.2	Chapter 3 – The Search for the Controlling Metaphor in 1 Peter.....	91
2.3	Chapter 4 – Glory in the Old Testament .....	92
2.4	Chapter 5 – Glory in the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature.....	92
2.5	Chapter 6 – Glory in the LXX .....	92
2.6	Chapter 7 – Δόξα and its Cognates in 1 Peter.....	93
3.	<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>94</b>
	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>95</b>

## List of Tables

Table 1:	The Occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter .....	2
Table 2:	Translations of כבוד in the LXX .....	57
Table 3:	The Use of Psalm 8:6 in 1 Peter 1:11 .....	65
Table 4:	The Use of Isaiah 52:13 [LXX] in 1 Peter 1:21 .....	67
Table 5:	The Use of Isaiah 11:1-2 in 1 Peter 4:14.....	78



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### Table of Contents

1. Background and Problem Statement
2. Aim and Objectives
3. Methodology
4. Chapter Breakdown

### 1. BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

#### 1.1 Background

Petrine Studies has certainly progressed since Elliott (1976) described the field as being the 'exegetical step-child' of New Testament Studies. While the academic spotlight still shines brighter on the Gospels and Pauline literature, the field of Petrine studies stands indebted to the impetus provided by Elliott's initial and subsequent works. Such is this development that Elliott (2000:4) could celebrate the 'sizable body of research on 1 Peter' that has emerged. The 'step-child' has indeed been truly rehabilitated.

One of the major debates among Petrine scholars has been the attempt to discover from the imagery employed the controlling metaphor of the Epistle. Much of this debate has occurred against the backdrop of the provocative work by Elliott (1981 and 1990)<sup>1</sup> and his subsequent interaction with Balch (1981).<sup>2</sup> Since then a number of proposals, some more persuasive than others, have been proffered by Petrine scholars in an attempt to discover the controlling metaphor or 'organising principle' through which 1 Peter should be read. Some of these proposals shall be considered in Chapter 3.

#### 1.2 Problem Statement

While these attempts to identify and examine the possible 'controlling metaphor/principle' are interesting and generally highlight a particular aspect of the epistle, the question remains, is the letter controlled by just one isolated metaphor? Is it possible that we should look at an overarching theme under which the epistle should be understood?

It is worth noting that 1 Peter contains many references to the person of Christ and his work of salvation. Achtemeier (1993:176) has observed that 1 Peter is 'one of the most thoroughly christocentric writings in the New Testament'.<sup>3</sup> Indeed some have argued that the author of 1 Peter has employed a particular Christology in order to foster perseverance among the Christians in Asia Minor. For some the Christological pattern of suffering and glory are presented by the author of the letter in order to establish a model of God that is to function as the paradigmatic and paraenetic basis for Christian life in a pluralistic society (Richard 1986:121-39). Interestingly, in trying to explain to his audience who Jesus was and his sufferings, the author of 1 Peter frequently cites and alludes to the Old Testament.<sup>4</sup> Whether Schutter (1989:35-43) is correct in his analysis that nearly one half of 1 Peter is Old Testament material, the reality is that no book of the New Testament (with the possible exceptions of Romans and Hebrews) is so permeated with so many quotations, allusions and echoes as 1 Peter.<sup>5</sup> This fact has some bearing on what kind of document it is and who would be able to follow such a sustained biblical exposition (Martin 1994:88).

---

<sup>1</sup> Elliott's (1990) second edition is essentially a reissue of his 1981 edition with a slightly modified title. However, the second edition certainly betrays some degree of qualification of his earlier work. In particular, Elliott (1990:xxviii-xxx) seems to allow a little more room for a metaphorical reading, but only in a limited sense (see Dubis 2006:216). This study shall interact mainly with Elliott's 1990 edition.

<sup>2</sup> See Chin (1991), Bechtler (1998) and Seland (2001) for an analysis of Elliott's (1990) treatment of the terms *πάροικος* and *παρεπιδήμιος*.

<sup>3</sup> For a brief outline of the Christology in 1 Peter see Hurtado (1997:173-174).

<sup>4</sup> Schutter (1989:35-36) classifies and categorises the types of use of the Old Testament in 1 Peter into Quotations, Allusions and Biblicisms. On the basis of his criteria, Schutter then proceeds to provide a list of the different usages (1989:37-43). Elliott (2000:12-17) generally accepts Schutter's list with only minor modification.

<sup>5</sup> For more detailed discussions of the differences between quotation, allusion and echo, see France (1982:259-63) and Moyise (2000:18-19).

In relation to this, it is very interesting to note that the term ‘glory’ regularly appears in 1 Peter, often in relation to Christ.

<b>Part of Speech</b>	<b>Occurrence</b>	<b>Greek</b>	<b>Context</b>
Noun - δόξα	1 Peter 1:7	δόξαν	Genuine faith that endures will result in glory at Christ’s return.
	1 Peter 1:11	δόξας	The prophets prophesied the sufferings and subsequent glories of Christ.
	1 Peter 1:21	δόξαν	The glory bestowed on Christ after his resurrection by God.
	1 Peter 1:24	δόξα	Man’s inherent glory is likened to the impermanent glory of grass.
	1 Peter 4:11	δόξα	A doxological reference to Christ’s own eternal glory.
	1 Peter 4:13	δόξης	The eschatological revelation of Christ’s glory will bring joy to the Christians.
	1 Peter 4:14	δόξης	The glory of Christ rests on Christians in their present suffering.
	1 Peter 5:1	δόξης	Peter encourages his readers as one who will partake in the glory Christ when he returns.
	1 Peter 5:4	δόξης	Christians will be rewarded at the Chief Shepherd’s return with an unfading crown of glory.
	1 Peter 5:10	δόξαν	Christians are called by God to partake in his eternal glory in Christ.
Verb - δοξάζω	1 Peter 1:8	δεδοξασμένη	Christians rejoice now with a joy that is filled with glory.
	1 Peter 2:12	δοξάσωσιν	Unbelievers may glorify God at Christ’s return as a result of the witness of Christians.
	1 Peter 4:11	δοξάζεται	Christians glorify God through Christ now in their lives and witness.
	1 Peter 4:16	δοξαζέτω	Suffering Christians are instructed to glorify God now.

In an appendix to his commentary on the epistle, Selwyn (1947:253-58) recorded that the frequent use of δόξα and δοξάζω in 1 Peter deserved particular attention. Selwyn proceeded to briefly discuss the author’s use of δόξα and its derivatives as belonging alongside ‘salvation’ and ‘revelation’ and thus containing a predominantly eschatological sense. However, this particular emphasis raises the question whether this concept of ‘glory’ plays an important part in the author’s message. Could it even be an organising theme of 1 Peter? If it is, then how is this concept employed throughout the Epistle and how does it fit in with the author’s overall aim and purpose in writing to these Christian believers in Asia Minor?

The main research question is: What exactly does the term δόξα (glory) and its derivatives mean and how is it being used by the author of 1 Peter? And is the term used in expressing the author’s central purpose in addressing these Christians in Asia Minor, and if it is, how is this done?

The questions which arise from this problem are:

1. What is Peter's main purpose in writing to the Christians scattered throughout Asia Minor?
2. How suitable and appropriate are the various proposals of modern scholars in identifying the 'controlling metaphor' or 'organising principle' in 1 Peter? How successful are these alternatives in conveying the author of Peter's overall purpose in writing this letter to the Christians in Asia Minor?
3. What is the meaning, background and usage of כבוד and δόξα and its cognates in the literature of the Old Testament and the LXX, and in the Jewish Intertestamental apocalyptic writings?
4. In comparison with the uses of δόξα in other extant literature, how does the author use δόξα and its cognates in 1 Peter?
5. How does Peter's use of δόξα and its cognates relate to his Christology and Soteriology as expressed in 1 Peter?
6. How would this concept of 'glory' have been an appropriate one to use in order to secure his purpose in addressing and encouraging suffering Christians in Asia Minor?

## **2. AIM AND OBJECTIVES**

### **2.1 Aim**

The main aim of this study is to consider the validity of 'glory' with its connection with the person of Christ, as being an important 'organising principle' of 1 Peter. This will require an investigation into Peter's use of the δόξα word group to see how it is utilised in the Epistle in order to provide comfort and encouragement to the first recipients of the letter.

### **2.2 Objectives**

The specific objectives of this study are:

1. To establish and explore the general situation and the problems being experienced by Christian believers in first century Asia Minor to whom Peter is addressing his letter.
2. To note and evaluate the various proposals offered by modern scholars as to the 'controlling metaphor' or 'organising principle' of 1 Peter.
3. To examine and establish the background and meaning of the terms כבוד and δόξα and its cognates in Jewish and Christian literature.
4. To examine the usage of δόξα and its cognates in 1 Peter; and examine and exegete the appropriate passages against their immediate and wider contexts.
5. To see how Peter's use of δόξα and its cognates should be seen in relation to his understanding of the person and work of Christ.
6. To consider this appropriateness of this emphasis of 1 Peter in the light of his overall pastoral purpose and to consider its continued usefulness today to persons who find themselves in comparable situations to those in first century AD Asia Minor.

## **3. METHODOLOGY**

This study is undertaken from within the Reformed tradition.

In answering the different research questions, the following methods have been used.

1. The study of the socio-historical situation of the addressees of 1 Peter and the purpose of the author of 1 Peter has been done by employing the socio-historic method (Garret 1992:89-92).
2. The review and analysis of the various proposals of the 'controlling metaphor' or 'organising principle' of 1 Peter have been done by consulting the different books, articles and commentaries.

3. The review of the usage, background and development of δόξα and its cognates has been done diachronically (Silva 1983:34-38), looking at those instances in primary sources and using the appropriate lexicons, dictionaries and commentaries. A synchronic study of the use of δόξα and its cognates in the New Testament has been undertaken utilising the lexicon by Louw and Nida (1988).
4. The study of δόξα and its cognates in 1 Peter and the exegesis of such passages has been undertaken according to the grammatical-historical method (Poythress 1988:98-99), utilising lexicons, and consulting various theological dictionaries, commentaries, articles and books.
5. The relationship of δόξα and its cognates to the Christology and Soteriology of 1 Peter has been examined utilising commentaries, articles and theological dictionaries.
6. The resulting conclusions have been evaluated and be examined for their usefulness in addressing those whose context is comparable with the context of the first recipients of 1 Peter.

#### **4. CHAPTER BREAKDOWN**

The following chapter breakdown is offered:

- 1) Introduction
- 2) The Purpose of 1 Peter
- 3) The Search for the Controlling Metaphor in 1 Peter
- 4) Glory in the Old Testament
- 5) Glory in the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature
- 6) Glory in the LXX
- 7) Δόξα and its Cognates in 1 Peter
- 8) Conclusion
- 9) Bibliography

# Chapter 2

## The Purpose of 1 Peter

### Table of Contents

1. Introduction
2. Presuppositions
3. Original Recipients of 1 Peter
4. The Integrity and Intention of 1 Peter
5. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

This purpose of this chapter is to examine briefly some of the major issues underlying 1 Peter to see the letter and its purpose against its wider, original socio-historical setting.

### 2. Presuppositions

It is appropriate to state the underlying working presuppositions of this study at the outset. The issues of the authorship and date of 1 Peter will naturally affect the reader's understanding of the letter, its purpose, and the situation of the addressees.

#### 2.1 Author

For the purpose of this thesis, claims that the letter was written by Peter an apostle of Jesus Christ (Πέτρος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) will be accepted and presupposed (1 Pet 1:1).<sup>6</sup> Naturally, this means that the contents express the concerns of the stated author rather than those of a later, pseudonymous author belonging to a Petrine group.<sup>7</sup> The trouble with the proposal that 1 Peter is the composition of a Petrine group, which probably included Mark and Silvanus, is fraught with difficulties. There is no extant evidence from the first century that this Petrine group existed. Furthermore, if one did exist, why would it have bothered writing to these Christians in Asia Minor?

The major issue held against apostolic authorship is that the quality of the Greek in 1 Peter is regarded as just too good to have been written by a Galilean fisherman-turned-apostle. However, this frequently stated conclusion has been questioned. It is quite possible that Peter could well have known Greek, as the language had spread across Palestine. This study cautiously accepts Jobes' (2005:7) assertion that 'the Greek of 1 Peter arguably exhibits bilingual interference that is consistent with a Semitic author for whom Greek is a second language'.<sup>8</sup>

Some have argued that the literary style of 1 Peter can be explained as the result of Peter using an amanuensis. This would allow the epistle to be written by the apostle in his lifetime under his direction and may help explain the quality of the Greek. However, Jobes (2005:6) is correct to caution that an amanuensis will soon become a pseudonymous author if the letter is thought to be composed by an associate of the apostle after his death.

The letter must establish the apostle Peter, the stated author, as trustworthy and worthy of belief. Martin (2007:63), considering the rhetorical nature of the epistle, argues that for the exhortations in 1 Peter to be received and heeded, the recipients must be convinced that it comes from the none other than the

---

<sup>6</sup> The early church appears to have had no doubts about accepting 1 Peter as an authentic and apostolic document. Elliott (2000:138-49) lists those writings of the early church fathers which attested to the epistle's canonicity and Peter's authorship. Modern scholars who have defended Peter's authorship include, among others, Selwyn (1947), Marshall (1991), Carson Moo and Morris (1992), Schreiner (2003:35-36), and Jobes (2005:19).

<sup>7</sup> Elliott (2000:127-30) provides a thorough presentation that 1 Peter is the work of a later Petrine group writing from Rome. Horrell (2002:54-56) raises doubts on the existence of a specifically Petrine group that allegedly included Silvanus and Mark who are mentioned in 1 Pet 5:12-13.

<sup>8</sup> For a more in-depth argument concerning the Greek of 1 Peter, see Jobes' (2005:325-38) excursus on 'The Syntax of 1 Peter: How Good is the Greek?'.

apostle Peter. He argues that 'Petrine authorship, even if pseudonymous, is essential to the argument of the letter.'<sup>9</sup>

## 2.2 Date

The identification of the author of 1 Peter influences how one dates the composition of the letter. Those who hold that the letter is the pseudonymous product of a Petrine group must naturally argue that the letter emerged after the death of Peter. The most popular dating of the letter is sometime between 70AD and 90AD.

There are those who believe that the references to persecution in 1 Peter (1:6; 3:13-17; 4:12-19 and 5:9) refer to a widespread and common persecution such as those under Domitian (95AD) and Trajan (110AD). These persecutions took place long after the death of Peter who was, according to early church tradition (1 Clement 5:1-7), martyred during the localised persecution of Christians in Rome during the reign of Emperor Nero between 63-68AD.<sup>10</sup> Does the internal evidence actually reflect a later 'widespread' persecution? This study agrees with Marshall (1991:23) who notes that 'the evidence from the letter points to widespread hostile reactions to Christians but not to organized state-inspired persecution. The attitudes reflect a period before the rise of state persecution.'

### 2.2.1 Summary

The dual issues of the authorship and date of 1 Peter are naturally intertwined and must be considered together. For the purpose of this thesis, the assumption is that the Epistle was composed either directly by or under the close supervision of the apostle Peter. While Peter may have used an amanuensis, and this could explain the quality of the Greek, the contents of the letter express the interests and concerns of the author himself.<sup>11</sup>

If Peter was indeed the author and his death is dated to around 64AD during the persecution of Christians in Rome under Nero, then the date of composition could have been between 60-64AD.

## 2.3 Provenance

In contrast to the scholarly debates concerning the authorship and date of 1 Peter, the provenance of the letter is generally shared by many scholars from differing theological positions. The consensus of opinion is that 1 Peter was written from Rome.<sup>12</sup> This conclusion is based on the fact that early church traditions locate Peter and Mark in Rome, as well as being the place of Peter's martyrdom (1 Clement 5:4).<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the reference in 5:13 to 'Babylon' (ἐν Βαβυλῶνι) as being the place from where greetings are sent to those receiving the letter is almost certainly a coded way of referring to Rome.<sup>14</sup> As Babylon was once an imperial power whose dominance had a considerable impact on Jerusalem and

---

<sup>9</sup> Perkins (1994:120) argues that this letter, regardless of who actually wrote it, was deliberately sent under the name of Peter, 'a leader for the whole church'. Achtemeier (1996:80) notes that the identification of Peter as apostle 'points more to the importance of the sender (Christ) than the one sent, and is intended to cloak the message of the epistle in an authority derived from Christ'.

<sup>10</sup> This traditional dating of Peter's death is probably more reliable than the dating proposed by Michaels (1988:lv-lxvii) who argues that Peter survived Nero's persecution and penned this letter in c70AD shortly before his death.

<sup>11</sup> While some (Cranfield (1958:121), Kelly (1969:215), and Davids (1990:198)) have 'identified' Silvanus as Peter's amanuensis, this conclusion is questionable and should certainly not be based on 1 Pet 5:12 which more likely describes the role of a courier than that of an amanuensis. See Achtemeier (1996:350), Jobes (2005:320), and Richards (2000:417-32).

<sup>12</sup> It is not impossible that if a pseudonymous author of 1 Peter could merely depict that Peter is the author, so also his depiction that the letter was written from Rome may prove equally fanciful. Hunzinger (1965:77), taking into consideration the lack of 'Western' witnesses to the text of 1 Peter and its absence from the (Roman) Muratorian Canon, suggests that the term 'Babylon' may actually suggest an origin in Syria or Asia Minor. Those who prefer a later dating of 1 Peter consider it more appropriate and likely that the church in Rome, the centre of the Empire, might send a circular letter to the scattered churches of Asia Minor (Horrell 2008:24).

<sup>13</sup> See Bockmuehl (2007:1-23) for his study on the martyrdom of Peter.

<sup>14</sup> The use of ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι (5:13, 'she who is in Babylon') may be a symbolic way of referring to Rome as the place of origin of the letter. See Carson, Moo and Morris (1992:424) and Michaels (1988:311).

the people of God, Rome became the present dominant imperial power whose impact on the followers of Christ was real and evident.<sup>15</sup>

The reference to 'Babylon' in 1 Peter is neutral and contains no apocalyptic tones in contrast to the book of Revelation where Babylon is depicted as evil. In fact, Peter's letter contains nothing subversive about the Roman state and is, as will be noted, fairly positive about those in authority. It is probably most likely that the reference to Babylon forms an *inclusio* with Diaspora (διασπορά, 1 Peter 1:1) and, thus, functions 'to identify both the author and his Christian community as sharing with the readers such exile status' (Achtmeier 1996:354). While Peter is merely sending greetings from himself and Mark residing in an unnamed city, it is possible that he is making a comparison here. As the people of God were driven out from Jerusalem and sent into exile in Babylon, the capital city of their oppressors, so now Peter found himself exiled from Jerusalem by the Roman powers and was now residing in the capital city of his oppressors.

### 3. Original Recipients of 1 Peter

#### 3.1 Where did they live?

The letter of 1 Peter is addressed to Christians residing in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia (Πόντου, Γαλατίας, Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας, 1 Peter 1:1).<sup>16</sup> These locations were all located in what was commonly called Asia Minor. These names may either refer to the traditional ancient districts or to the administrative provinces into which the Romans organized this part of their Empire.<sup>17</sup> As well as indicating the places in Asia Minor where these believers were residing, Peter's listing may also identify the proposed route to be taken by the letter bearer, probably Silvanus.<sup>18</sup> However, considering the vast distances and difficult terrain, the idea that there was only one letter-carrier is unlikely (Seland 2005:9-37) and that this list may simply reflect Peter's mental map of a pre-unified Asia Minor (Jobes 2005:66).

Asia Minor was a vast area of approximately 129,000 square miles (Elliott 2000:84). The regions identified in 1 Peter comprised the area of first-century Asia Minor that lay west and north of the Taurus Mountains. These five geographical regions or four Roman provinces (Bithynia and Pontus were united into a single province in 65BC under Pompey) contained an estimated population of 8,500,000 people.<sup>19</sup> Elliott (1990:61) notes that the 'outstanding feature of the geographical location of the addressees is the enormous *diversity* of the land, peoples and cultures'.

First Peter was, thus, written to a group of congregations scattered through a vast geographical area. Those cities that existed were generally small and the population of the region consisted of indigenous people, Hellenic settlers and Roman colonists. Language and cultural differences would have made communication, including the spread of the gospel, difficult. Indeed, this combination of factors meant that the people of Asia Minor did not enjoy full assimilation. The religious and spiritual milieu reflected this diversification and, as a result, various religious practices flourished.<sup>20</sup> Despite these unpromising circumstances, by the time Peter was writing, five established churches must have been flourishing in this generally insignificant part of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, Jobes (2005:22) is not too far from the mark when she notes that 'this untamed region became the cradle of Christianity.' These Christians and their successors from this remote and undeveloped area would yet prove significant in the history of the early church.

---

<sup>15</sup> For the apparent similarities in ideas and knowledge of traditions between 1 Peter and other writings connected to the church in Rome (i.e. Romans and 1 Clement) see Horrell (2008:24).

<sup>16</sup> Tite (1997:30) has unconvincingly suggested that the specification of these provinces is purely metaphorical.

<sup>17</sup> Those who adopt a later dating of 1 Peter prefer to see these names as referring to the Roman Provinces. See Best (1971:15) and Elliott (2000:84).

<sup>18</sup> See Hemer (1978:239-43) and Elliott (2000:90-91). Horrell (2008:46) cautiously acknowledges the idea that the delivery itinerary may well have influenced the form of the opening greeting. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible to identify accurately the letter-bearer or reconstruct his precise itinerary and route.

<sup>19</sup> Elliott (2000:85) demurs from Reicke's (1968:302-12) estimate of the population as being around 4.25 million.

<sup>20</sup> Jobes (2005:19-23) provides a helpful potted history of the five places mentioned in 1 Peter 1:1 and of Greek and Roman influence on the wider area of Asia Minor. See also Elliott (2000:84-91).

## 3.2 Who were these people?

Jewish or Gentile?

Most scholarly discussions about the original recipients of 1 Peter have focussed on their ethnic and religious identity. Were the Christian believers in these congregations in Asia Minor of Jewish or of Gentile origin?

### 3.2.1 A predominately Jewish-Christian audience

The earliest commentators assumed that 1 Peter was written to congregations predominantly consisting of converts from Judaism.<sup>21</sup> This conclusion may have arisen by understanding Paul's assertion that Peter worked among the Jews (περιτομή, circumcision, Galatians 2:9) too strictly. This interpretation of Galatians 2:9 has fallen out of fashion as it cannot be argued from this passage that Peter's ministry was directed exclusively to members of the Jewish Diaspora.<sup>22</sup>

Some internal evidence in 1 Peter does give the proposal that it was written to a mainly Jewish Christians some plausibility. The very opening greeting is to the 'elect strangers of the Diaspora' (ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς, 1 Pet 1:1).<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, as has been noted, the letter does exhibit a large number of quotations, allusions and echoes from the Old Testament.<sup>24</sup> These references to the Jewish scriptures and his use of biblical terms to describe the identity of the Christians in Asia Minor has added to the impression that the letter was penned to Christian believers who had come from a Jewish background.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.2.2 A predominantly Gentile-Christian audience

Despite the evidence above, there is little extra internal evidence to indicate that the epistle was penned to churches consisting of predominantly Jewish converts. The general consensus among New Testament scholars is that Peter was writing to mainly Gentile converts. These scholars believe that the phrase ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαράδοτου (1 Pet 1:18) seems to indicate that Peter was addressing a mainly non-Jewish audience as it would be unlikely that any Jew would describe their forefathers in such a way. Similarly, Peter writes that οἱ ποτε οὐ λαός, νῦν δὲ λαός θεοῦ (2:10). It is argued that no Jew would be able to describe himself or herself as not belonging to the people of God. Furthermore, Peter describes their former lives as 'doing what pagans choose to do-- living in debauchery, lust, drunkenness, orgies, carousing and detestable idolatry' (τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἔθνῶν κατειργάσθαι πεπορευμένους ἐν ἀσελγείαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, οἰνοφλυγίαις, κόμοις, πότοις καὶ ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρίαις, 1 Pet 4:3). It is generally accepted that first-century Diaspora Jews would not have described their lives in such wicked and spiritually bankrupt terms. How could those from a Judaism background describe their former lifestyle as 'a useless way of life'? Therefore, most interpreters conclude that the original recipients must have been Gentile converts.<sup>26</sup>

Jobes (2005:23-24), however, has recently questioned this generally received assumption. She notes that it was entirely possible for converts from Judaism to describe even their privileged background and heritage in such negative ways. The apostle Paul expressed similar thoughts in his epistles (see Eph 2:3

<sup>21</sup> Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.1.2 and 3.4.2) is one who understood 1 Peter as being written to an audience of mainly Jewish converts. This assumption of the Greek Fathers in time became the 'traditional' view as held by Erasmus, Calvin and others. See Elliott (2000:96) and Michaels's (1988: xlix-iv) section on the 'Jewishness of 1 Peter'.

<sup>22</sup> Bruce (1982:124) understands that the agreement mentioned in Galatians 2:9 did not imply an exclusive confinement on the part of Peter and thus a limitation of the original wider commission by Jesus to go to all the nations (Matt 28:19, πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη).

<sup>23</sup> Indeed, Calvin (1963:230) is just one who took the phrase, ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς, literally. Treblico (1991:32) has documented that there was a sizeable Jewish population in Asia Minor by the first century AD. Mitchell (1993 b: 32) notes that some Jews of the Jewish Diaspora were resettled in Asia Minor by the end of the 3rd Century BC. Elliott (2000:89), following the figures of Broughton (1938:499-918), estimates the population of Asia Minor as being 8.5 million of which Jews comprised 1 million in both rural and urban settings. Compare Reicke (1968:302-04) who is much more conservative in his estimates.

<sup>24</sup> See Schutter (1989:35-43) and Elliott (2000:12-17) for a list of these quotations, allusions and echoes.

<sup>25</sup> See Horrell's (2008:61-75) helpful discussion on Peter's use of these Jewish themes ('elect', 'chosen', 'holy nation', etc) in helping to construct a Christian identity among the believers in Asia Minor.

<sup>26</sup> The Gentile way of life had been frequently criticized as idolatrous and immoral in Jewish writings. See Deut 29:16-18; Isa 46:1-10; Wisdom 13-15; 1 Macc 1:41-64 and Bel and the Dragon 1:1-22.

and Phil 3:7-9) where he admitted that all Christians (including Jewish people) had once lived to gratify 'the cravings of our sinful nature'. Paul could even describe all his achievements in Judaism as 'rubbish' (σκύβαλον, Phil 3:8). Jews as well as Christians required redemption through the precious blood of Christ: the blameless and spotless lamb (1 Pet 1:19). Peter's reference to the efficacy of Christ's blood clearly points back to the sacrificial system of the Old Testament which was, in fact, empty of redemptive value.

It is also more than possible that the practice of Diaspora Jews differed from the legal requirements as set down in the Old Testament law. After years of living in largely Gentile towns and cities, it is possible that these Jews had gradually accepted and assimilated the pagan values and adopted many of the surrounding corrupted lifestyles. Baumgarten (1999:73, 80) provides evidence of synagogues in Galilee that were adorned with mosaics depicting the Zodiac and the sun-god, Heracles, the Dionysus cult and other pagan symbols. These decorations may indicate some degree of syncretistic assimilation on the part of these Jews living in Galilee. However, these Hellenistic depictions may simply have expressed a desire on the part of donors to express their acculturation into their new homeland. Furthermore, the adoption of these pagan symbols does not necessarily imply that the other pagan cultural and moral norms were likewise adopted and practiced. Nevertheless, if such practices were adopted in Galilee, it is very likely that the desire to conform and acculturate was greater in the wider Diaspora. There is enough evidence to suggest that such acculturation was more than a real and present danger but was almost certainly happening.<sup>27</sup>

### 3.2.3 Conclusion on Ethnic Identity

It is probably too much to suggest that the believers in these congregations in Asia Minor were exclusively Gentile in origin. The original converts of Asia Minor were most probably Jews, some of whom may have been converted as a result of Peter's Pentecost sermon in Jerusalem.<sup>28</sup> There would have been subsequent converts from the sizeable Jewish communities whether Jews or Gentile 'Godfearers' sympathetic to Judaism and connected to the synagogues and Jewish society. Obviously these converts with a prior knowledge of Judaism and its scriptures would have been better placed to understand Peter's epistle.

While the original converts in the churches of Asia Minor may well have come from a Jewish background, the racial composition of the congregations would have soon shown greater diversity until before too long the majority of Christians would have come from a non-Jewish background.<sup>29</sup> Probably, it would be best to proceed with the assumption that these congregations in Asia Minor were comprised predominantly, but by no means exclusively, of believers from a Gentile background. Regardless of their own personal religious background, it is clear that Peter addressed his audience indiscriminately from within the traditions of biblical Israel.

### 3.3 Social Status

If the ethnic identity of Peter's original audience is difficult to ascertain, can the social status of the congregations be identified?

---

<sup>27</sup> The practice of magic was common in the Hellenistic world and this practice seemed to adopt a Jewish hue despite being forbidden in the Old Testament (Deut 18:9-12). Goodenough (1953) reproduces photographs of various magical charms and amulets which have some kind of Jewish symbol (menorah, Solomon) or Hebrew or Aramaic writing on them. Arnold (1992:73-74) notes that the interest in Astrology was not confined to those of a Hellenistic background and played a part among Jews in the first-century AD. This is confirmed by those instances in the literature from Qumran that contain astrological physiognomies and seem to resemble 'horoscopes' (see *4Q Physiognomy Ar* (4Q561) and *4Q Zodiacal Physiognomy* (4Q186)). Vermes (1990:305) is unsure whether these 'horoscopes' were being used as a literary device or were actual attempts to forecast the future. Consult Popovic (2007) for the history of interpretation of these texts.

<sup>28</sup> Three of the regions mentioned in 1 Peter 1:1 (Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia) are listed alongside other regions in describing the background of Peter's audience in Jerusalem (Acts 2:9-11).

<sup>29</sup> Elliott (2000:89), who prefers a later date for the epistle, postulates that 'by the time of the 1 Peter, however, recruits from among the Gentiles had begun to outnumber their Israelite counterparts'. The evidence of Paul's epistles to churches in Asia Minor comprised predominantly of Gentiles and dated circa 48-65AD (see Carson *et al* 1992:293-4, 335), would seem to suggest that this shift in ethnic balance happened much sooner than Elliott envisages.

### 3.3.1 Aliens and Strangers

A great deal of scholarly debate has surrounded this particular issue.<sup>30</sup> Does Peter's mention of *παρεπιδήμιοι* (visiting foreigners) and *πάροικοι* (resident aliens) refer to people belonging to those particular social classes, or are they being employed metaphorically to describe the Christian's pilgrimage in this life. Elliott (1990<sup>31</sup> and 2000) has argued that the terms refer literally to aliens and strangers either living permanently or temporarily within the mentioned regions of Asia Minor. Their literal alienation and estrangement which characterises Peter's readers should be seen as a sociological categorisation, reflecting the distinction, dislocation and tension between the members of the Christian congregations in Asia Minor and their non-Christian neighbours. This view has proved both influential and yet provoked considerable debate.<sup>32</sup> While Elliott rightly notes the tension between the Christians and their (former) world around them, his main argument has not convinced many scholars who have preferred to understand *πάροικοι* and *παρεπιδήμιοι* as descriptions applied metaphorically first to ancient Israel and later to Christians.<sup>33</sup>

While *πάροικοι* and *παρεπιδήμιοι* probably reflect a figurative sense, 1 Peter arose against a real historical and social background. It is evident that these particular designations were deemed appropriate for the original readership of the epistle. Although 1 Peter may have used the terms metaphorically to describe the Christian life for the readers, it need not mean that some of his original audience found in their use a peculiar and literal resonance.<sup>34</sup>

### 3.3.2 Servants and Slaves

It is clear that slaves, particularly household slaves (*οικέται*, 1 Pet 2:18-20), were involved in the life of these congregations in Asia Minor. These household servants came from the unskilled slave class. The *οικέται*, in contrast to slaves (*δοῦλοι*), were generally treated better as they performed inferior and less arduous tasks within the household.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.3.3 Masters

In contrast to the clear instruction to 'masters' in Colossians (4:1) and Ephesians (6:9), the lack of any exhortation to 'slave-owners' in this epistle could be read as reflecting the lack of this particular social grouping within the congregations in Asia Minor. However, this conclusion is unconvincing (Horrell 2008:48). The Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 6:1-2; Titus 2:9-10) fail to include similar instructions to slave-owners, but it is clear that such people were present in the congregation as Paul instructed leaders (*διάκονοι*, 'deacons') in these churches to keep their wives, children and households in order (*καλῶς προϊστάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἰδίων οἴκων*, 1 Tim 3:12).

While 1 Peter contains no reference to *διάκονοι* it does mention *πρεσβύτεροι* (elders, 1 Peter 5:1,5) to refer to local leaders of the congregations.<sup>36</sup> The term *πρεσβύτεροι* appears in the LXX to refer to

---

<sup>30</sup> This major discussion in Petrine studies concerning the literal or metaphorical interpretations of *πάροικοι* and *παρεπιδήμιοι* will be considered in more depth in Chapter 3.

<sup>31</sup> Elliott's ground breaking thesis concerning the literal or metaphorical interpretation of *πάροικοι* and *παρεπιδήμιοι* was first published in 1981. Elliott's (1990) second edition is essentially a reissue of his 1981 edition with a slightly modified title.

<sup>32</sup> Elliott's work (1981) has influenced many including Schutter (1989:11) who describes the original recipients as those who 'belonged solidly to the under-classes'.

<sup>33</sup> See, among others, Bechtler (1998:71-74) and Chin (1991) for a critique of Elliott's position and a restating of the metaphorical understanding of *πάροικοι* and *παρεπιδήμιοι*.

<sup>34</sup> Jobs (2005:25) carefully avoids a common polarisation over this issue and suggests 'an alternative socio-political background from which the metaphorical sense derived its power'.

<sup>35</sup> Van Wyk and Van Rensburg (1997) consider the term *οικέται* (household servants) in first century Graeco-Roman culture and conclude that this social category, while distinct from *δοῦλοι* (slaves), could be utilized to describe a number of social groupings. Meeks (1986:34) argues for a clear hierarchy between slaves within the household.

<sup>36</sup> The mention of *πρεσβύτεροι* in 1 Peter has led some (Elliott 2000:137) to conclude that this is evidence of a later date of composition for the epistle when an ecclesiastical hierarchical structure was well-established. This conclusion is based, in part, on construing the participle *ἐπισκοποῦντες* ('overseeing', 1 Pet 5:2) as a reference to the second century office of monarchical bishop. NA<sup>27</sup> brackets *ἐπισκοποῦντες* thus indicating considerable doubt about its presence in the original text. While  $\kappa^*$  and B omit it, P<sup>72</sup> and  $\kappa^2$  include it. While it is unclear why

leaders of ancient Israel (Ex 24:1) and religious leaders during Maccabean times (1 Macc 24:1). Following this Jewish tradition, the Christian church adopted the term *πρεσβύτεροι* to refer to leaders of a local group of believers. Campbell (1994:4, 64) argues that at the earliest stage of the church, the elders were not office-bearers in the formal sense of later ecclesiology, but the senior members of the local church, not only in age but also in social position. Probably financially well-endowed, these men were heads of households who hosted the local congregations in their homes. Their authority was initially informal and collective based on their existing standing in society, but in time these men generally became the official overseers of the churches in their towns.

### 3.3.4 Wives

It is evident that Christian wives who had non-Christian husbands belonged to the congregations (1 Pet 3:1-6). However, it is also clear that there were Christian husbands among the members of the local churches (1 Pet 3:7).

### 3.3.5 Summary

It is highly probable that whole households including husbands and wives and masters and household servants belonged to the congregations in Asia Minor. The scant evidence of 1 Peter makes it difficult to specify definitively the social and economic standings of the congregations. However, it is likely that the congregations comprised people from every strata of society. Pliny, the Governor of Pontus-Bithynia early in the second century, wrote to Emperor Trajan about the Christians and notes that these Christians came from 'every age, every class, and both sexes' (*omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam*, Pliny, *Letters* 10:96). If Christianity had made such an impressive advance in thirty years across all levels of society, then it is certainly possible that this diversity existed at its earliest stage.

## 3.4 Urban or Rural Congregations

Were these Christian congregations in Asia Minor based in urban centres or in the countryside?

Peter was writing to a number of regions covering a wide geographical area with small cities few and far between. Clearly, the western province of Asia was the most populated, most Hellenised and most urbanised, with at least 42 cities in the Roman period. While accepting that these cities were not large in comparison to today and that the cities in the other regions were much fewer in number, it would be too much to argue that 1 Peter 'is directed to a predominately rural audience' (Elliott 1990:63)<sup>37</sup> as the Romans established a patchwork of cities throughout central Asia Minor.<sup>38</sup> It could be argued that the mention of *οἰκέται* may suggest an urbanised context which consisted of significant households as opposed to country estates with large numbers of *δοῦλοι* (Horrell 2008:50). Furthermore, the sharp distinction between the towns and cities and the countryside is hard to differentiate when analysing the ancient world. It would have been quite appropriate to use these alleged rural metaphors as many living in an urbanised context, especially in small towns, would still have had some link to the land and their income may well have been derived from agriculturally based enterprise.

In conclusion, the internal evidence does not indicate definitively as to whether Peter's audience was rural or urban. Perhaps Pliny's remark concerning the thorough spread of Christianity is relevant: 'The contagion of that superstition has penetrated not the cities only, but the villages and country' (*Neque civitates tantum, sed vicus etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est*, *Letters* 10.96.9).

---

the author should wish to add the participle because it is made redundant by the main verb *ποιμαίνω* (to shepherd), it is easier to imagine the term being omitted at a later stage because its usage by then had become confined to the supervision of bishops. The textual evidence and the historical development of the term make it more likely that *ἐπισκοποῦντες* was the original reading and was omitted in later manuscripts. For this conclusion see Jobes (2005:310), Davids (1990:178n11), Elliott (2000:824n665), and Michaels (1998:276).

<sup>37</sup> Elliott (1990:59-65) substantiates his theory by noting the use of various rural metaphors in 1 Peter (1:22-24; 2:25 and 5:2-4) and to the likelihood that *πάροικοι* (resident aliens) would be found among the rural population. Bechtler (1998:67) has noted that these alleged rural metaphors could be easily employed by urban authors for an urbanised audience. Furthermore, Elliott's argument is based on understanding *πάροικοι* as referring to a particular socio-political status residing predominantly in rural settings. Elliott's understanding has, thus, been generally rejected by scholars (see Horrell 2008:50).

<sup>38</sup> For the Roman strategy in colonization of the empire see Mitchell (1993 a: 80-99).

## 4. The Integrity and Intention of 1 Peter

### 4.1 The Genre and Integrity of 1 Peter

Petrine scholars have spent much time considering whether 1 Peter is a genuine letter. The question first arose in the work of Harnack (1897:451-65) who thought that 1 Peter consisted of an original homily (1:3-5:11), to which an epistolary framework (1:1-2; 5:12-14) had been added by 90A.D. Soltau (1905) and Perdelwitz (1911) developed this approach and identified instances of supposed interpolations. The latter identified a discourse directed to neophytes at the occasion of their baptism into the Christian faith.<sup>39</sup> Bornemann (1920:143-65) developed and refined Perdelwitz's theory and, while noting the apparent lack of personal information in the epistle,<sup>40</sup> argued that the main part of 1 Peter consisted of a baptismal homily based on Psalm 34 and was composed by Silvanus somewhere in Asia Minor around 90A.D.<sup>41</sup> The final letter format was assembled by a later unknown redactor who added the epistolary framework and attributed the 'letter' to the apostle Peter.

Some scholars went further in their elaborations. Assuming the composite theory and the cultic background of 1 Peter, Preisker (1951:156-60) argued that the document is a transcript of an actual baptismal liturgy. For Preisker, the section in 1:3 – 4:11 reflects the worship service of the entire baptismal community, while 4:12 – 5:11 chronicles the concluding service of the entire congregation. He believed that this latter section is perhaps the oldest extant record of a Christian worship section (Preisker 1951:157). Cross (1954) generally agreed with Preisker's findings, but noted the parallels between the Greek terms for 'suffer' (πάσχω) and 'Passover' (πάσχα) and the affinities between 1 Peter and the Paschal rites of the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (where baptism and confirmation precede an actual eucharist). Moreover, Cross (1954:31) reckoned that 1:3 – 4:11 records 'the Celebrant's part' of a baptismal eucharist celebrated during the Paschal vigil.<sup>42</sup>

All these theories are based on the alleged composite character of 1 Peter which in turn call into question the integrity and genre of the Epistle. They 'must be judged more imaginative than cogent' (Elliott 2000:9). There is simply no manuscript evidence that attests to any other arrangement of 1 Peter other than its present complete form.<sup>43</sup> As a result, theories advocating reading 1 Peter as a baptismal homily or Easter liturgy, while impressive in their ingenuity, have come under intense criticism and have generally been rejected by scholars.<sup>44</sup> As Kelly (1969:20) states, 1 Peter 'is, and always has been, a genuine unity with a single consistent message, and was written as a real letter to the churches named in the address'.

The generally accepted position taken by the majority of modern commentators is that 1 Peter is a genuine letter (see Elliott 2000:9-12).<sup>45</sup> The verses of the 'epistolary framework' (1:1-2; 5:12-14) are not

---

<sup>39</sup> Perdelwitz (1931) read 1 Peter as a baptismal homily and identified two distinct sections based on two supposedly divergent perspectives of suffering in 1:3 – 4:11 (sufferings as potential) and 4:12 – 5:1 (sufferings as reality). The former was given to new converts whose suffering was anticipated.

<sup>40</sup> Beasley Murray (1962:252 n.1) is convinced Bornemann (1920) is indebted to Perdelwitz (1911), despite the lack of any explicit citation.

<sup>41</sup> This baptismal homily theory found favour among later German (see Hauck (1957) *et al*) and other scholars (see Streeter (1929:129-34), Beasley-Murray (1962:251-62), Reicke (1964:74-75), Leaney (1967:8), and Beare (1970:25-28,180) *et al*. For a more thorough examination of this historical development, see Elliott (2000:7-9).

<sup>42</sup> In his commentary, Leaney (1964) agrees with Cross (1954) and notes similarities to the Passover Haggadah. Boismard (1956a, 1956b, 1957, and 1961), while not agreeing completely with Preisker, attempted, on the basis of affinities between 1 Peter and James, 1 John, Titus, Romans and Colossians, to identify fragments of a baptismal liturgy in 1:3-5, 1:13 – 2:10 and 3:18-22.

<sup>43</sup> Later manuscript discoveries have provided some support for certain aspects of these proposals, insofar as they concern the identification of the themes of 1 Peter. In the Bodmer Papyrus and Crosby-Schøyen codices containing 1 Peter, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century A.D. text *On the Passover* by Bishop Melito of Sardis is also found. Further, in the Bodmer Papyrus, Psalms 34-35 are bound in the same codex as 1 Peter. These manuscript discoveries, while important, do not prove a specifically liturgical or homiletical origin of 1 Peter. Rather, they indicate the central themes of the letter: the suffering, death and resurrection of Christ and the suffering of God's people in a hostile world (Horrell 2008:8; 2009:502-22).

<sup>44</sup> For those scholars rejecting the composite nature of 1 Peter see, among others, Dalton (1989:69); Hillyer (1970:56); Martin (1994:99); Martin (1992:269); Thüren (1990:177); and Jobes (2005:54).

<sup>45</sup> For other scholars who approach 1 Peter as a genuine epistle see, among others, Kelly (1969:18), Guthrie (1970:789-90), Michaels (1988:73), Martin (1978:340-41), and Jobes (2005:54).

unrelated to the main body of the text but are thoroughly consistent lexically and thematically with the content of 1:3 – 5:10.<sup>46</sup> This consistent thematic, linguistic and stylistic coherence also counts against Moule's (1956-1957:7-11) two-letter hypothesis<sup>47</sup> and those other composition theories that question the integrity of 1 Peter and elevate the implicit, presupposed and subsidiary to a level that the evidence does not support (Hill 1976:189).

## 4.2 A Paraenetic/Hortatory Epistle

The hortatory aim (5:12) and mood of 1 Peter, as well as the inclusion of much hortatory and paraenetic material has led some to classify it as a 'paraenetic/hortatory' epistle.<sup>48</sup>

### 4.2.1 Historical Development

Weiβ (1887:143)<sup>49</sup> was one of the first scholars to observe in 1 Peter that 'the way in which the didactic and hortatory elements ... are closely interwoven throughout, is characteristically distinct from the Paulines'.<sup>50</sup> While Paul often separates the 'indicative and imperative', Peter so interweaves the two strands of theology and ethics that they cannot really be expounded without some degree of overlap.<sup>51</sup> Selwyn (1947:65) rightly warns that 'we may be most true to its message if we do not try to disentangle them too much'. Indeed, Van Unnik (1962:759) wisely cautions that 'it is impossible to distinguish as clearly as one can in many of Paul's letters between doctrinal and ethical sections'.<sup>52</sup>

After the work of Selwyn (1947), the older diachronic form-critical studies, with their interest in comparing 1 Peter against the paraenetic material found in the mystery religions, examined the exhortations in the epistle with a greater interest in 'their *origin* and not their function in the text' (Thurén 1995:20).<sup>53</sup> This form-critical approach generally resulted in the categorical separation of theology and ethics. This has led some (Dryden 2006:4) to warn rightly that such a separation loses sight of the fact that the author of 1 Peter has carefully integrated the kerygmatic and paraenetic traditions to suit his own purposes. Thurén (1995), employing rhetorical analysis, represents a positive departure from the old form-critical methodology with its eye predominantly on the origin of the paraenetic material and not on its function. In an attempt to adopt a more holistic approach, Thurén advocates the use of a synchronic functional approach to identify the nature of Peter's argumentation and how it was deliberately designed to address and motivate the original readers' attitudes and behaviour. Dryden (2006:4), while appreciating Thurén's contribution in reintegrating theology and ethics in 1 Peter to discover how they function together, still believes this approach takes both aspects separately. For Dryden (2006:4) the 'integration of theological

---

<sup>46</sup> See Elliott (2000:9) for a thorough examination of those themes that appear in the 'epistolary framework' and their repeated occurrences in the body of 1 Peter. This very interconnectedness militates against those interpolation theories that posit one or more sources behind 1 Peter.

<sup>47</sup> Moule (1956-1957) identifies two letters one of which (2:11 – 4:11) was written to those not yet under actual persecution, and one (4:12 – 5:11) written to those already in the refining fire of suffering. The other parts of 1 Peter (1:1-2, 1:3 – 2:10 and 5:12-14) were common to both original letters. This theory, like other similar theories, founders on the fact that the theme of suffering is found throughout the whole of 1 Peter and, more devastating, that there is no external manuscript evidence to support Moule's hypothesis.

<sup>48</sup> For an identification of the hortatory/paraenetic material in 1 Peter, see Stowers (1986:96-97) and especially Martin (1992:81-134). Some scholars (Preisker (1949:195-219) and Sanders (1986:67ff)) have argued that the growing interest in moral rules as observed in the paraenetic sections in the New Testament was a symptom of a degradation of the unique Christian message. Borrowing the emphasis on good works and ethics from the surrounding Jewish and Hellenistic cultures, the teaching of Jesus and Paul's emphasis on justification by faith were gradually replaced. However, some believe that the paraenesis should be regarded as an original and essential part of early Christian doctrine and life (Schrage 1982:1,16-20).

<sup>49</sup> Weiβ (1855:335-53) had distinguished between paraenesis and paraklesis in 1 Peter many years earlier.

<sup>50</sup> Dibelius (1931), basing his theory around the central position of the Household text, which is difficult to combine with the then popular 'baptismal view' of the whole text, argued that 1 Peter was an example of typical paraenesis. Selwyn (1947:17-24, 459-61) subsequently critiqued the proponents of the 'baptismal approach' and instead identified and focused his attention on those catechetical elements in the epistle.

<sup>51</sup> Van Unnik (1956:81) characterises the epistle as a 'constant dialectical process between dogmatics and ethics'.

<sup>52</sup> Martin (1992:140-41) explains the differences between these Pauline and Petrine forms by locating them historically in two distinct types of paraenetic texts in Graeco-Roman literature. Paul and Peter, thus, chose from the current stylistic options available. This should be borne in mind lest any scholar approach the compositional structure of 1 Peter from a purely Pauline perspective.

<sup>53</sup> These earlier studies include Dibelius (1931), Selwyn (1947), Van Unnik (1954-55) and Lohse (1954). Their methodological approach dominated by their form-critical questions of 1 Peter, and especially its relationship with the Pauline epistles, has generally survived.

and ethical reflection forms an intricate tapestry in 1 Peter that cannot be separated without irreparable damage to the fabric of the epistle'. For Dryden, therefore, what is needed is a methodology that does not separate ethics and theology *a priori*, but analyses how the two come together to function as paraenesis.

#### 4.2.2 Definition

Prasad (2000:1) contends that '[a]fter a long period of divergent opinions on the nature of 1 Peter a consensus is emerging among scholars that it is a paraenetic letter'. However, is Prasad correct? Is 1 Peter an example of a 'paraenetic epistle' or is it an epistle that uses paraenetic material? How should the paraenetic elements in 1 Peter be understood?

A degree of confusion surrounds the actual definition of the term 'paraenesis'. Thurén (1995:17) is accurate when he highlights that the term 'paraenesis' 'often carries a somewhat vague significance'.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, it is possible to distinguish between two different senses of the word. The first refers to material that takes the form (*Gattung*) of paraenetic, such as '*Haustafeln*', virtue and vice lists or ethical maxims. For example, when Lohse (1986) speaks of 'paraenesis' in 1 Peter, he is speaking of those paraenetic elements vis-à-vis the kerygmatic, and not of 1 Peter as a 'paraenetic epistle'.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, this approach is limiting in that it tends to separate the ethical and kerygmatic material from the outset. This, in turn, undervalues the relationship and interaction between the theological and the ethical.

The other understanding of the term 'paraenetic' can be used to designate an actual literary genre.<sup>56</sup> This can be seen in the work of Prasad (2000). While this positive approach in reading 1 Peter as a 'paraenetic-letter' takes both elements seriously, this study accepts Dryden's (2006:6) warning that at times this new consensus is based on a nebulous use of the term 'paraenetic epistle' to describe Peter's purpose to exhort or encourage. 'Paraenesis' in this sense does not refer to a historical epistolary genre, but is rather a vague description of the authorial aims of the epistle. 'It is a description of epistolary purpose not epistolary genre' (Dryden 2006:6).

#### 4.2.3 1 Peter a Paraenetic Epistle

Recent academic interest in Graeco-Roman paraenetic epistolary traditions has proved insightful in relation to the study of the New Testament and, especially, 1 Peter.

'In contrast to Paul's letters, 1 Peter is a paraenetic letter whose letter body begins and ends with exhortations and admonitions' (Martin 2007:43).

The New Testament texts were not theoretical ethical treatises, but usually written to actual congregations, which lived in various situations and had real and specific problems. Some of these letters, including 1 Peter, are, indeed, purposely and clearly paraenetic as they exhort their readers to continue in the new life they have embraced in Christ and to promote growth in holiness and character and to foster a growing dependence upon God.<sup>57</sup>

This categorisation of the letter in reference to its mood and aim does not imply a simple juxtaposition of disparate, general injunctions lacking any thematic unity (Elliott 2000:11). Peter carefully integrated

---

<sup>54</sup> For example, Goppelt (1993) uses the word 'paraenesis' in a variety of ways to refer to a single instruction (1993:19), a short collection of instructions (1993:153), a specific type of exhortation (1993:109,198), or exhortation as a collective term (1993:162-79).

<sup>55</sup> Lohse (1954), comparing the material with other New Testament documents, accepts the general paraenetic nature of 1 Peter. While this paraenesis is often motivated by references to God and his will, it is the Christological kerygma that provides the ultimate and actual rationale for ethical admonitions in 1 Peter. Lohse's survey, while far from complete, has proved influential among subsequent research in seeing Christology as being the major motivating force for 1 Peter's cautions. See Thuren (1995:19) and Piper (1980:213).

<sup>56</sup> Dryden (2006:5) helpfully offers this distinction and ascribes the following designations of 'paraenesis-as-form' and 'paraenesis-as-genre'.

<sup>57</sup> Wilson (1997) understands the Greco-Roman epistolary genre of paraenesis as a workable model in assessing Colossians. Wilson and Dryden (2006:7) wisely do not imply an exact correspondence between Christian and Greco-Roman philosophic Paraenesis, but instead argue that they offer some degree of overlap in aims, methodology and insight.

these theological and ethical traditions to produce his epistle. While the Petrine pattern differs notably from that employed in the Pauline corpus in interweaving the theological and ethical discourse, it is clear that no consensus exists among scholars as to the exact relationship between these features. This study recognises these intrinsically linked features and endeavours to treat sensitively the paraenetic nature of 1 Peter.

### 4.3 Diaspora Letter

Unlike Paul's letters that are addressed to a specific audience, 1 Peter is specifically addressed to several Christian communities throughout Asia Minor that form part of the 'Diaspora' (1:1).<sup>58</sup> As a 'Diaspora letter'<sup>59</sup> 1 Peter is comparable to those examples of such a genre in Jewish literature (see Jer 29:4-23; Epistle of Jeremiah; Baruch; 2 Macc 1:1-10; 2 Baruch 78:1-87:1). A number of these Jewish 'Diaspora epistles' are associated with Jeremiah and his scribe Baruch (Jer 36:4). Like 1 Peter, these Jewish letters focus frequently on the theme of exile, and were not necessarily dispatched from Jerusalem to the Diaspora. Interestingly, Baruch is said to have been composed in Babylon and sent to Jerusalem (Bar 1:1,7). 1 Peter is a circular letter sent from Babylon (5:13) to encourage the Christian Diaspora scattered over a wide geographical area of Asia Minor. Peter stood in this tradition and was able to draw on language and themes found in this Jewish tradition and apply them to those Christian believers of Asia Minor.

### 4.4 The Intention of 1 Peter

1 Peter is a 'genuine letter' (Best 1971:13) addressing real people scattered throughout Asia Minor with real situations rather than simply a copy of a baptismal liturgy or sermon.<sup>60</sup> It is worth considering why their situation necessitated such a letter.

It is evident from the letter's depiction of the recipients that they are experiencing suffering of some kind. It is clear that suffering is the prominent theme from the opening thanksgiving (1:6) to the closing section (5:9-10). These Christians were undergoing 'various kinds of trials' (1:6, ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς), 'suffering for the sake of righteousness' (3:14, πάσχετε διὰ δικαιοσύνην) expecting a 'fiery trial' (4:12, πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν) and 'sharing the sufferings of Christ' (4:13, κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν). Suffering is the prominent theme (or: *Leitmotif*) of 1 Peter (Horrell 2008:53).

What is more difficult to ascertain is the actual nature, causes and consequences of this suffering. What clues can be found in the text and how do they relate to the external evidence?

#### 4.4.1 Internal Evidence

1 Peter mentions a specific scenario in which Christians could be made to suffer. Christian household servants are instructed to endure when they suffer unjustly at the hands of their cruel masters (2:18-20).<sup>61</sup>

1 Peter 3:1-6 refers to Christian wives submitting to their non-Christian husbands in order that not only would domestic tranquillity prevail, but that these men may be won to the faith. This passage may imply that these women were in a difficult situation and possibly facing suffering. The convention of that day would expect non-Christian wives to follow the religion of the head of the household and to shun those religions that differed from the religion of the husband.

---

<sup>58</sup> 1 Peter has similarities with other New Testament letters. The Epistle of James is similarly addressed to Christians 'in the Diaspora' (James 1:1). James is a general epistle written to the church as a whole rather than to a specific Christian community. Similarly, the letter of the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:23-29) is also addressed to a wider audience.

<sup>59</sup> Michaels (1988:xlvi-xlix) follows the testimony of Eusebius in identifying 1 Peter as 'an apocalyptic diaspora letter to Israel'. Davids (1990:13-14), while accepting the usefulness of Michaels' designation in reminding the readers of the content of the epistle, does not describe a distinct genre.

<sup>60</sup> This composite understanding has fallen out of favour and it is now generally accepted that 1 Peter is a genuine letter. See Guthrie (1970:789-90), Michaels (1988:73), Martin (1978:340-41), and Kelly (1969:18).

<sup>61</sup> See Plutarch's observation in his *Advice to Bride and Groom* (*Conj. Praec.* 19, *Moralia* 140D). Justin Martyr (2 *Apol* 2) reports in the second century of a Christian woman married to a pagan husband and the martyrdom of her instructor. For a discussion on this matter see Elliott (2000:557-558).

It is clear in 1 Peter that Christians were being openly slandered and criticized by their neighbours. These non-Christian neighbours apparently regarded and accused these Christians as evident 'evil-doers' (κακοποιῶν, see 2:12, 3:14-17 and 4:14-16). Peter warns his audience that although the intensity of the suffering may come upon them suddenly, this fiery trial (πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν) should not be a complete surprise (4:12).<sup>62</sup> After all, Christians elsewhere (ἐν κόσμῳ) were undergoing this similar experience of opposition. It is clear that this suffering was no localised phenomenon and aberration.

#### 4.4.2 Corroborating Evidence

The first readers/hearers of 1 Peter were not alone. Opposition and suffering at the hands of non-Christian neighbours was a common, though not universal, experience shared by other early Christians in their communities. Suffering, and, in particular, persecution, were experienced by leaders (Paul in Philippi, Acts 16:16-40, Thess 2:2) and converts in the churches (1 Thess 1:6; 2:14; 3:3-4; Phil 1:27-29; Rev 2:3, 10, 13). Jesus himself had warned that suffering and hatred would be an inevitable part of the end times (Mk 13:9-13). This opposition, either informal or judicial, could go beyond slander and lead to physical punishment and even death. Stephen was stoned (Acts 7:58); James was killed by Herod (Acts 12:2); Paul was imprisoned (Phil 1:7-14, Philemon); suffered punishments at the hands of Jews and Gentiles (2 Cor 11:25) and was finally executed (2 Tim 4:6-8). The evidence from contemporary literature indicates that many, perhaps including Peter and Paul, were killed by Nero in 64-65AD (Tacitus *Annals* 15.44; 1 Clement 5:1-7) and by governors such as Pliny (*Letters* 10.96-97).

#### 4.4.3 Degree and Character of Opposition in 1 Peter

Bechtler (1998:19) succinctly and carefully summarises the view of recent scholarship concerning the degree and character of opposition being experienced by the original recipients of 1 Peter.<sup>63</sup> 'Virtually all scholars today agree that the suffering with which Peter is concerned is not due to an Empire-wide persecution of Christians instigated by the emperor; and most describe the situation in terms of social ostracism at the hands of non-Christian neighbors'.<sup>64</sup>

It is generally accepted that this opposition would have seen Christians experience verbal hostility and ridicule from their neighbours and colleagues. Elliott (1990:80-81, 86) views this opposition against the Christians of Asia Minor as being 'verbal rather than physical' taking the form of localised harassment rather than state-sponsored terrorism.<sup>65</sup> Elliott (2000:794) finds the lack of mention in 1 Peter of local arrests, trials and executions as evidence that the persecution of Christianity was not yet officially prescribed by Rome.<sup>66</sup> 1 Peter reflects, for Elliott (1990:101), 'a time of toleration and peaceful coexistence'. Elliott (2000:792) sees no substantive resemblance between the situation depicted in the Letters of Pliny and that portrayed in 1 Peter'.<sup>67</sup>

#### 4.4.4 Cause of the Suffering

In an age that honoured the variety of deities of the Greek and Roman pantheon, the Christian's exclusive devotion to the worship of their God alone was bound to cause tension and hostility from their

---

<sup>62</sup> Holloway (2002) suggests that 1 Peter may be a consolatory letter in light of certain elements in 4:12 – 5:11, including a Cyrenaic pattern, *nihil inopinati accidisse* ('nothing unexpected has happened'), behind 4:12.

<sup>63</sup> Dubis (2006:203), in providing a later summary of research on 1 Peter, sums up 'the current consensus that the persecution in 1 Peter is local, sporadic and unofficial, stemming from the antagonism and discrimination of the general populace'.

<sup>64</sup> For some scholars who eschew the organised persecution theory see Balch (1981:109, 119), Elliott (1990:62-63), Goppelt (1993:38-39), and Richard (1986:121-39). Schutter (1989:13 n56) lists those scholars opposed to an official-persecution hypothesis. Kümmel (1973:418-19, 424), while agreeing that the persecution was not instituted by Rome, argues that the widespread persecution of which 1 Peter speaks, refers to the beginning stages of civil persecution in which believers were tried simply for being Christians. Molthagen (1994:446-449) argues that Christians, in everyday life or juridically, may have been put on the same level as criminals.

<sup>65</sup> In his later commentary, Elliott (2000:791-94) does not change his overall thesis.

<sup>66</sup> Elliott (1990:86, cf pp143-45) sees no sign in 1 Peter of any confrontation with Rome. 'Nor does [the author of 1 Peter] present any critique of Rome anywhere in the letter, an omission difficult to imagine if Roman officials were indeed executing Christians as criminals' (Elliott 2000:793).

<sup>67</sup> Horrell (2007:341-61) has argued that the similarities between the situations in 1 Peter and in Pliny's letters are much closer than Elliott suggests. Pliny depicts a context where Christians were coming to trial, and were executed on the basis solely of acknowledging the name Christian, that is for the *nomen ipsum*. This, Horrell argues, is, indeed, relevant to a proper understanding of the specific label Χριστιανός in 1 Pet 4:16.

non-Christian neighbours and colleagues. It was generally believed that the prosperity and wellbeing of society depended on the worship of the gods. It was understood that to refuse to participate in such worship would open the community to the wrath and punishment of the gods. Those deemed responsible for disturbing the peace of the gods would almost inevitably face the disapproval of the community.

Christians, by apparently withdrawing from society and community religious involvement, were beginning to meet in secret and participate in what were perceived as mysterious practices. This left the Christians open to the charge of being 'anti-social' or even as people known for their 'hatred of the human race' (Tacitus, *Annals* 15:44). Exclusive religious movements were not unknown in the Roman Empire. Judaism shared many elements with Christianity, but whereas the former was tolerated as a long-established religion, Christianity in comparison was a recent innovation and regarded with disdain as a superstition (Tacitus, *Annals* 15:44; Suetonius, *Nero* 16:2; Pliny, *Epistulae* 10:96).<sup>68</sup>

Faced with what they regarded as a secretive, religious superstition, it was natural that non-Christian observers began to speculate about the mysterious activities of their Christian neighbours. Cannibalism, incest and murder (φονεὺς, 1 Peter 4:15) were often charges brought against those worshipping in these new Christian congregations.

Opposition towards these converts to Christianity certainly consisted of verbal criticism, social ostracism and informal hostility at a local level. This opposition may have occasionally resulted in public violent action and, thus, physical suffering on the part of the Christians, or even death. Do those scholars who see the opposition towards Christians in Asia Minor in the first century (and beyond) in terms of localised disapproval and social ostracism misconstrue the situation? Is it as simple as a case of either localised social ostracism or official imperial persecution?<sup>69</sup>

State persecution towards Christians flourished from the time of Nero (64AD) to the persecution under Decius (c 250AD).<sup>70</sup> In the aftermath of the fire of Rome, Nero conveniently blamed the local Christians in the city for its start and, as a result, many were arrested and executed. From this moment on, Christianity became effectively illegal and being a Christian potentially punishable by death (Horrell 2008:57). However, it would be wrong to suggest that the imperial authorities implemented a systematic and exhaustive policy of identifying and persecuting Christians throughout the Roman Empire. Instead, Christians who had been accused by neighbours or other individuals in local situations could be brought before the Roman governors and magistrates. Acts (16:19-24; 18:12-17) indicates that local public hostility could lead to Christians being brought before the magistrates. The mere accusation of being a 'Christian' would likely be enough to face such a trial in court and be sufficient to convict and render them liable to execution.<sup>71</sup>

If Christians could be accused at a local level of being anti-social and, thus threatening the well-being and prosperity of towns and cities, so at the imperial level the Christians refusal to worship the gods and show proper devotion of the Emperor threatened the very peace of the Empire. This was a matter of religious and political rebellion that could not be tolerated. 'The *pax Romana*, was considered to depend

---

<sup>68</sup> Horrell (2008:55) has noted that Jews also suffered considerably due to public prejudice and hostility as well as in their violent conflicts with Rome. See also Meeks (1986:66-96), for an analysis of the status, tensions and aspirations of the Jewish people of the 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD in Palestine and throughout the Roman Empire.

<sup>69</sup> Paschke (2006:489-500) understands the reference in 1 Peter 5:8 (ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρῶμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τινα καταπιεῖν) where the devil, like a roaring lion, seeks to devour believers as a reference to the real possibility of Christians dying in the Coliseum in the Roman *ad bestias* execution. Paschke demurs from those who see this purely as a reference to human enemies (Bigg (1901:192); Michaels (1988:298) and Elliott (2000:857)) or to satanic powers at work in the socio-political system of the Roman Empire (Jobes 2005:313-314) and attempts to take seriously Michaels' (1988:299) question 'how he [Peter] thought Christian believers might be "swallowed" by the Devil'.

<sup>70</sup> At least after Nero's persecution of the *Christiani* in Rome, the very name 'Christian' was sufficient to indict a person of a form of criminality worthy of death, dependent, of course, on the disposition of the particular governors and the perceived threat to the peace of the province. Frend (2000:821) notes that Christianity was, indeed, 'a religion deemed since the Neronian persecution to be illegal'.

<sup>71</sup> See Horrell (2007:341-61) who has argued that the reference to Χριστιανός in 1 Peter 4:16 is evidence that Christians were coming to trial, and being executed on the basis solely of acknowledging the name 'Christian'.

upon sustaining the goodwill of the gods, the *pax deorum*' (Holloway 2008:57). It is plausible that those distrustful of and opposed to Christians at a local level would feel encouraged to take recourse to the law and make formal accusations against their Christian neighbours fully aware that their hostility was also shared by those entrusted to maintain the peace of the Empire.

To those original readers of 1 Peter, it was a very short step from informal localised social ostracism and verbal assault to authorised physical suffering and execution as criminals. This study agrees with Clowney (1988:15) who asserts that 'this is a model of a pastoral letter' as 'the apostle seeks to encourage and reassure Christian Churches in Asia Minor as stormy seasons of persecution begin'.

#### 4.4.5 Summary

The overall impression from the letter itself is that the churches of Asia Minor were facing more than localised displeasure from neighbours and those in authority. The language of the letter presupposes knowledge of serious hostility towards Christians and the problem, or threat, of persecution where martyrdom was a real possibility. Peter, aware of the general situation, dealt not only with the problem of suffering, but also revealed his pastoral concern in presenting how persecuted Christians should respond in the face of such antagonism, hostility and evil actions directed against the people of God. It would be unfair to suggest, as Michaels (1997:917) does, that 'the readers' life situation is not a local or specific one but rests on the author's generalisation about the situation of Christians in Roman society at the time the letter was written. In the author's mind his readers represent all Christian believers everywhere.'

The nature of a circular letter, especially one covering such a wide geographical distance as found in Asia Minor, means that Peter, wishing to be accessible, was, indeed, limited in the topics and subjects about which he could write. However, the letter does give the impression that Peter had someone, or more likely some churches, in his mind as he wrote. He began by referring to the experiences of the recipients (1:6-9) which shows that he was aware of the situation of at least some of his audience. Similarly, his use of *Ἀγαπητοί* (2:11 and 4:12)<sup>72</sup> and the notes to the elders and his final greetings (5:1ff) reveal a sense of familiarity. Peter seems to confine himself to a letter that touches the pulse of events of Asia Minor and is accessible and applicable to the people of that area of the Empire whether in urbanised and sophisticated Ephesus or the backwaters of Cappadocia. Peter's letter may have been written before the imperially sanctioned persecutions and general oppression of Christians, but he seems aware that the threats against and opposition towards Christians in Asia Minor were a real and present danger. The tone of the letter seems even to suggest that martyrdom was a real possibility.

#### 4.4.6 Theological Understanding of Suffering

It is entirely possible to understand the suffering faced by the Christians purely in terms of social disjunction between converts to this new religion and their non-Christian neighbours. Yet it is possible that Peter and his first readers/hearers understood their suffering as more than just a religious dispute and cultural clash between human beings. For Christians and non-Christians there was a supernatural element to their suffering.

##### 4.4.6.1 Graeco-Roman Culture

The belief in supernatural spiritual entities was extremely common in almost every Hellenistic religion and likely permeated every stratum of society.<sup>73</sup> People believed in the existence of spirits, angels and demons, both good and evil. These spiritual entities were believed to continue to influence events in society and bring good and ill on individuals. It was generally believed that these supernatural entities exercised some degree of control over everyday life and eternal destiny (Arnold 1992:19). Evidence exists that spirits were commonly invoked by people to influence personal outcomes or to thwart an

---

<sup>72</sup> Peter's use of *Ἀγαπητοί* ('beloved') suggests acquaintanceship or a degree of friendship.

<sup>73</sup> As Arnold (1992:19) advises: 'Most of the Greek and Roman literature that we have comes from the educated elite and, with the finest rhetorical craftsmanship, presents philosophical understandings of existence that are often quite removed from what common folk believed'. Nevertheless, the belief in spirits and other spiritual beings crossed all religious, ethnic and geographical boundaries. The Jews, Greeks, Romans, Asians and Egyptians all believed in spirits who populated the heavens, the underworld and the earth. This general worldview seems to have pervaded all of society.

attack by evil spirits upon oneself. As a result, the magician became a very popular figure in helping manipulate the spiritual world to benefit his client.<sup>74</sup>

This belief in the continued involvement of spiritual beings also existed among Jews, especially those belonging to Hellenistic Judaism. The Intertestamental Period gave rise to an increased speculation on spirits, angels and demons in Judaism, as is evidenced in the Pseudepigraphical literature of the time.<sup>75</sup> This increased speculation on the Angelic Fall, their evil progeny and the resulting Noachic Flood, was due to a number of factors. These included the apparent silence of God during the Intertestamental Period, the rise in national suffering and the lack of any mediators between an ever increasingly transcendent God and his people. Spirits, angels and demons, thus, allowed a theodicy to be presented and the gap between God and his people to be bridged. For the Intertestamental writers, the power of these spiritual entities explained the evil experienced by individuals (1 Enoch 6-8), the rise and apparent success of non-Jewish religions (Jubilees 11.4-5, 1 Enoch 19.1) and international affairs (Jubilees 11.5; 48.9; 12-15).<sup>76</sup>

It has been noted that Jews in the First Century had their own Jewish forms of magic and magicians. This was no longer the preserve of other cultural and religious groups. Although the practice was actually forbidden by the Old Testament (Deut 18:9-12) and the practitioners of such were to be executed, magic and divination were adopted and adapted to provide a particularly Jewish form of magic by some Jews in an attempt to bring relief to their suffering or to thwart the onset of evil.<sup>77</sup>

The New Testament assumes the existence of angels, demons and evil spirits. Jesus is consistently portrayed as one who confronted evil/unclean spirits during his earthly ministry and released those who were possessed by these evil spiritual entities. In the Book of Acts, the apostles are presented as continuing this aspect of Christ's ministry by releasing those enslaved by evil spirits.<sup>78</sup> In contrast to the speculative Intertestamental Jewish literature, the New Testament follows the Old Testament in assuming the existence and activity of angels, demons and evil spirits. The New Testament, however, continually points to the supremacy of Christ over every angel, spirit and demon (e.g. 1 Pet 3:22).

For these original readers of 1 Peter, their suffering at the hands of their neighbours or the imperial authorities for their new faith would also have been viewed and endured against a worldview that saw the involvement of spiritual entities in their ordeal. After all, the devil himself is portrayed as seeking the

---

<sup>74</sup> Aune's (1986:218) analysis of magic in the Graeco-Roman world has been generally accepted as a fair categorisation. He notes four major ways in which magic was used in the Graeco-Roman world. (1) there was protective or apotropaic magic (particularly against dreaded illnesses), (2) aggressive or malevolent magic, (3) love magic and magic aimed at the acquisition of power over others, and (4) magical divination to bring about revelation. Along with erotic magic, magical revelation was one of the more popular and widespread types of magical practice.

<sup>75</sup> In the Pseudepigraphical Jewish writings (Enoch, Wisdom, Jubilees, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs), the interest in angels, demons and spirits is heightened and they are portrayed as playing an important role in explaining the existence and the problem of evil. These forces of evil are believed to be the instigators and reason for evil and harm in the world. While God is still acknowledged to be sovereign and punishes sinful men and women by use of his own angels, the evil and harm inflicted upon people are generally ascribed to the actions of angels, demons and evil spirits under the auspices of Satan who are rebelling against the will of God.

<sup>76</sup> Bolt (1996) discovers in Hellenistic Judaism that this increased interest in the existence and involvement of demons/daimons continues. Moreover, this speculation often reflected the surrounding culture rather than historic Judaism and focused on the need for these spiritual beings to be invoked and manipulated for the benefit of the individual, society and nations.

<sup>77</sup> The references in the New Testament to Bar-Jesus the Jewish magician (Acts 13) and to the Seven sons of Sceva the High Priest (Acts 19) show clearly that at a popular level magic played a part in the life of some Jews. The clientele of these Jewish magicians and exorcists may well have crossed religious and ethnic boundaries by people anxious to find relief from their particular ailment or predicament. However, it is extremely likely that these Jewish magicians found work from people from their own religious and ethnic background. Moreover, Arnold (1992:72) notes the work of Goodenough (1953) who has reproduced photographs of various magical charms and amulets which contain some kind of Jewish symbol (menorah or a depiction of Solomon).

<sup>78</sup> Interestingly, these interactions between the apostles and magicians and those involved with evil spiritual entities occur throughout the Empire in Samaria (Acts 8:4-13), Cyprus (Acts 13:4-12), Philippi (Acts 16:16-40) and Ephesus (Acts 19:13-20) and involve people from various cultures.

very destruction of the Christian believers in Asia Minor (ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τινα καταπιεῖν). For the new convert to Christianity, from a Jewish or a Gentile background, it would be a source of comfort and encouragement to trust in the Lord Jesus Christ who alone sits enthroned over every being both human and spiritual (1 Peter 3:18-22).<sup>79</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

Probably writing from Rome, Peter composed this genuine, pastoral letter to number of Christian congregations scattered throughout Asia Minor. These congregations, situated both in the urban centres and rural communities, were ethnically mixed and comprised of people from both sexes and from all social classes. The apostle, writing as a fellow exile to believers experiencing their own dispersion, addressed his readers from within the traditions of biblical Israel. Carefully interweaving theological and ethical material, Peter sought to motivate the members of these congregations to continue in their Christian faith despite the opposition they faced. For the non-Christians of the Roman Empire, the Christian's apparent withdrawal from society and his refusal to participate in the local and imperial, non-Christian religious activities, threatened the wellbeing of society and the Empire. As a result, suffering for these Christians was a real and regular occurrence, and formal legal charges with the potential of punishment by death an ever present danger. These believers are assured that they are following in the very footsteps of Christ.

---

<sup>79</sup> For a fuller discussion of the themes raised in this section pertaining to the belief in the continued involvement of spiritual entities, see D.N. Campbell's *Christ Preaching to the Spirits: An Exegetical Study of 1 Peter 3:18-22*, unpublished MA thesis, North West University, 2005.

# Chapter 3

## The Search for the Controlling Metaphor in 1 Peter

### Table of Contents

1. Introduction
2. History of Research
3. Summary

#### 1. Introduction

Stephen Neill (1964:343), confronted with the widely divergent interpretations of 1 Peter by two recently produced commentaries by Selwyn (1946) and Beare (1947)<sup>80</sup>, stated that the epistle 'was the storm centre of New Testament studies'.<sup>81</sup> However notable this 'storm centre' was, it was nothing in comparison to the debate between Balch and Elliott in the 1980s.<sup>82</sup> The subsequent outcome of this interaction has proved highly significant for the interpretation of 1 Peter and for the use of social scientific resources in the study of the New Testament. If Beare-Selwyn was a 'storm centre', then Balch-Elliott was a seismic shift with repercussions that still dominate the landscape of Petrine studies. What is clear is that the subsequent understandings of 1 Peter have proved equally widely divergent. This divergence is evident in the on-going attempt by many Petrine scholars to identify the 'controlling metaphor' or 'organising principle' in the epistle and to interpret 1 Peter in the light of their own particular hermeneutical key.

This chapter notes and evaluates the various proposals offered by modern scholars as to the 'controlling metaphor' or 'organising principle' of 1 Peter and determines how successful they have been.

#### 2. The History of Research

##### 2.1 The First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Petrine scholarship in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century followed the concerns of scholars of the first half of the 20th century and was dominated with questions concerning the genre and sources of 1 Peter. Although this particular interest appeared in numerous papers and books throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it came to a wider audience through the work of Harnack (1897).

Harnack's (1897) thesis that 1 Peter was a sermon and not a letter proved highly influential. As a result, Perdelwitz (1911) understood 1 Peter as a later document composed during a time of suffering containing an earlier baptismal homily (1:3-4:11) alongside later epistolary and hortatory material (1:1-2, 4:12-5:14). This general thesis that 1 Peter is basically a baptismal discourse proved popular and endured for some years propagated, with various modifications, by subsequent scholars (including Beare (1946)).<sup>83</sup> In light of the previous fifty years of research and the prevailing consensus, Selwyn's approach in his commentary (1946), though still identifying two distinct baptismal catechisms and other sacramental allusions in the letter, proved radical and ground-breaking. For Selwyn, 1 Peter was an encyclical letter written to encourage Christians suffering from occasional periods of ostracism and slander for their faith. Selwyn (1947:62) argued that Silvanus wrote against a background of a paschal baptismal celebration.<sup>84</sup> Based originally on Peter's personal witness of the events of Calvary, his own unique doctrine of the atonement developed which emphasised Jesus' meekness and patience in suffering. This, in turn, underpinned his ethic of subordination and faithful imitation of Christ's love and humble suffering (1947:60-62).

---

<sup>80</sup> This study interacts with the later 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of Beare's 1946 commentary which was published in 1970.

<sup>81</sup> In his updating of Neil's historical overview, Wright (Neil & Wright 1990:367) regrets that no major advances had occurred in Petrine studies despite the storm of the 1950s.

<sup>82</sup> Balch and Elliott produced their major works in 1981. In 1986 they both contributed essays to a volume edited by Talbert (1986) in which they critiqued each other's position.

<sup>83</sup> Streeter (1929), Windisch (1930), Beare (1970) Hauck (1949), Preisker (1951), Cross (1954) and Boismard (1956a, 1956b, 1957, 1961) are among some scholars who understand, to some degree, 1 Peter as a baptismal or liturgical document.

<sup>84</sup> Cross (1954:22) understood the references to suffering in 1 Peter as referring not to actual suffering but the language of the Easter service near Passover and the belief that Christians are united to Christ in affliction.

Despite the developments in Petrine studies during the early twentieth century, 1 Peter was still regarded as an epistle originating from a paschal-baptismal background where the sacramental themes and allusions to baptism were prevalent.

## 2.2 The Second Half of the 20th Century

### 2.2.1 The Gradual Demise of the Baptismal Theories

While Selwyn's commentary seriously questioned the prevailing mood in Petrine studies, Lohse's (1954)<sup>85</sup> paper proved very significant.<sup>86</sup> In response to the previous scholars who had explained the stylistic features of 1 Peter as being part of a 'baptismal liturgy', Lohse (1986) explained these features as coming from traditional material. For Lohse (1986:40), 'baptism' cannot be the interpretative key to 1 Peter as it appears almost exclusively in the first part of the epistle (1:3-2:10) and any other usages in the following chapters are only occasional. Lohse understands the author of 1 Peter as utilising paraenetic traditions from a variety of sources to bring about the preservation of suffering believers in Asia Minor. Christological traditions are placed alongside paraenetic sections to anchor them and provide the ultimate rationale for its ethics: 'Christ has suffered, and the Christians are called upon to follow his steps' (Lohse 1986:59).

Lohse's work prompted the demise of the baptismal-homiletical theories and ushered in a period which accepted the literary integrity and the paraenetic character of 1 Peter.<sup>87</sup> Yet the fascination with those references to baptism in 1 Peter continued. Hill (1976:181-89) attempted to clarify the position of baptism in 1 Peter against the main background of the epistle which he determined was the conduct of Christians in the midst of suffering. These Christians were, thus, being encouraged to persevere in their faith in Christ despite the opposition encountered because of bearing his name. Although noting that baptism is only mentioned once in the letter, Hill argues that the author invokes it in order to remind his original readers of their own baptisms and their initial public commitment to Christ (1976:185,189).

### 2.2.2 The Search for a Unifying Theme in 1 Peter

Goppelt (1993)<sup>88</sup> notes that the proponents of the baptismal-homiletical and baptismal-liturgical theories presuppose the absence of any significant train of thought in 1 Peter. For Goppelt, should another unifying principle be identified in the letter, then the hermeneutical grids presupposed by the baptismal hypotheses lose their *raison d'être*. Goppelt (1993:19) identified a twofold theme: 'the existence of Christians in a non-Christian society and overcoming that society by being prepared to bear opposition, i.e., to 'suffer''.

Goppelt (1993:38) argues that the author's perspective on his audience's state of affairs is thoroughly 'kerygmatic': 'The letter does not look on the situation of the Christians from the perspective of their environment as "persecution", but from the perspective of Christ as "discipleship".' Despite this kerygmatic perspective, and even though their particular situation has been brought into the context of this Christological perspective, it is still possible by careful exegesis to reconstruct the general characteristics of the historical situation. For these Christians, discipleship was to take place despite the pressures brought to bear upon them from the various institutions of society. For Goppelt (1993:20,39-40), the Christians in Asia Minor refused to conform to the Hellenistic ideal of religious tolerance. Instead, claiming exclusivity of the Christian faith, they awaited the eschatological vindication of God's people and the final judgement of all non-Christians. As a result, Christians were already suffering abuse and ostracism at the hands of neighbours and possible arrest and death by local authorities who regarded Christianity as basically criminal.

For Goppelt (1993:20-21), 1 Peter addresses the situation of the people in three stages. First, the letter grounds their social alienation in the very nature of Christian life as the eschatological existence

---

<sup>85</sup> Lohse's 1954 paper was translated from German into English in 1986. This study cites this later English translation.

<sup>86</sup> Bechtler (1998:4) proposes that Lohse's (1954) paper proved to be a 'turning point in Petrine studies'.

<sup>87</sup> The demise of any well-cherished hypothesis is never an overnight phenomenon. Scholars who continued to hold and promulgate the baptismal-homily theory after the work of Lohse (1954) include Beare (1970), Boismard (1956a, 1956b, 1957 and 1961), Martin (1962:40) and Reicke (1964:74).

<sup>88</sup> Goppelt's commentary first appeared in 1978 (*Der erste Petrusbrief*, Hahn, F (ed), MeyerK 12/1 Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht). This study cites the later English translation.

of God's people. By Christ's death and resurrection, the Christians are born into a new life full of hope, faith and brotherly love (1:1-2:10). A paradox is then developed: Christians although foreigners are obligated to participate responsibly in society, as a witness of their faith, and encouraged to overcome the resulting conflicts by means of their willingness to suffer for the sake of righteousness (2:11-4:11). Christ's suffering on the cross is invoked as a prototype for Christian suffering in society (2:21; 3:18). Finally (4:12-5-14), the pressures of society on the church are both unavoidable and an expression of participation in Christ's sufferings (4:13; 5:1).

In 1979, a year after Goppelt's work appeared, Brox's commentary on 1 Peter was published.<sup>89</sup> Brox took issue with Goppelt's theme of 1 Peter in terms of Christian responsibility within the institutions of society.<sup>90</sup> Analysing 3:15, Brox (1989:17) identifies the theme of 1 Peter as 'hope' or, more specifically, hope in salvation as the certain future for Christians. For Brox (1989:16), 1 Peter betrays no evidence of being systematically arranged nor does there appear to be a deliberate and continuous direction of thought. The letter's coherence comes from the stated aim of the author (5:12b) to show (1) that God's grace is evident when Christians continue even in the midst of discrimination and persecution and (2) that such opposition is to be expected (1989:16).

Brox does not share Goppelt's optimism that the actual historical situation addressed by 1 Peter can be determined from the text. The author did not know his audience and the circular nature of the letter deals with general conditions in which Christians lived rather than specific historic situations. 'Hope', therefore, became a suitable unifying theme as the common opposition encountered by Christians made the future seem very uncertain (1989:17,23).<sup>91</sup> The author of 1 Peter fashions traditional paraenetic, liturgical and Christological materials to create a document intended to comfort suffering Christians and to encourage them to carry on doing good in spite of opposition (1989:17,22-23). Moreover, the author desires that these Christians make sense of their suffering in the light of Christ's sufferings and so continue to walk in the footsteps of their Saviour and eventually arrive at Christ's destination – glory (1989:254,257). The works of Goppelt and Brox began to wrestle the scholarly focus away from the alleged baptismal sources of 1 Peter to look with renewed vigour at the prevalent theme of suffering and the purpose of the letter.

## 2.2.3 The Seismic Change of the Petrine Landscape

### 2.2.3.1 The Landscape Begins to Move

The scholarly landscape of 1 Peter was permanently altered with the publication of two very important studies on the epistle by Balch and Elliott in 1981 and their subsequent debate.<sup>92</sup> The focus of their disagreement centred on whether 1 Peter's strategy involves an accommodation to Roman culture, as Balch argues, or rather aims to promote cohesion and a 'holy nonconformity' within the Christian community as Elliott holds.

Balch (1981:1)<sup>93</sup> sought to 'trace the origin and function of the code of household ethics found in 1 Peter'.<sup>94</sup> Balch's argument focused on the household code in 1 Peter 2:11–3:12, arguing that the code reflects an acculturation of diaspora Judaism's domestic structure to Roman ways so as not to challenge Roman hegemony.<sup>95</sup> He regarded 1 Peter's household code to reflect, following Schweizer

---

<sup>89</sup> This study cites the third edition of Brox's commentary (1989).

<sup>90</sup> Brox (1979/1989) interacted with Goppelt's earlier work (1976, English translation 1982) in which he first promulgated his understanding of the theme of 1 Peter.

<sup>91</sup> Brox (1989:24,29-20) regards the opposition encountered by the Christians as not stemming from state sanctioned actions, but due to the mistrust of their non-Christian neighbours angered by the Christians apparent withdrawal from society.

<sup>92</sup> The publication of these works led to public debate between the authors at the annual joint meeting of the American Academy of Religion (AAR) and the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) in 1982. The papers they presented were subsequently published in 1986.

<sup>93</sup> Balch's (1981) study was a revised publication of his 1974 Yale dissertation.

<sup>94</sup> The origin and function of the 'household instruction material in Col 3:18-4:1 and Ephesians 5:21-6:9 is noted by Balch (1981:1) but not examined in great detail.

<sup>95</sup> Balch (1981:33-45,108-09) argues that the ultimate origin of Peter's household code is the Aristotle's *topos* 'concerning household management, which outlined the domestic relationships necessary to the stability of the house and, ultimately, the city. This *topos* is not in itself unique as the topic had previously been discussed by Plato and the later Platonists (Balch 1981:23-31).

(1977:407,410), 'the *paganization* of Christianity' (1986:97, emphasis his), moving away from values reflected in the Torah as well as in the teachings of Jesus. The author of 1 Peter, thus, adopts the code of household ethics as a response to the Graeco-Roman opposition directed towards converts to Christianity. The tensions between Christians and their wider society would have been particularly prominent in households where some individual members, slaves or wives, for example (1 Pet 2:18-20; 3:1-6), had converted to Christianity without the head of the household, or the household as a whole, having done so.

Peter, thus, encourages the Christians of Asia Minor to adopt and affirm the social roles assigned to them by Aristotle (*Politics* Book 1) and conform to the norms of society to silence the critics of the Christian faith.<sup>96</sup> The overriding purpose of the household code in 1 Peter encouraged 'Christians, as a new, Eastern religious community, to acculturate to Roman society' (1981:119). In Balch's opinion, the household code had an apologetic purpose, defending Christians against hostile criticism by showing that their behaviour is good and generally acceptable.

Elliott (1981) undertakes a 'sociological exegesis' of 1 Peter and, therefore, interprets the letter not simply as a repository of theological ideas, but as a 'vehicle of socioreligious interaction' (1990:8).<sup>97</sup> One of the key starting points in Elliott's argument was that the terms *πάροικοι* and *παρεπιδήμιοι*, aliens and strangers (1 Pet 1:1,17; 2:11), should not be understood metaphorically as referring to their spiritual pilgrimage but literally to indicate their socio-political status as actual displaced people.<sup>98</sup> The addressees of 1 Peter were literally 'resident aliens' in Asia Minor and, as such, social outsiders (1990:79).<sup>99</sup> Their subsequent conversion to Christianity would have seen them become religious outsiders and open themselves to further hostility and opposition from their non-Christian neighbours. This, in turn, would have led to debates and disagreements concerning their appropriate relationship(s) to outsiders to the detriment of internal unity (1990:83). The author of 1 Peter, confronted with the erosion of the internal unity of these congregations in Asia Minor, reaffirmed the belief that these resident aliens had a real home in the *οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ*. Within this household, 'alienation from society, zeal in doing the good, bearing the name of Christ, servitude and humility were transformed from Gentile-condemned 'vices' into the divinely rewarded 'virtues' of God's diaspora people' (Elliott 1990:226). From the perspective of non-Christian society, these Christian *πάροικοι* were despised non-conformists, fanatical Christ-lackeys and obsequious advocates of humiliation. According to 1 Peter, these people belong to the community of God and so have been transformed from marginal people to men and women of status and dignity (1990:226).

Elliott's understanding of 1 Peter's strategy and purpose is deeply influenced by the work of Wilson (1959) in the field of sect development.<sup>100</sup> For Wilson (1959:8), 'sects proliferate in periods of social unrest' and the communities to which Peter writes were, for Elliott (1990:103), 'conversionist or proselytizing sects' whose conflicts with outsiders necessitated the creation of a characteristic ideology that would both interpret their suffering, and motivate their sect-reinforcing behaviour. Suffering on the part of the believers is to be regarded as a sign of the differentiation between the Christian communities and those outside (Elliott 1990:113-116). Instead of being avoided, these conflicts and the resulting suffering should be embraced as an honour bestowed by God (Elliott 1990:122).

For Elliott (1990), the strategy of the letter is to foster internal cohesion among the brotherhood (2:17; 5:9), to build a distinct communal identity and resist the external pressures to conform. Underpinning

---

<sup>96</sup> Balch (1981:33) considers Aristotle's *Politics*, written c 335 BC, as quite important in determining the origin of NT household codes. After analysing Aristotle (1981:33-38), Balch considers the works of *The Peripatetics* (1981:38-39) and then those by Philodemus, Areius Didymus and Cicero (1981:39-45).

<sup>97</sup> Elliott (1990:1-20) carefully defines sociological exegesis and sets out his presuppositions and methodology.

<sup>98</sup> Elliott (1981:21-100) argues that *πάροικος* is a technical term that refers to someone who occupies a status between that of full citizen and visiting transient.

<sup>99</sup> Elliott (1990:xxviii-xxx) mitigates his position in response to Danker (1983:87-88), Achtemeier (1984:133) *et al*, to allow that it was possible that these Christians were not literally resident aliens prior to their conversion. While regarding that his original thesis could possibly be 'worthy of reconsideration', Elliott clearly remains convinced of his original thesis and retains the argument unchanged in the paperback edition (1990).

<sup>100</sup> Elliott (1990:102-106) quotes the sociological insights of Wilson and correlates them with material in 1 Peter.

Elliott's adoption and application of Wilson's hypothesis, is his emphasis of the οἶκος motif.<sup>101</sup> However, for Elliott (1990:200-37), the image of οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ is not to be understood as a reference to the temple but serves as a juxtaposition to πάροικος ('resident alien', 2:11). The author of 1 Peter deliberately juxtaposes the literal homelessness of his readers with the home that is theirs in the community of God's people. It is the duty of those belonging to this 'conversionist sect' in the midst of an evil and wicked world to carry on with the missionary task of seeking the salvation of others from this pagan and hostile society into the household of God. Elliott regards the purpose of 1 Peter as being not to promote acculturation, as Balch argues, but rather to prevent social conformity and to win over the detractors and opponents of the church by good works.

### 2.2.3.2 The Continuation of the Debate

#### 2.2.3.2.1 Balch's Counter-Attack

The debate continued apace concerning the divergent assessment of the Church's relationship with the world as reached by Balch and Elliott. Balch (1986:84,93) criticised Elliott's 'overemphasis on conflict theory and...rigid application of Bryan Wilson's early sociological theories' and quotes Wilson's own qualification that 'in the matter of moral values...sectarian teaching is by no means always fundamentally different in kind from the traditional moral orientations'. While Hellenised Diaspora Jews tended to acculturate in environments dominated by gentiles and live as loyal subjects, they still tried to maintain their religious traditions as much as possible (1986:90-91).<sup>102</sup> In this light, Balch (1986:89-90) argues that that the author of 1 Peter, writing as a Hellenistic Jewish Christian, similarly encourages the Christian 'exiles of the Dispersion' in Asia Minor to continue this acculturation process. Balch (1986:99) rejects Elliott's emphasis on the οἶκος motif in providing the identity symbol and ethical basis for the congregations in Asia Minor as 'an exaggeration' and puzzlingly inconsistent with his "sociological exegesis". In place of the Roman household ethos, Balch (1986:100) suggests that the final and characteristic basis for the ethical exhortations is Christological. For Balch (1986:100, emphasis his), he is 'not emphasizing a mental *idea*. The key identity symbol was a *mythos* not an *ethos*, a sacred story, not as domestic political institution, Christology not codified ethics.' For Balch, it is the Christological story and not the Roman household *ethos* that was the identity symbol for the early Christians.

#### 2.2.3.2.2 Elliott's Response

Elliott rejected Balch's approach as it failed to prove convincingly that the maintenance of Christian and non-Christian contacts is clear evidence of 1 Peter's interest in social assimilation. Elliott (1986:73) acknowledges that there are some actions and behaviour that the author of 1 Peter values in common with society at large: 'Where there is no conflict of interest between conformity to God's will and subordination to human authorities established by God (2:13), submission is recommended "on account of the Lord" (2:13, 21, 24).'

More damaging is Elliott's insistence that Balch, in focussing so exclusively on the issue of social linkage, ignores entirely the question of boundary maintenance. For Elliott (1986:72), keeping open the channels of communication between Christians and non-Christians should not be confused with an advocacy of social assimilation. The Christian believers were actively hoping that these non-Christian contacts would in time be recruited to the Christian faith and so also 'declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light' (1 Pet 2:9). For Elliott (1986:78), sectarian groups, like those early Christian congregations in Asia Minor, see intergroup linkages and boundary maintenance as interrelated concerns. The concern of 1 Peter is not to promote acculturation, but to strengthen the communal identity and solidarity so that the original recipients could both resist the external pressure to assimilate and so witness to outsiders effectively.

---

<sup>101</sup> Elliott (1990) supports his identification of οἶκος ('household') as the book's dominant image by pointing elsewhere in the book to the repeated occurrence of οἶκος-related vocabulary (1:17; 2:5,11,18; 3:7; 4:10,17) as well as other familial and household language (e.g. 1:22-23; 2:17; 3:6,8; 5:9,12,13,14).

<sup>102</sup> Balch (1986:90-91) argues that Diaspora Jews reduced the dissonance between their culture and Hellenism, by emphasising those common ethical points of agreement and downplaying their own distinctive symbols that might cause offence (*kosher* and circumcision) or modifying the ideas of pagans. Balch (1986:90) acknowledges the significant work of Collins (1983) on Jewish identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora.

Elliott (1986:76) also rejects Balch's contention that he had in some way separated the *ethos* from the Christological *mythos*. Elliott reaffirms the prominence and importance of the Christological material. In 1 Peter, the kerygma of Christ's rejection, suffering, death, resurrection, exaltation and favour with God, is used to provide the readers with a Christological rationale for their subordination and endurance of suffering and in establishing a basis of hope. Nevertheless, Elliott (1986:77) maintains that it is the household motif, with its familial metaphors (οἶκος, οἰκοδομέω, οἰκέτης, συνοικέω, οικονόμος, rebirth, God as Father, believers as children and brothers, brotherhood, sibling love and household service) that is deliberately employed to relate the Christ story to the community of homeless (πάρηκοι) and suffering believers as the household of God.

### 2.2.3.3 The Aftermath – Conformity or Resistance

The Elliott-Balch debate certainly reinvigorated Petrine studies both immediately in the late-1980s and subsequently.<sup>103</sup> In the aftermath, some scholars<sup>104</sup> sided with Elliott's hypothesis that 1 Peter promoted social resistance and non-conformity while some others<sup>105</sup> agreed with Balch's proposal that the epistle encouraged social assimilation and acculturation. Others (Winter (1988a; 1988b),<sup>106</sup> Boring (1993:103-07), Volf (1994)<sup>107</sup> and Talbert (1986:146)) found these two categorizations unsatisfactory and attempt to posit a middle alternative which understands the Christians of Asia Minor as being positively encouraged to maintain their distinctive existence within society.<sup>108</sup> Talbert (1986:146) refuses to adopt the 'either-or' of Balch and Elliott and instead prefers a 'both-and' approach. For a church to exist, it was essential that the congregations maintained the social cohesion within the group by emphasising the shared experience of the believers in breaking from their past lives and the exclusive membership of the community. However, in the face of hostile pressure from outside, the Christian communities were encouraged to be socially adaptable and so adopt those positive social and cultural mores and norms.

Horrell (2007b and 2008) has provided a more nuanced approach to 1 Peter which is highly influenced by the field of postcolonial studies and, in particular, the work of political scientist James Scott (1990).<sup>109</sup> Scott has attempted to take seriously the ways in which socially weak groups can

<sup>103</sup> The volume in which the papers by Elliott and Balch were contained also included three other contributions, by Kendall (1986:103-20), Richard (1986:121-39) and Talbert (1986:141-51). These papers offered three different literary analyses of 1 Peter, none of which agreed with the other.

<sup>104</sup> Among those scholars who preferred Elliott's understanding of the epistle are Kendall (1986:119-20; 1987), Hobbie (1993), Martin (1994:126-27), Best (1986) and Zerbe (1993). Achtemeier (1989:215-22), in part came to his decision because of Balch's failure to take seriously the admonition in 1 Pet 4:1-4 to avoid the practices of the non-Christians.

<sup>105</sup> Applegate (1992), Corley (1995), Krentz (1998:285), Richard (2000) and Thúren (2002) are among those who supported Balch's underlying hypothesis and so swam against the prevailing tide of Petrine scholarship. Thúren (2002) argues that the prophetic call in Jeremiah 27 for Jews to acquiesce to Nebuchadnezzar played a significant influence upon the author of 1 Peter as he advocates an absolute submission to the Roman authorities.

<sup>106</sup> Building on Jeremiah's exhortation to exiled Jews in Babylon to 'seek the welfare of the city' (Jer 29:7), Winter (1988b) recognises a parallel exilic situation of the readers of 1 Peter. For Winter, 1 Peter encourages Christians to be involved in society as agents of blessing (2:12, 21; 3:9) rather than distanced from it (*contra* Elliott). However, these good works are not for the sake of acculturation (*contra* Balch), but rather to promote the welfare of others and so counter any opposition to the Christian faith (Winter 1988a:96-97).

<sup>107</sup> Volf (1994:22) argues that 1 Peter (and specifically its household code) offers 'an example of differentiated acceptance and rejection of the surrounding culture'. For Volf (1994:24), while the epistle does not envisage Christians changing contemporary social structures, it does call its readers to fulfil their missionary responsibilities and live their 'distance' from society in the real world. Volf (1994:24) calls this balance 'soft difference'. Horrell (2008:93-93) acknowledges Volf's attempt to find from 1 Peter a model useful for the modern church living in fast changing, pluralistic societies. Nevertheless, Horrell argues that Volf's hypothesis fails to consider adequately the 'imperial context' of the letter and its readership and, therefore, the necessary strategies required by vulnerable groups to live under such ruling authorities.

<sup>108</sup> Munro (1983) adopts Balch's thesis in arguing that 1 Peter was an early second century redaction written to lend support to the Roman authorities and institutions. Munro's thesis was subsequently critiqued by Dijkman (1987).

<sup>109</sup> Carter (2004:14-33), influenced by the work of Scott, interprets 1 Peter as an appeal for quiet conformity as a survival strategy in a particular context of hostility and persecution. However, Carter is wrong to suggest that the author of 1 Peter expects his readers to go all the way in conforming to the demands of the emperor, including participation in the worship of the emperor. The expected resistance of the Christian was to be more than just

resist powerful authorities in many ways (utilising what Scott calls 'hidden transcripts'), while remaining within the bounds of expected conformity.<sup>110</sup> These modes of resistance, both practical and linguistic, adopted by those socially disadvantaged people, maintained a critical distance from complete obedience and subservience. Horrell (2007b:123-43) argues that the author of 1 Peter adopts his own 'hidden transcripts' by utilising the Jewish language of exile and dislocation to reflect the underside of the empire. The positive counterpart to this depiction of the addressees as strangers and aliens under Babylon's rule is to portray to his readers their true identity as God's elect and holy people through their new birth and the glorious inheritance that awaits them (1:3-2:10). Thanks to the death and resurrection of Christ, the Christians now know in this world both a dislocation from the empire and that the location of their positive hopes lies elsewhere.

In light of the Christians' distinction and distance from society, the author moves on to deal with the ramifications of their behaviour in the structures of society (2:11-5:12). The Christians are expected to 'do good' and to live in a way that non-Christians may be 'won over'. This 'doing good' is specified in the domestic household material (2:11-3:7). However, this negotiation between conformity and resistance is more subtle and nuanced (*contra* Carter 2004:14-33). Horrell (2007b:135-137)<sup>111</sup> argues that what is being advocated in 1 Peter is a polite (non)conformity that honours the emperor, but fears and worships only God (2:17).<sup>112</sup> Undoubtedly, this approach would have been sufficient to be regarded as an obstinate refusal to conform and such resistance would have warranted the death penalty (compare *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 10-11 and *Letter of Pliny* 10.96).<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, Horrell (2007b:138-41) sees that this path between conformity and resistance is evident in 4:12-19. Although the Christian is called to share in the suffering of Christ and bear the label of being a Christian with pride (εἰ δὲ ὡς χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, 4:16), no follower of Christ should ever be found guilty by society and so suffer at its hands for murder, theft, criminality or meddling. The author of 1 Peter adopts the name Χριστιανός, labelled on the followers of Christ as a term of abuse by the hostile outsiders/'colonisers', and turns it into a badge of identity to be worn by 'Christians' in Asia Minor with 'polemical pride' (2007b:141).<sup>114</sup> Although opposed and under suspicion, these Christ-lackeys are in fact God's chosen people on earth despite being scattered and homeless in part by the actions of 'Babylon'. Peter does, indeed, draw a clear line of resistance, alongside a generally conformist position.

Horrell is helpful in avoiding the either resistance or conformist polemic of an earlier generation. Certainly, the resistance found in 1 Peter is more muted and lacks the radical nature of that found in Revelation.<sup>115</sup> Instead, 1 Peter positively contributes to the making of Christian identity and negotiating the church's existence in the empire.

---

an internal one (revering Christ in their hearts, 3:15) while outwardly conforming to every requirement of the empire (Horrell 2007b:135).

<sup>110</sup> Scott insists that open and physical forms of rebellion are comparatively rare, of a generally short duration and usually smashed by the superior and more powerful forces. His interest is in the many and varied ways in which those who are powerless express their resistance to oppression in 'the immense political terrain that lies between quiescence and revolt' (1990:199). These forms of resistance find expression in 'hidden transcripts' (stories and language) which are performed by the oppressed group, out of sight of the ruling masters, in order to tell different stories about the world and their place in it.

<sup>111</sup> Horrell (2007b:137) is incredulous of those scholars (e.g. Bechtler (1998:50), Elliott (2000:502, 793n100) and Michaels (1988:lxiii)) who take 1 Pet 2:13-17 as evidence against imperial persecution.

<sup>112</sup> Horrell (2007b:136-37) finds an illustration of this distinction between fearing and worshipping only God yet honouring the emperor (2:17) in the later *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* 8-9 (180AD). The Latin text is found in Musurillo (1972:88). This reference is also mentioned by Feldmeier (2008:165 n364) and Bigg (1901:11).

<sup>113</sup> Pliny required those suspected of Christianity to worship the emperor and/or the Roman gods. This test was a means of identifying true Christians, since they would never curse Christ or sacrifice to the emperor and the Roman gods.

<sup>114</sup> Horrell (2007) researches the origin, adoption and development of the term Χριστιανός by the Christians in response to the bruising encounters with imperial opposition.

<sup>115</sup> Horrell (2007b:141-42) argues that 1 Peter lacks the same 'hidden transcript' as Revelation which symbolically portrays the imminent and violent destruction of the empire. In complete contrast, 1 Peter demands that the Christians honour the emperor and live good and blameless lives.

### 2.2.3.4 The Aftermath – Metaphors

Elliott's emphasis on the οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ imagery as the epistle's key motif and Balch's vigorous rejection prompted another debate among Petrine scholars. These scholars looked afresh at the other themes in 1 Peter and sought to discover the overarching principle or metaphor against which the epistle should be interpreted. Elliott had more than rehabilitated the stepchild, he had provided an impetus among scholars to consider this overlooked Cinderella of New Testament scholarship.

Prompted by Elliott, Achtemeier (1989:222-28) attempted to define the criteria appropriate to determine when an author is using figurative language and when he wants it to be taken literally. This quest is made all the harder when the author of 1 Peter appears to use an abundance of metaphors and similes. While some instances are clearly figurative ('newborn babies' (2:2) and 'living stones' (2:5)), others are surely to be taken more literally ('Christians' (4:16) and 'fellow elders' (5:1)). Achtemeier (1989:222-28), thus, concludes that the most helpful criteria by which one may judge whether language in a text is metaphorical or literal is to identify the 'larger' metaphor of the book as a whole. Once this 'controlling metaphor' is determined, it is possible to establish whether other more confined language supports this controlling metaphor. If so, the more confined language itself is likely to be metaphorical. Applying this proposed method, Achtemeier (1989:224) identifies the controlling metaphor to be 'the Christian community as the new people of God constituted by the Christ who suffered (and rose)'.<sup>116</sup> These Christian communities constitute God's chosen new Israel.<sup>117</sup>

By identifying 'Israel' as the controlling metaphor, Achtemeier set himself in direct opposition to Elliott's cherished οἶκος-παροίκος contrast and, especially, his literal understanding of παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους (2.11).<sup>118</sup> For Achtemeier (1998:217-18), the language should not be read against the political Graeco-Roman world in order to describe the Christians both before and after conversion. Rather, this is metaphorical language which is reminiscent of Israel's exile in Babylon and is part of the 'larger metaphor' of 'Israel'. In the specific case of 2:11, the previous context (2:9-10) is a clear example of metaphorical language from the Old Testament which originally pertained to Israel being reapplied to the Christian communities.<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, the language of 2:11 echoes the phrase's application to Abraham (Gen 23:4), the father of Israel, and suggests that it is another contribution to the controlling metaphor of Israel.

While Achtemeier (1989) had moved the debate on by focussing on discovering the controlling metaphor in 1 Peter, other scholars were more intent on debating the legitimacy of Elliott's sociological interpretation. While Chin (1991)<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> The first half of Achtemeier's (1989:224) metaphor derives from the language which describes Israel as God's chosen people separated for himself. The second part of the metaphor derives from the language employed that describes the Christians as patterning their behaviour in the suffering of Christ (2:13-3:6). For Achtemeier (1996:211), Christians are 'nonconformists who threatened the religious and socio-political, status quo'. This is not a cry for assimilation (contra Balch) but a call to a lifestyle commensurate with their new identity and in conformity to the model of Christ's suffering.

<sup>117</sup> Achtemeier's identification of Peter's controlling metaphor for the struggling Christian communities as the 'people of Israel' found support from other scholars (Robinson (1989: 177), Martin (1994:100) and Mueller (2002)).

<sup>118</sup> Instead of seeing παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους (2:11) as a reference to literal 'resident aliens', Achtemeier (1989:228) translates the phrase as 'exiles and aliens'.

<sup>119</sup> Achtemeier (1989:217) argues that the combination of πάροικος and παρεπιδήμος appears first in the Septuagint (Gen 23:4; Ps 38:12 [39:13]) and afterwards only in biblically influenced literature (Philo, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil). Therefore, as this idiom was otherwise unknown in secular Greek, it is more likely that the author of 1 Peter reproduced a phrase which came from the Old Testament. This would make it all the more unsuitable to describe a person's literal political status in Hellenistic society.

<sup>120</sup> Chin (1991) argues that as πάροικος and παρεπιδήμος are nearly synonymous and almost interchangeable, Elliott's sociological distinction between 'resident aliens' and 'strangers' is unsustainable. Moreover, this language is often used in the LXX, NT, Philo and early church fathers to affirm a cosmological distinction between this transient life and the believer's true and lasting heavenly home (e.g. 1 Chron 29:15; Heb 11:8-16; *De Cherubim* 120-21). Likewise, the concept of 'sojourning' became widely adopted as a defining characteristic of God's people. As a consequence, Chin (1991:111-112) argues that the terms in 2:11 should be read metaphorically as they belong comfortably alongside the wider description of the readers as the covenantal people of God. Dubis (2002:46-62) notes that the LXX's frequent use of this notion of 'sojourning' became

and Seland (2001)<sup>121</sup>, among others<sup>122</sup>, interacted with and rejected Elliott's literal understanding of *παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους* (2:11), other scholars remained convinced.<sup>123</sup> However, before too long the debate was overtaken by the desire to identify the controlling metaphor or principle which would act as the hermeneutical key in understanding the epistle. The suggestions proffered were numerous and varied.

Some of these proposals identified an aspect of the history of Israel as underlying the appropriation of Old Testament language. These included: 'exodus' (Brooks 1974:297), 'exodus and covenant' (Pryor 1986), 'election and covenant' (Furnish 1975), 'diaspora' ((Martin (1992:144-61)<sup>124</sup>, Michaels (1988:xliv) and Tite (1997) and J Green (2001:323-24)), 'temple' (Johnson 1986)<sup>125</sup> and 'stranger' (Feldmeier 1992). Achtemeier (1999:150-51:n14) considers that these and other submissions should be considered under 'Israel' in its totality as the controlling metaphor of the epistle. These various themes and the very language from the history of Israel are embraced to express the reality of the Christian communities as the new people of God.

Other scholars have identified the organising principle in 1 Peter in various aspects of the Christian life. These included the 'sufferings/glories' antithesis (1:10-12) (see Schutter (1989:123-68), Bechtler (1998), Richard (2000:15-16,19-20) and Dubis (2002)), 'saving grace' (Kendall (1986)), 'holiness' (Kendall 1985), 'non-retaliation' (Schertz (1992)), 'deference' (Slaughter (1995)), 'the Christian life' (Howe 2000c) and 'Christian responsibility in society' (Goppelt (1993) and Botha (1988)).

Elliott's (1990:73-84, 101-64) appropriation of Wilson's (1959) 'social-science theory' and initial application of his new methodology ('social-scientific criticism') to the study and exegesis of 1 Peter led to subsequent refinements and contributions.<sup>126</sup> In his ensuing studies, Elliott (1993, 1995) provided a more sophisticated definition and description of his methodology with an innovative understanding of 1 Peter in terms of honour and shame. In particular, Elliott's reading of 1 Peter in terms of Mediterranean cultural values of 'honour/grace' and 'shame/disgrace' proved influential among other scholars and was adopted critically and with some refinement by Campbell (1998), Bechtler (1998) and Van Rensburg (2000).

---

deeply ingrained as a defining characteristic of God's people, making it likely that 1 Pet 2:11's language is metaphorical in keeping with 1 Peter's description of the readers as the covenantal people of God.

- <sup>121</sup> Influenced by their usage in the LXX and Philo as descriptions of Jewish proselytes, Seland (2001) also believes that *πάροικος* and *παρεπιδήμιος* should be understood metaphorically. Seland does not argue that the original recipients of 1 Peter were actual proselytes (*contra* McKnight 1996:24), but that the social alienation they were encountering was similar to that which proselytes experienced as a result of their conversion to Judaism. Thus, Seland views proselyte/proselytism as an important sub-metaphor which fits in well with Achtemeier's identification of 'Israel' as the controlling metaphor.
- <sup>122</sup> The immediate years saw some like Clowney (1988:227-29), Feldmeier (1992), Martin (1992:141-61, 188-200), Thurén (1995:195-202) and Bechtler (1998:64-81) come out against Elliott's literal understanding.
- <sup>123</sup> Steuernagel (1986:11-13), Pilch (1991) and McKnight (1996:24-26) are some who were convinced by Elliott's argument that *πάροικος* and *παρεπιδήμιος* point to a literal socio-political reality. Van Rensburg (1998) adopts a mediating position.
- <sup>124</sup> Martin (1992:144) is emphatic that 'Diaspora' is the controlling metaphor of 1 Peter as it appears in the epistle's opening (1:1) and closing sections (5:13). He then identifies three metaphor clusters that comprise the letter's body-middle. The three metaphor clusters are identified as: (1) as the God's elect as the house of God (1:14-2:10); (2) strangers and aliens (2:11-3:12) and the Diaspora as a place of suffering (3:13-5:11). Martin (1992:161), thus, claims that 'all three of these metaphor clusters are related through the overarching and controlling metaphor of the Diaspora'.
- <sup>125</sup> Johnson (1986:291-93) fundamentally disagrees with Elliott's (1966:148-98; 1990:165-266) communal and sociological understanding of *οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ*. Noting that the term is used in the LXX to refer to the temple, Johnson argues that temple imagery drawn from Mal 3 and Ezek 9 underlies 1 Pet 4:17. Johnson's identification of the temple imagery is supported by Proctor (1993) and incorporated by Achtemeier (1996:158-59).
- <sup>126</sup> Elliott's works in this field are clearly influenced by the detailed works of Wilson (1961 and 1973). Olsson (1995) provides a criticism of Elliott's social scientific methodology.

### 2.2.3.5 The Aftermath – Theology

Alongside the quest for the controlling metaphor and organising principle, there arose a fresh interest in the theology of 1 Peter.<sup>127</sup> Scholars have highlighted various aspects of the letter's theology including the Trinitarian nature of the epistle,<sup>128</sup> its Christology,<sup>129</sup> its record of Christ's 'proclamation to the spirits' (3:18-22),<sup>130</sup> its pneumatology,<sup>131</sup> its soteriology,<sup>132</sup> its ecclesiology,<sup>133</sup> its eschatology,<sup>134</sup> its theology of suffering,<sup>135</sup> and its missiological implications.<sup>136</sup>

### 2.2.3.6 The Aftermath – Navigating the Impasse

This brief history of the study of 1 Peter indicates the explosion of interest in the text, its theology and interpretation of the epistle. It is clear that no effort has been spared in the quest to identify the organising principle or controlling metaphor. However, the number and range of different proposals is clear evidence that no consensus exists among Petrine scholars on this issue.

The author of 1 Peter purposely employed a number and range of metaphors from various backgrounds to encourage his readers to carry on in their newfound faith in Christ despite the opposition and their suffering. Although these metaphors, both individually and in clusters, are certainly rich and varied, it is difficult to identify just one as 'the' controlling metaphor providing the hermeneutical key against which the rest of the epistle should be understood. How can this impasse be circumvented?

Van Rensburg (2005) has helpfully explored the concept of metaphor in the epistle as a means of highlighting the letter's theme of salvation by understanding soteriology as the 'transition from being lost to being saved'. He (2005:410) identifies this as the key in identifying salvific metaphors. Even those metaphors which are not in themselves salvific explain the ontological status of the readers who

---

<sup>127</sup> Martin (1994:98-130), Michaels (1988:lxvii-lxxv), Davids (1990:14-23) and Elliott (2000:109-18) helpfully provide overviews of the theology of the Epistle.

<sup>128</sup> Michaels (1988:lxvii-lxxv) and Johnson (2002) specifically highlight the Trinitarian emphases found in the epistle.

<sup>129</sup> The Christology of 1 Peter has caused considerable discussion. Richard (1986:133-39) highlighted the functional paraenetic aspect of this Christology in providing a pattern for Christians to strengthen them in their suffering as they anticipate glory. Tuñi (1987) similarly recognises the appropriation of the historical Jesus to provide a basis for the author's call that Christians should follow in Christ's footsteps. Other works on the Christology of 1 Peter include those by Achtemeier (1993, 1999), Bechtler (1998) and Howe (2000a).

<sup>130</sup> Dalton's (1989) thesis that 1 Pet 3:18-22 refers to Christ's ascent through the heavens and proclamation of victory over those spirits incarcerated in the heavens has influenced many scholars (Achtemeier (1996:239-74), Elliott (2000:637-710) and Bandstra (2003)). However, not all have been so persuaded (Grudem (1986, 1988, 1991), Feinberg (1986), Erickson (1995) and Skilton (1996)). Dubis (2006:221-22) provides a helpful list of many others who have commented on this passage utilising a variety of methodologies.

<sup>131</sup> Martin (1994:117-19) re-evaluates and rehabilitates the pneumatology of 1 Peter in response to Beare's (1970:55) dismissal of the subject.

<sup>132</sup> Kennard (1987:399-405) considers background and use of 'redemption' in the Petrine corpus. Howe (2000b) considers the cross of Christ and subsequently ponders on the grace of God in light of the cross (2000d). Van Rensburg (2005) lists the various metaphors used in the epistle to describe the Christians' salvation and examines their combined impact. McCrudden (2007:44-48) considers the compassionate nature of salvation and the continuing presence of Christ with his people.

<sup>133</sup> The topics considered include those of 'elders in the early church' (Elliott 2001) and discussion concerning the terms *ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον* and *βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα* (2:5,9) (Elliott (1966) and Seland (1995)). Dubis (2006:220) catalogues a number of other works by authors from a variety of ecclesiastical traditions that touch on the ecclesiology of 1 Peter.

<sup>134</sup> Michaels (1967 and 1988:xlvi-xlix) and Davids (1990:15-17) note the apocalyptic nature of the epistle, while others (Martin (1992b), Parker (1994)) have studied eschatological aspects of particular passages. Dubis (2002) interprets 1 Peter (and especially 4:12-19) against the backdrop of messianic woes found in Jewish apocalyptic literature. In an appendix, Boring (1999:183-201) provides an idiosyncratic interpretation of 1 Peter set against a narrative plot line which sees its terminus not in heaven but in the eschaton.

<sup>135</sup> Bechtler (1998) considers the references to the suffering and glorification of Christ as an integral part of the letter's response to the suffering of its addressees. The presentation of Christ acts as both the paradigm for the sufferer who will be honoured /glorified by God and as the model for faithful endurance of unjust suffering. For Pearson (2001), the author of 1 Peter composes a theodicy for his audience by using the humiliation/vindication motifs as found in Isaiah 53.

<sup>136</sup> Dubis (2006:221) highlights a number of works which draw out various missiological implications from 1 Peter.

have already experienced this soteriological transition. Those who belong to the 'new Israel' or 'God's family' are those who have been saved.<sup>137</sup> Van Rensburg (2005: 432) concludes that '[the author of] 1 Peter develops his soteriology mainly by means of family imagery. He does not describe the soteriology as a stagnant event, but as a complex of relations and events'. The work of Van Rensburg (2005) on the matter of metaphor is very helpful in understanding the various metaphors in 1 Peter against the wider salvific background and purpose of the letter.<sup>138</sup>

### 3. Summary

This chapter has focussed on the various approaches undertaken by Petrine scholars throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century to identify the controlling metaphor or organising principle in 1 Peter. Scholars have spent much energy trying to identify the one true key and then interpret the letter in the light of this particular hermeneutical control. The difficulty in Petrine scholarship arose when so many different 'keys' were identified, each claiming to be the most appropriate one to understand the epistle, and the author's particular purpose in penning it and the situation of the letter's original recipients. The number of these studies and their diverging nature suggest that this particular quest has generally proved futile and unsatisfying.

As this thesis proceeds to examine the concept of δόξα (glory) in 1 Peter, it would be appropriate to remember the past and determine not to follow the same well-trodden paths. Therefore, it should be stated clearly that 'glory' (and its cognates) is not understood in this research as the controlling metaphor or organising principle of the epistle. To make such an assertion would perpetuate the same direction of many recent studies which in this way isolate one particular metaphor and yet neglect the wider soteriological material found throughout the epistle and the overarching pastoral purpose of the author as he writes to God's suffering and yet saved people.

---

<sup>137</sup> Van Rensburg (2005:409-410) specifically understands Martin's (1992) assertion that 'Diaspora' is the overarching principle of the epistle as actually a non-salvific metaphor which describes the ontological consequence of Christ's salvation.

<sup>138</sup> In his study of the nursling-milk metaphor in 1 Pet 2:1-3, Tite (2009) adopts Van Rensburg's (2005) understanding of metaphor and its place against the wider salvific framework of the letter.



# Chapter 4

## Glory in the Old Testament

### Table of Contents

1. Introduction
2. כבוד and יהוה in the Old Testament: an Overview
3. כבוד יהוה in the Pentateuch
4. כבוד and יהוה in the Psalms
5. כבוד and יהוה in the Early Monarchy
6. כבוד and יהוה in the Prophets
7. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

To understand the use of δόξα and its cognates in 1 Peter, it is essential to understand how the Old Testament authors employed the concept glory (כבוד) and Glory of the Lord (כבוד יהוה). This chapter will examine those significant instances of 'glory' and the 'the glory of the Lord' in the earlier non-apocalyptic books of the Old Testament and attempt to discern any differences or nuances in usage.

New Testament Scholars ought always to embark carefully when studying Hebrew terms and their usage in the Old Testament. A casual study of the Old Testament will reveal a long and complex debate about the text and its history among many scholars over many years.

Due to space constraints, this study will not discuss the origins and historical development of those passages in which כבוד יהוה (the Glory of the Lord) appears. Instead, this study will examine the final form of these Old Testament passages and attempt to understand the way כבוד יהוה is employed by the various authors. This analysis will necessarily and primarily adopt a synchronic approach to the passages as we have them today, rather than a diachronic approach which deals with the historical development of the text. Naturally, when dealing with the works of Old Testament source, form and redaction criticism these diachronic considerations will arise on occasion. The historical-grammatical approach to interpretation has emphasised the need to study the biblical passage in light of its historical origin. However, in contrast to traditional critical approaches, this study will examine the canonical and final form of the text.<sup>139</sup>

### 2. כבוד and יהוה in the Old Testament

#### 2.1 Preliminary Findings

The כבוד word group appears about four hundred times in the Old Testament and possesses a wide range of meanings.<sup>140</sup> This study, however, will focus on those instances where כבוד (glory) is used explicitly or implicitly as a symbol of 'divine presence'. The phrase 'Glory of the Lord' (כבוד יהוה) is used thirty-six times in the Old Testament.<sup>141</sup> On seven other occasions כבוד is used with other names for God (אל and אלהם).<sup>142</sup>

<sup>139</sup> The works of Longman (1987:24-25) and Kaiser (1981:33) explain and adopt the historical-grammatical approach.

<sup>140</sup> De Waard and Nida (1986:163-46) and Newman (1992:19) provide useful tables to summarise the fluid and diverse semantic range of כבוד.

<sup>141</sup> Ex 16:7, 10; 24:16, 17; 40:34, 35; Lev 9:6, 23; Num 14:10, 21; 16:19, 42 [17:7]; 20:6; I Kings 8:11; 2 Chron 5:14; 7:1, 2, 3; Ps 104:31; 138:5; Isa 35:2; 40:5; 58:8; 60:1; Ezek 1:28; 3:12, 23; 8:4; 10:4 (x2); 10:18; 11:23; 43:4; and Hab 2:14.

<sup>142</sup> The designation אל כבוד is used in Ps 19:2; 29:3; Ezek 9:3; 10:19; 11:22 and 43:2. The contexts indicate that אל כבוד shares the same semantic value as כבוד יהוה (compare Ezek 10:18 with 10:19 and Ezek 11:22 with 11:13). The designation אלהם כבוד appears only in Prov 25:2.

## 2.2 כבוד יהוה in the Old Testament

The phrase כבוד יהוה often appears with two distinctive syntagmatic units. The first of these constructions sees כבוד יהוה being employed with 'movement terminology'. The 'Glory of the Lord' is said to 'fill' (מלא), 'settle' (שכן), 'rise, go up' (עלה/זרה), 'come/arrive' (בוא / יצא) or simply to 'stand still, be over' (עמד) something or somewhere. This movement relates Glory to various spaces where Yahweh is thought to be present – Mount Sinai, the tabernacle, the temple, objects in the temple, the temple precincts and Jerusalem itself.

Secondly, this movement of the 'Glory of the Lord' implies a degree of visibility. As a result, כבוד יהוה is often said to have 'appeared' (ראה) or been 'seen'.<sup>143</sup> The glory 'appears' in and around places<sup>144</sup> where the Yahweh's presence is expected and is observed by the people of Israel or, even more generally, 'to all flesh'. Interestingly, when the movement of כבוד יהוה is highlighted, the appearance often occurs in an unexpected location and to many more people than the Lord's chosen, sacred representatives.

It should be noted that the movement of כבוד יהוה may not always result in visibility. The 'Glory of the Lord' can also be said to 'depart' and the consequence of this means that it is no longer seen by the people even in those places where Yahweh's presence was normally assumed.<sup>145</sup>

Furthermore, there are those occasions where כבוד יהוה is used in other phrases that, while implying appearance and movement, emphasise Yahweh theophanically revealing himself. Isaiah promises that כבוד יהוה will act as the 'rear-guard' (אסף) for the people as they return from exile (Isa 58:8). The psalmist informs that the creation declares (ספר) the כבוד אל (Ps 19:2). In attempting to describe כבוד יהוה it is compared to like seeing a 'fire' (Ex 24:17) and a rainbow like 'brightness' (Ezek 1:28).

Pronominal and nominal constructions using כבוד, when Yahweh is the referent, are also associated with movement and visibility terminology.<sup>146</sup> However, there are examples when these pronominal and nominal constructions are used quite differently. The כבוד is said to 'sanctify' (קדש, Ex 29:43), can be 'given' or retained (נתן, Isa 42:8; 48:11), is something for which man is 'created' (ברא, Isa 43:7), is to be 'feared' (ירא, Ps 102:16; Isa 59:19), can be described as a canopy of cloud, fire and smoke (Isa 4:5) and is the object of proclamation (נדב, 1 Chron 16:24; Ps 96:3 and Isa 66:19). This examination suggests that כבוד יהוה is a little more restricted in its usage, while those instances of כבוד when Yahweh is the referent are more flexible. This study agrees with Newman (1992:22) who suggests that the evidence might point to כבוד יהוה being used as a technical term.<sup>147</sup>

It is clear that when compared to כבוד יהוה the attributes of Yahweh (e.g. dread, anger, love, wrath, righteousness, terror, zeal, joy, power, etc.) are generally described without that sense of mobility and visibility. Even terms like 'Fire of the Lord' (אש יהוה) and 'cloud of the Lord' (ענן יהוה) which describe

<sup>143</sup> Ex 16:7, 10; 24:17; Lev 9:6; Num 14:10; 16:19, 42; 20:6; 2 Chron 7:3; Isa 35:2; 40:5; Ezek 1:28 and 8:4.

<sup>144</sup> For example, Yahweh's presence is observed 'in a cloud', on Mount Sinai, at the Tent of meeting, or over the temple.

<sup>145</sup> Ezekiel recounts the departure of the כבוד יהוה from Yahweh's normal presence in the Temple and from Jerusalem itself (Ezek 10-11). Hosea similarly describes the departure of Yahweh's glory like a bird flying away (Hos 9:11-12; 10:5-6).

<sup>146</sup> Ex 33:18, 22; Num 14:22; Deut 5:24; 1 Sam 4:22; Ps 26:8; 29:9; 57:6, 12; 63:3; 72:19; 97:6; 102:17; 108:6; 113:4; Isa 4:5; 6:3; 60:2; 66:18, 19; Ezek 3:23; 39:21 and 43:2.

<sup>147</sup> While כבוד יהוה is used with more than one hundred words from various linguistic domains including people, places, things, times and seasons, emotions and anthropomorphic terms and words relating to the Torah, these usages neither designate nor imply Yahweh or his divine presence.

the Lord's presence and do contain a sense of movement and appearance, differ from **כבוד יהוה**. While the Yahweh may dwell in fire or the cloud, the Lord is not said to dwell in glory.

### 2.3 Summary

It is evident that when **כבוד יהוה** is employed it is almost always associated with movement and appearance terminology. The **כבוד יהוה** does not simply denote an attribute or the character of Yahweh. The term signifies the visible and mobile presence of God and often features in association with particular places and people who are in special relationship with Yahweh.

### 3. **כבוד יהוה** in the Pentateuch

When considering **כבוד יהוה** it is important initially to note these occurrences in relation to those Old Testament passages which could be labelled as 'Theophany'.<sup>148</sup> These theophanic passages vary from calls to and interactions with individuals to those instances where creation is impacted by the Lord's intervention (Ex 3:1-12; Deut 33; Jud 5; Ps 68 and Hab 3). These passages usually express a two-fold structure: i. the arrival and appearance of God's presence, and ii. the almost inevitable response to this stimulus from the person or in creation (Durham 1987:29-30). Like those instances of theophany, the appearance of the Glory of the Lord in the Old Testament is not simply an unusual event, but one which expects and demands a response from those to whom **כבוד יהוה** has been revealed. Witnesses of **כבוד יהוה** are always affected.

Rendtorff (1968:35-37) helpfully considers **כבוד יהוה** under two headings. Those passages which feature **כבוד יהוה** at Mount Sinai and in the Tabernacle and those which recall the appearance of **כבוד יהוה** during Israel's time in the wilderness.

#### 3.1 The **כבוד יהוה** at Mount Sinai and the Tabernacle

##### 3.1.1 Exodus 24:15-25:1

In some ways this passage acts paradigmatically for the Old Testament's 'glory' language in that Moses is commanded to construct a dwelling place for **כבוד יהוה**. The main actors of this drama are God and Moses. Moses ascends Mount Sinai and then God's glory covers and stays (**שכן**) on Mount Sinai for six days. On the seventh day God calls (**קרא**) Moses and the Patriarch responds by entering the cloud, which to the people of Israel at the bottom of the mountain, is said to resemble a devouring fire. For forty days and nights, Moses remains on the mountain as God speaks (**דבר**).<sup>149</sup>

##### 3.1.2 Exodus 40:34-35 and Leviticus 9:23

In Exodus 40:34-35, **כבוד יהוה** fills the tabernacle (**משכן**) upon its completion (Childs 1974:638). In Leviticus 9:23, **כבוד יהוה** appears when the first sacrifices are offered up by the newly ordained Aaronic priests (Noth 1965:76). In these instances, the glory of the Lord appears to his people and expects to elicit a response of worship from those who have witnessed this theophany (Lev 9:24). It could be argued that the construction of the tabernacle by the people (Ex 25-40) is a cultic response to the appearance of **כבוד יהוה** in Exodus 24:15b-25:1.

<sup>148</sup> Cross (1973:156-57) argues that the language of theophany in early Israel was primarily drawn from Canaanite theophanic literature. However, Craigie (1971:3-31) has questioned this purported dependence upon Canaanite theophanic poetic literature in the Hebrew Bible. Interestingly, never does **כבוד**, nor the more technical **כבוד יהוה**, appear in any of the supposed early Hebrew theophanic poetry (Ex 15:1-18; Num 10:35; Jud 5:4-5; Ps 18:8-16; 50:3-6; 68:8-9; 77:16-20; 114:1-8; Hab 3:3-6).

<sup>149</sup> Westermann (1970:230) notes the carefully crafted three-fold strophic pattern of this passage – the 'Kommen', the 'Bleiben' and the 'Ruf (Wort)'. This particular passage is carefully crafted with several parallels. In the first strophe, the 'coming' or 'arrival' is parallel to 24:18a. In the second strophe, the 'remaining' or 'abiding', 24:16a is parallel to 24:18b. In the third strophe, the 'call' or 'word', 24:16b is parallel to 25:1.

## 3.2 The Appearances of יהוה כבוד during Israel's Wilderness Wanderings

### 3.2.1 Exodus 16:10; Numbers 14:10; 16:19; 16:42 [17:7] and 20:6

The use of יהוה כבוד in association with the wilderness wanderings also seems to preserve the ancient theophanic form. In these passages a familiar pattern is observed though there remain enough variations to allow distinction.

1. The people murmur or rebel<sup>150</sup>
2. The people assemble at the Tent of Meeting
3. The Glory of the Lord appears<sup>151</sup>
4. The Lord speaks to Moses (or Aaron)
5. God acts decisively in grace<sup>152</sup> or judgement<sup>153</sup>

In these passages, the appearance of יהוה כבוד takes centre stage and the message from the Lord and his response towards the people are also highlighted. Yahweh acts both graciously in providing quails and water to the needy Israelites and in judgement towards those in the covenant community who have rebelled against the Lord himself by opposing his chosen representatives, Moses and Aaron.<sup>154</sup> The appearance of יהוה כבוד results in decisive action to preserve and sustain his people or to remove the sinfulness and rebellion of the people.

### 3.3 יהוה כבוד in the Worship of Israel

It is likely that Israel's earliest experiences of יהוה כבוד in the Exodus-Sinai-Wilderness tradition helped crystallise and establish יהוה כבוד as a technical term. However, it has been noted that יהוה כבוד is closely related to the worship of the Lord. Indeed the experience and the concept of יהוה כבוד provides the constant factor in the historical development of the worship of Yahweh with its changes in location from wilderness to Jerusalem and from tent to temple.<sup>155</sup> The clear result of the Sinai theophany (24:15-25:1) was the building of the tabernacle, the holy place where יהוה כבוד was to reside. In that event יהוה כבוד arrived and remained in order to instruct the Lord's people through his chosen representative, Moses.<sup>156</sup> In Exodus 40 and Leviticus 9, the mountain top is exchanged for the newly completed tabernacle, and the arrival of יהוה כבוד provides the new meeting place, the sacrifices within, and the newly appointed mediators with legitimacy and divine acceptance. The arrival of יהוה כבוד established the sacred office, time, mediator and order. This establishment of the worship of Yahweh withstood the passage of time and the centralisation of the worship in the Temple in Jerusalem.

---

<sup>150</sup> The people murmur for food (Ex 16:1-12); complain about the spies' report (Num 14:1-38); Korah and his company rebel (Num 16:1-40); the people murmur after the Lord destroys Korah and his followers (Num 16:41-50); the people complain about the lack of water (Num 20:1-13).

<sup>151</sup> In Ex 16:10, Num 14:10; 16:19; 16:42 and 20:6, יהוה כבוד appears to the whole community or to Moses and Aaron.

<sup>152</sup> Yahweh graciously and miraculously blesses Israel with quails in the evening (Ex 16:13) and water from the rock in Kadesh (Num 20:11).

<sup>153</sup> Yahweh acts in judgement by earthquake against the family of Korah (Num 16:31), by fire against Korah's supporters (Num 16:35), and by plague against those of Israel who continue to oppose the Lord (Num 16:49).

<sup>154</sup> In Num 14:10, the glory of the Lord appears to all Israelites in response to the people's desire to stone Moses and Aaron. Although immediate divine judgement is averted after Moses intercedes on behalf of the people, the Lord still swears by his glory (יהוה כבוד, 14:22-23) to prevent this generation, who had witnessed his glory and signs in Egypt and in the wilderness, from entering into the Promised Land.

<sup>155</sup> Westermann (1978:187-94) and Clements (1965:17-27) speculate on the profound impact of the Sinai tradition during the settlement period. Brueggemann (1979:161-85; 1980: 2-18; 1985a:28-46; and 1985b:395-415) comments on the utilisation of this tradition to consolidate and legitimise the Royal-Zion-Blessing theology as espoused during the later monarchy.

<sup>156</sup> The special mediating role of Moses is highlighted as only he is able to experience directly the theophany of the Lord's Glory. However, the description of יהוה כבוד as fire delimits Yahweh's approachability, even for the legitimised mediator.

## 4 כבוד יהוה in the Psalms

The concept of כבוד יהוה appears occasionally in the psalter often associated with the themes of kingship, creation and worship.

### 4.1 Psalm 29

Some older scholars identified Psalm 29 as a preserved example of a pre-Hebraic Canaanite theophanic hymn which reveals the indebtedness of Israel to Canaanite mythic forms and vocabulary.<sup>157</sup> However, this understanding has been successfully challenged and the psalm's obvious connections with the Sinai tradition have been re-examined.<sup>158</sup> Any utilisation of Canaanite thought forms are done so to emphasise the incomparability of Yahweh in terms of his unmatched strength and total sovereignty. Craigie (1983:246) suggests that this is 'a general victory hymn' probably devised for use after victories over the Canaanite enemies by the Lord and his armies.

Psalm 29 begins (v1-2) with a call by the congregation to the divine council or assembly (בני אלים)<sup>159</sup> to praise the Lord and to acknowledge his supreme strength (עז) in battle and his glory. These worshippers, both human and angelic, are to ascribe glory due to Yahweh's name (כבוד שמו). This reference to Yahweh's name advances the theme of the Lord's military prowess and as the supreme source of strength and victory to Israel.

The central focus of the psalm's next section (29:3-9) is on the praise of the Lord's voice. Seven times the voice of the Lord (קול יהוה) is mentioned. In Ugaritic texts, the voice of Baal, the Canaanite weather deity, was associated with the storm, thunder and lightning (Craigie 1983:247). However, the psalmist rejects the possibility of Baal having any real power over the weather or, more evidently, over the battlefield. It is the Lord of Glory and his majestic voice who thunders over the waters (v3)<sup>160</sup> and over creation (forests (v5), mountains of Lebanon and Sirion (v6), and even the desert (v8)).<sup>161</sup> It is Yahweh who has disarmed Baal and who now brandishes his traditional weapon (lightning) to declare his glory and power. Even those traditional northern strongholds of Baal with their symbols of power and stability (cedars and mountains) have been reduced to nothing by glorious Yahweh's thundering voice. Baal's alleged victories have been called into doubt and his traditional powerbase and sphere of operation have been appropriated by the Lord of Glory.

In comparison to other so-called deities, it is the Lord, whose voice makes deer calve and defoliates forests, who must be ascribed 'Glory' by all in the Temple (v9).

Psalm 29:9 וְבַהֲיִכְלוֹ כָּלֹ אָמַר כְּבוֹד:

Psalm 29 concludes with further praise of the Lord employing imagery which depicts the enthronement of Yahweh as the eternal King to reign not only over the subjugated chaotic forces (the floods) in

<sup>157</sup> Cross (1950:19-21) and Dahood (1965:174-80) are among those who understand Psalm 29 as a Canaanite theophanic hymn which first combined כבוד with a deity (אל). Thus they argue that כבוד יהוה was introduced to the language of Israel through Baal-Hadad imagery.

<sup>158</sup> The lack of terminological parallels and Psalm 29's apparent connection with the Sinai tradition mitigate against a Canaanite origin (Craigie 1971:3-31). Moreover, the 'poet has deliberately utilized Canaanite-type language and imagery in order to emphasize the Lord's strength and victory, in contrast to the weakness of the inimical Baal' (Craigie 1983:246).

<sup>159</sup> Determining the exact identity of these 'sons of God' (29:1) is particularly difficult. Craigie (1983:246) considers the various possibilities of interpretation, the points of similarity with Ex 15, and those instances where the same expression is used in Ugaritic texts.

<sup>160</sup> Psalm 29 alludes to the tradition found in the Ugaritic texts, which recounts Baal's comprehensive defeat of Yam ('sea') the 'god of the mighty waters' (Gibson 1978:50) This reference to Yahweh's victory over the chaotic forces, symbolised by the mighty waters, further amplifies the theme of Yahweh as warrior and conqueror over Baal.

<sup>161</sup> Craigie (1983:248) provides a helpful survey of the studies into the meaning and possible location of the 'holy desert'/'Desert of Qadesh' (מדבר קדש) and thinks that this be best interpreted generally rather than specifically.

general, but over Baal, the conqueror over chaos, in particular.<sup>162</sup> The supreme consequence of the Lord's victory and enthronement is the protection and peace bestowed upon his people (v11).

#### 4.2 Psalm 24

Psalm 24:7-10 also exhibits the three themes of kingship, creation and worship as Yahweh is enthroned as the cosmic 'King of Glory' (הוא מלך הכבוד).

The form and setting of Psalm 24 are difficult to determine, as the component parts seem so diverse in nature and background. The psalm begins with a hymn (v1-2) praising Yahweh for his creation and dominion over it. The second part of the psalm (v3-6) contains a threefold form liturgical in nature and content, the setting of which seems to suggest the approach and entrance of pilgrims to Zion.

1. The Question (v3) – asked, perhaps, by the people or their representative.
2. The Response (v4-5) – uttered probably by the priest.
3. The Affirmation (v6) – spoken by the people's representative.

The final section of Psalm 24 (v7-10) seems to be associated with the procession of the Ark and has a similar liturgical form and a question-answer format.<sup>163</sup> The psalm celebrates the movement of the Ark to Jerusalem and the establishment of the sanctuary.<sup>164</sup>

1. The Ark-Bearers' Declaration (v7)<sup>165</sup>
2. The Temple Gatekeepers' Question (v8a)
3. The Ark-Bearers' Response (v8b-9)
4. The Temple Gatekeepers' Second Question (v10a-b)
5. The Ark-Bearers' Final Response (v10c-d)

In those sections where the Ark Bearers speak, the focus of the Ark-Bearers' threefold declarations is the King of Glory (מלך הכבוד). Only in the final declaration is the מלך הכבוד specifically identified as 'The Lord of Hosts'.

Psalm 24:10 יהוה צבאות הוא מלך הכבוד סלה:

The Ark was associated historically with the theophany of Yahweh's כבוד in Sinai and in later episodes of Israel's history went into battle to symbolise the Lord's presence with his people as their warrior God. This procession of the Ark seems to recall the return of the warrior God fresh from his victory in battle to his people and his holy place. Psalm 24 thus celebrates the creating and conquering kingship of Yahweh over the world and all other enemies both human and the forces of chaos.<sup>166</sup> כבוד יהוה is the very Lord of Hosts, a title rooted in Israel's experience of warfare interpreted religiously. This psalm, which opens with cosmogonic language (v1-2), reveals clearly that it is the warrior Lord of Hosts who has defeated the forces of chaos and evil bringing forth order and creation. The Lord of Glory is indeed the cosmic מלך הכבוד.

<sup>162</sup> Craigie (1983:248-49) helpfully lists those Ugaritic and Hebrew sources which depict the enthronement of Baal and Yahweh 'over the flood'.

<sup>163</sup> The setting presupposed in Psalm 24:7-10 is a procession of the Ark similar to the description found in 2 Sam 6:9-10 which recounts the transportation of the Ark from Obed-Edom's home to Jerusalem during David's reign (Craigie 1983:211). This event marked both the establishment of the sanctuary in Jerusalem and the high-point of Israel militarily.

<sup>164</sup> The precise historical setting of this psalm is much debated (Craigie 1983:212 and Cross 1973:93). However, a strictly liturgical interpretation has problems as it is uncertain that the Ark was ever carried in liturgical processions as seems to be implied in vv7-10.

<sup>165</sup> Gibson (1978:41) notes the use of similar language in Ugaritic texts to Ps 24:7 and 10. In these texts, Baal addresses the gods who cower in fear at the threat of chaos and urges them to 'Lift up your heads, O gods'.

<sup>166</sup> Craigie (1978:33-43) and Longman and Reid (1995) discuss the concept of God as warrior in the Old Testament and New Testament.

### 4.3 Yahweh's כבוד and the King

Psalm 24 contains the theme of theophany alongside royal traditions in describing the cosmic Kingship of Yahweh. This special relationship between Yahweh and his glory with the king of Israel appears elsewhere in the psalms.

Yahweh's כבוד is said to protectively shield David (Psalm 3:3) while others seek his life. Similarly, the Lord is said to bestow his כבוד on the king, his chosen human representative (Psalm 21:5-6), and David is said to worship Yahweh's כבוד in the sanctuary (Psalm 63:2). In Psalm 72, the Lord is asked to help the earthly king rule righteously and with mercy as a result of which the world and foreign kings will acknowledge and pay homage to Israel's king and Yahweh. Yahweh will then usher in untold blessings and his כבוד will fill the whole earth (72:19).<sup>167</sup>

### 4.4 Yahweh's כבוד and Creation

The link between Yahweh's כבוד and creation and the King appears in other Psalms (Psalms 8, 19, 29 and 104). Putting aside the Messianic nature or otherwise of the 'son of man' (בן־אדם, v6) in Psalm 8,<sup>168</sup> it is clear that a royal theology exists throughout the psalm. Yahweh crowns the man as the high point of creation with his glory and honour (וְכָבוֹד וְהָדָר תַּעֲטֶרְהוּ, v5).

Not only is 'man' crowned with his glory, the whole of creation itself declares the glory of God (כבוד־אל, Psalm 19:2). Yahweh's handiwork bears testimony to the enduring nature of his כבוד (Psalm 104:31). Yet while the whole of creation bears the marks of the Lord's glorious presence, the Temple is regarded as the Lord's special earthly home in which his glory dwells (Psalm 27:8). The dwelling of the Lord's glory in his land is the evidence that the Lord's salvation is at hand (Psalm 85:9) and so the people long for the theophany of the Lord's כבוד to cover the whole earth (Psalm 57:6, 12; 108:6; 113:4) to be observed by all peoples and nations (Psalm 96:3; 97:6). The world, therefore, is regarded as a temple for כבוד יהוה.

## 5. כבוד יהוה in the Early Monarchy

The concept of כבוד יהוה plays an important part in the transition from Sinai and Israel's immediate settlement to the period of kingship. King David's decision to make Jerusalem the location of the royal court also saw the city become the worship centre of Israel. The arrival of the Ark was the equivalent of Yahweh's relocation to take up divine residence in his city. The Lord was understood as abiding with his people and especially with the King, Yahweh's chosen human representative. Moreover, David's desire to build a permanent temple implied the establishment of Yahweh's permanent residence in Jerusalem.

This relocation of Yahweh's presence to a permanent location would have required some kind of divine validation. This divine imprimatur appears in the use of כבוד to describe the Lord's presence in connection with ancient Israel's sacred worship object, the Ark. The use of כבוד in relation to the Ark appears significantly in 1 Samuel 4:21-22. The loss of the Ark to the Philistines in battle and the death of the High Priest's sons, saw Phinehas' son named אי־כבוד (Ichabod, 'Without-Glory'). The glory had departed Israel (נִגְלָה כְּבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל). However, the presence of the Ark brought to the citizens of Ashdod, and then to all the Philistines, nothing but trouble. The hand of Yahweh was 'heavy' (כבֹּוד, 1 Sam 5:6,11) upon them in judgement afflicting the residents with tumours. The panic caused by the Ark, and the presence of the כבוד יהוה became a matter of life and death. On the advice of the Philistine priests and diviners the Ark was returned accompanied with symbols of the plagues (1 Sam

<sup>167</sup> While the historical value of the superscriptions of the psalms are of uncertain significance, it is interesting that Psalms 3, 21 and 63 are all ascribed to David while Psalm 72 is assigned to Solomon.

<sup>168</sup> Groningen (1990:339-42) considers the issues and presents a credible hypothesis for reading Psalm 8 as messianic.

5:11-6:4). In humility the Philistines are instructed to ascribe glory (כבוד) to the Lord and warned not to harden their hearts (כבוד-ing) as the Egyptians and Pharaoh has done (1 Sam 6:5-6).<sup>169</sup>

The Ark was duly returned to Israel and remained in Kiriath-Jearim (1 Sam 7:1) until relocated to Jerusalem during the reign of David (2 Sam 6; 1 Chron 16). Though there is no mention of the Lord's glory in the relocation of the Ark to Jerusalem,<sup>170</sup> כבוד יהוה appears as a cloud and fills the temple during the dedication of Solomon's temple (1 Kings 8:11; 2 Chron 5:14). This dramatic demonstration prompts Solomon to conclude that the temple he had built was now the chosen place in which the Lord the creator would now dwell on earth.

וְאָבְנָה הַבַּיִת לְשֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: (1 Kings 8:20).

This dramatic arrival of כבוד יהוה in the cloud marks the temple off as God's sacred dwelling place on earth, bears witness to the Lord's covenant promises to David and legitimises the authority of Solomon and his family.

It is clear from the psalms and the narratives of the early monarchy that כבוד יהוה came to denote the unqualified divine blessing upon the David-Solomonic kingdom. The concept of כבוד יהוה spoke in an age of change and transition of stability and the continuing kingship of Yahweh over creation, life and worship.

## 6. כבוד יהוה in the Prophets

The resulting division of Israel into two separate kingdoms complete with rival kings, capitals, temples and worship systems raised many questions and led to dramatic national decline. The demise of the Northern Kingdom in 722BC to the Assyrians and the subsequent collapse and exile of Judah to Babylon resulted in the destruction and depopulation of Jerusalem. When compared to the zenith of the Davidic-Solomonic era, the exiles who returned to Jerusalem many decades later were confronted with a very unimpressive city.<sup>171</sup>

The theological ramifications of these historical events were enormous. Questions arose concerning the sovereignty of Yahweh, the position of the earthly king as Yahweh's representative, and about Yahweh's holy city Jerusalem. How and why did these things happen? It is clear that כבוד was used as an interpretative key in the prophetic literature in coming to an understanding of the conflict, exile and return.<sup>172</sup>

### 6.1 כבוד יהוה as Judgement on God's People

A startling development in the prophetic tradition presents the concept of כבוד יהוה in relation to the judgement of the people because of their sin against the Lord. Isaiah describes the offensiveness of the people's deeds against Yahweh as an affront to his presence of glory (לְמַרְוֹת עֵינֵי כְבוֹדוֹ, Isa 3:8).<sup>173</sup>

<sup>169</sup> Klein (1983:57) notes the ironic pun in v5-6 which sees words using the same Hebrew root (כבד) used in verb 'harden' (v6) and in the word 'glory' (v5).

<sup>170</sup> The presence of the Lord with the Ark is evident during the relocation journey to Jerusalem. The anger of the Lord (וַיַּחַרְאֲפֵי יְהוָה בַּעֲזָה) dramatically bursts forth in judgement against Uzzah to strike him dead for touching the Ark.

<sup>171</sup> Miller and Hayes (1986) and Bright (1981) provide a history of this period in the life of Israel and Judah.

<sup>172</sup> Any investigation of the use and development in the way in which Glory is understood and developed in the prophetic corpus should attempt to proceed by examining the pre-exilic, exilic and post-exilic glory-traditions. However, the difficulties in determining the chronological dating of the material renders this approach impossible. The following discussion will thus examine the use of כבוד throughout the whole time period. Childs (1979) and Dillard and Longman III (1994) reveal the difficulty in identifying and dating the various blocks of prophetic material.

<sup>173</sup> While the MT reads literally 'eyes of his glory', the idea is clear and the translation 'defying him to his face' captures the essence of the phrase (Oswalt 1986:135-36). Scholars have postulated several possible referents of כבוד in Isa 3:8; these include 'saving acts' (Kaiser 1972:42), 'creation' (Young 1972 1:151) or, as adopted here, 'Yahweh's presence' (Motyer 1993:61).

Yahweh's glorious presence is no longer a guarantee of blessing and glory, but the standard by which guilt is assigned and cursing promised to rebellious Judah.

The judgement of the Lord on those who abuse the Lord's glory and practice religious infidelity, appears in Jeremiah 2:11. The people are charged by Yahweh with committing an unparalleled betrayal in abandoning the Lord of glory in exchange for worthless gods and lives without him.

Jeremiah 2:11<sup>174</sup>  
וְעַמֵּי הַמִּזְרָח כְּבוֹדוֹ בְּלֹא יוֹעִיל:  
גֹּי אֱלֹהִים וְהִמָּה לֹא אֱלֹהִים

In Hosea (4:7; 9:11-12; and 10:5-6), Israel is warned that rejection of the Lord's glory and blessing will result in the withdrawal of the Lord's כְּבוֹד from the land leaving infertility and barrenness in the place of Yahweh's life giving presence.<sup>175</sup>

## 6.2 כְּבוֹד יְהוָה as Judgement on Pagan Nations

The glory of the Lord coming in judgement on the pagan nations also appears in the prophetic literature. Employing theophanic imagery reminiscent of the Lord's appearing in Sinai, the 'כְּבוֹד-ish' smoke/cloud will arrive in severe judgement against Assyria (Isa 30:27-28).<sup>176</sup> Even oppressive foreign nations which Yahweh will use as an instrument to punish his disobedient people will eventually experience the fierce, destructive anger of Yahweh in his glorious theophanic appearance (Hab 2:12-14).<sup>177</sup>

Habakkuk 2:14  
כִּי תִמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ לִדְרֹת אֶת־כְּבוֹד יְהוָה כְּפָמִים יִכְסּוּ עַלְיוֹם:

## 6.3 כְּבוֹד יְהוָה as a Symbol of Encouragement

While Yahweh's verdict upon the people is prominent in the prophetic literature, the prophets look forward to a day of forgiveness, deliverance, restoration and eschatological transformation. The range of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה is thus extended by the prophets beyond that of judgement to encompass the promise of the Lord's presence and identification with his people suffering in exile. Indeed כְּבוֹד יְהוָה will be instrumental in bringing about the exiles' release and return to Israel. Moreover, the prophets look beyond the immediate concerns to a future, transformed eschatological age where כְּבוֹד יְהוָה is instrumental in inaugurating and defining this new existence.

The activity of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה in the judgement-restoration-transformation pattern is evident in the prophets. Ezekiel adopts the Sinai and the Royal traditions of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה and extends the usage in order to bring a message of hope in the midst of destruction and judgement. Echoing the Sinai tradition, כְּבוֹד יְהוָה is very prominent in the call and commissioning of Ezekiel (1:28; 3:12, 23). Later (Ezek 8:4), כְּבוֹד יְהוָה guides the prophet through the abominations which are being committed in the Jerusalem's temple to leave Ezekiel in no doubt of the great 'guilt of all the house of Judah and Israel'. Due to this sin, the prophet recounts the systematic withdrawal of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה from the cherubim (9:3; 10:4), to the threshold of the Temple (10:18), before departing through the east gate of the city to rest on the mountain east of

<sup>174</sup> While the MT of 2:11b is literally 'its/his glory', it is generally accepted by scholars to refer to Yahweh's presence (Bright 1965:15; Thompson 1980:166n7, 170; and Carroll 1986:125-26).

<sup>175</sup> The lack of reproduction in Hosea should be seen against the covenant curses of decimation and disease as found in Deuteronomy (28:61-62). For Hosea the irony is evident. The departure of the Lord from Israel will result in sterility and death in sharp contrast to the futile promises of the foreign fertility cults which the Northern Kingdom had embraced (Stuart 1987:152).

<sup>176</sup> The symbol of the smoke (Isa 30:27-28) to indicate the Lord's presence parallels the other instances of divine presence terminology: 'name' (שֵׁם), 'fire' (אֵשׁ), and 'breath' (רוּחַ).

<sup>177</sup> Habakkuk warns the people of God that their complicity in the oppression of their fellow countrymen has been noted by the Lord and that they will experience judgement in the coming of the Chaldeans. The punishment of God's own people and the following destruction of the pagan nation 'belong to the one consistent purpose of Yahweh' (Childs 1979:453).

the city (10:19; 11:22-23). The dramatic departure of יהוה כבוד marks Yahweh's self-exile and abandonment of the city.<sup>178</sup>

Judgement, exile and destruction are not the final picture. A hope remains that one day true worship will once again occur in a new place by a new people. Ezekiel (40-48) recounts how יהוה כבוד will return via the same route used for departure (43:2, 4, 5; 44:4) to dwell once more with his purged and restored people. Zechariah (Zech 2:1-5 [2:5-9]) utilises this כבוד imagery to define the people of God's future existence with Yahweh.<sup>179</sup> At the end of the age, Jerusalem is presented as an immeasurable unwallled city encircled by the protective fiery presence of Yahweh. Moreover, Yahweh's glory (כבוד) will forever dwell in her midst.

Isaiah (60:1-3) similarly contains the hope of a great revelation of יהוה כבוד which will totally transform the circumstances of Israel and Judah. Oswalt (1998:536) notes that Zion is called from her prostrate state to embrace the glory that is hers in God and into a life empowered by the Spirit of God (Isa 59:21). Furthermore, the appearance of God in his glory (his overwhelmingly majestic reality) will impress on the nations, the universal reign of Yahweh.<sup>180</sup>

**Isaiah 60:1-3** Arise, shine, for your light has come, and the glory of the LORD has risen upon you. <sup>2</sup> For behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and thick darkness the peoples; but the LORD will arise upon you, and his glory will be seen upon you. <sup>3</sup> And nations shall come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your rising. (ESV)

Isaiah, while warning his readers of the imminent judgement of God upon them because of their sin, also holds out the equally sure promise that Yahweh would prepare a way for a remnant of his people to return from exile. In Isaiah 35, the Lord promises to build a 'highway' (בַּמִּסְלֵוֹל), 'a way of holiness' (הַקִּדְשׁ), by which the redeemed will walk to their homeland. The returnees<sup>181</sup> will receive from the Lord the glory (כבוד) he will plunder from Lebanon and the majesty (הדר) he will remove from Carmel and Sharon due to their sin in siding against the Lord's people (Isa 35:2). Echoing the Sinai-motifs, the revelation of יהוה כבוד (the visible presence of Yahweh, the true King) will accompany 'the ransomed of the Lord' (35:10) on their return journey through the wilderness to the Promised Land.

This glorious appearance of יהוה כבוד is a clear testimony to all the nations of Yahweh's covenant solidarity with his people. Mixing Sinai, Exodus and Royal themes, 'all flesh' (Isa 40:1-11) will witness יהוה כבוד in preparing a cosmic levelling (40:3-5) and in securing the release of his people and their

---

<sup>178</sup> True to the prophetic pattern, Ezekiel warns that judgement will not be reserved for Judah and Israel alone but will include all the nations. On that day, Yahweh 'will manifest his כבוד' (28:22; 39:13, 21). Zimmerli (1983:98, 318-19) interprets the use of the niphil in 28:22 and 39:13 to mean 'I [God] will glorify myself' - i.e., 'be praised'.

<sup>179</sup> Mackay (1968:197-210) and Petersen (1984:170-72) note the close correlation between Zechariah's vision of Jerusalem with that recorded in Ezekiel 40-48.

<sup>180</sup> The wonder of Isa 60 is that the glory of the Lord will be reflected from Israel. This is all the more amazing since Israel has sought to glorify itself by associating with the nations (Isa 2) which resulted in its humiliation (Isa 2-3). The glory of the nations will come to nothing (Isa 8:7; 10:3, 16,18; 14:18; 16:14; 17:3, 4; 21:16; 22:18). The Lord, who alone is glorious (24:23; 40:5; 42:8, 12; 48:11; 58:8; 59:19), will not share his glory with idols (42:8; 48:11) but will share it with his people (11:10; 35:2; 43:7) through his Servant (Isa 49:3). This is how the NT writers understood these passages (John 1:14; 17:4, 22; Rom 8:17 and 1 Pet 4:13-14).

<sup>181</sup> Although the antecedent of the emphatic verb (רָאָה, Isa 35:2) is unclear, Israel seems the most likely reference (Oswalt 1986:623). The LXX adds 'my people' (ὁ λαός μου) to make this clear.

safe return to Israel.<sup>182</sup> Isaiah 58 presents יהוה כבוד as being both in the vanguard to guide his people home and in the rear guard (אסר) to ensure that even the stragglers will know his protection.<sup>183</sup>

On three occasions (Isa 42:8; 43:6-7; 48:10-11) the cosmic, theophanic arrival of Yahweh to rescue his people is brought about through the suffering of a/the 'servant' (עבד) on whom יהוה כבוד rests in a unique way, The suggestion is clear that this servant enjoys a special relationship with Yahweh (Isa 42:8; 48:11 and 43:7). The rescue from exile is only part of the story. The rescue by Yahweh and the safe return of the people will result in the re-creation of Davidic Zion where יהוה כבוד will figure prominently in the transformation of the city and nation (Isa 4:2-6).

Employing the imagery of Sinai and the Royal imagery of Zion, the prophet presents a future where the Lord will once again tabernacle in Zion (Isa 4:2-6). From Mount Zion and Jerusalem, the Lord will reign and will manifest his כבוד.

וְחִפְרָהּ הִלְבְּנָהּ וּבּוֹשָׁה תַחֲמָה כִּי־מֶלֶךְ יִהְיֶה יְהוָה  
צְבָאוֹת בְּתַר צִיּוֹן וּבִירוּשָׁלַם וְנָגַד זִקְנָיו כְּבוֹד:  
Isaiah 24:23

Saturated with יהוה כבוד, Zion and the whole of the nation will experience a time of unprecedented greatness and effectiveness.<sup>184</sup> The restored Temple will again be the footstool of Yahweh's glory (Isa 60:13; cf. Hag. 1:8; 2:3, 7,9). The new cosmic King will protect his people from Zion and even the former oppressor nations will enjoy the peace ushered in by יהוה כבוד (Isa 58:8; cf. Ps 145:11-12). Indeed, the inescapable light of יהוה כבוד will draw many from the nations to approach the Lord (Isa 60:1-9)<sup>185</sup> and who will come to fear Yahweh and his glory (62:2; 66:18-19; cf. Ps 102:16).

While the prophets use the Royal Davidic tradition to speak of the future of Israel, they do not identify the promised Davidic Messiah as יהוה כבוד or even use כבוד as an attribute of the future King.<sup>186</sup> However, the prophets employ כבוד to define the future Davidic kingdom. In short, the 'branch of the Lord' (יהודה, צמח, Isa 4:2), the 'child' (ילד, Isa 9:1 [8:23], 9:6[5]) and the 'root of Jesse' (שרש ישי, Isa 11:10) will inaugurate the age of blessing which will be characterised by כבוד.

#### 6.4 יהוה כבוד in the Call of the Prophets

No examination of glory in the prophetic literature would be complete without noting the importance of יהוה כבוד in the call of both Isaiah and Ezekiel.

In contrast to the call experiences of Moses, Gideon and Jeremiah which consist of an appearance of the Lord, an initial reluctance on the part of the person being called and the subsequent promises or signs of Yahweh, the calls of Isaiah and Ezekiel comprise a different type in that there are no

<sup>182</sup> The Hebrew text of Isa 40:3 makes no mention of the people and simply states that it is God (אלהים) who comes out of the wilderness. Oswalt (1998:51-52) is probably correct in seeing the passage as resting on the Sinai tradition and thus refers to the Lord figuratively coming in their hour of need to bring the powerless exiles back from Babylon through the wilderness.

<sup>183</sup> The imagery used in Isa 58:8-9a is reminiscent of the pillar of cloud and fire (Ex 13:21-22; 14:19-20). Here the parallel phrases make it clear that the righteousness (צדק) and the glory of the Lord will protect his returning people.

<sup>184</sup> The כבוד of the Lord is used to describe the recreated land of Israel as a place of life (Isa 4:2) and glorious abundance and fertility (Isa 66:11).

<sup>185</sup> The LXX, Targum and Vulgate add 'Jerusalem' in Isa 60:1 in order to pinpoint the precise location where יהוה כבוד is to arise and shine. Since the context makes it clear the Jerusalem/Zion is in view, the Masoretic Text should be retained as it is the shorter reading.

<sup>186</sup> Oswalt (1986:147) notes that the 'thought that the Messiah is the mediator of God's glory is a prominent one in the NT (Luke 2:32; 9:26, 32; John 1:14; 2:11; 11:4; 17:5, 22, 24; 1 Cor 2:8; 2 Cor 4:6; Col 1:27 and Heb 1:3)'.  
43

expressions of refusal or reluctance.<sup>187</sup> Interestingly כבוד appears in the three passages which reflect the call pattern (Isa 6, 40 and Ezek 1).

#### 6.4.1 Isaiah 6:3

Isaiah is confronted by the glorious, enthroned Lord and witnesses the seraphim calling to one another, 'Holy, holy, holy is the LORD of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory (מְלֵא כָּל־הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ)'. The language reflects that of Psalm 24 and 29 and affirms that Yahweh's presence extends beyond the Temple (6:1).<sup>188</sup>

#### 6.4.2 Isaiah 40:5<sup>189</sup>

The overtones of the call and commissioning of Isaiah (Isa 6) are also heard in Isaiah 40. Here the prophet's commission is expanded to the word of hope that had previously been denied him (Oswalt 1998:47). In response to the questions about the character of God and the revelation about God in Isa 1-39 that would naturally arise due to the exile, the entire focus of Isa 40 is on God. Here is a message not of judgement, but of restoration (v1-2) through the personal intervention of God (v3-5) against which no human force or condition can prevail against God's promise (v6-8) which will see divine might coupled with divine compassion (v9-11).

In Isaiah 40, Yahweh confronts the prophet and invites him to speak to the people (v1-2) and in obeying Isaiah (v3, 6), through his preaching, prepares for coming of the unmediated presence of Yahweh, his כבוד.<sup>190</sup> Resting on the Sinai tradition, the Lord himself is promised to come out of the wilderness for his people. The direct result of this theophanic visitation will be the universal revelation of his glory witnessed by 'all flesh' (v5).<sup>191</sup>

#### 6.4.3 Ezekiel 1:28

In Ezekiel 1:28 כבוד יהוה forms part of the direct, multi-sensual and polychromatic confrontation of Ezekiel by the Lord.<sup>192</sup> In contrast to the call of Isaiah, and to any other passage in the Hebrew Bible, כבוד יהוה is described in detail and is directly equated with the appearance of a man seated upon the

---

<sup>187</sup> Zimmerli (1979:97-100) distinguishes between these two types of call narratives. For Zimmerli the call of Ezekiel can trace its antecedents in the visions recorded in 1 Kings 22 and Isaiah 6 rather than the calls of Moses and Gideon. In contrast Habel (1965:316) argues that the classical prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and II Isaiah) appropriate and develop the call traditions reflected in the structure of the calls of Moses and Gideon and the commissioning of Abraham to legitimise their ministry and word. This sevenfold commissioning form is confirmed by the extensive work of Hubbard (1974 and 1977).

<sup>188</sup> Oswalt (1986:180-82) notes that the emphasis on the Lord's holiness and his glory which fills the whole earth in Isa 6:3 has a profoundly ethical implication. The Holy Lord of Glory will execute judgement on sin wherever it is found on the earth, for sin and glory cannot co-exist (Ps 29:1-9; 89:5-18[6-19]; Isa 6:5; Josh 7:19; Jer 13:15-17; Amos 4:13; 5:8,9; 9:5,6).

<sup>189</sup> Some scholars refer to Isa 40:5 as the call of 'Deutero-Isaiah' (Whybray 1981) and compare it to chapter 6. Oswalt (1998:48) helpfully notes that the comparison highlights the dramatic differences between the two accounts. The account in Isa 40 lacks the definiteness of Isa 6 which reveals the time, the place, the characters and the precise nature of the calling. If this was the calling of 'Deutero-Isaiah' then it falls short of the tradition of Isa 6. Nevertheless, there are features in Isa 40 that are certainly reminiscent of Isa 6:1-13. The calling voices (קוֹרָא, Isa 40:3) remind us of the seraphim calling to one another (Isa 6:3). The announcement that all flesh shall see the כבוד יהוה (Isa 40:5) recalls the statement that the whole earth is filled with the 'glory of the Lord' (Isa 6:3).

<sup>190</sup> Cross (1953:74-77 and 1973:187-88) argues that the Lord is addressing a divine council. This scenario is unconvincing as nothing in the context points to such a council being addressed. Moreover the seraphim and 'councillors' will not themselves speak the words (Oswalt 1998:50).

<sup>191</sup> The opening waw in 40:5 introduces an apodosis. The phrase כָּל־בֶּשֶׂר points to the end of time when 'all flesh' will see the glory of the Lord (Young 1972 1:31; Oswalt 1998:52).

<sup>192</sup> What makes this experience all the more incredible, is that the prophet experiences כבוד יהוה in all its dazzling brilliance far away from the temple, among the exiles in the pagan land of Babylon (Block 1997:105).

throne.<sup>193</sup> Ezekiel also assumes that כְּקוֹל־שָׁרִי ('as the voice of God Almighty', Ezek 1:24) comes from the 'appearance of a man' on a throne.<sup>194</sup>

The passage significantly highlights the divine kingship of the one on the throne<sup>195</sup>, the implication of God as a man (cf. Isa 52:13-15; Zech 1-8) and the interrelationship between the divine and the human. In terms of this study, it is clear that the appearance of the Glory tradition in this unique setting will make a significant impact on later visionary descriptions of God.<sup>196</sup>

### 6.5 כְּבוֹד יְהוָה in the Prophets: a Summary

Due to the sin and failure of Israel and Judah, כְּבוֹד יְהוָה in the prophetic literature came to signify the judgement of God instead of the blessing and approval of God's presence. The very absence of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה was itself a sign of divine chastisement. This act of divine judgement was not reserved solely for Yahweh's chosen people, but included the various pagan nations. This theophanic return of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה would be as judge. Nevertheless, the prophetic tradition, while avoiding a purely optimistic understanding of God's holiness to provide unqualified blessing, did not see the coming כְּבוֹד יְהוָה as an entirely fearful negative proposition. The prophetic message of hope allows them to portray the eschatological good news of Yahweh's return in glory to allow all his people, regardless of nationality, to undergo their own exodus, restoration and transformation. The hearers of the prophetic message are confronted with the hope of a radical and glorious experience of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה which will surpass that enjoyed by God's people in past days.

### 7. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the concepts of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה and כְּבוֹד in the Old Testament. By examining the significant incidences, it is clear that a subtle development of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה seems to take place in response to the changing historical situations. This can be evidenced in the theophanic occurrences where God impacts creation, in the Sinaitic tradition where כְּבוֹד יְהוָה appears visibly to his people, in the appropriation of the term by the kings to endorse their reigns and legitimise Jerusalem and the Temple, and in the prophetic developments in holding out כְּבוֹד יְהוָה to the exiles as an eschatological hope.

---

<sup>193</sup> What Ezekiel actually sees is difficult to describe with precision. He does not see a tangible, concrete, real object or person, but a 'visionary image' (Groningen 1990:743).

<sup>194</sup> The condescending appearance of the Lord in human form undoubtedly finds its basis in Gen 1:26-27, which describes humankind as created in the 'image' (צֶלֶם) and 'likeness' (דְּמוּת) of God (Block 1997:107). Ezekiel's preference for the latter term may be a deliberate choice in eschewing a term (צֶלֶם) that suggests 'carved image', which may well have been too closely associated with the idolatry of Babylon. What Ezekiel sees here is not an actual representation but a reflection of deity. The glory of Yahweh cannot be reduced to human definition or reproduced in human art.

<sup>195</sup> Greenberg (1983:56) comments that '[t]he most lordly of creatures are merely bearers of the Lord of lords'.

<sup>196</sup> See Block's (1997:109-11) excursus on 'The Afterlife of Ezekiel's Inaugural Vision' and Newman's (1992:244) argument on the importance of Ezekiel's presentation of the human form of God's glory on Paul's understanding of Jesus (1 Cor 2:8).



# Chapter 5

## Glory in the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

### Table of Contents

1. Introduction
2. Glory in the Throne Visions
3. The Influence of the Throne Visions
4. Other Apocalyptic Uses of Glory
5. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

The concept of glory played a significant role in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Koch (1972:32) goes so far as seeing glory as a 'catchword' and a key motif in signifying apocalypses. For Koch, the term is employed in order to differentiate between the present and the future state of affairs or whenever the amalgamation of the earthly and heavenly is prophesied. Those raised from the dead will then partake of that glory like the angels (Dan 12:3; 1 Enoch 50:1-2; 51:4). Glory is thus a description of those raised, the heavenly Jerusalem in which they dwell (Rev 21-22; 2 Bar 32:4) and the eschatological ruler who is over them all (2 Bar 30:1).

Collins (1979a & b) also notes the importance of the concept of glory in the literature and divides apocalypses into two categories – 'Historical Apocalypses' and 'Otherworldly Journeys'. In the latter category, Collins identifies those instances of a 'throne vision' where the prophet/man of God graphically describes his experience of God in his glory, usually surrounded by angels, and his interaction with some angelic mediator.<sup>197</sup> While classifying the 'throne visions' in Jewish apocalypses according to their literary form, Collins (1984:18) understands that they draw on an older prophetic tradition of calls and visions (2 Kings 22; Isa 6 and Ezek 1).

This chapter will examine how 'Glory' functioned in these prophetic calls and visions and how these experiences may have influenced the prophets' understanding of Glory.

### 2. Glory in the Throne Visions

The literature employs a number of terms including 'the Great Glory' and 'the Lord of Glory'.

#### 2.1 The Great Glory

##### 2.1.1 The Throne Vision in 1 Enoch 14

Enoch, having been transported to the heavenly realm, reports:<sup>198</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ἐθεώρουν δὲ καὶ εἶδον θρόνον ὑψηλόν, καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ κρυστάλλινον, καὶ τροχὸς ὡς ἡλίου λάμποντος καὶ ὄρος χερουβίν. <sup>19</sup> καὶ ὑποκάτω τοῦ θρόνου ἐξεπορεύοντο ποταμοὶ πυρρὸς φλεγόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐδυνάσθην ἰδεῖν. <sup>20</sup> καὶ ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη ἐκάθητο ἐπ' αὐτῷ· τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶδος ἡλίου, λαμπρότερον καὶ λευκότερον πάσης χιόνος. <sup>21</sup> καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο πᾶς ἄγγελος παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἔντιμον καὶ ἔνδοξον, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο πᾶσα σὰρξ ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ (1 Enoch 14:18-21) <sup>199</sup>

<sup>197</sup> Throne visions appear in 1 En 14, 60, 71; Testament of Levi 2-3, 5; 2 En 20-21 and the Apocalypse of Abraham 17-18.

<sup>198</sup> 1 Enoch 14:18-21 - And I looked and I saw in it a high throne, and its appearance was like ice and its surrounds like the shining sun and the sound of Cherubim. <sup>19</sup> And from underneath the high throne there flowed out rivers of burning fire so that it was impossible to look at it. <sup>20</sup> And he who is the Great Glory sat on it, and His raiment was brighter than the sun, and whiter than any snow. <sup>21</sup> And no angel could enter, and at the appearance of the face of him who is honoured and praised no creature of flesh could look.

<sup>199</sup> A variant reading includes the phrase ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη ('the Great Glory') in v20. Black (1985:149-50) argues that the original text, influenced by 1 En 104:1, read ἡ δόξα τοῦ μεγάλου ('the glory of the 'Great One'). However, Dean-Otting (1984) has demonstrated the variety of substantive titles used for God and their interchangeability throughout 1 Enoch. While Dean-Otting (1984:54-55) notes the logical progression from Isa 6 (LXX) to the 'Great Glory' of 1 Enoch, she is wrong to locate the origin of 'Great Glory' in Persian 'light' phenomena. It is far easier and better to understand 1 Enoch in the light of Ezekiel 1.

Enoch's vision of the throne of heaven is of the 'Great Glory'.<sup>200</sup> Here Enoch seems to intend that this vision is none other than an unmediated manifestation of God himself. The one on the throne is then described using veiled anthropomorphism leaving the readers in no doubt, though the precise details are not recorded, that the author has seen a humanlike figure (Rowland 1982:222).

### 2.1.2 The Throne Vision in 2 Enoch 20-22

In 2 Enoch 20-22, Enoch recalls his account of being guided to the 10<sup>th</sup> heaven by the archangel Michael. After a private audience with the Lord, Enoch depicts God using similar anthropomorphic descriptions.

On the tenth Heaven, Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face, like iron made to glow in fire, and brought out, emitting sparks, and it burns. Thus I saw the Lord's face, but the Lord's face is ineffable, marvellous and very awful, and very, very terrible. <sup>2</sup> And who am I to tell of the Lord's unspeakable being, and of his very wonderful face? and I cannot tell the quantity of his many instructions, and various voices, the Lord's throne very great and not made with hands, nor the quantity of those standing round him, troops of cherubim and <sup>3</sup> seraphim, nor their incessant singing, nor his immutable beauty, and who shall tell of the ineffable greatness of his glory?  
<sup>4</sup> And I fell prone and bowed down to the Lord. (2 En 22:1-4)<sup>201</sup>

Here the 'great glory' of the Lord is employed in a throne vision to describe a characteristic of God himself. The 'great glory' describes the 'face of the Lord'. It is clear that 'glory' refers to the Lord God and often appears with other similar titles<sup>202</sup> to signify (sometimes in an anthropomorphic way) the very presence of God.

## 2.2 The Glory Language and Death

### 2.2.1 The Throne Vision in Testament of Abraham 15-20

A strange occurrence of 'Glory' language occurs in the Testament of Abraham (15-20). When Abraham refuses the invitation of the Archangel Michael to die (Testament of Abraham 1-14), God orders Michael to summon Death to appear before his throne. In this throne experience, the Lord subsequently commands Death to first rid himself of his normal visage and instead adopt the appearance of a beautiful form of Glory. God then sends Death to visit Abraham in order to convince Abraham to die.

<sup>6</sup> ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ θάνατος ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ περιεβάλετο στολὴν λαμπροτάτην καὶ ἐποίησεν ὄψιν ἡλιόμορφον καὶ γέγονεν εὐπρεπὴς καὶ ὠραῖος ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχαγγέλου μορφήν περικείμενος, τὰς παρεΐας αὐτοῦ πυρὶ ἀστράπτων, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραάμ. ... περιστραφεὶς δὲ Ἀβραάμ εἶδεν τὸν θάνατον ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν πολλῇ δόξῃ καὶ ὠραιότητι· καὶ ἀναστὰς Ἀβραάμ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ, νομίζων εἶναι τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον τοῦ θεοῦ. ... <sup>10</sup> εἶπεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον· Χαίροις ἡλιόρατε, ἡλιόμορφε, συλλήπτωρ ἐνδοξότατε, φωτοφόρε, ἀνὴρ θαυμάσιε, πόθεν ἦκει ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τίς εἶ σύ, καὶ πόθεν ἐλήλυθας; <sup>11</sup> λέγει οὖν ὁ θάνατος· Ἀβραάμ δικαιοσύνη, ἰδοὺ λέγω σοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ πικρὸν τοῦ θανάτου ποτήριον. <sup>12</sup> λέγει αὐτῷ Ἀβραάμ· Οὐχί, ἀλλὰ σὺ εἶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια τοῦ κόσμου, σὺ εἶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, σὺ εἶ πάσης μορφῆς εὐμορφότερος.<sup>203</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Compare Testament of Levi 3.4 which preserves a similar construction: 'For in the highest of all the Great Glory (ἡ μεγάλη δόξα) dwells, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness'.

<sup>201</sup> The full text of 2 Enoch is extant only in Church Slavonic which is itself a translation of an original Greek manuscript. The English translation is from the Sparks (1992) collection of apocryphal Old Testament texts.

<sup>202</sup> In addition to the term 'Great Glory' there appear in the 'throne visions' similar titles including, 'Lord of Glory' (1 En 40:3), 'Glory of the Lord of the Spirits' (1 En 40:1) and 'Lord of the Spirits' (1 En 41:7). These different titles should not be seen as mutually exclusive as they are used in parallel (1 En 40:1-5; 63:2). It is clear that the term 'Glory' appears in conjunction to characterise the Lord.

<sup>203</sup> Testament of Abraham 16:8-19 - Death listened and went out from the presence of the Most High; and he put on a most brilliant robe and made his face shine like the sun. he appeared more handsome and beautiful than any human, having assumed an archangel's form, and his cheeks flashed with fire...And Abraham turned round and saw Death coming towards him in great glory and beauty. And Abraham got up to meet him, for he thought he was God's prince.... Abraham said to Death, Greetings to you. You are like the sun, and you sun as

Instead of the Lord revealing himself to his servants, this unique 'throne vision' presents Death encountering the Lord on his throne before appearing to Abraham. Yet the description of Death's appearance utilises language and concepts (in/with glory) which are usually reserved for God.

### 2.3 Glory Language: Beyond the Titular

The language of Glory in the Jewish apocalyptic literature is also used beyond the titular to refer to other aspects of heaven.

#### 2.3.1 The Lord on his Throne/Seat of Glory

In the literature the term 'throne (or seat) of glory' often appears in describing a vision of God (1 Enoch 47:3; 60:2 and Testament of Levi 5:1).

And in those days I saw the Head of Days sit down on the throne of his glory, and the books of the living were opened before him, and all his host, which dwells in the heavens above, and his council were standing before him'. (1 Enoch 47:3)<sup>204</sup>

The presence of the Lord sitting on his throne continues the anthropomorphic usage while reinforcing the idea that God alone is the Lord of Glory.<sup>205</sup>

#### 2.3.2 The Glory of the Lord's Chosen One

The throne, however, is occupied not only by God himself but shared with his special 'chosen one'. In these visions, the 'Lord of the Spirits'/Ancient of Days<sup>206</sup> bestows the honour on this chosen individual/Son of Man upon the throne.<sup>207</sup>

And this is the second parable about those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and of the Lord of Spirits.... On that day the Chosen One will sit on the throne of glory, and will choose their works, and their resting-places will be without number; and their spirits within them will grow strong when they see my Chosen One and those who appeal to my holy and glorious name. And on that day I will cause my Chosen One to dwell among them. (1 Enoch 45:1-4a)

You powerful kings, who dwell on the dry ground, will be obliged to watch my Chosen One sit down on the throne of my glory, and judge, in the name of the Lord of Spirits, Azazel and all his associates and all his hosts. (1 Enoch 55:4)

... acknowledge the Chosen One.... the Lord of Spirits set him on the throne of his glory, And the spirit of righteousness was poured out on him... and all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face. And on that day all the kings and the mighty... shall see and recognize how he sits on the throne of his glory, and the righteous are judged in righteousness before him.... And pain will take hold of them, when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory. (1 Enoch 62:1-5)

And from then on there will be nothing corruptible; for that Son of Man has appeared and has sat on the throne of his glory, and everything evil shall pass away and go from before him. And the word of that Son of Man will be strong before the Lord of Spirits. (1 Enoch 69:29)

---

does the sun: most glorious helper, brilliant, wondrous man! Whence comes your Splendour to us? Who are you? And whence come you? Death said...I am the bitter cup of death. Abraham said to him, No: you are the world's paragon of loveliness: you are the glory and the beauty of angels and of men: you are more nobly formed than any form there is.

<sup>204</sup> No Aramaic fragments of this part of 1 Enoch were found in Qumran and only the Ethiopic translations have survived. The English translations in this chapter of 1 En 45-69 are from Sparks (1992).

<sup>205</sup> Other examples which speak of the God's throne of glory include 1 En 9:4; 25:3; and the Apocalypse of Abraham 25:4-5.

<sup>206</sup> The 'Lord of the Spirits' is the more common title in the Similitudes of Enoch. Rowland (1982:105) helpfully observes that within a throne vision only the 'Antecedent of Time' ['Head' or 'Ancient of Days'] is ever reported as sitting on the throne of glory.

<sup>207</sup> Black (1985:235) notes the relationship between 'Lord of the Spirits' and the enthronement of the 'chosen One'

These portions clearly refer to the enthronement of the 'Lord of the Spirit's'/'Chosen One' to a position second only to God himself. Moreover, the purpose of the enthronement is for the individual to preside over the eschatological judgement of both the righteous and the unrighteous – whether angelic, heavenly beings or human. Just as God has been envisaged as human, it is clear from the very title employed "Son of Man" that this Chosen One is conceived as a human figure.

While the Son of Man's enthronement inaugurates the final judgement, it also brings about a transformation of heaven and earth (1 Enoch 45:4-5), an outpouring of mercy and justice (61:10-13) and the removal of evil from before God forever (69:29). The enthronement of the Son of Man brings more than God's judgement, it ushers in a transformed universe.

### 2.3.3 The Glory and the Angels

Due to their occupation in heaven and their proximity to the Glory of the Lord and his throne, the angelic beings are often described as 'glorious ones'.<sup>208</sup> The Apocalypse of Abraham (19:4) refers to these angelic beings as 'a host of invisible glory'.

And while he was still speaking, behold, the expanses parted and beneath me lay the heavens. And I saw on the seventh firmament, on which I was standing, a spreading fire, and light and dew, and a multitude of angels, and a power of invisible glory from above. (Apocalypse of Abraham 19:4)<sup>209</sup>

The account of Enoch's throne vision (2 En 22:1-10) and encounter with the face of the Lord is noteworthy as it results in his transformation. Enoch's journey reaches a personal climax in being transformed into glory to become like one of the 'glorious ones' (v10) whose ordinary residence is with the Lord of Glory.

### 2.3.4. Throne Visions – A Summary

The throne visions in the early Jewish literature contain references to 'glory' and its cognates in describing the presence of the Lord, his throne and his angelic beings. Most intriguing are those examples where God's 'Chosen One' is reported to sit upon the 'throne of glory'. Bearing anthropomorphic features, this angelic 'Son of Man' is placed on God's throne and bestowed divine functions to execute the eschatological judgement and bring about God's transforming re-creation.

## 3. The Influence of the Throne Visions

Questions remain concerning the origin and influence of these throne visions. Sirach (49:8) openly refers to Ezekiel's vision of the Lord. Furthermore, it is clear that Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 1) of the man-like יהוה יְהוָה כְּבוֹד on the throne proved highly influential in later other Old Testament passages (Zech 2:5,8),<sup>210</sup> later Jewish literature (1 En 14,<sup>211</sup> 46, 60-62, 71, 90; Test of Levi 3-5; Apoc Abraham 17-19; 4 Ezra 13) and in Christian literature (Rev 4-5).<sup>212</sup>

### 3.1 The Influence of the Throne Visions in Ezekiel and Daniel

In Ezekiel 1, כְּבוֹד obviously refers to God who assumes the likeness of man (v26-28) and this interpretation in turn influences how the reader understands the heavenly figure of Ezekiel 8:1-3. The similarity of these descriptions of the figure raise the likelihood that Yahweh is also being described in

<sup>208</sup> For examples of angels being referred to as 'glorious ones' see 3 Macc 6:18; 2 En 19:1-3; 21:3; and 22:7,10.

<sup>209</sup> The Apocalypse of Abraham only exists in Slavonic. This English translation is from Sparks (1992).

<sup>210</sup> Influenced by the work of Hanson (1975), Smith (1984:196) recognises the influence of Ezekiel on Zechariah and especially the usage of כְּבוֹד and שָׁכֵן. Zechariah sees כְּבוֹד here as the return of the Lord's presence in Jerusalem, and by doing so, ties his call and commission (like Ezekiel) to the fulfilment of his prophecies. Smith also considers the various interpretations offered of the most puzzling clause - אֶחָד כְּבוֹד שָׁלַח־נִי - Zech 2:8[12]. The clause is perhaps best understood as temporal clause referring to Yahweh's glory (RSV and ESV) (contra Baldwin 1972:109).

<sup>211</sup> The throne vision of 1 En 14 is clearly influenced by Isa 6 and Ezek 1. The descriptions of the throne, the cherubim and Yahweh's garment are almost identical to Isa 6. While the anthropomorphic depiction of Yahweh in Ezek 1:26-28 underlies that of 1 En 14:20 (Rowland 1979:140, 1982:255-57).

<sup>212</sup> Rowland (1979 and 1982) and Kim (1984:205-23, 239-67) note the influence of Ezekiel's throne vision on later Jewish literature and early Christian thought.

Ezekiel 8.<sup>213</sup> This conclusion is further strengthened in the account of the prophet's commissioning when Ezekiel is directly confronted by the כְּבוֹד יְהוָה.

It is clear that the vision recounted in Daniel 7 also displays influences from Ezekiel 1 (Goldingay 1989:149-50).<sup>214</sup> The point of dissimilarity is that Daniel 7 presents two heavenly figures (the Ancient of Days and the mysterious 'one like a son of man' (כְּבוֹד אִנְשׁ)), whereas Ezekiel 1 depicts one heavenly man-like figure. The background of Daniel 7 has been the subject of much research and has resulted in many possible identifications of the 'one like the son of man' being proffered.<sup>215</sup> These understandings of 'one like a son of man' include, among others, a mere man,<sup>216</sup> 'a somebody' (Wifall 1975), faithful remnant of Israel (Moule 1982:77,79), a human figure (Enoch or Ezekiel or Daniel (Schmid 1971)), Israel's future Davidic Messianic King (Mowinckel 1956:352), symbolic abstraction of holy ones on high (Barrett (1959) and Hooker (1967)), celestial beings (Gabriel or Michael (Goldingay 1989:171-72)), a hypostatized manifestation of God (Procksch (1933:80-81), a heavenly being with the honours and powers predicated to God (Caragounis (1986) and a second divine figure (Black 1976:61).<sup>217</sup> Black regards Daniel 7 as being highly influenced by Ezekiel and in particular 'the man in linen' (לְבָשׁ הַבְּדִים), Ezek 10:2) to provide an angelic, priest-like servant of God and a proto-Messianic figure.

While it might be best to identify כְּבוֹד אִנְשׁ in terms of divine agency rather than outright deity, it is clear that the 'one like a son of man' echoes the established pattern of angelic figures, personified attributed and exalted patriarchs (Newman 1992:97). However, it is clear that כְּבוֹד אִנְשׁ is no mere human figure as he alone is conferred with dominion, and glory (Aramaic (יְקָר) and kingdom, is the object of worship<sup>218</sup> and will enjoy an eternal reign. His power and kingdom are unique, universal and eternal.

Daniel 7:14  
 וְלֹהַ יְהוָה יְקָר וּמַלְכוּתוֹ וְכָל עֲמֻמֵּי  
 אֲמִיָּא וְלִשְׁנֵיָא לֵהּ יַפְלִחוּן שְׁלִטְנָה שְׁלִטְנָה עָלַם דִּי-לֵא  
 יַעֲרֵה וּמַלְכוּתָהּ דִּי-לֵא תַתְּחַבֵּל:

It is noteworthy that Daniel adopts the concept of glory and assigns it to the 'one like a son of man' and by doing so relates it to the concepts of dominion, power and kingdom. While Ezekiel 1 uses כְּבוֹד in reference to the Lord, Daniel 7 assigns the term 'glory' (יְקָר) to כְּבוֹד אִנְשׁ thus symbolising his divine approval.

<sup>213</sup> Weavers (1969:79) questions the identification of the man-like heavenly being with Yahweh. However, Zimmerli (1979 1:236) and Block (1997:279-80) understand that Yahweh is being described in Ezek 1:28 and in 8:2.

Rowland (1982:96) is adamant that 'the figure who appears in Ezekiel 8:2 is intimately linked with the glory of God which appeared to the prophet by the banks of the river Chebar. What has happened here is not so much the splitting up of the divine functions among various angelic figures but the separation of the form of God from the divine throne-chariot to act as a quasi-angelic mediator.'

<sup>214</sup> The points of similarity between Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7 are numerous and include: flaming chariot throne (Ezek 1:4, 15-16, 21, 26; Dan 7:9-10); the one enthroned (God himself in appearance of man) (Ezek 1:26-28) or 'Ancient of Days' (Dan 7:9f); the accompanying 'great cloud' of heaven (Ezek 1:4; Dan 7:13), winds (Ezek 1:4; Dan 7:2), clouds and four great beasts (Ezek 1:5-14; Dan 7:3-8).

<sup>215</sup> Goldingay (1989:169-72) has offered a helpful, but by no means exhaustive, overview of the various interpretations of Daniel 7:14 from an Old Testament perspective.

<sup>216</sup> Casey (1978:28) and Smith (1983) understand כְּבוֹד אִנְשׁ (Dan 7:13) as referring simply to a 'man'.

<sup>217</sup> Black (1976:60-63) understands both figures in Dan 7 as manifestations of Yahweh. The 'one like a son of man' 'borrows directly from Ezekiel where the phrase is always used either of the *numen praesens et visibile* of a Jahweh theophany or of an angelic theophany' (1976:61). For Black (1975:92-99 and 1976:60-62) this divine figure suggests the deification of Israel at the end. Casey (1978:32-33) objects to any notion that understands two deities are in view in Dan 7:13-14.

<sup>218</sup> Hurtado (1988:51-70) argues that while Jews were often willing to clothe God's vice-regents with divinity, they were generally unwilling to ascribe worship to them.

### 3.2 The Son of Man and Glory in Other Apocalyptic Literature

In 1 Enoch 37-71, the Son of Man enjoys an exalted status of honour and power while sitting on the 'throne of his Glory' (1 En 62.5).<sup>219</sup> Indeed the very kings of the earth are said to recognise the Son of Man's authority and worship the one who alone is their hope and petition him for mercy (1 En 62.9).

Though lacking a throne vision similar to Ezekiel and Daniel, the Sabbath Songs of Qumran (see 4Q405 20 ii 21-22) look to be influenced by Ezekiel 1 and 10. Here 'Glory' is employed to describe the throne chariot(s) and the throne around which the cherubim worship. Unique in the Qumran material (see Newsom 1985:35), God is referred to as 'the Glory' (הַכְבוֹד) and worshipped by the angels. This use of 'Glory' as a title for God may have been influenced by Ezekiel though it lacks the prophet's anthropomorphism touches.

### 3.3 God and Glory in the Apocalyptic Literature

The Jewish apocalyptic texts reveal that 'Glory' can be used to describe God, his throne and can be used in reference to angels. Significantly, the term came also to be used as a title of God signifying his presence and his power and dominion. When 'throne of glory' is employed the eschatological judgement and transformation of the world through a specially designated mediator/angel are emphasised. Those prophets and visionaries who are allowed a glimpse of the heavenlies are confronted with Glory – whether they see God, a throne or angels. Indeed the report of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה in Ezekiel 1 complete with its anthropomorphisms may well have influenced later apocalyptic thinking with its anthropomorphic descriptions of כְּבוֹד אֱלֹהִים in Daniel, the Similitudes of Enoch and the literature of Qumran. This new trajectory of thinking within Judaism which assigned divine agency to God's attributes, exalted patriarchs and angels, were subsequently appropriated by the early Christian community to emphasise the divinity of Jesus.

## 4. Other Apocalyptic Uses of Glory

As well as using 'glory' in relation to the throne visions, Jewish apocalyptic literature also adopts and develops those usages of Glory which have been noted in the Old Testament.

### 4.1 Theophany

Like those Old Testament passages which highlight Yahweh's theophanic appearances,<sup>220</sup> Jewish apocalyptic literature presents God as appearing in awe-inspiring כְּבוֹד whose intervention causes the very foundations of the earth to melt and shake. The Lord's spectacular arrival elicits fear and adoration from those who long for his salvation and will usher a period of righteous judgement on evil (1 QH iii 32-36).<sup>221</sup>

### 4.2 Sinai Tradition

The Pentateuchal tradition of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה is also influential on the authors of the apocalyptic literature whether generally<sup>222</sup> or more explicitly with references to the events of Sinai. There is a tendency among some authors of the apocalyptic literature to embrace Moses' experience of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה at Sinai to legitimise their particular book or writings<sup>223</sup>, their understanding of the eschatological signs<sup>224</sup>, the new

---

<sup>219</sup> The idea of glory, honour and power in Daniel 7 is repeated here in 1 En and also in Rev 5:12 to signify the exalted status and power of the glorified Jesus (Beale 1999:364-65).

<sup>220</sup> Those passages which belong to the theophanic tradition include 1 Sam 7:10; 2 Sam 22:14; Job 37:4; 40:9 and Ps 29.

<sup>221</sup> The Qumran Hodoyot (1 QH iii 32-36) presents an eschatological coming of God in glory to defeat Belial and his reign of evil.

<sup>222</sup> In the *Words of the Heavenly Lights*, the author conflates the signs of God's presence, pillar of fire and cloud with the tabernacle sign, glory. 'Thou art in our midst in the pillar of fire and the cloud [of] Thy [holi]ness walking before us, and as it were Thy glory in our mid[st]' (4Q 504 fr. 6 ii; Vermes 1990:220).

<sup>223</sup> By directly quoting Ex 24:15-25:2, the author of Jubilees (1.2-4c) seems to adopt for himself Moses' experience of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה in a way to legitimise his own writing.

<sup>224</sup> In 2 Macc 2:8, 'the glory of the Lord and the cloud' will confirm the future eschatological age. καὶ τότε ὁ κύριος ἀναδείξει ταῦτα καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ δόξα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἡ νεφέλη ὡς ἐπὶ Μωυσεῖ ἐδηλοῦτο (2 Macc 2.8).

covenant (1Q34)<sup>225</sup>, the exalted status of Moses as patriarch and teacher<sup>226</sup>, Adam and Eve (Sir 17:11-14)<sup>227</sup>. These examples show the influence of those symbols experienced at Sinai on Jewish thinking as it sought for ways to legitimise mediators and their eschatological messages.

### 4.3 The Royal Tradition

Those key symbols associated with the Temple as a place where God reveals his glory, are employed by the Apocalyptic Jewish literature. God in his glory is said to dwell in his Temple (Pr Azar 31; Sir 49:12; 3 Macc 2:9,14-17) and by extension Jerusalem is said to share in his glory (2 Bar 11:1; Pss Sol 2:3-5,19; 11:6-8). As in the Royal theology of the Old Testament, the presence of God's glory signifies God's rule.<sup>228</sup> This rule is made manifest through the Lord's chosen servant, the king, who shares in this divine glory (1QM xii 6-11). Moreover, God's glory extends beyond the Temple, Jerusalem and her rulers into all the world. Creation itself is again said to bear the marks of God's glory (Sir 42:16-17,25; 43:1,9,12; 1QH i 1-39; xiii 11, 20; xvi 3).

As has been noted, the special relationship between God and David and God's promise of an everlasting lineage (2 Sam 7) proved a springboard for later messianic speculation in the Old Testament. This speculation continued in the Jewish Apocalyptic literature and 'Glory' came to be used as one of the metaphors to define the Davidic messiah figure. In a passage which praises David (Sir 47:1-11), the Greek text (v11) mentions a future exaltation of the 'horn', the establishment of the covenant of kings and the 'throne of glory in Israel'.

**Sirach 47:11** κύριος ἀφείλεν τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνύψωσεν εἰς αἰῶνα τὸ κέρασ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαθήκην βασιλείων καὶ θρόνον δόξης ἐν τῷ Ἰσραηλ.

The author of 4Q504 iv uses many symbols of God's presence to describe the future coming Messianic age. The fulfilment of the Davidic covenant is experienced in the coming princely shepherd who will sit on the throne of God and demonstrate the כבוד of the Lord to all the nations (Vermes 1990:218). This aspect of the Messiah as the revealer of the Glory of the Lord also appears in 2 Baruch 30:1-2 and Pss Solomon 17:30-32.<sup>229</sup>

### 4.4 Prophetic Tradition

Similar to the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament which connotes the revelation of the Glory of the Lord with judgement, exile, restoration and re-creation, these emphases are also evident in the Jewish Apocalyptic literature. The coming of the Glory of the Lord is said to bring judgement (1Q14; 1Q169 iii)<sup>230</sup>, will initiate the renewal and transformation of the people of Israel (Tobit 13:14-16)<sup>231</sup> and

- 
- <sup>225</sup> There is an allusion to God's revelation of his glory at Sinai in the making of the covenant and the giving of his law in 1Q34 ii. This glorious vision implies a deeper knowledge of the 'foundations of glory and the steps towards eternity' (translation Vermes 1990:231).
- <sup>226</sup> Sirach presents Moses as belonging to the patriarchs (44.1-23) and the later priests, judges, prophets and kings (Sir 46-50) because of his direct experience of the Glory of God by which the Lord had made him equal to the holy ones (ὡμοίωσεν αὐτὸν δόξῃ ἁγίων, Sir 45:2). By encountering the voice of God and receiving the law, Moses had been invested with authority to be the teacher of Israel (Sir 45.5, 17).
- <sup>227</sup> For Sirach (17:11-14) in experiencing like Moses at Sinai the 'majesty of his glory' (μεγαλεῖον δόξης) and the 'Glory of his voice' (δόξαν φωνῆς αὐτοῦ), Adam and Eve are presented as ideal paradigmatic types.
- <sup>228</sup> 'King' and 'glory' are collocated in a variety of ways in the apocalyptic Jewish literature. These include: 'King of Glory' (1 En 81.3 1QM xii 7; xix 1) and 'Great King in Glory' (1 En 91:13).
- <sup>229</sup> A Midrash on the Last Days (4Q174), also known as 4QFlorilegium, is a collection of texts assembled from 2 Sam 7 and the Psalter and combines them with other scriptural passages (Vermes 1990:293-94). The account serves to identify the Qumranic community with the Temple and to proclaim the coming of two Messianic figures, the Branch of David' and the 'Interpreter of the Law'. This Messianic figure will be known as the revealer of the glory of the Lord.
- <sup>230</sup> These writings from Qumran are commentaries on Micah (1Q14) and Nahum (4Q169). The Qumran community seems to interpret Nahum's warning of God's judgement on Israel as a warning of future judgement on the Pharisees and their followers.
- <sup>231</sup> In Tobit 13:16, the revelation of God's glory redemptively transforms the people from grief to rejoicing (θεασάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν σου καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα).

Jerusalem (Tobit 14:5)<sup>232</sup> and will be involved in the Israel's eschatological release (1 Bar 4:5-5:9) and engineer a return to Jerusalem (1 Bar 4:24; 5:6-7).<sup>233</sup> The returnees to Jerusalem will bask eternally in the glorious presence of God and enjoy a city which has been radically transformed (εἰρήνη δικαιοσύνης καὶ δόξα θεοσεβείας, 1 Bar 5:4; c.f. 1 Bar 5:1; Psalms of Solomon 11 and 11QPs<sup>a</sup> xxii). In short, Glory inaugurates and defines the eschatological future time.

## 5. Conclusion

It is clear that the Jewish Apocalyptic authors generally reflected the understanding of כְּבוֹד יְהוָה as found in the major traditions (Theophanic, Sinai, Royal and Prophetic) of the Old Testament. However, these authors are no mere passers on of an ossified tradition. They are profoundly influenced by Ezekiel 1 and felt able to use Glory to refer to God, to the enigmatic Son of Man, his mediator/angel, exalted patriarchs and even the throne itself. Their throne visions, not only presented a message of eschatological hope in an age of turmoil and oppression, but also, in some way, proved influential upon early Christian reflection on Jesus Christ as the Son of Man and as the glory of God.

---

<sup>232</sup> Tobit 14:5 holds out the promise that the rebuilt city of Jerusalem will house a glorious Temple which will last forever. The description of this renewed end time Temple has echoes from Ezra 3.

<sup>233</sup> The glory of God secures the safe release of Israel (ἀσφαλῶς τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξῃ, 1 Bar 5:7). The future return of Israel from captivity will involve the revelation of God's great glory and usher in an eternal splendour which will be witnessed by Zion's neighbours (δόξης μεγάλης καὶ λαμπρότητος τοῦ αἰωνίου, 1 Bar 4:24).

# Chapter 6

## Glory in the LXX

### Table of Contents

1. Introduction
2. A Brief History in Interpretation
3. The Adoption of δόξα in the LXX
4. Why δόξα?
5. Summary

### 1. Introduction

This study now briefly and cautiously considers the use of δόξα and its cognates in the Septuagint (LXX). It could be supposed that the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible could provide a relatively simple tableau by which one could discover how the Semitic and Greek traditions related. The chapter concentrates on whether the Jewish religious tradition passively adopted the Greek language during the Hellenistic era or whether it actively adapted the language, shaping it by its religious heritage. However, any optimism of discerning the actual situation would seem misplaced when one considers the deep chasm between scholars concerning the character of the Septuagint.

This divergence of scholarly opinion has also had an impact upon the understanding between the relations between כבוד and δόξα. Before studying the use of δόξα in the New Testament in *Koiné* Greek, it must be determined how faithfully the Septuagint (LXX) preserves and transmits the Glory Tradition as found in the Hebrew Bible.

### 2. A Brief History in Interpretation

The deep dichotomy between scholars and their understanding of the Septuagint can be reduced to a different basic presupposition concerning *Koiné* Greek itself.

#### 2.1 Holy Ghost Language

Some scholars have tended to regard *Koiné* Greek as a 'Holy Ghost Language'. In short, the Hebrew Bible, with its Semitic ways of thinking, its peculiar grammatical style and unique expressions, heavily influenced and altered the language of the LXX. For some scholars a number of ordinary, profane Greek words were emptied and then filled with novel Semitic meanings, thus endowing them with new religious significance.<sup>234</sup>

#### 2.2 Human Language

In contrast, other scholars, having carefully documented and considered extant, contemporary papyri and inscriptions, have argued that the Greek of the LXX (and the Greek New Testament) is simply ordinary *Koiné* Greek employing commonplace Greek words with conventional Greek meanings.<sup>235</sup> For this particular school of thought the LXX was not the sacred bearer of divine thought. These scholars minimised the importance of Hebraic influence on the New Testament (Abbott 1891:66) and were not impressed with the assertions that the LXX had influenced New Testament Greek (Silva 1983:60-68).<sup>236</sup>

#### 2.3 Impasse

Space constraints do not allow for greater discussion on this particular contentious issue. All biblical scholars recognise the significance of the LXX for the study of New Testament words, but disagreement

---

<sup>234</sup> Those scholars who understand the LXX as betraying a 'Holy Ghost Language' include: Cremer (1895); Hatch (1899); Kittel (1934; 1964); Boman (1960); Turner (1962, 1980) *et al.* Barr (1961:10-13) provides an excellent summary of Boman (1960) and the alleged different characteristics between Greek and Hebrew.

<sup>235</sup> Those scholars who understand the LXX as utilising ordinary *Koiné* Greek include: Abbott (1891:65-109); Kennedy (1985); Deissmann (1901, 1927); Lee (1975); Silva (1975, 1983).

<sup>236</sup> Deissmann (1908:65) did not deny the existence of Semitisms in the New Testament, but strongly argued that these instances were a sufficient reason for scholars to isolate the language of the New Testament from the *Koiné* Greek of the time. Silva (1980) is one scholar who has supported Deissmann's basic formulation despite the earlier criticism on Deissmann (Turner 1962).

exists regarding the precise relation between these documents. Of greater relevance for this particular study, is to note that δόξα itself has featured as a case study in several studies.

### 3. The Adoption of δόξα in the LXX

The two divergent strands of scholarly thought concerning the nature of the Greek of the Septuagint came to different understandings as to the adoption of δόξα to translate כבוד in the LXX.

#### 3.1. Holy Ghost Language Strand and δόξα

Kittel (1938; 1964), standing in the Holy Ghost Language strand, argued that δόξα is one such word which has been specifically re-created by the Septuagint.

'The most important meaning of δόξα in classical Greek is 'opinion' (Latin *Opinio*). This sense of the word completely vanishes in Biblical language the moment the Septuagint uses δόξα as the equivalent of the Hebrew כבוד. Δόξα henceforth no longer stands for "the personal opinion of an individual," the most subjective thing there is; but, in contrast, it now stands for God's Glory, God's Own Essence, the most objective thing there is.' (1938:22; c.f. Kittel 1964:245)

For Kittel, therefore, something has happened to the meaning of δόξα that cannot be understood simply by the word's usage in its constituent culture and background.

#### 3.2 The LXX as Koiné Greek Strand and δόξα

Deissmann (1903:165-66), however, was adamant that a Greek-translation, written by Greek-speakers would not have adopted a Greek word that would have been unintelligible to its Greek-readers. For Deissmann, the term δόξα would have been understood as the common language of the community ('in der Volkssprache ihrer Umgebung'). This led Deissmann (1903:165) to understand δόξα as the visible divine presence, or what he termed a 'Lichtglanz', a Light Shining. However, Deissmann's view that δόξα was perceived as visible, divine presence, is unknown and unattested before the LXX.<sup>237</sup>

#### 3.3 Breaching the Chasm

How is this impasse to be resolved? It is evident that something happened to the meaning of δόξα due to its contact with כבוד. However, it is also apparent that δόξα must have been deliberately chosen by the translators of the LXX because it would have been intelligible to the first hearers. Nevertheless, it is equally obvious that some alteration or extension in meaning occurred in the translating process and thus some degree of discontinuity exists.

Some kind of semantic change has occurred in the כבוד-δόξα relationship through translation. Listing δόξα as one such example, Lee (1983:30, 51) has argued that some kind of 'extension or alteration of meaning' could well have been exerted as Greek words were employed to translate Jewish terms and objects particularly those with a religious background.<sup>238</sup> Silva (1983:79) similarly agrees and calls δόξα's change of meaning as due to 'semantic conservatism'.

Silva (1983:80) goes further. 'For once we realize the (semi-) technical terms in the Bible have undergone this type of change, it becomes clear why *they are susceptible to little lexicographical*

<sup>237</sup> Deissmann arrived at his theory that δόξα represents the visible, divine presence (Lichtglanz) in an unsatisfactory way. Scholars (cf. Boobyer (1929:56)) had argued that כבוד יהוה in the Hebrew Bible could be reduced to a 'light' shining, a conception of God which was influenced by eastern Persian religions during the exile. The adoption of δόξα to translate כבוד יהוה occurred naturally due to its own pre-LXX associations with divine light phenomena (Schneider 1932:22,179). This study has shown that the Old Testament usage of כבוד יהוה cannot be reduced simply to the experience of a light phenomenon. Moreover, it has been shown that the usage of כבוד and כבוד יהוה developed significantly during the time of the monarchy period prior to the exile and the alleged influence of Persian mystery religions. Furthermore, Kittel (1964:235-37) convincingly demonstrates that the Schneider's hypothesis concerning the alleged pre-LXX associations of δόξα and 'light' terminology is 'improbable'.

<sup>238</sup> Barr (1961:233, 248-49, 263-64) had also acknowledged the possibility of 'semantic change', especially when the Greek word chosen to translate a Hebrew theological thought becomes a 'technical term'.

*investigation.* If the linguist ascertains that ἄγγελος is being used to cover the meaning of Hebrew mal'ak – that is, that further knowledge of the referent has issued in substitution, not in a new name - there his works ends: any further discussion of the meaning of ἄγγελος becomes a discussion of Hebrew theology, not of lexicography.' (italics his)

#### 4. Why δόξα?

Silva may be correct in suggesting that any investigation may be limited, but the question remains: why was δόξα chosen to translate כבוד as the words seem to have different root meanings? Was there some theological significance in the translators choosing δόξα to translate 'glory' (compare Barr 1968:379)? It is not enough to simply say that some kind of semantic change occurred. The translators' particular choice of δόξα should be investigated.

##### 4.1 Mechanical Translation

Scholars have not agreed on one theory to explain why δόξα was deliberately employed to translate כבוד. As has been noted, Deissmann wrongly identified that כבוד and δόξα shared the meaning of *Lichtglanz*. Nevertheless, he seemed to imply that although in the case of כבוד-δόξα there was no significant equivalence so that instead of translating the Hebrew term that δόξα simply 'replaced' (ersetzt) those occurrences of כבוד. In contrast, Kittel (1934:33-68) classified כבוד's range of meaning under six headings.<sup>239</sup> Dismissing five of these classifications as foreign to δόξα in the Greek literature, Kittel observed that the only point of connection is 'honour' (Ehre). Moreover, where כבוד denotes 'honour' it is always translated by δόξα. Kittel thus assumed that this point of connection allowed the translators of the LXX to systematically render the other senses of כבוד by δόξα.<sup>240</sup> For Kittel and Harrison (1982) the translators mechanically used δόξα to cover the meanings of כבוד.

While attractive, this theory of a mechanical translation is not supported by the evidence. כבוד is not automatically translated with δόξα. In some twenty instances the noun כבוד is translated by Greek words other than δόξα (see table).

Hebrew	LXX	Verses
Noun - כבוד	ἡπατά	Gen 49:6
	τιμή	Ex 28:2, 40; Prov 26:1; Isa 11:10; 14:18
	βάρος	Jud 18:21 (in some versions of the LXX)
	κιβωτός	1 Sam 4:21
	βαρυκάρδιος	Ps 4:3
	γλωσσά	Ps 16:9 [LXX 15:9]
	δή	Ps 66:2 [LXX 65:2]
	κύριος	Isa 5:13
	ὄρος	Isa 10:18
	καλός	Isa 22:18
	ἔνδοξος	Isa 22:24
	πλοῦτος	Isa 61:6
	ἐστρωμένης	Ezek 23:41
	ἐπιθυμητὰ	Nah 2:9 [LXX 2:10]

<sup>239</sup> Kittel's (1934:60-61) six classifications of כבוד's range of meaning were: Ehre, Herrlichkeit, Offenbarungsherrlichkeit, Reichtum, Macht and Seele.

<sup>240</sup> Harrison (1982:477-78) concurs. 'Since *dóxa* could be used legitimately to translate *kábhōd* in the areas of reputation and honor, only a slight step was required to make it a blanket term for rendering other meanings of *kábhōd* that had not belonged to *dóxa* in its classical Greek setting. Once *dóxa* had become established as a translation for *kábhōd* in the sense of majesty or splendour, which was something of a departure from native Greek usage, apparently this was sufficient precedent to go further and employ *dóxa* to render a whole group of words involving the notion of beauty or adornment.'

Moreover, in only approximately a half of the occurrences of the Hebrew verb do the translators of the LXX use *δοξάζω*, preferring instead some nineteen different words to translate *כָּבַד*.<sup>241</sup> Similarly, a number of different Greek words are preferred to translate the Hebrew adjective rather than *ἔνδοξος*.<sup>242</sup> Furthermore, the term *δόξα* is used by the translators of the LXX to translate twenty-four different Hebrew words other than *כָּבַד*.<sup>243</sup> From this analysis, it is evident that the translators of the LXX did not simply mechanically replace instances of *כָּבַד* with *δόξα*. Nor was *δόξα* and its cognates reserved exclusively to translate *כָּבוֹד*.

#### 4.2 The *כָּבַד*–*δόξα* Relationship Examined

Mohrmann (1953, 1954) made a useful contribution to the study of the relationship between *כָּבַד* and *δόξα*.<sup>244</sup> First, she understood that *δόξα* came to translate *כָּבַד* because of a semantic overlap. She argued that both *כָּבַד* and *δόξα* can be used to describe ‘royal splendour’ and ‘majesty’.<sup>245</sup> Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, Mohrmann noticed that by judiciously choosing *δόξα* to translate *כָּבַד*, the translators eschewed the contemporary technical ‘epiphany’ terminology (*ἐπιφάνεια* and *φαντασία*) which might have better served their purposes had it not already been employed in the common literature to describe the manifestation of pagan deities. The translators of the LXX thus seem to have deliberately chosen a word that did not equate the revelation of the Glory of the Lord (*כְּבוֹד יְהוָה*) with those appearances of the other gods of Hellenistic society.

Other investigations have considered the usage of *δόξα* in contemporary Greek literature. Pax (1960:92-102) has argued that *δόξα* was used in everyday conversations and, more significantly, in philosophical (Parmenides and Plato) and theological (Philo, LXX and NT) discussions concerning the fundamental principles of the observable, physical world and the religious signifiers of truth and light. These connections may also explain why *δόξα* was employed for translating *כָּבַד*.<sup>246</sup> Segal (1980:1344-45), building on the insights of Pax, observes that Parmenides (1:24-32) included a ‘heavenly ascent’ in which *δόξα* appears alongside other concrete ‘heavenly journey’ metaphors.<sup>247</sup> The similarity of Parmenides’ account with the heavenly journeys and throne-visions of the Jewish apocalypses may explain the *כָּבַד*–*δόξα* relationship. Hanson (1980:1395-1427) has also noted the use of *δόξα* in Greek ‘dream-vision’ literature to introduce what was about to be revealed and thus observed or heard by the principal actors. The use of *ἐδόκει/ἔδοξε* is often translated by ‘he dreamed’. However, the term does not play an integral part in the vision or revelation itself. These contributions, though worthy, do not

<sup>241</sup> Those various verbs used in the LXX to translate *כָּבַד* include among others *τιμάω*, *βαρύνω*, *εὐλογέω*, and *πλεονάζω*.

<sup>242</sup> Those instances where an adjective other than *ἔνδοξος* is used to translate *כָּבַד* includes: Gen 13:2; 41:31; 43:1; 47:4, 13; 50:9, 10, 11; Ex 4:10 (x2); 8:20; 9:3, 18, 24; 10:14; 12:38; 17:12; 18:18; 19:16; 29:13; Num 11:14; 20:20; 22:15; 1 Sam 4:18; 6:6 (x2); 2 Sam 14:26; 1 Ki 3:9; 10:2; 12:4, 11; 2 Ki 6:14; 18:17; 2 Chron 9:1; 10:4, 11; Ps 38:4 (LXX 37:5) Prov 27:3 (x2); Isa 21:15; 24:20; Isa 36:2 and Ezek 3:6.

<sup>243</sup> Those instances where *δόξα* translates other Hebrew words are found in the following passages. Gen 31:16; Ex 15:7, 11a; 28:2, 40; 33:16, 19; 34:29, 30a, 35; Num 12:8; 23:22; 24:8; 27:20; 1 Chron 16:24; 2 Chron 2:5; 5:13; Job 37:22; 39:20; 40:10; Ps 17:15; 21:6; 149:9; Isa 2:10, 19, 21; 5:16; 6:1; 11:3; 22:22; 24:14, 15; 26:10; 28:5; 30:30; 40:6, 26; 45:25; 46:13; 49:3; 52:1, 13, 14; 53:2; 55:5; 60:7, 9, 19; 63:12; 64:11; Jer 13:18; 23:9; Lam 2:1, 15; Ezek 10:22 and 38:23.

<sup>244</sup> Mohrmann (1954: 326-27) agrees with Kittel and Harrison in adopting a rather mechanical process whereby *δόξα* came to translate *כָּבַד*. She also contends (contra Deissmann and Schneider) that *δόξα* did not possess the meanings of light and splendour in Greek.

<sup>245</sup> Newman (1992:143) points out that Mohrmann’s argument is in a sense circular. Mohrmann relies on Philo and Josephus’s use of *δόξα*, but both authors were themselves dependent upon the LXX.

<sup>246</sup> Pax (1960:92-102) considers in particular the use of *δόξα* in Parmenides and Plato.

<sup>247</sup> Parmenides 1:24-32 – Young man, coming to our abode the companion of immortal charioteers, with the mares that carry you, Welcome! For it is no bad Fate which sent you along this route (though it is far off the beaten track of men) but rightness and Justice. Now you must learn everything, both the unshaking temper of persuasive Truth and the opinions (*δόξα*) of mortals, in which there is no true trust. Still, though, you will learn this as well: how the things of opinion should have been in order to be acceptable.

provide a completely satisfactory answer to the question as to why δόξα should have been deliberately chosen to translate כבוד.

After re-examining δόξα in Greek literature, Decreus (1974/1975:117-85) has importantly argued that δόξα and כבוד share both a range of meaning (honour) and also a structural similarity. In Greek and in Hebrew both terms can possess both subjective and objective fields of meaning. For Decreus, it is this point of similarity that persuaded the LXX translators to adopt δόξα as a suitable term for translating כבוד.<sup>248</sup>

Individually these previous arguments do not satisfy as an explanation why כבוד should be translated by δόξα. Taken together these arguments make the choice of δόξα for כבוד a little more plausible (Newman 1992:147).<sup>249</sup> It would seem that any quest to explain definitively why δόξα was chosen by the translators of the LXX to translate כבוד is fraught with difficulty and likely to prove unsatisfactory. Moreover, these proffered explanations do not explain the semantic discontinuity between כבוד and δόξα.

### 4.3 כבוד–δόξα: A Tentative Way Forward

It is clear, however, that when it came to translating כבוד when כבוד clearly referred to Yahweh's visible presence, that δόξα was used consistently by the translators of the LXX. All forty-three instances of יהוה כבוד are translated by δόξα κυρίου/θεοῦ. Similarly in the thirty-three instances when כבוד is used with a possessive pronoun when Yahweh is the referent then δόξα is consistently employed. The translators of the LXX were unswerving in their choice of δόξα when it was used to denote the presence and glory of Yahweh.

Evidently the translators seem to have deliberately avoided those technical signifiers overtly used in pagan literature to describe pagan theophanies (ἐπιφάνεια and φαντασία).<sup>250</sup> However, it would be wrong to suggest that δόξα was totally free from those pagan associations as it also shared a lexical field with words that were often used in these pagan theophanies. Newman (1992:149-50), drawing on lexical studies,<sup>251</sup> has considered the semantic field of δόξα/δοξάζω in the subjective sense and of δόξα in the objective sense in Greek literature. He shows that in the subjective sense δόξα/δοξάζω share a semantic field with words (δοκέω, νομίζω, τίθημι, κρίνω, ἡγέομαι and τιμάω) that refer to internal information and thinking. Most noteworthy is that the subjective sense of δόξα, in contrast to the other words in its semantic field, is unique in signifying dreams, visions and illusions. When δόξα is used in an objective sense, the word belongs to a semantic field of words (τιμή, κλέος, κῦδος, λαμπρότης, φῶς/φαίνω and ἐπιφάνεια) that refer to reputation, renown and fame. Moreover, the objective sense of δόξα also belongs to a group of words that signify revelatory information and sensory perception (λαμπρότης, φῶς/φαίνω, μορφή, ἐπιφάνεια and φαντασία), light terminology (λαμπρότης, φῶς/φαίνω, ἐπιφάνεια and φαντασία) and, most importantly, the appearance of gods (ἐπιφάνεια and φαντασία).

Newman's helpful analysis circumvents the traditional scholarly consensus which rigidly understands δόξα as meaning 'fame' in the classical Greek literature and as 'light' in the LXX. In classical literature, δόξα shares the same semantic field as both 'light' and revelatory language used of gods. Because of this semantic overlap, and since δόξα also possessed a subjective sense of dreams and visions, this made δόξα an ideal choice to translate כבוד in the LXX for the visible presence of Yahweh. While δόξα possessed revelatory connotations and connections with epiphany language and light phenomenon, by

<sup>248</sup> Caird (1968:265-77) notes the 'reflexive' or 'bivocal' character of כבוד and δόξα.

<sup>249</sup> Newman (1992:147) believes that the arguments considered collectively make the translation of כבוד by δόξα 'much more plausible'.

<sup>250</sup> This conclusion is cautiously noted in the work of Decreus (1974/75:143-144, 147-48, 150-52), Mohrmann (1957:23-24) and Hanson (1980:1409).

<sup>251</sup> Newman's analysis is based on lexical studies by Liddel, Scott and Jones (1940), H Kittel (1934:1-31) G Kittel (1964:232-37, 253) and Decreus (1974/75:121-63).

not appearing as a technical term to describe the manifestation of pagan deities it was thus free from any negative associations. Δόξα was thus a suitable choice for the translators for the LXX of כבוד and the Hebrew Glory tradition as it was intelligible to their Greek readers and yet it could also convey the uniqueness of Yahweh and the revelation of his glory.

## 5. Summary

This chapter has noted the considerable debate between scholars over the nature of the LXX and the nature of the Greek employed. It has been argued that the Jewish translators of the LXX produced a Greek book using Greek words for Greek speakers. These translators employed extant Greek words to describe the Hebrew terms and thus used the most suitable Greek words to convey the meanings of the Hebrew words. In this process it is clear that the כבוד-δόξα relationship underwent some degree of semantic change which led to δόξα undergoing some degree of extension or alteration of meaning. The very use of δόξα to translate יהוה כבוד may well have initiated this alteration of the semantic range of the Greek word.

It has also been noted that δόξα seemed to be a logical choice to translate כבוד due to its overlap in the area of 'honour', the fact that both terms shared an objective-subjective structural similarity, and that these words were employed in similar literary contexts. However, the question remained as to why δόξα was used to describe the visible presence of Yahweh. In considering its semantic field, it is clear that δόξα belonged to the lexical field of 'epiphany' and 'light' terminology. However, it seems that the translators of the LXX eschewed those words commonly employed in Greek literature to describe the manifestation of pagan deities and thus preserved the Glory tradition. This deliberate linguistic choice by the translators to convey the manifestation of the יהוה כבוד in the Hebrew Bible allowed the unique nature of Yahweh's revelation to be maintained and declared intelligibly into the prevailing Greek culture. This use of δόξα to cover יהוה כבוד and then the other divine presence terminology in the various strands of the Glory tradition throughout the Hebrew Bible, was influential in the subsequent semantic change that δόξα underwent and which can be detected in the New Testament use of δόξα. This is not to say (contra Kittel 1964:237, 247) that the old usage of δόξα meaning 'opinion' had completely disappeared or that the New Testament simply followed the LXX rather than the Greek. Rather it would be better to understand that while δόξα remained within the same lexical field, its semantic range had indeed significantly changed (Bauer 1979:203-204; Newman 1992:153).

# Chapter 7

## Δόξα and its Cognates in 1 Peter

1. Introduction
2. The Occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter 1:1 – 2:10
3. The Occurrence of δόξα in 1 Peter 2:12
4. The Occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter 2:13 – 4:11
5. The Occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter 4:12-19
6. The Occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter 5:1-14
7. Conclusion

### 1. Introduction

Selwyn (1947) noted how often δόξα and its cognates appear in 1 Peter. This study now examines those instances of δόξα and δοξάζω in 1 Peter and considers their usage in their context and in light of the use of the word in the Old Testament and Inter-Testamental literature.

The occurrences of δόξα and its cognates in 1 Peter are examined in their immediate context while considering the overall purpose of the letter.

### 2. The Occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter 1:1 – 2:10

#### 2.1 The context of 1:1 – 2:10

##### 2.1.1 The Wider Context 1:1 – 2:10

Peter's opening salutation (1:1-2) greets those members of the Christian diaspora in Asia Minor who were facing trials due to their faith in Christ. Drawing on language from the OT covenantal tradition and particularly on adjectives with links to Abraham, Moses, the Israelites in Egypt and the covenant made on Mount Sinai (Jobes 2005:59), the apostle deliberately describes the Christian's true relationship with God (chosen (ἐκλεκτοῖς) by him), his new identity with Christ and his purpose in the world.<sup>252</sup> Drawing an analogy between the Jewish Diaspora and his readers' situation, Peter concludes that being a foreigner is a direct consequence of being chosen to participate in the new covenant in Jesus Christ (Smith 2016:42).<sup>253</sup> These believers in Christ are reminded that, despite appearances to the contrary as they endure opposition at a local level, they belong to God's greater community.

The initial body of 1 Peter (1:3 – 2:10) is saturated with OT references concerning Yahweh and his dealings with his chosen people Israel. In this section, Peter states the consequences of entry into and participation within the new covenant of Christ's blood into which the Christians of Asia Minor have entered by the Father's choice and the Spirit's consecration. Peter, seeking to reassure his readers of their relationship with God through Christ, draws a line of continuity between the old Mosaic covenant and the new covenant they enjoy in Christ because of their new birth by God's mercy (1:3b and 2:10).<sup>254</sup> References to the old covenant (election, obedience, sprinkling with blood, sanctification by the Spirit, God's abiding word, a living temple, a new priesthood, a holy nation, God's special possession (λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, 2:9)) are reinterpreted in reference to Christ. God's former call to his chosen people to holiness is repeated here to the followers of Christ who have received new birth by the Holy One (1:15). Peter's readers, like the OT people of God, have similarly been redeemed by the blood sacrifice of the spotless and unblemished lamb, Jesus Christ himself. Through this Christ, the readers are placing their faith in the very God of Israel (1:21). As a consequence, the temple, the central pillar of the old covenant, is reconfigured by Peter into a spiritual entity into which those believers in Christ are being

---

<sup>252</sup> The phrase εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος (1 Pet 1:2) is a clear allusion to the covenant established on Mount Sinai (Ex 24:3-8) (*contra* Beare (1970:77); Goppelt (1993:74) and Michaels (1988:12)). On the mountain, the people of Israel first pledged their obedience (Ex 24:3,7) and were subsequently sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifice (Ex 24:8). Drawing on this, Peter understands the covenant in which his readers rest as one established by God through the blood of Jesus Christ.

<sup>253</sup> This requires reading ἐκλεκτοῖς and παρεπιδήμοις as substantives with the latter in apposition to the former (Achtmeier 1996:82; Cranfield 1960:14; Michaels 1988:6; Jobes 2005:67,75): 'to the chosen, the foreigners of the Diaspora'. Thus, ἐκλεκτοῖς describes the addressees' relationship to God, and παρεπιδήμοις denotes their relationship with society.

<sup>254</sup> These references to God's abundant mercy in 1:3 and 2:10 act as an *inclusio*.

built as living stones. The chief cornerstone and capstone of this spiritual home is the resurrected Christ himself (2:4-8). How one responds to the living Christ will determine their eternal relationship with God (2:6-7).

This opening section, therefore, demonstrates how the old covenant has been transformed into the new by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Those who trust in this Christ have been born anew into a new life with Christ.

### 2.1.2 The Immediate Context

In his opening doxology (1:3-5), Peter describes the reality of the believer's new birth (*ἀναγεννάω*) and life in Christ through his resurrection. This new birth confers upon the Christian a new identity and citizenship,<sup>255</sup> bestows upon them a living hope (*εἰς ἐλπίδα ζωῶσαν*, 1:3) and imperishable inheritance (*εἰς κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον*, 1:4),<sup>256</sup> redefines the Christian's relationship with society (1:5) and transforms their character. These Christians are now heirs and they themselves as well as their inheritance are being kept safe by God until the salvation to be revealed at the end of the age. These Christians are truly blessed with these covenant benefits by the mercy of God, the Father of Jesus Christ (1:3).<sup>257</sup> Peter's choice of verbs (1:4-5) suggests that though heirs by virtue of their faith in Christ, they may still face danger from others in society (*πειρασμοῖς*, 1:6) but they are being watched over by the power of God. God's power guards them until they are ushered into a salvation (*σωτηρίαν*, 1:5) that is now ready to be revealed at the last time (*ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ*).<sup>258</sup> This phrase points to a future eschatological event that has already been fully attained and eternally secured for the believer by the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus. This new birth through Christ's resurrection redefines the believer's status in society (in terms of alienation) and in the kingdom of God (heir of the eternal inheritance). These Christians, thus, participate in the eschatological kingdom and await its future consummation.

## 2.2 1 Peter 1:7,8

### 2.2.1 1 Peter 1:7 - εὐρεθῆ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Having referred to the joy that the new birth brings for Christ's followers and the living hope they now enjoy in this life and the everlasting inheritance that ensues, Peter deals with the suffering that is also part of their Christian identity (1:6-9).<sup>259</sup> Moreover, Peter claims that their present trials due to their faith will result in praise, glory and honour when Jesus Christ is revealed (*εὐρεθῆ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, 1:7).

Although the focus shifts in 1:7 from the future, glorious certainties to the present day trials and suffering, it is clear the eschatological perspective remains to the fore in Peter's thought. Verse 6 begins

---

<sup>255</sup> While Perdelwitz (1911) considered the concept of the 'new birth' as having been borrowed from the mystery religions to describe the initiation of new converts, this has been successfully rebutted by Selwyn (1947:305-09) and Goppelt (1993:82n16). Gundry (1974:1966-67) persuasively contends that 1 Peter includes many allusions to the sayings or actions of Jesus that according to the Gospels occurred in the presence of Peter. According to Gundry, this occurrence of *ἀναγεννάω* in 1 Peter (1:3,23 and 2:2) echoes Jesus' usage of the concept of 'new birth' in John (3:3,7). Compare Schutter (1989:35).

<sup>256</sup> Achtemeier (1996:94,97) and Du Toit (1974:63-64) argue that God bestows three things (hope, inheritance and salvation) to those who receive the new birth. However, their arguments are not convincing as it is probably better to read *εἰς σωτηρίαν* as being governed by *φρουρέω* and not by *ἀναγεννάω*. This makes better sense with Peter's eschatological outlook and implies that the Christians have been given a new birth into salvation that has not yet been revealed. Writing to ostracised believers, Peter, thus, portrays God as the one who protects both the inheritance and the heir until the day of deliverance.

<sup>257</sup> The abundant mercy (*ἔλεος*) of God (1:3) is the basis for the Christian's existence. This echoes the LXX translation of God's covenantal mercy (*חסד*) in the making of the covenant on Mount Sinai (Ex 20:5 and Deut 5:10). Furthermore, God revealed his glory to Moses by identifying himself as 'The LORD, the LORD, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love (*חסד*) and faithfulness' (Ex 34:6).

<sup>258</sup> Downplaying the eschatological aspect of the phrase, Parker (1994:28) understands *ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ* as 'in a season of extremity'. Though Parker's thesis is not convincing (see Tite 1997:77), he rightly notes the believer's present possession of Christ as the reason for his/her eschatological hope. The believer's suffering now is, thus, deliberately set within an eschatological perspective (Jobes 2005:49-51).

<sup>259</sup> Although 1:3-12 form one long sentence in the Greek, the subordinate phrases in 1:6-9 have an intrinsic structure. Moreover, the two uses of *ἀγαλλιᾶσθε* in 1:6 and 1:8 provide an *inclusio*.

with a prepositional phrase and a relative pronoun (ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε). Despite questions concerning the antecedent of the relative pronoun (ᾧ)<sup>260</sup> and the mood of the verb (ἀγαλλιᾶσθε)<sup>261</sup> it is perhaps best to see the ᾧ as referring back to the whole preceding subject of the hope laid up in heaven. This would allow Peter to provide his readers with a perspective from which to reflect on their present sufferings. The readers, who have neither seen Christ themselves nor have any human reason for a glorious future, are urged not to give up hope but to rejoice in the promise of the eternal glory into which they have been born again through Christ's resurrection.

The joy from knowing the eschatological future does not lessen the reality of the sufferings endured in the present. Peter, thus, qualifies their suffering with further encouragements (1:9). The purpose clause in 1:7 indicates that the suffering in view will prove the genuineness of their faith (ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως, 1:7), which, in turn, will result in praise, glory and honour when Christ returns (εὐρεθῆ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1:7).

Thurén's (1995:100) rhetorical examination of 1:6-7 offers three possible related interpretations.

- a. You rejoice despite the suffering, since suffering does not prevent joy (on the contrary)
- b. You are willing even to suffer in order to glorify God
- c. You are willing even to suffer in order to obtain glory<sup>262</sup>

As the author subsequently indicates, it is God who receives the praise and glory (2:9,12; 4:11) because of the faithful behaviour of his people. Therefore, the second interpretation should perhaps be preferred here.<sup>263</sup> However, the other two interpretations are perhaps implied in Peter's thought. The Christians' faith in God will be authenticated to themselves and to others as genuine and will result in eternal glory.

The imagery employed of refined gold through fire was a common symbol for affliction and judgement in Greek (Seneca<sup>264</sup>), Jewish biblical (Ps 66:10ff; Prov 17:3; 27:21; Isa 48:10; Jer 9:7; Zech 13:9 and Mal 3:3) and prophetic thought.<sup>265</sup> Standing in this established tradition, Peter emphasises that the gold that survives purification by fire will not survive the eschatological final fiery judgement. However, the Christian's faith that is proved genuine will be revealed in Christ's return as being more precious than gold or whatever the world can offer. Their faithfulness to Christ because of their new identity and citizenship through the new birth, must necessarily (δεῖ, 1:6) result not in praise, glory and honour, but in suffering at the hands of the world. Nevertheless, their faithfulness will ultimately see God glorified at Christ's eschatological return.

<sup>260</sup> Some (Martin 1992b: 310) take the antecedent of ᾧ to be the preceding phrase (ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ, 1:5) which understands the prepositional phrase as an adverbial expression of time specifying when the believers will rejoice: 'in the last time'. This requires understanding the present ἀγαλλιᾶσθε as a future in sense (Martin 1992b:311 and 2016; Bigg 1901:103). Others (Hort 1898:40) understand the relative pronoun ᾧ as a masculine singular, thus having as an antecedent either θεός or Χριστός in 1:3. However, Du Toit (1974:70-71) is probably correct when he questions whether or not this understanding makes any more sense and prefers to take the relative pronoun as a neuter singular with reference to the entire preceding section (1:3-5). Several scholars share this understanding including Achtemeier (1996:99), Calvin (1963:234), Grudem (1988:60) and Thurén (1995:71).

<sup>261</sup> The mood of ἀγαλλιᾶσθε is ambiguous and it can be taken as a present indicative (you rejoice), a present imperative (rejoice or keep on rejoicing) or a present indicative with future force (you will rejoice). Thurén's (1990) thesis is unconvincing that the ambiguous passages in 1 Peter are part of the author's deliberate ploy to address differing pastoral situations in his broad audience simultaneously (Jobes 2005:93).

<sup>262</sup> Thurén (1995:100) believes that 'this last alternative indicates a new type of motivating factor, willingness to gain something'.

<sup>263</sup> Dubis (2010:14) with the NJB, NLT and TEV believes that this triplet (ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν) has believers rather than God as its object.

<sup>264</sup> See Seneca's proverb *Ignis auram probat, miseria fortes viros* (*Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* - On Providence 5.9).

<sup>265</sup> There are close lexical and conceptual parallels between Sirach 2:1-6 and 1 Peter 1:7 in understanding suffering as a test of faith. Feldmeier (2008:84) notes the similarity between this section of 1 Peter and the Wisdom of Solomon 3:5f.

### 2.2.2 1 Peter 1:8 - πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ

This little unit which starts with a sense of trepidation (1:6) concludes on a note of heightened and exalted joy (ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ, 1:8). Despite the believers possibly experiencing affliction (1:6) and while never ever having seen Jesus personally (ὄν οὐκ ἰδόντες, 1:8)<sup>266</sup>, exultation is a possible and an appropriate response due to their union with Christ (1:8a,b) and their prospect of future salvation (1:9). Some (Goppelt 1993:93-95, Martin 1992b; Michaels 1988:34 and Forbes 2014:26) understand the verb ἀγαλλιᾶσθε (1:8) as a futuristic present, to indicate the joy that the recipients will have when Christ returns. However, this study is convinced by Marshall (1991:42-43) who understands ἀγαλλιᾶσθε as a present tense in order to stand in parallel with the present force of ἀγαπᾶτε, ὀρῶντες and πιστεύοντες (1:8). They who presently love Christ are able to rejoice in him in the present time.

The verb ἀγαλλιάομαι is unattested outside of the Bible and other Christian literature, but it appears throughout the LXX Psalms to express the jubilation of the believer and the worshipping community over their experience of God's goodness and mercy. In light of Peter's first readers' situation, this joy echoes that experienced by God's people of old in difficult situations and alienation (Hab 3:18) and affirms the truth of Christ's invitation to his followers to rejoice and exult in the face of persecution (Matt 5:11-12). The use of the cognate dative (χαρᾷ) and the subsequent doublet (ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ) emphasises the intensity of that joy the believers presently enjoy. The Christian communities are to rejoice with inexpressible and glorious joy.

It is interesting that the perfect passive participle δεδοξασμένη is also used by the LXX in Ex 34:30 to describe the face of Moses after encountering the Glory of the Lord.<sup>267</sup> These suffering Christian believers, who have not yet seen Christ, nevertheless currently rejoice as they share through Christ the very glory and honour of God as Moses himself enjoyed. Their encounter of God's glory in Christ is a present reality with ongoing consequences.

### 2.2.3 Summary of 1 Peter 1:7,8

While some (Elliott 2000:342) understand the members of the suffering Christian community as being the objects of the ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν to be experienced at the revelation of Jesus Christ, it is perhaps better to see these as having God as object. The imagery and the mention of the 'fiery trial' echoes the Jewish prophetic and pseudepigraphical literature where God's glory is revealed to his people in the eschatological last days. As in the OT prophetic literature, the suffering people are offered the hope of an eschatological salvation when Christ comes accompanied with praise, honour and glory. As with the times of Moses and the Psalter, the suffering people of God now gloriously rejoice due to their encounter with Christ whom they have not seen and yet share in his coming glories in the present time.<sup>268</sup>

## 2.3 The Occurrence of δόξα in 1 Peter 1:10-12

Peter insists that the Christians belong to no new-fangled religion, but rather they enjoy the grace promised by God through the Spirit of Christ (τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρούμενον, 1:11)<sup>269</sup> and prophesied to Israel by the prophets of old.<sup>270</sup> Thus, there exists a line of continuity between what

<sup>266</sup> The switch of negatives in 1:8 (οὐκ ἰδόντες ... μὴ ὀρῶντες) is notable. BDF (430.3) takes the οὐκ with the participle as emphasising more the 'inactuality' of the past seeing. Compare also Martin (1992a:67fn) who notes that 'the author can factually state that they have not seen him, but he cannot be so sure about the present' as Jesus himself may return at any time.

<sup>267</sup> In Ex 34:30, δεδοξασμένη is used to translate יָרַק (to shine). It is interesting that the passive form of δοξάζω is also used twice to describe Moses' experience of God's glory in Ex 24:29,35.

<sup>268</sup> Compare Polycarp's adaptation of this verse in his *Letter to the Philippians* 1:3 – εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ δεδοξασμένη.

<sup>269</sup> The verb προμαρτυρομαι does not appear elsewhere in the NT, the LXX, or contemporary secular Greek. This prior witness to the sufferings and glories of the Christ on the part of the prophets of old is balanced by Peter's 'full witness' (ἐπιμαρτυρῶν, 5:12; cf. 5:1) to these same sufferings and glories.

<sup>270</sup> The identity of the prophets (OT prophets or contemporary prophets of Peter) will depend on how one construes εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα (1:11). Selwyn (1947:259-68), Dunn (1980:159) and Warden (1989:1-12) understand the phrase as referring to the sufferings (Messianic woes) of God's people as they await the return of Christ. Therefore, the prophets are understood to embrace all who stand in the prophetic tradition including the

God is doing now and what he did previously in and through Israel. The Christian believers in Asia Minor are reassured that they belong to this ancient tradition and that they are privileged in knowing the gospel that is the fulfilment of God's promised and once mysterious plan. The 'Spirit of Christ' revealed the sufferings and glories of the Messiah to the prophets and the Christian communities are the beneficiaries of the historical actualisation of the message in the life and death of Jesus Christ (προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας, 1 Pet 1:11). The gospel the Christians preach and receive stands in continuity with the message of the OT prophets.

### 2.3.1 1 Peter 1:11 - προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας

The phrase ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας (1:11) is unique in the OT and NT and constitutes a significant indication of Peter's Christology, theological focus and hermeneutical perspective (Elliott 2000:347). The term τὰ παθήματα is an important theme for Peter as he addresses the suffering of his original readers. Apart from an earlier allusion to his death (1:2), this is the first explicit reference to the sufferings of Christ.<sup>271</sup>

The combination of the sufferings destined for (or: because of) Christ and the subsequent glories (δόξας) is also unique. While the Isaianic portrayal of the Suffering Servant and his subsequent glory may provide a conceptual antecedent (Elliott 2000:347), the terms τὰ πάθηματα and δόξα (singular) are employed together by Paul in a non-Christological reference to the sufferings of this present time which are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed (Rom 8:18). However, the closest parallel to this Petrine formulation is found in Hebrews 2:9-10 where again δόξα is found in the singular. What is noteworthy is that the preceding context (Heb 2:6-8) contains a citation of Psalm 8:5-7 (LXX) which makes it clear that Hebrews 2:8b-10 is an adaptation of Psalm 8.

Psalm 8:6	Hebrews 2:8b-10	1 Peter 1:11
<p><sup>6</sup> ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν</p>	<p><sup>8b</sup> Νῦν δὲ οὐπω ὄρωμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα·  <sup>9</sup> τὸν δὲ βραχὺ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον, ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσῃται θανάτου.  <sup>10</sup> ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι.</p>	<p><sup>11</sup> ἐραυνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας.</p>

The concept of Christ's coronation with glory and honour in Hebrews 2:8b-10 is clearly drawn from Psalm 8:6 and is a consequence of his suffering and death. The linguistic differences between Hebrews 2:9-10 and 1 Peter 1:11 (see table) rules out direct literary dependence; however, both passages independently and succinctly restate a common Christian tradition which summarises the two major emphases of Christ's life: his sufferings (and death) and his (resurrection and) glorification by God (Elliott 2000:348). In juxtaposition with sufferings, glories (glory in the singular (4:13; 5:1)) denote, as the wider context indicates, Christ's resurrection or being made alive or being enthroned by God (1:3,21;

Christian prophets. However, the succeeding reference to the 'prior witness' of these prophets and the contrast between them and the Christian believers (1:12) makes this proposal unlikely. Dubis (2002:108-110) and Achtemeier (1996:108-09) provide useful critiques of Selwyn and Warden's position.

<sup>271</sup> While some assume the presence of the genitive, Χριστοῦ, and translate 'the sufferings of Christ', others have understood the prepositional phrase τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα differently. Some have interpreted the εἰς to connote advantage ('sufferings in Christ's cause', REB, Selwyn 1947:136) while others (Scott (1905:237) and tentatively Hillyer (1970:26) though he changed mind in his later commentary (1992:42)) have taken it temporally: 'the sufferings that lead up to the Messiah's return'. Jobes (2005:99-100) lists the evidence from the syntax elsewhere in the NT that leads her to take this as a reference to the sufferings of Christ. This conclusion also fits in well with theme of suffering in 1 Peter and the references to the sufferings of Christ (τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων) where the genitive is explicit.

3:18,22) as well as being 'elected' or 'honoured' by God after his rejection by humankind (2:4; 3:22). For Elliott (2000:348) this juxtaposition constitutes 'a Petrine variation on a common early Christian tradition and conception of Jesus Christ's suffering-death-resurrection-glorification-life as a single salvatory event.' In this enthroned and glorified state, Christ will return (5:1) and those who believe in him and persevere will share in his glory (1:7; 4:13).

Of the ten occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter, this (δόξας) is the only plural form and the only plural usage in the entire New Testament. Some have questioned if this juxtaposition of Christ's sufferings and the subsequent glory should be limited to Christ himself.<sup>272</sup> Those (Schutter (1989:107-08) and Dubis (2002:110-117)) who embrace a messianic woes interpretation of τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα understand 1 Peter 1:11 as referring also to the sufferings of the Christian readers. This interpretation depends on understanding τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα as referring to more than Jesus.<sup>273</sup> Dubis (2002:110-117), assuming both the collective and personal dimensions of the phrase τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα, understands that the plural δόξας embraces a broader reality than just Jesus' own experience of resurrection and ascension and indicates a wider hope to be experienced by the Christian community.<sup>274</sup> However, while it is evident from the prepositional phrase that Christ is the recipient of the sufferings, it would be appropriate to acknowledge that the suffering of Peter's first readers may have been on his mind.<sup>275</sup>

While the unusual plural δόξας may simply have been designed to balance its plural counterpart, παθήματα (Elliott 2000:348), it is perhaps better to understand the sufferings as Christ's own and the 'glories' as his glorious post-crucifixion events of resurrection, ascension, proclamation of victory over the imprisoned spirits and heavenly exaltation (1 Pet 3:18-21; Michaels 1988:45).

### 2.3.2 Summary of 1 Peter 1:11

This plural usage of δόξα seems to refer to the glory that is experienced by the resurrected Christ and which belongs to his divine kingly status. There are echoes here to those OT references of the glory that belong inherently to God himself as King over his world and his people.<sup>276</sup>

## 2.4 The Occurrence of δόξα in 1 Peter 1:21

The study now examines the occurrence of δόξα in 1 Peter 1:21.

### 2.4.1 The Wider Context of 1 Peter 1:13-21

Peter now moves from doxology to exhortation and details the appropriate response that should be made by those who have received God's mercy in Christ (1:13-21).<sup>277</sup> The author's exhortation is based on God's character and the believer's new status in a father-child relationship. The followers of Christ are to reflect the character of his divine Father.<sup>278</sup> The section also focusses on the theme of holiness (1:14-17) which is to be shown by those redeemed from their futile way of life inherited from their ancestors by the very precious blood of Christ (1:18-21).<sup>279</sup> The redeemed are, thus, to live out their new status as children of God.

<sup>272</sup> Schutter (1989:123-68) found the antithesis 'sufferings/glories', set forth programmatically in 1:10-12, to be an 'organizing principle' for 1 Peter; so similarly Richard (2000:15-16; 19-20) and Dubis (2002).

<sup>273</sup> Those who advocate that 1:11 includes the suffering of Jesus and that of his people, suggest that Χριστός should be understood as a title (Messiah) rather than as a personal name (Hort 1898:54-55).

<sup>274</sup> Dubis (2002:115) sees this use of the plural (δόξας) as echoing the message of hope proclaimed by the OT prophets prior to the exile. It is against this wider background of future glorious anticipation, that Christian interpretation of OT passages prophesying the crucifixion of Jesus (Isa 53) should be understood. Compare Schutter's (1989:107) contribution highlighting the suffering-glory theme of the OT prophets who predict the judgement of Israel and the future blessings that will eventually come to pass.

<sup>275</sup> Luther (1967:23) and Calvin (1963:240) understood τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα to encompass both the sufferings of Jesus and those of the readers. Compare also Best (1971:83-84).

<sup>276</sup> For OT references to God's inherent glory see Ex 33:18-19; 34:6-7; Ps 8:1; 19:1; Isa 42:5.

<sup>277</sup> The letter does not introduce an entirely new or different section in 1:13, but commences an exposition of the moral implications of what has already appeared. Contra Martin (1992a:69-79; 161-88).

<sup>278</sup> The emphasis on 'hope' (ἐλπίς, 1:13b, 1:21c) forms an inclusion marking the opening and closing of the section.

<sup>279</sup> The unit has a chiasmic structure uniting the themes of hope and holiness as reborn children of God (Elliott 2000:355).

After highlighting the redeeming qualities of the blood of Christ, the section concludes with Χριστοῦ (1:19) emphatically positioned in order to act as the referent of the participles (προεγνωσμένου, φανερωθέντος) in 1:20 (Achteemeier 1996:129). Peter thus presents the foreknowledge of Christ's redeeming death before the foundation of the world as corresponding to God's electing foreknowledge (1:2). From the farthest imaginable reaches of past time (προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, 1:20a) and God's prehistoric foreknowledge and salvific intent, the passage moves to the revelation of this salvation on earth through Christ during the last times for the sake of the author and his readers (φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων δι' ὑμᾶς, 1:20b). The use of the two passives (προγιγνώσκω, φανερώω) implies that God is the agent in the ushering in of the last times through the life, death and resurrection of Christ, the first advent of Jesus Christ in human history.<sup>280</sup>

#### 2.4.2 1 Peter 1:21 - τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα

The focus that shifted from the Christological formulation towards the readers in 1:20b (δι' ὑμᾶς) continues in 1:21 (τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς θεόν).<sup>281</sup> However, the 'through him', makes it clear that the Christ, foreknown and manifested by God, is the one in whom the people are to trust and in this trusting their faith and hope are in God (ὥστε τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι εἰς θεόν). To have faith and hope in Christ is to have faith and hope in God himself.

With the phrase τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα the focus returns to God's exultation of Christ as the ultimate basis for the Christian's hope and trust. This belief that God raised Christ from the dead is central in the New Testament (including 1 Pet 1:3,21; 3:21), a recurrent subject of recorded Christian proclamation and a prominent theme in early Christian tradition. Indeed the resurrection of Jesus Christ figures prominently in the recorded preaching of Peter (Acts 2:24,32; 3:13,15; 4:10; 5:30; 17:31) with whom this letter is associated. Set in the context of Jesus' passion and resurrection, the Gospel of John speaks of God's glorifying the Son (13:31-32; 17:1,5) and 'giving him glory' (τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι, 17:22).

This formulation (1:21) which combines 'who raised him from the dead' with 'and gave him glory' is unique in the New Testament, but combines the author's favourite themes of suffering and the glory of Christ (1:11; 4:13; 5:1). Significantly, the verse echoes the words attributed to the Apostle Peter in Acts 3:13,15 which seem to be a recalling of Isa 52:13 (LXX).<sup>282</sup>

1 Peter 1:21	Acts 3:13, 15	Isa 52:13 (LXX)
τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα	ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ [ὁ θεὸς] Ἰσαὰκ καὶ [ὁ θεὸς] Ἰακώβ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε καὶ ἠρνήσασθε κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου, κρίναντος ἐκείνου ἀπολύειν· ... τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνετε ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὗ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρές ἐσμεν.	ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου καὶ ὑψωθήσεται καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα

Likewise in 1 Peter, Jesus' resurrection and glorification is a demonstration of his acceptance, honouring and vindication by God despite human rejection (compare 2:4,6-8; 3:18,22). The honour and glorification of the suffering Christ acts as a surety of the glory and honour the suffering believers will one day experience if they remain faithful (compare 1:7; 4:13-16; 5:1). Verse 21 ends (ὥστε τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν καὶ

<sup>280</sup> The reading ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων (1:20) has stronger manuscript support (including  $\aleph$ , A, B, C) than the alternatives which include ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν (last of the days) and ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου (end of the age).

<sup>281</sup> The distinctive use of the adjective πιστοὺς is to be preferred as the original reading over the variant participle forms of πιστεύω which may have been adopted to help conform the unusual usage into a more common expression (Metzger 1994:617 and Jobes 2005:121).

<sup>282</sup> Pearson (2001:110) recognises the author's dependency upon Isaiah 52-53 in 1 Peter 1:18-21.

ἐλπίδα εἶναι εἰς θεόν) with the explicit purpose of Christ's manifestation, resurrection and glorification by God; namely that the believers' hope and trust are directed toward and placed in God.<sup>283</sup>

### 2.4.3 Summary of 1 Peter 1:21

The believers who are called to be holy are to entrust themselves to God. This exaltation and glorification of Christ by God is the ultimate basis for all Christian hope and trust. This vindication of Christ who has entered and received the glory of God has echoes of both Moses' encounter with God's glory (Ex 6) and the references to the apocalyptic glory of the Lord as experienced by the prophetic tradition (Isa 40-66; Ezek 43-44; Dan 7:14). The followers of Christ are, thus, assured of experiencing this same glory of God through the agency of Christ.

### 2.5 The Occurrence of δόξα in 1 Peter 1:22 – 2:3

The occurrence of glory in 1 Peter 1:24 is unique in the epistle as it discusses man's own inherent glory rather than that belonging to Christ in which the believers are partakers and will one-day experience more fully. The quotation from Isaiah 40 and its context provides further insight into Peter's purpose in addressing his suffering audience.

#### 2.5.1 The Immediate Context of 1 Peter 1:24

In 1:22 – 2:3, Peter now proceeds with two further moral and ethical implications. These instructions cover how the Christians are to live and love earnestly in community with one another (1:22) and to grow in Christ by craving pure spiritual milk (2:2).<sup>284</sup>

Peter's emphasis in 1:22-25 is on the believers being born again by the living and abiding word of God that is an imperishable seed.<sup>285</sup> This new birth should naturally lead to genuine and earnest brotherly love (εἰς φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον, 1:22). How believers love one another is evidence of their having set themselves apart (τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες, 1:22) by their previous obedience to the truth.<sup>286</sup> This command to love earnestly is further qualified by a second causal participle, ἀναγεγεννημένοι (1:23), which links back to the image of rebirth that appears in 1:3. The implication is that the new birth generates spiritual life from imperishable seed, the living and enduring word of God.

#### 2.5.2 1 Peter 1:24 - διότι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου

The eternal permanence and quality of that new life given by God to all who by faith enter the new covenant of Christ's blood is contrasted with that mortal life (πᾶσα σὰρξ)<sup>287</sup> that grows from the perishable seed (human procreation). The conclusion is clear: all human glory (πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς), even the most impressive flowering, is, like grass, short-lived and will inevitably perish (ἐξέπεσεν). In 1:24-25, Peter substantiates his contention of the eternal imperishability of the regenerative word by quoting from

<sup>283</sup> Dalton (1974:273-74) takes ἐλπίδα as a predicate nominative ('so that your faith may also be your hope in God'). This is supported by Elliott (2000:379). However, Grudem (1988:86) has helpfully noted the statistical unlikelihood of this syntactical construction. Thus, the reading 'so that your trust and hope may be directed to God' should be preferred.

<sup>284</sup> Van Rensburg (2009a) helpfully suggests that Peter's exhortation to the newborn infants (ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη (2:2)) to long for the pure spiritual milk as those who have εἰ ἐγεύσασθε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος (1 Pet 2:3) is part of the "re-begetting" and resultant new birth' of 1 Peter 1:3. The Christians are thus obliged to live as God's children.

<sup>285</sup> The adjectival participles 'living' (ζῶντος) and 'enduring' (μένοντος) are used of God in Dan 6:25, but here they modify God's word (λόγου). The textual variants (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας) modifying μένοντος have weak support and appear to be prompted by μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα in 1:25.

<sup>286</sup> The perfect tense of the participle ἡγνικότες (consecrate, 1:22) indicates the believers' state and implies the moral nature of this consecration. While the verb is used consistently in the LXX and in the Gospels and Acts to refer to a ceremonial ritual in which an individual consecrates oneself to God, the argument of Preisker (1951) and Cross (1954) that 1 Peter was originally a baptismal liturgy and that the baptism took place between 1:21 and 1:22 is now generally discredited. There is nothing in the context to suggest that a baptism is envisaged or being re-enacted (Jobes 2005:123-24).

<sup>287</sup> Elliott (2000:390) notes that πᾶσα σὰρξ 'is a conventional phrase meaning humanity in its totality'.

Isaiah 40:6-8 (LXX).<sup>288</sup> For Peter, Isaiah's abiding word of the Lord is the very message that has been preached to his readers.

In an age of Roman imperial power and glory, Peter emphasises that even these great human glories are quickly fading in comparison to the greater glory of Christ and his suffering (1:11). God's powerful word creates an eternal reality into which these suffering Christians have been included. This reality is of greater splendour and majesty than that of Rome. The fuller significance of this quotation from Isaiah 40:6-8 in 1 Peter is observed by noting Isaiah's original context – the consolation of Israel now exiled in Babylon.<sup>289</sup> Isaiah's words brought comfort and the hope of salvation to the oppressed who believed God had forgotten them and rejected his covenant people forever (Oswalt 1998:49). Peter appropriates this ancient reassurance of the Lord's continuing covenant towards his people and applies it to these Christians in Asia Minor.<sup>290</sup> Moreover, Peter adopts the gospel tradition's use of Isaiah 40 to herald Jesus and identify him as Messiah (Mark 1:1-3.) This Jesus is the fulfilment of Isaiah's promised theophany of Yahweh. For Peter, Isaiah's abiding word of the Lord has been preached to the Apostle's audience. God's promises to his people endure forever to all generations and cultures. As a result, the suffering exilic people of Asia Minor are reassured that they will be delivered in the future and that the power of the nations will not prevail or endure.

### 3. The Occurrence of *δόξα* in 1 Peter 2:12

The study now examines the occurrence of *δόξα* in 1 Peter 2:12.

#### 3.1 The Surrounding Context - 1 Peter 2:11-17

The opening section of the letter reaches its climax in 1 Peter 2:4-10. Here Peter's emphasis is on the community of believers, not in terms of their relationships with other Christians (1:13 – 2:2), but in terms of the community's relationship to God through Christ and his redemptive work and their resulting connection with other believers. Peter continues to draw heavily on the OT<sup>291</sup> while seeing these passages against the new reality inaugurated by Christ's resurrection. The close relationship between Christ and his church is affirmed by the Living stone/living stones correspondence (2:4-5). Peter's argument is that those believers who are recipients of God's mercy respond to Christ and, thus, become part of God's people by means of this new birth and not by natural descent.<sup>292</sup>

The discourse in 1 Peter 2:11 – 4:11 forms the middle of the letter body. In this section, Peter builds on the truth of the Christians' identity as God's people and instructs his readers how they are to live in right relationships with their non-Christian neighbours in an increasingly hostile society. In this section, Peter furnishes his readers with two principles to help them live in the face of opposition: (i) their allegiance to God in Christ does not exempt them from submitting to pagan authority; and (ii) they must maintain their identity as Christ's holy people and consequently be prepared to suffer unjustly.<sup>293</sup> Peter, thus, employs a theological argument to support his teaching: the example of Jesus Christ himself (2:21-24).

#### 3.2 The Immediate Context of 1 Peter 2:12

1 Peter 2:11-12 marks the transition into the heart of Peter's main argument (2:11-4:11). In this opening, Peter warmly exhorts the beloved (*ἀγαπητοί*) to live rightly and faithfully to Christ as sojourner exiles (*ὡς παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους*) among their non-Christian neighbours who are slandering and rejecting the members of Christ's church as evildoers. The specific danger noted here is that the new identity and

---

<sup>288</sup> The conjunction, *διότι*, on its own is an elliptical formulation with the 'is' implied to introduce citations from Scripture (see also 1:16 and 2:6). Schutter (1989:124-26) examines 1 Peter's quotation of the LXX version of Isa 40:6-8 and most notably the omission of the Hebrew MT Isa 40:7. Variant readings may well have arisen from scribal attempts to conform the quotation in 1 Peter to that of the LXX.

<sup>289</sup> Selwyn (1947:152), Hanson (1995:13-14), Elliott (2000:390) and Jobes (2005:125-30) highlight the wider context of Isa 40:3-9, 11.

<sup>290</sup> Peter's contrast between the transitory nature of the Roman Empire and the eternal permanence of God's eternal word spoken in Jesus Christ would have been very reassuring to his readers (Achte-meier 1996:142).

<sup>291</sup> Peter quotes or alludes to six passages from the LXX – Ps 117:22 [118:2 Eng]; Ex 19:5-6; Isa 8:14; 28:16; 43:20-21; and Hos 2:25 [2:23 Eng].

<sup>292</sup> Peter's implication in 2:10 is clear that as unbelievers do not receive God's mercy they are not part of God's new community.

<sup>293</sup> Thurén (1995:86-87) helpfully notes that Peter's approach prevents the twin temptations of open resistance to opposing authorities and adopting a passive privatizing of their Christian faith.

new life of the believers in Christ is threatened by sinful desires. Peter's exhortation is twofold. The Christians are to abstain from sinful desires (ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, 2:11)<sup>294</sup> and maintain a good way of life among the nations/Gentiles (τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, 2:12).<sup>295</sup> Peter's exhortation to the Christians to abstain from the desires of the flesh (2:11-12) and conduct themselves honourably among the non-Christians, is motivated by the Christians' identity as the people of God. The ethics they are to exhibit in abstaining from the desires of the flesh are a direct response to those who malign them as evildoers and in so doing follow the pattern of self-submission and suffering as demonstrated and experienced by Jesus Christ (Van Rensburg (2006) and Le Roux (2018)).

### 3.3 1 Peter 2:12 - ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς

The previous negative admonition (2:11) is balanced by a positive injunction<sup>296</sup> that concerns the winsome effect Christian conduct can have on even hostile outsiders (2:12).<sup>297</sup> The recurrence of the cognate noun, ἀναστροφή, in 2:12 forms a parallel contrast with the phrase ἐν φόβῳ ... ἀναστράφητε ('live in reverent fear') in 1:17. Peter's point is that God is not the only one watching. The non-Christians are also carefully scrutinizing the conduct of these Christian sojourners and exiles. Therefore, these Christians ought to behave in such a way that even the non-believers recognise as good.<sup>298</sup> However, it should be no surprise if these non-Christians still speak against<sup>299</sup> the Christians as evildoers (ὡς κακοποιῶν, 2:12) because they would be regarded as different and suspected of deviating from society's norms (Johnson 1989).<sup>300</sup>

Peter argues that the non-Christians' false charges (ὡς κακοποιῶν) against the Christians are effectively discredited as they observe the good deeds of the believers in Christ (ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες, 2:12).<sup>301</sup> At the same time, it constitutes the basis for the non-Christians reversal of behaviour as noted in v12d (δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς). Elliott (2000:468) rightly notes that the implied sequence of events is: 'slander/ observance of good deeds/ glorification of God'. Despite the difficulty of the present tense ἐποπτεύοντες,<sup>302</sup> it is perhaps best to take the prepositional phrase (ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες, 2:12) with δοξάσωσιν which takes into consideration the strong parallels

<sup>294</sup> Peter's exhortation to abstain from the desires of human nature would have been readily accepted by many non-Christians. It is likely that the desires of human nature that Peter has in mind does not include sexual desires, but rather refers to the human nature to retaliate when being discriminated against. The noun ἐπιθυμιῶν is used to refer to any uncurbed human impulses, but in this context it seems to be limited to the inclination to retaliate. For examples of ἐπιθυμιῶν in the Greek ethical tradition see Plato (*Phaedo* 83B; 82C cf *Laws* 8.835E). The concept is also discussed in the Jewish ethical tradition (Philo *Spec.* 4.79-131; 4.84-85).

<sup>295</sup> This good way of life is contrasted with the previously mentioned 'useless way of life' (ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς) in which Peter's first readers once lived (1:18).

<sup>296</sup> In 2:12 the participle ἔχοντες has imperatival force as in 3:16 and 4:8. It presents a positive counterpart to the preceding verb ἀπέχεσθαι (2:11) of the same root ('avoid' or 'hold off from').

<sup>297</sup> The stress throughout 1 Peter on honourable conduct is notable (2:12c, 14-15, 20; 3:1, 2 6 10-11, 16-17, 20; 4:18-19). Elliott (2000:466) notes that the concept of καλός and ἀγαθός played a prominent role in Greek social life and that those who practiced such good deeds were the most honoured citizens.

<sup>298</sup> Peter recognises that his readers can live by Christian values in such a way that even the non-Christian neighbours recognise as good in terms of their own standards. Volf (1994:25) argues that 1 Peter 'presupposes overlap between Christian and non-Christian constellations of values'.

<sup>299</sup> The indicative of the verb (καταλαλοῦσιν, v12) should be preferred here rather than the subjunctive variant (καταλαλωσιν). Elliott (2000:467) helpfully lists those instances of other verbs in 1 Peter that seem to indicate the existence of actual hostile verbal abuse and slander aimed towards the Christians by non-Christians.

<sup>300</sup> Benko (1980:1055-1118) notes that Christians were regularly marginalised by first-century Greek-Roman society and often dismissed with pejorative terms ('evildoers' (ὡς κακοποιῶν)). Note Suetonius *Nero*, 16.2; Tacitus, *Annals* 44; Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 1.11-12, 7.

<sup>301</sup> The double use of the adjective καλός in 2:12 describes behaviour that is good, just and honourable in the sight of both God and society. Elliott (2000:469) provides a useful description of what Jewish and gentile societies would have considered καλῶν ἔργων. See also Van Unnik (1954-55).

<sup>302</sup> It is likely that the variant aorist participle, ἐποπτεύσαντες, ('having observed', A P, Ψ, M, Clem *et al*) was substituted to emphasise the logical priority of observance to the main verb δοξάσωσιν (2:12d). Hort (1898:137) and Achtemeier (1996:178) prefer to understand the participle as referring to the unbelievers' future remembrance of the believers' past good works.

with the Jesus tradition (compare Matt 5:16) that presents 'seeing good works' as resulting in 'glorifying' God.

This honourable behaviour by Christians results not simply in the refutation of the non-Christian slander as baseless but the moving of these erstwhile detractors to glorify the God of the Christians<sup>303</sup> on the day of his visitation (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς, 2:12d). From the earliest days of the church, Christians were to strive for a good reputation among non-Christians (1 Thess 4:11-12; 1 Cor 10:32; Col 4:5; 1 Tim 3:7).<sup>304</sup> However, the purpose of such honourable living is that the Christians may be joined by others who will, in turn, also declare God's glory in the day of visitation (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς). In contrast to those who understand this visitation as an event experienced by an individual,<sup>305</sup> the likelihood is that ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς be understood as God's visitation on that eschatological day of judgement (compare 1 Pet 1:5,7,13; 4:7,13; 5:1).<sup>306</sup> It is preferable, given 1 Peter's frequent use of themes from Isaiah (Pearson 2000), to see this passage standing in the tradition of Isaianic passages that mention the strong and ruthless nations ultimately glorifying and honouring God in the future.<sup>307</sup>

עַל־כֵּן יִכְבְּדוּךָ עַם־עֹז קִרְיַת גּוֹיִם עָרִיצִים יִרְאוּךָ: Isaiah 25:3

### 3.4 Summary of 1 Peter 2:12

In this passage, Peter encourages the believers to live out their faith in Christ as good examples in order that those neighbours and present opponents of the Christian faith may realise that they are first of all good citizens in society. Moreover, Peter's injunction and hope is that through such behaviour the non-Christians may glorify God at the coming day of Christ's return. In holding this belief, Peter stands in the prophetic tradition that longed for the day when the enemies of Yahweh would come to a realisation of the Lord and glorify him. Peter's Christology explicitly identifies Jesus as the same Yahweh whose glory and appearance in the last day was promised in Isaiah and the prophetic literature.

## 4. The Occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter 2:13 – 4:11

Before examining the occurrences of the verb (δοξάζεται) and the noun (δόξα) in 1 Peter 4:11, this study considers the preceding content and the author's purpose in addressing his readers.

### 4.1 A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 2:18-25

Peter continues the main section of his epistle by specifying that citizens of God's holy nation are to submit to the non-Christian institutions of the day (ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον, 1 Pet 2:13). Moreover, the Christians are not simply to submit but to actively do good as God's slaves in a society that actively slanders and oppresses Christ's people (1 Pet 2:14).<sup>308</sup>

In 2:18-25, Peter addresses the household servants (οἱ οἰκέται), the most vulnerable member of Graeco-Roman society, and makes him the paradigm for the Christian believer threatened by, or already experiencing, the loss of status and power in society.<sup>309</sup> Christians, regardless of their social standing,

<sup>303</sup> The variant ὑμῶν ('your', P<sup>72</sup>) makes explicit that it is the God of the Christians who is in view here.

<sup>304</sup> Daube (1956:338) notes that in Jewish thought the honour and dishonour of God were determined by how outsiders viewed the deeds of his people. Jobes (2005:172) detects a sense of this understanding here in 1 Peter.

<sup>305</sup> Some commentators (Beare 1970:164; Elliott 2000:470-71; Selwyn 1947:171 and Calvin 1963:268) understand the day of visitation to be that time when God intervenes in the unbeliever's life with the offer of salvation.

<sup>306</sup> Achtemeier (1996:178) and Michaels (1988:118) have rightly noted the eschatological emphasis in 1 Peter.

<sup>307</sup> Isa 25:3 uses the verb כָּבַד to describe the response to Yahweh of these once ruthless enemies of God's people. Moreover, Isa 60:9ff contains the future hope of the nations coming from all over the world to honour God, rebuild his city (Jerusalem) and assist his people. This hopeful element of the non-believers glorifying God is a common feature in Jewish literature (Test Naph 8:4; 1 Enoch 63; Test Jud 25:5; 1QS IV 26, IX 23, X 17-21; Let Aris 234; Ign. Eph 10:1-3).

<sup>308</sup> For a useful discussion on the nature of Christian doing good as raised in 1 Peter 2:13-17 and elsewhere in the epistle see Van Unnik (1954-55), Reicke (1964); Sleeper (1968); Elliott (1981); Winter (1988) and Spencer (2000).

<sup>309</sup> There has been considerable scholarly interest in the origin, purpose and function of Graeco-Roman 'Household Codes' ('*Haustafeln*') in the New Testament epistles (1 Pet 2:18-3:7; Eph 5:21-6:9 and Col 3:18-4:1). Various hypotheses are offered by Crouch (1972), Balch (1981, 1984, 1988), Elliott (2000); Goppelt

are the slaves of God and should obey him in everything (1 Pet 2:16). Peter urges them to submit in a way that follows the example of Jesus Christ, the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53,<sup>310</sup> who submitted to unjust suffering in order to fulfil God's plan of salvation. Peter's Christology, thus, provides the undergirding principle for right living in society's most common structure, the household. For Peter, household servants (οικέται, 2:18)<sup>311</sup> who are to submit to their masters (2:21a), are paradigmatic for all Christians regardless of status (Achte-meier 1993:177; 1996:195; Campbell 1998; Elliott 1981:207). As slaves of God, they are all to follow Christ the Suffering Servant and should therefore not be perturbed when suffering unjustly.

#### 4.2 A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 3:1-7

Peter then addresses Christian wives (3:1-6) and husbands (3:7) whose conversion and new faith in Christ may well have led to conflict with their non-Christian spouses and could have given rise to accusations of subversion from members of Graeco-Roman society.<sup>312</sup> The believing spouses' behaviour in their marriages may also have been used as a means of criticising the new religious faith, its beliefs and its practices. Using the same injunction to believing household servants, and without going into specifics, Peter encourages Christian wives to submit to their husbands. Peter's twofold hope is that by submitting to their husbands, the new faith will be protected from accusation of being socially disruptive and that the non-believing husband may also be attracted to the Christian faith. Peter addresses women and employs the Jewish example of Sarah's submission to Abraham rather than seeking support from Greek teaching on the ideal woman (Plutarch *Advice* 48 and Xenophon *Oeconomicus* 7.1-10.13) and the expectations of contemporary Roman society.<sup>313</sup> In so doing, Peter subverts the Graeco-Roman culture by offering a spiritual ancestor as an example of godly and moral behaviour of the female marriage partner.

Peter concludes this pericope by exhorting husbands (3:7), a group who were able to exercise the most authority.<sup>314</sup> These Christian men are exhorted to honour the women in their households who are under their authority.<sup>315</sup> This was a radical departure from the attitude of much of contemporary Graeco-Roman culture, which regarded women as inferior. Peter is highlighting that these Christian women also enjoy the status of co-heirs of the grace in Christ.<sup>316</sup>

---

(1993:162-79) and Volf (1994). See Jobes (2005:181-87) for a useful overview and a list of the ancient historical Graeco-Roman sources that discuss the household.

<sup>310</sup> This is the only passage in the New Testament that explicitly identifies Jesus as the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 (Watts 1998).

<sup>311</sup> For a discussion of Οἱ οἰκέται see Van Wyk and Van Rensburg (1995).

<sup>312</sup> Oborn (1939:133-137) noted that a woman choosing a religion other than her husband's dishonoured the Graeco-Roman ideal of an orderly home which was believed to be founded on religious forces. Christians were often criticised for upsetting the religious status quo of the empire by subverting household relations (see Fren-d 1967).

<sup>313</sup> Sly (1991) notes that Peter readily uses the example of Sarah despite the apparent reluctance of Jewish writers (Philo and Josephus) living in Graeco-Roman society who may have been embarrassed by examples of Abraham's obedience to his wife (Gen 16:2,6; 21:12). Martin (1999:146) and Kiley (1987) have speculated on the literary basis of Peter's reference to Sarah. Van Rensburg (2004) helpfully provides a socio-historic interpretation of this exhortation to wives using Sarah's submissiveness to Abraham as an example to adopt.

<sup>314</sup> It is probably best to understand the participle συνοικοῦντες (live with) as imperatival as also in the exhortations to slaves (2:18) and wives (3:1) (see Michaels 1988:167, contra Achtemeier 1996:217).

<sup>315</sup> Some (Best 1971:127; Elliott 200:582) understand the women as Christian wives, others (Gross 1989) see the wives as being non-Christians. It is not impossible that Peter has in mind unbelieving wives or even wives who have reluctantly become Christians due to their husband's conversion. However, the substantive use of the adjective γυναικείῳ (female) may well indicate that Peter is exhorting Christian men to respect all the women living in his household (Achtemeier 1996:217; Grudem 1988:77).

<sup>316</sup> The phrase ὡς καὶ συγκληρονόμοις may be translated 'as even a coheir' implying that the woman may not yet be a believer but is still to be treated with the same level of respect as if she was a follower of Christ (Jobes 2005:207).

### 4.3 A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 3:8-12

In 1 Peter 3:8-12,<sup>317</sup> the author concludes the section that began in 2:13 and lists those qualities to be shown by all Christians in their relationships with those from the wider communities in which they live.<sup>318</sup> Peter's encouragements define the way the believers in Christ are to respond to evil and insult regardless of the perpetrators (3:8). The qualities that should characterize the Christians are those that were commonly used with reference to kinship obligations.<sup>319</sup> Through their new birth by God the Father (1:3-4), the Christians have become a new family community with the requisite obligations to build both individual character and reinforce social cohesion among the believers as a new countercultural society. Peter uses Graeco-Roman ethical vocabulary to prepare his audience to exhibit consistently these distinctive qualities in their relationships with Christian believers and non-Christians.

From 3:8 – 4:19, Peter instructs his Christian readers how to live in the face of opposition and hostility from the non-Christians in society suspicious of the followers of this new religion.<sup>320</sup> Instead of retaliating to verbal attacks in order to defend one's honour and that of the Christian community, the Christians are to bless positively (εὐλογέω, 3:9, see Van Rensburg 2009b) their enemies and by so doing follow the teaching (Luke 6:27-28) and example of Jesus.<sup>321</sup> The Christians are to bless others in order that they might reflect their new identity in Christ, on which their experience of God's future blessing depends.<sup>322</sup> Peter (3:10-12) grounds his exhortation to return blessing for evil and insult on Psalm 34:13-17 (Ps 33:12-16 LXX). While Psalm 34 was contextualised by the translator of the LXX who understood it as referring to David's sojourning away from Judah (παροικιῶν, Ps 33:5 (LXX)), Peter extends the Psalm to apply it to the Christian community who are also experiencing a time of sojourning and exile. As David was delivered by God, so also will these Christians who experience affliction due to their faith in Christ.

### 4.4 A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 3:13-17

In 3:13 – 4:11, Peter encourages his readers who are suffering for their faith by presenting Christ as an example for their conduct and as the source of their encouragement in the probable face of unjust ridicule, insults, social marginalization and persecution.<sup>323</sup> Despite appearances to the contrary, these Christians who suffer for doing good are indeed 'blessed' (μακάριοι, v14).<sup>324</sup> In the face of unjust suffering, the Christians are not to be afraid of their opponents (echoing Isa 8:12)<sup>325</sup> but to be faithful to Christ. Peter amends this quotation from Isaiah 8:12-13 (LXX) by freely identifying Jesus Christ with the

<sup>317</sup> Beare's (1970:160) argument that this section displays a literary dependence upon Rom 12:10-17 has been rightly questioned (Achte-meier 1996:221; Michaels 1988:174-75 and Piper 1978-79:218-19). It is perhaps best to see this teaching as going back beyond Paul to the words of Jesus (Selwyn 1947:189).

<sup>318</sup> Balch's (1981:88) theory is unconvincing that 3:8-12 is a summary of the household code and that the 'all of you' refers only to household servants, wives and husbands.

<sup>319</sup> Pilch and Malina (1993:28-115) have noted that 'brotherly love' (φιλάδελφος) and 'compassion' (εὐσπλαγχνος) were often used with reference to kinship obligations. Goppelt (1993:230) argues that the adjectives employed in 1 Pet 3:8 also belonged to a common Hellenistic ethical vocabulary and tradition. While this might be true of 'like-mindedness' (ὁμόφρονες) which was valued in Graeco-Roman society (Selwyn 1947:189), humility (ταπεινόφρων) was despised and regarded as a sign of weakness (Elliott 2000:605). Peter employs the ethical terminology of Graeco-Roman society while applying the terms to the Christians in order to foster social cohesion in the churches and good relationships both within the nascent communities of faith and with non-Christians in society at large.

<sup>320</sup> Elliott (2000:607) identifies the nature of the opposition faced by Christians as including 'insult, defamation of character, and verbal abuse. These are the weapons typically employed in an agonistic honor-and-shame society for challenging the honor of others and publicly shaming and discrediting those who are different or regarded as one's competitors'.

<sup>321</sup> The cause of the parallels with Paul and Luke's Gospel have long been the subject of debate (Gundry 1967-68, 1974; Best 1969-70).

<sup>322</sup> Dubis (2010:99) summarises the issues as to whether the prepositional phrase (εἰς τοῦτο) should be understood as anaphoric looking back to the preceding εὐλογοῦντες (Elliott 2000:609; Michaels 1988:178), or cataphoric looking forward to the ἵνα clause (Goppelt 1993:234; Davids 1990:127).

<sup>323</sup> Achtemeier (1996:230) understands the optative form, πάσχοιτε (v14), as expressing 'sporadic reality' and explains that while Christians were not suffering continuously, they were living in a society that treated them with suspicion and could erupt in violence and persecution at any time.

<sup>324</sup> Due to the similar use of μακάριοι in 4:14, Dubis (2010:107-08) is probably correct in understanding the implied verb, εἰμί, as present tense and of the indicative mood.

<sup>325</sup> The basis of Isaiah's prophetic confidence in the face of Israel and Aram's alliance against Judah is because 'the Lord God is with us' (Isa 8:10).

Lord Yahweh of the Hebrew Bible. This very Jesus is Lord and is to be revered. Peter makes this Christological statement to emphasise Jesus' ongoing commitment and presence with his people in the face of opposition. These Christians are encouraged to publicly defend their hope in Christ to anyone from their local communities who might ask (3:15) and to do this with gentleness and respect (ἀλλὰ μετὰ πραύτητος καὶ φόβου (3:16)).<sup>326</sup> This positive and respectful defence of Christianity in the face of slander and revulsion may actually result in the putting to shame of those who have maligned the followers of Christ. Peter is clear that his Christian readers should not expect to be immune from suffering. However, it is better to suffer because of living faithfully and doing good than to suffer because of doing evil (3:17).<sup>327</sup>

#### 4.5 A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 3:18-22

In 3:18-22, Peter composes a third Christological passage (see 1:18-21; 2:22-25) in which the suffering and death of Jesus are stated explicitly. In this instance, however, Peter emphasises that the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ are evidence of his triumph over the powers of evil.<sup>328</sup> Those evil powers/spirits, deemed to be behind the evil perpetrated in the world down through history since the days of Noah, have now been judged and defeated by Christ's saving work. These Noahic powers believed to be the very epitome of evil, and those whose malevolent influence continued in Peter's day against Christians shall not prevail. The unjust suffering endured by Christians is actually evidence that they are on the 'the right side of the eschatological divide' and that the resurrection and ascension of Christ is proof of their ultimate vindication (Jobes 2005:235).

While 3:18-22 covers a range of topics, there is an underlying clear and important Christological emphasis. Peter encourages his readers with the certainty of Christ's redemptive work. This sequence of redemptive acts is framed by Peter's use of the three participles (θανατωθεῖς, ζωοποιηθεῖς and πορευθεῖς). The righteous Christ suffered and then died to bring his people to God. This same Christ was made alive in the Spirit and having proclaimed his victory over the evil spirits, has entered heaven to sit at God's right hand and exercise rule over all authorities and powers.<sup>329</sup> Christ's resurrection and ascension to God's presence have revealed his universal and eternal victory over all the evil powers and spirits of all history.

#### 4.6 A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 4:1-6

From this Christological crescendo, Peter unpacks the implications of Christ's victory for the Christian believers in Asia Minor. In 4:1-6, the author demonstrates how Christ's ultimate triumph over the evil spirits, and, thus, also over the human agents and perpetrators of evil in the world, has implications for how Christians should now live distinctively for the Lord in the face of opposition and evil. Faced with unjust suffering for their faith in God, these Christian believers are urged<sup>330</sup> to adopt the same resolve and mindset of Christ (τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν, 4:1) who endured the suffering of the cross and ultimately experienced vindication and exaltation. Christians who endure unjust suffering because of their faith in

---

<sup>326</sup> This respect is probably best understood as an attitude expressed to others rather than reverence toward God (Achtmeier 1996:234).

<sup>327</sup> Jobes (2005:232) and Achtmeier (1996:237-38) provide helpful discussions as to the possible Jewish or Hellenistic traditions that may influence the teaching in 3:17. Peter's encouragement is based on an eschatological perspective that underlies the form of teaching that gives the alternatives in the form of 'it is better to...than to...' (Michaels 1966-67; 1988:191-92).

<sup>328</sup> 1 Peter 3:18-22 contains a number of text-critical problems, grammatical and lexical ambiguities, theological difficulties and issues pertaining to the background and inter-text assumed by the author. As a result, this passage is one of the most debated in the NT. The following works outline the exegetical questions arising from the passage and the major interpretations put forward by scholars through history (Dalton 1989:27-50; Reicke 1946:7-51; Feinberg 1986; Grudem 1986 and 1988, and Campbell and Van Rensburg (2008)). This paper assumes that between his resurrection and ascension to heaven (Dalton 1965), Christ proclaimed his victory over the evil spirits of Noah's day and the other evil spirits.

<sup>329</sup> Jobes (2005: 256-57) notes the similarities between 1 Pet 3:18-22 in form and content with 1 Tim 3:16 where Christ's was taken up into glory. While some (Windisch 1930; Bultmann 1947 and Goppelt 1993:247-50) have suggested that Peter is reciting an early Christian creed or baptismal hymn, their hypotheses remain unconvincing. It is probably better to understand the layout and contents of the section as simply being formed and framed by the narrative of Christ's redemptive work (Elliott 2000:653).

<sup>330</sup> The use of the second-person plural imperative in 4:1 (ὁπλίσασθε, arm yourselves) signals a return to exhortation that is unpacked in the rest of the chapter.

Christ and obedience to God demonstrate that they are through with sin (ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας, 4:1).<sup>331</sup>

The Christians are to accept the will of God and so eschew those Gentile practices (licentiousness, lustful passions, drunkenness, orgies, drinking parties and lawless idolatry, 1 Pet 4:3) which have in common a lack of self-control, are a violation of God's standards, and are harmful to others. The Christians, who once participated in these ungodly activities, are addressed as if they were Jews and belonged to God's true covenant people and are now to live accordingly as those in Diaspora (1 Pet 1:1).<sup>332</sup> Their calling is in sharp contrast to the idolatrous Gentiles who malign their Christian contemporaries for failing to participate in the rituals of the culture (4:4).<sup>333</sup> The negative reaction of the non-Christian community towards the Christians who refrain from evil practices and so live righteously before God, means that these non-believers necessarily side against God and will, therefore, come under his judgement.<sup>334</sup> Peter proceeds to warn that death itself will not prevent God's final and universal judgement (1 Pet 4:6).<sup>335</sup> The author, thus, presents Christ as the victor with full authority over both ancient (3:18-22) and present (4:5-6) evil.

#### 4.7 1 Peter 4:7-11

##### 4.7.1 The Immediate Context of 1 Peter 4:7-11

In the light of Christ's victory and his imminent and inevitable return that will mark the consummation (Πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν, 4:7),<sup>336</sup> Peter provides his readers with an eschatological perspective to help them understand their new standing in Christ and how they should live together in the world in these last times (1 Pet 4:7-11). 1 Peter 4:7-11 forms the final part of the epistle's main body (2:11 – 4:11) and marks an inclusio with the initial statement back in 2:11-12 with its assertion to abstain from evil and to embrace the exemplary life that will bring glory to God through Christ. The Christian is to live in the reality of Christ's return and judgment by thinking rightly and being in control of one's thoughts (σωφρονήσατε οὖν καὶ νήψατε, 4:7). The Christians are exhorted to persist earnestly in their love for one another in such a way that the nascent community of faith survives and is built up through mutual forgiveness and forbearance (4:8).<sup>337</sup> Peter continues by exhorting that this earnest love must necessarily be expressed to fellow Christian believers through openhearted, gracious hospitality (4:9).<sup>338</sup>

<sup>331</sup> There are a number of exegetical questions pertaining to 1 Pet 4:1-2 (see Dubis 2010:128-132). The adopted interpretation that it is the Christian who is to be through with sin, takes into consideration the analogy between the suffering of Christ and that of the Christian believers, Peter's use of *σάρξ* and the hortative use of *ὀπλιζώ*. Moreover, this reading fits the overall concerns of the epistle – suffering for being a Christian – and the immediate context of 4:2-4.

<sup>332</sup> Peter sees the believers scattered throughout the Empire as sharing a common new birth, communal unity in Christ and a heavenly destination (Smith 2016).

<sup>333</sup> On the prevailing culture and its socio-religious expectations see Davids (1990:151). Achtemeier (1996:282) notes that the concept of 'licentious idolatries' (*ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρίας*, 4:3) arose from the Judeo-Christian tradition of idolatry. This may in part explain why Jews and Christians were the objects of social opposition and persecution.

<sup>334</sup> It is likely that God the Father is envisaged here as the future judge of humankind as Christ has been presented in 1 Peter as the exemplary believer who trusts in Father's justice and vindication (2:23; 4:19). The universal nature of God's judgment is indicated by the merism *κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς* (1 Pet 4:5). Death, in contrast to non-Christian belief, will not exempt the believer or non-believer from God's coming judgment.

<sup>335</sup> A number of interpretations of 1 Pet 4:6 have arisen concerning the identity of those to whom the gospel was preached (see Dalton 1989:51-60). While some have understood *νεκροῖς* as those who are spiritually dead, it is better to understand the dead of 4:6 in light of the merism of the preceding verse to refer to those among all humanity who had heard the gospel while being alive but who are now dead (see Horrell 2015:73-99). Some have linked the preaching in 4:6 with that of 3:19 in order to support the possibility of conversion after death (Johnson 1960; Goppelt 1993:289). However, the scholarly consensus leans towards disassociating 4:6 and 3:19 (Achtemeier 1996:291; Bandstra 2003:123; Dalton 1989:51-60; Dalton 1979; Elliott 2000:730-31 and Jobes 2005:270-73)

<sup>336</sup> The conjunction *δὲ* (4:7) indicates that this closing section (4:7-11) is connected to the preceding unit with its mention of God's future judgement in light of Christ's resurrection.

<sup>337</sup> See Davids (1990:158-159) and Boring (1999:150) for the background and interpretation of the phrase *ὄτι ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν* (4:8).

<sup>338</sup> The use of the adjective *φιλόξενοι* (4:9) probably functions with imperatival force. Achtemeier (1996:296) suggests that the use of the adjective may be Peter's way of recognising the current practice of hospitality while encouraging its adoption and continuation.

In this new community of faith, Christian believers will find love and welcome in the face of oppression and opposition. The followers of Christ are also to exercise those gifts of grace they have received from God (4:10) for the benefit of the local communities through service to others (4:10-11a). Paul asserts that God will supply individuals with the strength needed to serve others in the Christian congregations.<sup>339</sup>

#### 4.7.2 1 Peter 4:11 - ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Having exhorted the believers to live in the light of the end days of God's redemptive work by thinking correctly, by prayer and by loving and serving fellow followers, the goal of this Christian conduct is stated with the consecutive clause: ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (4:11c). All these activities in the Christian community result in the glorification of God through Jesus Christ. This understanding that God is glorified through right behaviour of his people finds echoes in Christian as well as Jewish writings (Elliott 2000:761).<sup>340</sup> The formula διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (cf. 2:5) states explicitly the redemptive and mediatorial role of Jesus Christ (Rom 16:7; Jude 25; cf. 1 Clem 58:2; 61:3) that makes it possible for the recipients to glorify God through their words and acts of service. Only those who are 'in Christ' (3:16; 5:14) can glorify God.

#### 4.7.3 1 Peter 4:11d - ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Having stated the Christians' goal of glorification,<sup>341</sup> Peter concludes the main body of the epistle with a doxology acclaiming the glory and power of God (ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν, 4:11d).<sup>342</sup>

While some (Selwyn 1947:220; Michaels 1988:252-54) believe that the antecedent of ᾧ is Jesus Christ due to its proximity, it is probably best to see the dative of possession refer back to God (ὁ θεός) given the verbal tie between δοξάζεται and δόξα.<sup>343</sup> Moreover, doxologies in the NT addressed to or that are statements about Christ are very rare in early Christian literature (2 Tim 4:18 and Rev 1:6 are the only certain examples; less certain examples are Heb 13:21 and 1 Clem 20:12; 50.7). As the doxology in 2 Peter 3:18<sup>344</sup> clearly ascribes glory to Christ, this example in 4:11 may suggest a common authorship or a shared Petrine tradition (Jobes 2005:283). Nevertheless, because of the preceding statement that God is glorified through Jesus Christ (4:11a) it would be contradictory for the same doxology to glorify Christ (4:11d).<sup>345</sup> Jobes (2005:283) correctly notes that ambiguity concerning the antecedent of the relative pronoun was of little concern to the author. The Christian believers who worship and glorify this God (1:3,21; 2:9,12; 4:16; 5:11) receive from him life (1:2,3; 2:13; 4:19 5:5c-7,10) and have access to him through Jesus Christ (1:3; 3:18d, 21) the one raised, glorified and honoured by God (1:3,21; 2:4; 3:18,22).<sup>346</sup> This doxology serves to remind the Christians that while they may experience hostility and an increasing sense of powerlessness in their daily situations throughout Asia Minor, ultimately all power belongs eternally to God (κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων) whom they serve through the risen and glorified Jesus Christ. By bearing Christ's name, they experience greater dishonour and shame in society while at the same time they glorify God almighty.

<sup>339</sup> In contrast to Paul (1 Cor 12:7-11), Peter enumerates only the gifts of speaking and serving. Peter is likely providing the two basic categories under which all gifts fall (Achteimer 1996:298).

<sup>340</sup> See Matt 5:16; John 15:8; Rom 15:6; 1 Cor 6:20; 10:31; 2 Cor 9:12-13; Gal 1:24. See also Philo *Spec* 1:317.

<sup>341</sup> The use of the indicative mood (ἐστὶν, 4:11) shows that the author is making a statement of fact and not expressing a wish (optative). Elliott (2000:762) notes that the NT authors never employ optatives in doxologies. Kelly (1969:182) believes that 'the indicative coheres admirably with the NT conviction that God's glory and honour are His by right'.

<sup>342</sup> Peter concludes his letter (5:11) with a doxology similar to the one that draws the main body of his epistle (4:11d) to an end.

<sup>343</sup> Achteimer (1996:299) helpfully dismisses Shimada (1966:396) who posits that the doxology is addressed to both God and Jesus Christ. Shimada's theory if correct would make this doxology unique in the NT.

<sup>344</sup> The doxology in 2 Pet 3:18 reads, αὐξάνετε δὲ ἐν χάριτι καὶ γνώσει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος. [ἀμήν.]

<sup>345</sup> Michaels (1988:253) rightly notes that this argument cuts both ways as it would be contradictory to ascribe glory to God twice in succession.

<sup>346</sup> Frankemölle (1987:64) and Davids (2014:157) stress that the core theological category in 1 Peter is God. This emphasis would suggest that the doxology in 4:11 is directed towards God himself.

## 5. The Occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter 4:12-19

Peter concludes his letter (4:12 – 5:11) by consoling his readers who suffer for their faith in Christ.<sup>347</sup> He reminds them that their unjust suffering should not be unexpected (Holloway 2002) where evil and hostility were real and present realities. Christians should, therefore, fully expect the fiery trial (πύρωσις, 4:13) as they follow the righteous Jesus Christ who himself endured evil and rejection. By simply following Christ they share in the sufferings that Christ himself endured and this should be a reason for joy for the believers (4:13).<sup>348</sup>

### 5.1 1 Peter 4:13 - ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι

Peter goes further by noting that the Christians' gladness and praise will be intensified and complete when Christ's glory and, thus, their deliverance and vindication, is fully revealed to all in the future (ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι, 4:13). In this instance, the concept of glory is linked intrinsically to the person of Jesus Christ in his role as judge. The one who underwent human judgement and unjust suffering will eventually judge the world openly and righteously. 'When his glory is revealed' seems to echo the thought in 1:7 (ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) where the present and future rejoicing is also mentioned (1:6-9). The revelation of the glory of Christ is, therefore, a source of comfort to God's unjustly suffering people, as his return will mark their vindication and divine judgement against those who commit evil and injury. The followers of Christ can look forward to sharing in his very glory at his final revelation (1:7-8,13; 5:1,4,10). The 'glory of Jesus Christ' seems to be bound up with his divine election (2:4), his resurrection (1:3,21; 2:4; 3:18e, 21) and his ascension to God's right hand (3:22). All these constitute Christ's divine vindication by God. This passage is the most concise statement in the NT of the relation of the passion and glory of Jesus Christ to the life of his followers (Elliott 2000:778).

### 5.2 1 Peter 4:14 - ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται

The author then goes on to suggest that those who suffer for Christ's sake are blessed (εἰ ὀνειδίξεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι, 4:14).<sup>349</sup> This blessedness is not due to the reproach or actual suffering, but rather because the Spirit of glory rests upon them (τι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται, 4:14b).<sup>350</sup> The Greek phrase, literally, 'the Spirit of the glory and that of God rests upon you,' is unique in the Bible and seems to be an allusion to, or expansion of, the messianic prophecy found in Isaiah 11:1-2 (LXX).<sup>351</sup> In Isaiah 11, the prophet refers to someone of King David's lineage who will usher in justice and peace. The Spirit of the Yahweh will rest on this individual.

<sup>347</sup> Older scholars (Moule (1955-56), Reicke (1964) and Beare (1970)) argue that 1 Peter ended at 4:11. However, the thematic and literary echoes of this section (4:12 – 5:11) attest to the letters unity (Jobes 2006:53-56).

<sup>348</sup> Elliott (2000:776) notes the Jewish tradition that positively interpreted suffering because of the confrontation between Israel and the Greek empire as a sign of divine testing of constancy and a reason for rejoicing. He notes that the Christian adaptation of this tradition affirms the present (rather than only the future) experience of God's blessing through its Christological basis.

<sup>349</sup> The formula (ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, 4:14a) is probably best taken as an idiom meaning 'because'. This would understand the phrase as 'because of Christ' (see Kelly (1968:186) and Davids (1990:167)).

<sup>350</sup> The variant readings following 'glory' consist of the following: 'and of power' (κ, P, 33, 81 etc), 'the name of the glory and power of God and (the Spirit)' (614, 630, 1505), as well as the addition of the end of the verse, '[the Spirit who was] blasphemed among them but honoured among you' (P, Ψ, M, lat, syr<sup>p</sup>, cop<sup>sa</sup>). All these variants are not well attested and appear to be later supplements and explanations to remove the awkwardness of the construction. See also Davids (1990:168) who helpfully dismisses Rodgers' (1981) proposal supporting the originality of the longer reading.

<sup>351</sup> Elliott (2000:) regards 1 Pet 4:14 as a quotation of Isa 11:1-2 rather than as an allusion because of the use of ὅτι.

Isaiah 11:1-2 (BHS)	Isaiah 11:1-2 (LXX)	1 Peter 4:14
<p>וַיֵּצֵא הַטָּר מִגִּזְעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנִצָּר  מִשְׂרָשְׁוֹ יִפְרָה:  וְנָחָה עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה וְרוּחַ חֲכָמָה  וּבִינָה רוּחַ עֲצָה וְגִבּוֹרָה רוּחַ  דָּעַת וַיִּרְאֵת יְהוָה:</p>	<p>καὶ ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς  ρίζης Ἰεσοῦ καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς  ρίζης  ἀναβήσεται  <sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ’ αὐτὸν  πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα σοφίας  καὶ συνέσεως πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ  ἰσχύος πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ  εὐσεβείας</p>	<p>εἰ ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ,  μακάριοι, ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ  τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς  ἀναπαύεται.</p>

In 4:14, Peter omits the qualifying genitives of Isaiah 11, while adding the word glory (τὸ τῆς δόξης). Having just referred in the previous verse to the rejoicing when the glory of God will be revealed in the future, the switch to the present (‘the spirit of glory...is resting on you’) calls for explanation. Michaels (1988:186) believes the author has been influenced by the tradition of the Spirit’s special presence in times of trouble (Matt 10:19-20; Luke 21:13-25) and understands that Isaiah’s promise has now been fulfilled (Dubis 2002:118-29). Seeing a connection between ‘spirit’ and ‘glory’ in 2 Corinthians 3:8,17-18, Michaels (1988:264) states that ‘if the “Spirit of God” can be the spirit of all these things, it can be as well the spirit of Christ’s glory’.

In 1 Peter 4:14, the author clearly applies Isaiah 11:2 to his readers and states that the spirit of glory and of God now rests upon them.<sup>352</sup> The idea of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) being upon (ἐπί) an individual occurs regularly in the LXX. God’s Spirit rests upon Israel’s leaders and prophets and indicates the divine appointment and empowerment of these individuals to lead the nation or help deliver it from its enemies. Isaiah 11:1-5 describes a future ruler of King David’s line who will rule over Israel with justice and wisdom and usher in a period of idyll in the land (Isa 11:6-10). The reason for this success is that God’s Spirit will rest on this exalted and messianic figure.

Some (Davids 1990:167-68; cf. Marshall 1991:154) see this reference to the Spirit resting on and enabling of God’s persecuted people as reflecting the tradition found in other NT passages (Matt 10:19-20; Mark 13:11; Lk 12:11-12; 21:13-15; John 14:26; 16:7-11). However, the explicit reference to the early Christian messianic understanding of Isaiah 11 (Rom 15:12; 2 Thess 2:8; John 1:32) suggests that it is Peter’s more likely influence.<sup>353</sup> Peter, however, startlingly broadens Isaiah’s reference to the Spirit resting on an individual and applies it instead to the entire Christian community. This broadening has some parallels in the OT, where the idea of the Spirit resting on the nation is anticipated. While Moses’ desire to see God put his Spirit on all the people (Num 11:29) was not realized, this hope was picked up and emphasised in the prophetic literature (Ezek 39:29; Joel 3:1-2; Zech 12:10) and especially in Isaiah who anticipates the time when the Spirit (πνεῦμα) will rest upon (ἐπί) Israel to equip and empower the entire people (Isa 32:14-15; 44:2-3; 59:21).<sup>354</sup> Dubis (2002:122) notes that 1 Peter 4:14’s corporate interpretation of Isaiah 11:2 has its roots in Isaiah (and the prophetic tradition) itself. For Peter, the suffering messianic community now experience the Spirit of God upon them just as the suffering Christ experienced the Spirit upon Him.<sup>355</sup> The very presence of the Spirit upon Peter’s readers indicates clearly that the restoration of the exiles has occurred (or at least begun) in the person and work of Christ.

<sup>352</sup> Most commentators (Bigg 1901:177; Selwyn 1947:250; Michaels 1988:264-65 and Achtemeier 1996:308-09) agree that Peter is alluding to the Isa 11:2.

<sup>353</sup> Dubis (2002:120) understands 1 Pet 4:12-19 and the promise of the Spirit’s presence in the light of the early Jewish concept of messianic woes. First Peter, thus, identifies the sufferings of his readers (and the sufferings of Jesus) as those of the tumultuous period of eschatological distress and tribulation that early Judaism associated with the advent of the Messiah.

<sup>354</sup> Isaiah 44:2-3 is of particular interest in regard to 1 Peter 4:14 as it too contains the concept of God blessing his people. Compare also *Pss Sol* 17:37-38.

<sup>355</sup> Peter’s use of the present tense ἀναπαύεται (4:14) affirms his understanding that the promise of Isa 11:2 (ἀναπαύσεται) has been fulfilled.

Peter's mention of glory in 4:14 (ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται) is probably best explained by this Isaianic influence.<sup>356</sup> Isaiah connects glory to the restoration of the people from exile (Isa 35:2; 52:1; 60:1,2,13; 66:2,11-12). More specifically, in Isaiah 59:21-60:2, δόξα and πνεῦμα are linked and this suggests that the Spirit of God and the glory of Yahweh will rest on God's people when the restoration has taken place. The mention of δόξα in 1 Peter 4:14 seems to invoke the glory of restoration promised by God through his prophets and implies that it has been inaugurated in Jesus Christ. While these Christians may continue to suffer, the presence of the Spirit reminds the believers that the restoration of God is progressing and will be fulfilled completely.<sup>357</sup> This presence of the Spirit of glory is an example of Peter's inaugurated eschatology (Achteimeier 1996:309).<sup>358</sup> While 4:13 looks to the parousia and the manifestation of this δόξα, 4:14 views δόξα as already present in the person of the Spirit. The restoration from exile has started and will be completed for those in Christ when he returns.

Peter's allusion to Isaiah 11:2 seeks to reassure the Christian believers that the presence of the Spirit of glory upon them is a sign of their vindication by God and the certainty of their restoration from exile. In light of the Peter's earlier use of temple imagery (2:4-8) with its apparent link between the Spirit and the temple (οἶκος πνευματικός, 2:5),<sup>359</sup> the OT understanding that saw the Spirit of God as indwelling the Temple may be to the fore in 1 Peter 4:14. Because of the temple imagery, some (Selwyn 1947:222-24; Achteimeier 1996:308-309) see τὸ τῆς δόξης (4:14) as a reference to the Shekinah glory as recounted in Ezekiel.<sup>360</sup> The concept of δόξα θεοῦ is a dominant theme in Ezekiel from the moment the prophet first witnesses the glory of the Lord on his chariot throne (Ezek 1:28; 3:23-24; 8:4; 43:3). Due to the idolatrous practices within the Temple, Ezekiel witnesses and records the gradual cataclysmic departure of the glory of the Lord from God's earthly dwelling place (Ezek 9:3; 10:4,18-19; 11:22-23). In stark contrast to the departure of God's glory from the Temple, the closing chapters of the book (Ezek 40-48) record a vision of a rebuilt Temple and a restored Israel. The hope remains that the Shekinah/glory of the Lord will return when God forgives the nation (Ezek 43:1-5; 44:4). For Peter, the allusions to Isaiah 11 and perhaps to Ezekiel suggest that the glory of the Lord now resides among the church. The Shekinah glory has now returned to reside forever upon Peter's readers who have been forgiven by God through the death, resurrection and exaltation of Jesus Christ. God favours these believers in Christ, even if the whole world seems to revile them. Moreover, the presence of the eschatological Spirit of Glory demonstrates that the promised restoration from exile is now underway.

Having assured his readers that they enjoy the presence of the Spirit of God, Peter acknowledges again (4:12-14) that these followers will suffer persecution because of their faith. However, Peter (4:15-16) lists

<sup>356</sup> Acknowledging the allusion to Isa 11:2 in 1 Pet 4:14, helps to understand the 'bafflingly difficult' (Kelly 1969:187) construction τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα. The awkwardness of the phrase has given rise to a number of textual variants that have sought to minimize the difficulty (see Michaels (1988:256) and Metzger (1994:695). Spirit (πνεῦμα) may be read as the head noun for both genitival phrases (Elliott (2000:782) understands the phrase as a hendiadys – 'the divine Spirit of glory'). This would make the phrase either a hendiadys ('the glorious Spirit of God') or an exegetical relationship ('the spirit of glory, which is the Spirit of God', see Kelly (1969:187), Goppelt (1993:323) Michaels (1988:264) and Dubis (2010:150)). Perhaps the best reason to explain the awkwardness that arises due to the appearance of the second definite article is that the author modifies Isa 11:2 and inserted τῆς δόξης to create a thematic tie with δόξα in 1 Pet 4:13.

<sup>357</sup> Beare (1970:192) argues that 1 Peter's pneumatology is minimalistic and that the reference in 4:14 is to the Spirit's presence with believers only during times of persecution. For Peter, unlike Paul, Beare contends that the Spirit, thus, does not permanently indwell in believers. Dubis (2002:126) rightly cautions that the conditional clause in 4:14, εἰ ὠνειδίξεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, should not be pressed too far.

<sup>358</sup> The outpouring of the Spirit of God is an important theme in the OT prophets to indicate the eschatological blessing of God upon his chosen people (Joel 2:28; Ezek 36:26-28; 37:14; 39:29; *T. Jud.* 24:2-3).

<sup>359</sup> Elliott (1966, 1990) understands in the sense of 'household' and not Temple. However, the references to 'spiritual sacrifices' and a 'holy priesthood' in relation to this 'spiritual house' strongly suggest that a temple metaphor is present here.

<sup>360</sup> Selwyn (1947:222-24) offers a third alternative. He argues that the phrase contains two distinct subjects so that τὸ τῆς δόξης is a substantival phrase that stands apart from τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα. Moreover, Selwyn also identifies τὸ τῆς δόξης with the Shekinah and thus translates the passage as 'the Presence of the Glory, yea the Spirit of God'. While this theory solves the grammatical problem for the second use of the definite article (τὸ), the phrase appears nowhere else in either the NT or the LXX. It is best to see the two genitival phrases as modifying πνεῦμα as the sole subject.

certain offences that should not characterise the followers of Christ: φονεὺς (murderer), κλέπτης (thief), κακοποιὸς (evildoer)<sup>361</sup> and ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος (meddler).<sup>362</sup> Peter is concerned that if the Christian believers are to suffer at the hands of their non-believing neighbours then it should not be as criminals or as social pariahs. They should not provoke God or their neighbour's hostility. Peter's rhetoric underlines the significance of suffering unjustly for professing Christ in contrast to paying the penalty for a deserved offence (Kelly 1969:189).<sup>363</sup>

### 5.3 1 Peter 4:16 - εἰ δὲ ὡς χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ

If the believers are to suffer as Christians (Χριστιανός, 4:16)<sup>364</sup> because of living consistently for Christ, then they should not be ashamed or surprised if society rejects and reviles them.<sup>365</sup> Bechtler (1998) and Campbell (1998:234, 239) have looked at 1 Peter in light of the concepts of honour and shame. The believers could have felt shame that their belief in Christ caused their non-believing neighbours to be so offended. Moreover, the Christians could have felt shame because of enduring their neighbours' insults and slander due to their faith in Christ and his resurrection. Dubis (2002:135-36) is probably correct in emphasizing the objective significance of αἰσχύνομαι (shame) to denote the possibility of the Christian believer denying their faith and Christ (see Mark 8:35-38).

Instead of apostasy or denying their faith, Peter urges his readers to 'glorify God in this name' (δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ). The NT regularly uses δοξάζω with reference to praising God verbally (Matt 15:31; Rom 15:6) or with the nuance of thanksgiving (Luke 5:25; 13:13). The believer can also 'glorify' God through their active obedience (John 15:8); their generosity (2 Cor 9:13); their sexual morality (1 Cor 6:20) or even through martyrdom (John 21:19). The two earlier instances of δοξάζω appearing with θεός in 1 Peter are in 2:12 and 4:11. In 2:12, δοξάζω refers to the eschatological praise that God will receive and this may well be the intent here in 4:16. However, in light of the wider range of meaning of δοξάζω in 4:11 (ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), Peter may be encompassing more than a Christian's verbal confession of their faith in Christ to include their entire demeanour.<sup>366</sup> In the face of opposition, the Christian is not to renounce his faith by lawlessness (4:15) or apostasy (4:16) but to reaffirm it by word and deed and in so doing glorify God. Peter, thus, provides 'an alternative way of calculating honor within their alternative, liminal communities of faith' (Bechtler 1998:203-03). Their suffering for following Christ is in fact a mark of honour and not shame.

Peter provides further motivation to follow the exhortations of 4:15-16.<sup>367</sup> He emphasises that suffering for Christ is nothing of which to be ashamed. Peter employs the image of the 'house of God' (οἴκου τοῦ

---

<sup>361</sup> While κακοποιὸς does not inherently connote illegal activity (Elliott 2000:784-85), in light of the immediate context and Peter's use of the term (1 Pet 2:12, 14; 3:12) scholars are generally agreed that it has this nuance here to denote unspecified illegal behaviour (Dubis 2010:151).

<sup>362</sup> The *hapax legomenon*, ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, has been much debated (see Dubis 2002:131-32).

<sup>363</sup> Scholars have debated the nature of the admonition. Some have understood it as being based on realism (Achteimer 1996:311). Others have argued that the opponents of the Christians could have made these false accusations against the believers (Knox 1953:187-89). While others see 4:15 as being simply rhetorical to highlight the difference of paying the penalty when you are guilty of misdemeanour (ie professing Christ) and paying the penalty you deserve (Kelly 1969:189). It is likely that Peter's concern is real and that he wants the Christian believers to not respond to oppression with acts of evil (Dubis 2002:134).

<sup>364</sup> Horrell (2007:361-81) considers 1 Pet 4:16 as an example of the early Christian community transforming Χριστιανός from a hostile label applied by outsiders to one proudly embraced and used as a self-designation and marker of social identity. Scholars have rejected Wand (1934:119) and Beare (1970:192-93) who understand bearing the title 'Christian' as believers being formally charged of a crime (see Michaels 1988:lxiii-lxvi, 268-69 and Achteimer 1996:313-14).

<sup>365</sup> For the background, history and negative connotations of Χριστιανός see Elliott (2000:789-94).

<sup>366</sup> Scholars have debated over ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ. Does it refer to 'Christ' (Kelly 1969:190) or to the name 'Christian' (Grudem 1988:180) which is found earlier in 4:16? However, there is no need to make a firm decision. While ὀνόματι refers to Χριστιανός, it ultimately refers to the same 'Christ' as well. To renounce one's identity as a 'Christian' is to renounce one's identity with Christ.

<sup>367</sup> Elliott (2000:797) understands the ὅτι clause as modifying the preceding section (4:12-16), while Achteimer (1996:315) believes it modifies only the preceding verse (4:16). In light of the tight conjunction of 4:15-16, Michaels (1988:270) is probably correct in understanding the clause in 4:17 as providing the motivational grounds for 4:15-16.

θεοῦ, 4:17)<sup>368</sup> alongside the OT tradition that God's judgment would begin with his own chosen people including the elders of the Temple (Jer 25:29 [32:29 LXX], Ezek 9:5-6; Amos 3:2; Zech 13:9; Mal 3:1-5). Johnson (1986) is probably correct in seeing the background as echoing Zechariah 13:9 and Malachi 3:1-3 with their references to God's fiery presence.<sup>369</sup> These prophetic passages also suggest the escalation of the eschatological judgment as it proceeds from the house of God to those who are outside of the covenant. The original context of these OT passages refer to God's judgment on his chosen people who have broken the covenant with the Lord. Peter's readers, however, are suffering not because they have violated the covenant, but because they align themselves with Christ. God has not abandoned these Christian believers. The suffering they are enduring (4:16) is an integral part of God's eschatological judgment (τὸ κρίμα, 4:17)<sup>370</sup> that eventually all humankind will experience. Christianity and Judaism understood the messianic woes preceding the Parousia of the Messiah as being both part of God's judgment and the prelude to his final judgment (Dubis 2002:142-62). The Christians presently suffering for Christ does not imply their guilt; rather they are bringing glory to God by enduring it. The divine judgment of humanity, thus, begins with those (including Peter - εἰ δὲ πρῶτον ἀφ' ἡμῶν) who are being built into God's house (2:4-5) made up of living stones and who endure the fiery ordeal of testing (4:12). Peter consoles his Christian readers that they should see their rejection and shaming for bearing the name of Christ as an honour.

#### 5.4 A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 4:17-19

In way of consolation to the suffering Christians, Peter contrasts their current position and opposition with the future of those who do not belong to the community of the Christian faith and who are presumably the perpetrators of the suffering (4:17-18). If the Christians suffer God's judgment first, those who reject the gospel of God will endure much worse (τί τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπειθούντων τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίῳ, 4:17b). While previously Peter's injunction to continue in faithfulness was presented positively as a way of glorifying God (4:16), here he expresses the negative ramifications destined to those who reject the gospel in Christ. It is better, therefore, to suffer a little now than to experience the displeasure and wrath in God's ultimate judgment upon the 'ungodly and the sinner' (ὁ ἀσεβῆς καὶ ἀμαρτωλός, 4:18).<sup>371</sup> Peter wants his fellow Christian believers who are suffering unjustly to continue to entrust their souls to their faithful Creator (πιστῷ κτίστη παρατιθέσθωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐν ἀγαθοποιίᾳ, 4:19). He assures them that in suffering unjustly their travail is according to the will of God (οἱ πάσχοντες κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, 4:19).<sup>372</sup> By committing themselves to God the Creator (τοῦ θεοῦ πιστῷ κτίστη, 4:19) and living obediently by doing good (ἐν ἀγαθοποιίᾳ, 4:19), the Christians follow in the footsteps of Jesus Christ. They are to entrust their lives in the faithful Creator who has the authority and power to judge all humanity justly.

For Peter's readers, suffering as a Christian should not come as a surprise nor should it be regarded as shameful as Christ himself embodied both unjust suffering and glory. Suffering the scorn and opposition for the sake of God and his gospel is, thus, an opportunity to glorify God and a badge of honour for those being built up into the household of God.

<sup>368</sup> Elliott (1990:243) argues that the phrase τῶν ἀγίων μου ἄρξασθε and the use of οἶκος in Ezek 9:6 are references to the elders and argues that τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ in 1 Pet 4:17 should likewise be understood as a communal image. However, it is best to understand τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ as a metaphorical reference to the temple in which God meets his people (Michaels 1988:271; Achtemeier 1996:316 and Dubis 2002:151-53).

<sup>369</sup> The primary OT tradition underlying 4:17a has been variously identified as Ezek 9:5-6 [LXX] (see McKelvey (1967), Schutter (1987)) and a combination of Zech 13:9 and Mal 3:1-3 (see Liebengood 2015:155; Johnson 1986:292). Jobes (2005:292) suggests that the lack of exact lexical correspondence may point to Peter drawing on a familiar Jewish tradition that he uses to make a 'somewhat different point for his Christian readers'.

<sup>370</sup> Peter's reference to the reality of the eschatological judgment (τὸ κρίμα) need not imply that he believed that Christ's return was imminent (Jobes 2005:293).

<sup>371</sup> The enigmatic quotation of Proverbs 11:31 (LXX) in 4:18 has raised questions concerning how to understand the future salvation of the righteous (καὶ εἰ ὁ δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται). While the eschatological aspect is missing in the Hebrew, it need not necessarily mean that Peter has given the verse an eschatological hue (contra Kelly (1969:193-94). Dubis (2002:166-67) may be correct in suggesting that the LXX may have provided the Masoretic Text with an eschatological orientation that Peter adopts accordingly.

<sup>372</sup> The suffering to which Peter refers here, as throughout the epistle, is unjust suffering for doing what is right in obedience to the will of God (cf. 2:15; 3:17; 4:2). Such unjust suffering mirrors that of the obedient and innocent Christ (1:2c; 2:18-20; 3:9,13-17; 4:12-16).

## 6. The Occurrences of δόξα in 1 Peter 5:1-14

Peter concludes his epistle with some instructions to the elders in the congregations in Asia Minor and to the people whom he refers to as the 'younger'. After a general encouragement urging his readers to recognise that their experiences are part of God's will, Peter closes by encouraging them to stand firm in the faith and that their travail will be short-lived.

### 6.1 Instructions to Elders 1 Peter 5:1-4

Having warned his readers that the household of God is experiencing the beginning of God's judgment that will eventually culminate in the last judgment of the whole world, Peter logically moves to address the elders (πρεσβύτεροι) who lead the local congregations.<sup>373</sup> Peter may well be lexically echoing the language found in Ezekiel 9:5-6 (LXX) (cf 1 Pet 4:17) which states that divine judgment begins with the elders who are in the front of the temple.<sup>374</sup>

Emphasising his solidarity with the elders of the congregations in Asia Minor by describing himself as a fellow elder (ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος, 5:1),<sup>375</sup> Peter encourages them to continue to shepherd willingly (ἐκούσιως, 5:2) and courageously God's flock (5:2) even though they may be specifically targeted by opponents of the gospel. In reassuring his fellow elders to stand fast in the face of suffering, Peter reminds them that they will partake in the future glory (ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός, 5:1) and receive an unfading crown of glory when the chief shepherd is revealed (καὶ φανερωθέντος τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος κομεισθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον, 5:4).

In emphasising his solidarity with his readers, Peter, a fellow elder, states that he is an eyewitness of Christ's suffering<sup>376</sup> and one who too will share in the glory that is to be revealed. This fellow elder experienced the suffering of the Christ through the sufferings of Jesus. Peter is, therefore, motivating the leaders of the congregations in Asia Minor to continue the witness of the apostles to the truth of Christ's sufferings.<sup>377</sup> By testifying to the truth of Christ's sufferings, these leaders are almost destined to follow this same path of rejection and suffering.

---

<sup>373</sup> The disputed οὖν ('therefore', 5:1) is possibly original as it specifically links Peter's instructions to the elders to the previous thought that God's household are being judged first.

<sup>374</sup> See Michaels (1988:277-79), Schutter (1989:78-79) and Grudem (1988:185-86) for those who see a dependence in 1 Pet 4:17 which is carried on to 5:1 (contra Elliott 2000:812).

<sup>375</sup> Beare (1970:198) sees the use of 'fellow elder' as proof that the apostle Peter could not have written the letter, on the assumption that no apostle would have used ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος as a self-designation. Jobes (2005:300-01) helpfully suggests that the terms 'elder' and 'apostle' were not mutually exclusive. The author's use of ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος here is appropriate as he seeks to express his solidarity with his readers (see Elliott 2000:818). Brox's (1986:228-29) claim that in self-designating as ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος the author lets down his mask of pseudonymity is not convincing (Jobes 2005:300).

<sup>376</sup> Michael's (1988:280-81) notes the conjoining of συμπρεσβύτερος and μάρτυς under the same article (ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος καὶ μάρτυς, 5:1) and suggests that this συμ- prefix should be applied to both nouns. Assuming that Peter was not an eyewitness to Jesus' death, Michaels argues that μάρτυς should be understood not as 'witness' but as 'preacher'. However, Michaels overlooks the prominence of the observational aspect of μάρτυς in the rest of the NT. One is only able to bear witness if one has been a witness. So μάρτυς in 1 Pet 5:1 is best understood as a claim to being an eyewitness of Jesus' sufferings including his death. This is in keeping with the author's prior apostolic claim in 1:1 (Dubis 2002:104-07). Whether or not Peter witnessed the crucifixion of Jesus, and that is not impossible, it is true to say that he could legitimately claim to be a witness to the sufferings of the Messiah (Jobes 2005:301).

<sup>377</sup> Dubis (2002:106-07) understands the phrase τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων (5:1) against the background of the 'messianic woes' that have been realized in the suffering of Jesus Christ but which also mark the inauguration of the eschatological tribulation that will be experienced by Christ's followers until the final judgment.

## 6.2 1 Peter 5:1 - ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινώνος

Peter makes mention that as well as sharing together in the sufferings of Christ,<sup>378</sup> they will all partake in the glory that is about to be revealed (ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινώνος, 5:1). The use of the adjectival participle μελλούσης qualifying 'glory' suggests that the δόξα being referred to is some future manifestation rather than the transfiguration or the resurrection of Jesus.<sup>379</sup> The author has already made this connection between the appearance of Christ's glory and suffering 1:11 (cf 2:4). This same combination seems to be present in 4:13, where believers who 'share in the sufferings of Christ' can look forward to the revelation of his 'glory'. In that instance, the believers are said to share (κοινωνεῖτε) presently in Christ's sufferings. In 5:1, the author is said to share (κοινώνος) in the glory about to be revealed. Significantly, the Apostle Paul talks of believers sharing in the suffering of Christ (2 Cor 1:7). In Romans 8:17, the Apostle Paul similarly argues that sharing in the suffering of Christ is a condition for the glorious inheritance the believers will enjoy in the future (εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν). 'Participation in Christ's glory can only come through participation in his suffering' (Moo 1996:506).

Peter clearly and regularly links the suffering and death of Christ with his eternal glory (1:6-7,11,21; 4:13,14; 5:1,4,10) to the point that they seem almost inseparable and two sides of the one coin (Jobes 2005:302). The glory to be shared is that which belongs to Jesus Christ. For those believers suffering for their faith in Christ, Peter embraces an Isaianic motif of exile/restoration to provide solace and hope. Despite feeling like exiles in the land in which they live, Peter reminds them of the suffering of Jesus the Messiah and the future eternal glory that he will bring. Christ's promised return will result in sharing in his eternal glory.

In 5:1, Peter again echoes the exile/restoration motif as found throughout Isaiah 40-55.<sup>380</sup> Just as in 1 Peter 4:14 where Peter takes Isaiah 11:2 with its reference to the Spirit resting upon an individual (the Davidic King) and extends its application to the community, so here the concept of δόξα is extended beyond the individual to the whole Christian community. Regardless of the actual background to Peter's thought, it is clear that the future glory to be experienced by the author is the very δόξα of Christ. Moreover, in light of 1:7 and 5:10, by extension, those united to Christ by faith will also partake of his very glory. For the author, Christ's glorious and imminent (μελλούσης) return provides present consolation and certain hope of the vindication to the suffering people of Christ.<sup>381</sup> The future certainty of the revelation of this glory is reinforced by the use of the passive (ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι) implying God as the agent of the event.

In the light of the certainty of the revelation of glory, the elders (πρεσβύτεροι)<sup>382</sup> are encouraged to act willingly as overseers<sup>383</sup> of God's flock in a way that is pleasing to Him (ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποιμνιον

<sup>378</sup> While some commentators (Bigg 1901:186-87) deny the participatory understanding of καὶ μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων (5:1), others see the interpretation to be present either as the primary sense (Marshall 1991:161) or at least in a secondary sense (Kelly 1969:198-99; Goppelt 1993:341-43; Dubis 2002:107).

<sup>379</sup> Selwyn (1947:228) uniquely suggests that this mention of δόξα (5:1) harks back to Peter's participation in the glory of Jesus at his transfiguration (Mk 9:2-8) and resurrection. Best (1971:168-69) and Elliott (2000:820-21) rightly dismiss this suggestion as it does not fit linguistically and diminishes the common experience of this future glory and waters down the basis of his exhortations that follow (5:4).

<sup>380</sup> Dubis (2002:186-87) notes the allusions and citations of the exile/restoration motif of Isaiah 40-55 in 1 Peter. Isa 52:3 in 1 Pet 1:18; Isa 40:6-9 in 1 Pet 1:24-25; Isa 43:201-21 in 1 Pet 2:9; Isa 53 in 1 Pet 2:21-25).

<sup>381</sup> For the belief in the imminent return of Christ see 1 Pet 1:7,13; 4:13; 5:4; Rom 8:18 and Tit 2:13. Moreover, Peter's formulation closely echoes Paul's formulation in Rom 8:18 (μέλλουσας δόξας ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς).

<sup>382</sup> Adapting the Jewish tradition, the early Christian communities used the πρεσβύτεροι to refer to the leaders of the local believers (Acts 14:23; 15:2) who may well have been the heads of the houses in which the churches met. By virtue of their age and their standing in society, these men exercised 'an authority that is informal, representative and collective' (Campbell 1994:4,64).

<sup>383</sup> Like the term πρεσβυτέρους (5:1), the participle ἐπισκοποῦντες (5:2) does not allow 1 Peter to be dated with authority (Jobes 2005:303). Textual critics have long pondered if ἐπισκοποῦντες should be omitted (see κ\* and B) from the text or be included (P<sup>72</sup>, κ<sup>2</sup>, and A). In light of the external evidence, the wider context and reliance on Isa 53 (1 Pet 2:21-25) and the transcriptional probabilities, it is probably better to regard the participle as original (Davids 1990:178n11; Elliott 2000:824n665; and Jobes 2005:310). Nevertheless, neither inclusion nor omission substantially changes the meaning of Peter's caution.

τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπισκοποῦντες μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς ἀλλ' ἐκουσίως κατὰ θεόν, μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως, 5:2). The elders are to follow the footsteps of Christ in shepherding and caring for the sheep (cf 1 Pet 2:25) in their particular location.<sup>384</sup> They are to do so willingly<sup>385</sup> and in a manner consistent with God's will (κατὰ θεόν, 5:2) and out of a sense of service and not motivated by greed. Furthermore, these elders are not to lord over the people (cf Matt 20:22-27) but rather they are to be good examples for others in the believers community (μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων ἀλλὰ τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου, 5:3).

### 6.3 1 Peter 5:4 - καὶ φανερωθέντος τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον

The faithful service of the elders will be rewarded when the 'chief shepherd',<sup>386</sup> Jesus Christ, returns (καὶ φανερωθέντος τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον, 5.4). The belief of one overarching shepherd over the flock of Israel was prominent in Jewish thought concerning the coming messianic restoration (Ezek 34:23-24; 37:24). The coming Messiah was identified as a 'Shepherd' in Jewish Inter-Testamental literature. It was, therefore, a natural progression for Christian thought to adopt and apply this messianic image to Jesus Christ (1 Pet 2:25).<sup>387</sup> In this instance, ἀρχιποίμενος is adopted to suit the pastoral context and implies that these elders are shepherds of the local flocks while still under the care of and responsible to the arch-shepherd, Jesus Christ.

The precise identity of this 'chief-shepherd' is revealed by the description that he will appear (φανερωθέντος). Peter's previous use of the verb φανερώω (1:20) and his earlier identification of the Shepherd (2:25) make it clear that Christ is the 'chief-shepherd'. Christ who has been 'made manifest' in human history (1:20) is the same resurrected Christ who will be revealed at the end of the age (1:7,13; 4:13; cf. 5:1). The use of the passive participle suggests that God himself will reveal the Christ. With the future arrival of the Chief Shepherd, the faithful under-shepherds will receive from God their glorious reward – the unfading crown of glory (τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον, 5:4).<sup>388</sup> Through Christ, God will acknowledge those who have served faithfully.

The crown motif fits well with Peter's understanding of honour (Elliott 1995). In contrast to the perishable athletic crowns (wreaths) or even the golden crowns bestowed on civic benefactors (Jobes 2005:306), Christ's reward is an unfading crown of glory to be conferred at the conclusion of the age. This crown of glory is, thus, eternal. Those elders who have received the new birth by imperishable seed of God's living word (1:23) will certainly receive an imperishable crown. Their faithful service and their public vindication, or victory, will be acknowledged not due to their own efforts but because of the return of the resurrected and glorious Christ.

The expression τῆς δόξης στέφανον is unique in the NT; however, it is used metaphorically in Jewish tradition as an image of honour (Isa 28:5; Jer 13:18 and Sir 57:6).<sup>389</sup> In light of Peter's earlier use of Isaiah, it is clear that Isaiah 28:5 may well have been prominent in his thinking. In contrast to the fading flower of Ephraim (Isa 28:3) the Lord Almighty himself is promised to be a glorious crown, a beautiful wreath for the faithful remnant of his people (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσται κύριος σαβαωθ ὁ στέφανος τῆς

<sup>384</sup> Christians in their pre-converted state have already been described by Peter as wandering sheep (1 Pet 2:25). Therefore, the verb ποιμαίνω should be understood as an allusion to the LXX rather than a reference to any ecclesiastical office. The shepherd motif was widely used in Jewish tradition and its appearance here may well be influenced by Isa 53 (LXX) or Ezek 34. Furthermore, having been commissioned by Jesus to feed his sheep and lambs (John 21:15-19), Peter may be commissioning these fellow elders as under-shepherds (Jobes 2005:304).

<sup>385</sup> Senior (1980:87) suggests that μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς ἀλλ' ἐκουσίως may indicate that the function of leadership was conferred by designation or election. Nevertheless, even if selected as leaders, these men were to accept it willingly.

<sup>386</sup> The term ἀρχιποίμενος is a *hapax legomenon*. The closest NT parallel is in Heb 13:20 where the resurrected Lord Jesus is described as 'the great shepherd of the sheep'.

<sup>387</sup> See Mark 6:34/Matt 9:36; Mark 14:27/Matt 26:31; Matt 2:6; 10:6; 15:24; 25:32; Luke 12:32; John 10:1-18; 16:32; 21:15-19; Heb 13:20; Rev 7:17; 12:5; 19:15; Barn 5:12).

<sup>388</sup> The idea of an eschatological recompense appears elsewhere in the epistle (1:9) and also in the NT (Eph 6:8; Col 3:25; Heb 10:36; 11:13,39). For a brief excursus on the nature and background of στέφανος, see Elliott (2000:834-35).

<sup>389</sup> Glory in 5:4 also acts as an *inclusio*, framing Peter's instruction to the πρεσβύτεροι.

ἐλπίδος ὁ πλακεῖς τῆς δόξης τῷ καταλειφθέντι μου λαῷ, Isa 28:5). If Isaiah 28:5 provides the background, Peter narrows the original application to the faithful remnant of Israel to apply it to the faithful πρεσβύτεροι who lead the congregations throughout Asia Minor. The eschatological application remains and the honour promised to the elders is glorious due to the glory of its giver and the one through whom the reward is bestowed at his glorious return. As glory for Peter is primarily an attribute of God (4:11,14,16; cf 2:12), so the glory that is revealed from God in Christ's exaltation to life (1:1,21; 4:13; 5:1) is also the glory to be bestowed upon the leaders and implicitly to the believing community as a whole (1:7; 4:14; 5:10).

#### 6.4 A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 5:5-11

Peter continues his conclusion by encouraging the νεώτεροι (5:5) of the congregation to submit to those leaders (πρεσβύτεροι) who shepherd them.<sup>390</sup> Campbell (1994:206) is probably correct in seeing νεώτεροι as referring 'to those who were not elders, that is to say all church members'. While the precise circumstances and organisational structure of each of the congregations in Asia Minor cannot be determined with certainty, the epistle does seem to assume a more fluid and embryonic situation (Jobes 2005:308).<sup>391</sup> Regardless of their own situations or the role they play in the church, Peter encourages all his readers, whether πρεσβύτεροι or νεώτεροι, to show grace to one another (πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε, 5:5). Those who eschew arrogance and willingly humble themselves for the sake of Christ and his flock will be shown the grace of God (5:4). The need for humility among their relationships with one another would have been essential during a time of suspicion of and opposition to followers of Christ and their message.<sup>392</sup> Moreover, Peter grounds his exhortation for humility in the OT scriptures (Prov 3:34 (LXX)) and so reveals God's consistent expectation that his people exhibit an attitude of humility in their dealings with each other and the world. In the midst of their precarious circumstances, this call to 'lowly slave mentality' would have been radically counter-cultural in Graeco-Roman society and would have likely given rise to further scorn by their non-Christian neighbours (Elliott 2000:847). However, the followers of Christ are to show true humility and are promised that God himself would give them his grace (ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν, 5:5).

Peter concludes the main body of his epistle (5:6-11) with a series of admonitions followed by an encouragement. He wants his readers to accept the difficult times they are facing as from God's hand (5:6-8). In delivering his admonition, Peter uses a series of commands. These followers of Christ are to 'be humbled under God's mighty hand' (Ταπεινώθητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ θεοῦ, 5:6); be on their guard (νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε, 5:8) and be ready to take their stand against the devil (ᾧ ἀντίστητε, 5:9).

The phrase 'the mighty hand of God' appears only here in the NT, but was often used in the Exodus story to refer to God's display of power in delivering his people from Egypt and bringing them into the Promised Land (Ex 13:9; Deut 3:24; 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 9:26; 11:2).<sup>393</sup> Peter's readers, who have participated in God's new deliverance in Christ, are now experiencing humiliation and opposition that may lead them to retaliate. As Achtemeier (1996:338) explains, Christians are to acknowledge that their situation conforms to God's will and so to accept it for that reason will result in their ultimate vindication and God's exaltation of them (Ταπεινώθητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ὑψώσῃ ἐν καιρῷ, 5:6). This promise of future vindication is similar to Peter's previous references to the coming glory when Christ is revealed (1:7; 4:13; 5:1,4). Meanwhile, in the midst of their suffering and while waiting for this future exaltation, Christians are to cast their anxieties on God who personally cares for them (5:7). God is neither unaware nor unconcerned about the current experiences of those who are faithful to his Son.

<sup>390</sup> Selwyn's (1947:227) suggestion that πρεσβύτεροι should be regarded as older people and not leaders or elders should be dismissed (Jobes 2005:307).

<sup>391</sup> See Achtemeier (1996:323), Elliott (2000:815; 2001:555) and Michaels (1988:279) and their differing descriptions of the possible organisational settings of these new congregations.

<sup>392</sup> Elliott (2001:557) demonstrates that Peter's demand for courageous and competent leadership from the elders was necessary to maintain social cohesion in the local congregations.

<sup>393</sup> The 'hand of God' without the adjective is used elsewhere in the NT to describe the manifestation of God's power (Luke 1:16; Acts 4:30; 11:21; 13:11).

Peter then instructs his readers to be 'self-controlled' (or show 'spiritual sobriety', Jobes 2005:313) and 'alert' so that they may exhibit crucial readiness in the face of an unappeasable enemy, the devil (νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε. ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τινα καταπιεῖν, 5:8).<sup>394</sup> This foe is portrayed as a prowling and predatory lion ready to devour one of God's flock. The implication is clear. Peter understands the suffering of God's righteous people as being crucially connected to the activity of Satan through his earthly intermediaries. In face of this opposition, Peter's readers are to oppose the devil by standing firm in their faith (ᾧ ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει, 5:9). Instead of abandoning their faith and in this way trying to end the opposition, the Christians are to hold fast to the gospel and their place in the Christian community and society at large. These believers are faced with the stark choice of siding with Satan and his human agents or trusting in God through Christ (Achtmeier 1996:341). Moreover, this suffering is not limited to those in Asia Minor, but is shared by Christ's followers throughout the rest of the Roman world (εἰδότες τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ, 5:9).

### 6.5 1 Peter 5:10 – ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ

Peter draws his epistle (5:10-11) to an end with words of hope and a doxology that echo the letter's opening (1:1-7). The readers are reassured again that their inevitable suffering according to God's will shall be short and eventually end (ὀλίγον παθόντας, 5:10). While ὀλίγον may refer to the severity of the suffering, it is best to read it temporally in the light of 1 Peter 1:7 and in contrast to the 'eternal glory' (τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν, 5:10).<sup>395</sup> This reading allows the phrase to be understood from an eschatological perspective. The anguish to be endured in this world may vary in every situation and personal circumstance, but, when seen in the light of eternity, such suffering is for a little time.

Peter refocuses his readers from Satan and their suffering to the protection, care and support (5:6-7,10-11) by the God of all grace (ὁ δὲ θεὸς πάσης χάριτος, 5:10). The grace of God, of which the followers of Christ are beneficiaries, has been a recurrent theme of the epistle (1:2,20; 3:7; 4:10; 5:5) and appears in 5:12 as a one word summary of the letter (Elliott 2000:864). The phrase, 'the God of all grace', is immediately modified by ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς (5:10), that stresses that is God himself who has called the followers of Christ. This idea of God calling appears throughout 1 Peter (1:5; 2:9,21; 3:9) and, as in 3:9, the final eschatological goal of this event is here highlighted. The divinely-called believers are comforted again that they will enjoy God's glory in Christ (1:7; 4:11,13,14,16; 5:4) as Jesus Christ himself does (1:11; 5:1). This promise in 1 Peter 5:10 is strikingly similar to 2 Thessalonians 2:13-14 - εἰς ὃ [καὶ] ἐκάλεσεν ὑμᾶς διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἡμῶν εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. While Paul's expression states that the believers will enjoy the glory that belongs inherently to Christ, Peter stresses that the followers of Christ will enjoy the very glory of God.

The phrase ἐν Χριστῷ (5:10)<sup>396</sup> could be understood adjectivally, modifying δόξαν, or adverbially modifying καλέσας.<sup>397</sup> While each interpretation is possible, it is probably better to adopt the latter understanding and see the believers as being called in Christ Jesus (see Kelly 1969:212; Michaels 1988:302; Achtmeier 1996:345). This fits in well with the usage found elsewhere in 1 Peter (3:16; 5:14) and with 1 Corinthians 7:22. Those who are united to Christ are called by God to share in the eternal glory.

This glory appears to belong inextricably to both God and to Christ (1:7; 4:13,14; 5:1,4). The glory of God is also shared with Christ and by extension to all who are united to Christ by faith. By referring again to the glory of God/Christ, Peter reminds his suffering readers that they will be vindicated and

<sup>394</sup> Some later manuscripts (P<sup>72</sup>, κ<sup>2</sup>, L, Ψ, 33, *et al*) add ὅτι after γρηγορήσατε to make 'the grounds-exhortation relationship explicit' (Dubis 2010:168).

<sup>395</sup> Those scholars who understand ὀλίγον temporally include Achtmeier (1996:336), Jobes (2005:315-16), Dubis (2010:172) and Elliott (2000:845).

<sup>396</sup> Note Elliott's (2000:865fn763) discussion of the longer reading 'in Christ Jesus' (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, P72 A P Ψ M *et al*). While ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ has good manuscript support, the phrase appears nowhere else in 1 Peter and so may well be a result of a later scribal expansion (Metzger 1994:627).

<sup>397</sup> Selwyn's (1947:240) preference that ἐν Χριστῷ is modifying both δόξαν and καλέσας seems syntactically unlikely (Dubis 2010:171). Davids (1990:195) believes that both understandings are to be understood here and that Peter did not intend such precision.

rewarded by ultimately sharing in the divine glory and that this will endure forever (2 Cor 4:16-18). Compared with their future experience of God's eternal glory, their present suffering for the sake of Christ will eventually end. God will accomplish fully the salvation that he has inaugurated in Christ. For Peter, their calling and the promise of God's eternal glory are guaranteed ἐν Χριστῷ.

Before this eschatological glory is experienced, the Christian believers will suffer. However, after this time of suffering, Peter promises that the God of all grace will surely fortify and consolidate his community. Peter mentions four activities of which God is the agent and which are manifestations of his future grace. Using a series of almost synonymous future indicatives, God is presented as the one who will complete (καταρτίσει), reinforce (στηρίξει), strengthen (σθενώσει) and establish (θεμελιώσει) the followers of Christ in Asia Minor. God is to be trusted as he will put things right. The weak and the powerless will be strengthened and vindicated. What God is doing in the present will be seen at the eschatological glory. Those living stones being built up into the new spiritual house of which Christ is the cornerstone (see 1 Pet 2:4-5; 4:17) will have a secure, eternal foundation (θεμέλιος) thanks to God's gracious activity on their behalf at Christ's glorious return.

### 6.6 A Brief Examination of 1 Peter 5:11-14

Having assured his readers of God's ongoing and future care, Peter concludes his epistle with a celebratory doxology – αὐτῷ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν (5:11).<sup>398</sup> In the doxology in 1 Peter 4:11, God's eternal dominion/power (τὸ κράτος) and glory are identified with Jesus Christ. In praising God's dominion in 5:11, God's ability and power to accomplish the actions enumerated in 5:10 is now affirmed. By acknowledging God's eternal power, Peter challenges the prevailing human perspective that would assume that all glory, power and dominion belonged to Rome. Peter confesses that to God alone belongs eternal might and that, in comparison, the human glory and power of Rome are transitory like a withered flower (1:24). No human or malevolent spiritual power can conquer or thwart God's sovereignty and his eternal purposes.

In the final greetings (5:12-14),<sup>399</sup> Peter assures his readers that all the exhortations and teaching found in the letter 'are the true grace of God' (ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ, 5:12) (see Jobes 2005:324). Therefore, the author exhorts the Christians in Asia Minor to stand in the truth despite their current circumstances for they have been born into a living hope through Christ's resurrection and that they, who follow him through life and death, will be ultimately vindicated and glorified by God.

## 7 Conclusion

Since Selwyn's original appendix in 1947, the regularity of δόξα and its cognates in 1 Peter has been noted, though seldom commented upon. This chapter has considered these instances of δόξα within their immediate context and in relation to the setting and purpose of the epistle. This study now draws some conclusions based on the preceding reflections.

First, Peter unsurprisingly stands within both the OT and Jewish tradition and the NT and early Christian tradition, that δόξα belongs intrinsically to God himself (δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ, 4:11b; 5:10). He is the subject of the doxology of praise (4:11b). Moreover, in all things and in all life, the believers are to glorify God through the very person of Jesus Christ (ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 4:11a). This eternal glory of God is very different to the natural glory or honour of man, which is impermanent (καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου, 1:24).

Secondly, Peter adopts the High Christology of the NT and early Christian tradition by stating categorically that δόξα is also shared by Jesus Christ (ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα, 1:21; 4:13). Jesus is, thus, no ordinary human or some special individual. Jesus Christ shares with God

<sup>398</sup> Some manuscripts include ἡ δόξα (before κράτος in  $\aleph$  K P 049 056 0142 88 104 181 326 330 *a*; after κράτος 33 81 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 1881 *a*). This is explained best on the assumption that it is a later addition to the text derived from 4:11 (Metzger 1994:697-98).

<sup>399</sup> See Jobes (2005:319-22) and Elliott (2000:871-887) who outline the different scholarly discussions concerning the identity and role of Silvanus (Διὰ Σιλουανοῦ, 5:12) and how to understand 'she in Babylon chosen with you' (ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή, 5:13).

the characteristic of divine glory and it belongs to him by right. Moreover, it appears that through his resurrection Jesus entered into his subsequent glories after his sufferings and death (1:11).

Thirdly, Christ's glory is regularly mentioned in the Epistle in reference with his sufferings and sacrificial death. The mention of the glory of Christ with his suffering (τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας, 1:11) is a combination found only in 1 Peter and reveals the author's high Christology and his theological focus. He deliberately links the glory of Christ with his suffering by employing the Suffering Servant figure of Isaiah. This link is further emphasised in another unique Petrine formulation where the risen and exalted Christ is bestowed the honorific glory of God (τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα, 1:21). This reference to God's glorification of Christ at his exaltation has echoes in the Apostle Peter's preaching as recorded in Acts (3:13,15) which also seems to be influenced by the portrayal of the Isaianic Suffering Servant figure (Isa 52:13). God's bestowal of his glory upon his Son is the ultimate demonstration of his acceptance and honouring of his Son. The one rejected and killed by men is raised, exalted and glorified by God. The link of the suffering of Jesus with the concept of glory is also found in Peter's closing exhortation (ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός, 5:1) as a witness to the suffering of Jesus and the glory that he will reveal.

Fourthly, the concept of δόξα in 1 Peter regularly occurs in passages that speak of the end of the age (1:11; 2:12; 4:11b; 4:14; 4:16). The eschatological emphasis of the epistle is well-accepted (Parker (1994); Van Rensburg (2010)). The believers who endure will glorify God at the eschatological return of Jesus Christ (εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1:7) which will be a time of glorious joy (χαρᾶ ἀνεκκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένη, 1:8). Christ's return in the last days will mark the continuation of his glory that followed his predicted sufferings and begins with his resurrection (1:11).

Believers, as aliens and resident exiles, are, therefore, encouraged to live faithfully and well amongst their non-Christian neighbours. The motivation is that that these unbelievers may place their trust in Christ and so also glorify God in the day of Christ's visitation (δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς, 2:12). His return will be a time of great joy for those who share in Christ's sufferings when he is finally revealed (4:3; 5:1). When he is eventually revealed, those who shepherd God's flock will receive as their divine reward the eternal crown of glory (τῆς δόξης στέφανον, 5:4) while all will enjoy God's eternal glory that has been secured through the death, resurrection and exaltation of Christ (5:10).

Fifthly, δόξα is regularly employed in 1 Peter alongside references to the suffering experienced by the Christians because of their faith in Christ. In the face of opposition and suffering, Peter stresses the glorious inheritance that Christians will enjoy if they endure in their faith (1:7). Despite appearances to the contrary, the Christians who share in the sufferings of Christ will experience joy at the eschatological revelation of Christ (ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι, 4:13). Their present suffering for the name of Christ will result in future blessing as the Spirit of God and of glory rests on them (τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται, 4:14). Therefore, in the midst of their current trials, the Christians are to glorify God positively because of their association with Jesus Christ (εἰ δὲ ὡς χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, 4:16). Their suffering is an opportunity to respond by glorifying and honouring God. Due to their leadership of the congregations, the faithful shepherds (5:1) were probably targeted for particular opposition and so suffer as they bore witness to the suffering Christ. These individuals and those who belonged to the congregations in Asia Minor (5:10) are reminded of their glorious future which is assured through the resurrected and ascended Christ.

To those suffering followers of Christ, the promise of God's ultimate glory is a comfort and reassurance. Through Christ and his redemptive work on the cross and his ascension, this future glory will be experienced by those faithful followers in Christ at his eschatological return. Importantly, Peter takes this future promise of glory and applies it pastorally to comfort the suffering people of God with their certain future vindication and experience of the glory of God.

Sixthly, as has been observed (Pearson 2001), Peter regularly employs the language and motifs of Isaiah throughout his letter. It is noticeable that in some of those instances where Peter uses the concept δόξα there are definite influences from the prophecy of Isaiah. In 1 Peter 1:11,21, the sufferings destined for Christ and his subsequent glories seem deliberately to refer back to the figure of the

Suffering Servant of Isaiah 52:13-53:12 (Elliott 2000:346-348, 378-380). Peter (1:24) contrasts the ephemeral nature of man's inherent glory to that glory which belongs to God and to the promised coming Lord quotes from Isaiah 40:6-8. This day of visitation (δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς, 2:12) when the Lord will come in power and receive glory from the gentiles is an echo of many prophetic passages from the OT, but most especially Isaiah 10:3. Peter regularly draws on Isaiah and is happy to understand the person, work and glory of Christ through this Isainic lens.

How then did the author of 1 Peter come to apply the concept of God's δόξα to Jesus Christ? Newman (1992) posited that Paul's Glory-Christology was initiated through his encounter with the risen Lord on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1-9). The author of 1 Peter does not explicitly specify a particular incident that influenced his own understanding of Jesus Christ and ascribing him God's glory. Being later than Paul's epistles, this Glory-Christology may have been well established by the time Peter writes. It is worth noting, however, that the author of 2 Peter (2 Pet 1:16-17), traditionally the Apostle Peter, identifies the moment of Christ's transfiguration as the moment when the disciples physically witnessed Jesus receiving glory and honour from God (see Bauckham (1983:204-22); Green (2008:221-22)). From the emphasis of glory and suffering in 1 Peter, it might be best to see the salvific work of Christ and his glorious ascension as providing the ultimate verification and supreme evidence of Christ's glory.



# Chapter 8

## Conclusion

### Table of Contents

#### 1. Introduction

#### 2. Summary of Conclusions

#### 3. Closing Thoughts

#### 1. Introduction

In this final chapter, some of the major conclusions reached in the previous chapters of this thesis are summarised. The chapter then proceeds to draw final conclusions about the concept and use of δόξα and its cognates in 1 Peter.

#### 2. Summary of Conclusions

##### 2.1 Chapter 2 - The Purpose of 1 Peter

This study embarked by investigating the purpose of 1 Peter. It was argued that Peter composed this genuine pastoral letter addressed to communities of Christian believers throughout Asia Minor in both rural locations and urban centres. These believers in Christ included people from various ethnic, social and religious backgrounds and are addressed as beloved (Ἀγαπητοί). The Christians are also addressed as resident aliens and visiting foreigners (πάροικοι and παρεπιδήμιοι) as their allegiance to Jesus Christ and to their new faith communities were regarded by their non-Christian neighbours as a threat to local social cohesion and perhaps even to the Empire itself. As a result of their new status and their living hope conferred by God through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, it is highly likely that these Christians (Χριστιανοί) faced increased social dislocation (διασπορά), ostracism, hostile opposition and, in some instances, physical attack or persecution because of their faith in Christ. The recurring emphasis in the letter on suffering (πάσχ-) and frequent references to the innocent suffering and death of Jesus Christ further indicates that Peter's original readers were probably experiencing hardship and distress on account of their new faith.

##### 2.2 Chapter 3 - The Search for the Controlling Metaphor in 1 Peter

This study then surveyed and evaluated the various proposals offered by modern scholars as to the 'controlling metaphor' or 'organising principle' of 1 Peter and questioned how successful these theses have been.

It was noted that the commentaries of Beare (1946) and Lohse (1954, 1986) marked a change from previous Petrine scholarship in focussing on the letter as a whole rather than being predominately concerned in identifying alleged paschal-baptismal sources underlying the epistle. From thereafter the literary integrity of the epistle was assumed and scholars redirected their attention on identifying the unifying themes of the letter. Starting with the works of Goppelt (1978) and Brox (1979) and accelerated by the seminal works of Balch (1981) and Elliott (1981), major scholarly research now focused on addressing questions about the situation of Peter's original audience and the author's intent in penning his missive.

Following the Balch-Elliott debate, many scholars at first coalesced around the two theses proposed. While some preferred Balch's thesis that 1 Peter encouraged social assimilation and acculturation, others were more sympathetic to Elliott's understanding that the letter promoted social resistance and non-conformity. Naturally, others demurred seeking to find some new middle way (Volf 1994) while yet others (Talbert 1986) preferred to adopt a 'both-and' approach.

In trying to explain the purpose of Peter, scholars, prompted in part by Elliott's contrast between οἶκος-πάροικος and his literal understanding of παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους (2:11), sought to identify the controlling metaphor or organising principle in 1 Peter that would act as the one true key in understanding the situation of the original recipients and Peter's purpose in writing. In the aftermath, a great number of hermeneutical keys have been proposed to unlock the meaning of the epistle. However, the sheer number of these different 'keys' and their diverging nature suggest that this particular quest has generally proved unrewarding.

By embarking on research into the concept of δόξα in 1 Peter, it was judicious to acknowledge the attempts of Petrine scholars to identify the controlling metaphor and to be reticent in claiming too much from this particular avenue of study. This study, therefore, refrained from understanding δόξα (and its cognates), despite the prevalence of the word group, as the controlling metaphor or organising principle of the epistle. To make such an assertion at the outset would lead to the danger of isolating and elevating one particular concept over others and, thus, neglect the wider Christological and soteriological material found throughout the epistle and the overarching pastoral purpose of the author as he writes to God's suffering and yet saved people.

### **2.3 Chapter 4 - Glory in the Old Testament**

The study then briefly examined the concepts of כבוד יהוה (the Glory of the LORD) and כבוד (glory) in the Old Testament. From the significant incidences of the concept, it is clear that a subtle development of כבוד יהוה seems to take place in response to the changing historical situations. This can be evidenced in the theophanic occurrences where God impacts creation; in the Sinaitic tradition where כבוד יהוה appears visibly to his people; in the appropriation of the term by the kings to endorse their reigns and legitimise Jerusalem and the Temple; and in the prophetic developments in holding out כבוד יהוה to the exiles as an eschatological hope.

It is clear that 1 Peter accepts fully the premise found in the Hebrew Scriptures that glory (δόξα) belongs innately and primarily to the Lord God (כבוד יהוה). Standing in this Jewish tradition and echoing the examples found in the other books of the New Testament and the tradition of the early Church, 1 Peter affirms the Christological emphasis that assents that the δόξα of God also inherently belongs to Jesus Christ. Moreover, the eschatological hope found in the Jewish prophetic tradition that anticipates the כבוד יהוה being enjoyed by God's faithful remnant on return to Israel is accepted by Peter (as with the other NT writers) and now applied to the faithful remnant who believe in Jesus Christ. Those who suffer social dislocation for Christ's sake share now, and will enjoy more fully in the future, the very glory of Christ.

### **2.4 Chapter 5 - Glory in the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature**

The study then considered the use of כבוד יהוה (the Glory of the LORD) and כבוד (glory) in Jewish apocalyptic literature both in the Old Testament and in the Pseudepigraphia.

The chapter examined the various examples of Throne Visions where records of individual experiences of God, his glory and heaven are recalled. It was noted that while accepting the traditional understanding of כבוד יהוה (the Glory of the LORD) and כבוד (glory) as found in the Hebrew Scriptures, these authors of apocalyptic literature, influenced initially by the throne vision in Ezekiel 1, expanded the range of the concept of glory to refer to God, the Son of Man, the mediator/angel of God, the patriarchs in heaven and even God's throne itself. In this literature, the glory of God and its eternal permanence present a picture of eschatological hope and surety in an age of turmoil, suffering and insecurity in Israel and among God's people.

It is notable that 1 Peter 3:18-22 includes a Throne Scene. Christ is presented as ascending through the heavens to the highest heaven at which he is exalted and at God's right hand over all the angels, powers and authorities (ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανὸν ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων, 1 Pet. 3:22). This exaltation and glorification provides a similar message of hope, future glory and ultimate victory and would have been a source of assurance to suffering believers in first century Asia Minor. The use of δόξα in 1 Peter, thanks perhaps in part to Jesus' own preference for the Son of Man (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) title, thus, also sits comfortably alongside the use of כבוד יהוה in Jewish apocalyptic literature.

### **2.5 Chapter 6 - Glory in the LXX**

The study then considered the use of δόξα and its cognates in the Septuagint. Scholars have long differed on whether the Hellenistic Jewish translators of the Hebrew Bible simply passively adopted the Greek language or whether they actively adapted and shaped it in order to convey their particular

theological emphases. This is no mere academic exercise as the precise relation between כבוד and δόξα has often been used by scholars as a case study. While some have argued that the Septuagint re-created the meaning of δόξα from 'opinion' in classical Greek to God's 'glory', other scholars have contended that these translators adopted a term that would have been intelligible to their contemporary Greek-speaking Jewish community.

It was observed that δόξα seemed a logical choice to translate כבוד due to its overlap in the area of 'honour', the fact that both terms shared an objective-subjective structural similarity, and that these words were employed in similar literary contexts. Nevertheless, the translators of the Septuagint certainly did not mechanically translate every instance of כבוד with δόξα or its cognates. Moreover, δόξα and its cognates were not reserved exclusively to translate כבוד. It is clear that the extant term δόξα was deliberately chosen by scholars and that the semantic meaning of the word changed over time because of the כבוד-δόξα relationship.

The question remains as to why δόξα was chosen to translate כבוד. While these words seem to have different root meanings, it is clear that δόξα belonged to the lexical field of 'epiphany' and 'light' terminology. However, in choosing δόξα, the translators of the LXX deliberately eschewed the contemporary epiphany terminology (ἐπιφάνεια and φαντασία) used to describe the manifestation of Hellenistic pagan gods, in order to avoid equating the unique revelation of the Glory of the Lord (כבוד יהוה) with the appearances of these other deities. This relationship between δόξα and כבוד יהוה in the LXX resulted in a change in semantic range of δόξα that is reflected in its usage in the New Testament, including 1 Peter.

## 2.6 Chapter 7 - Δόξα and its Cognates in 1 Peter

The final chapter examined the occurrences of δόξα and its cognates in their immediate context and against the backdrop of 1 Peter as a whole.

It was observed that Peter stands firmly in both the Old Testament and Jewish tradition as well as the New Testament and early Christian tradition by accepting that glory belongs intrinsically to God himself (δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ). For Peter, God is to be glorified by Christians through Jesus Christ. This glory of God in contrast to human honour/glory is eternal. It was also noted that Peter's high Christology consistently reflects that of the NT and early Christian tradition in ascribing this divine glory to Jesus Christ (1:21; 4:13) who entered into his subsequent glories after his suffering and death (1:11). Influenced by the Suffering Servant figure of Isaiah, Peter explicitly links the concept of Christ's glory with his suffering and death. God is portrayed as the one who honours Christ with glory at his exaltation after his resurrection and ascension.

It was noted that Peter explicitly uses the concept of δόξα in passages that refer to the eschatological end of the age. Those believers in Christ who endure will glorify God at the return of Jesus Christ (1:7), which will be a time of glorious joy (1:8; 4:3; 5:1). This will also be a time of great vindication when some will receive as their divine reward the eternal crown of glory (5:4), while all will enjoy God's eternal glory that has been secured through the death, resurrection and exaltation of Christ (5:10). With this certain hope of future and full glory, Christians are, thus, encouraged to live faithfully and well amongst their non-Christian neighbours. Their faithfulness to Christ may lead to the non-Christian believers trusting in Christ and so also glorify God in the day of Christ's visitation (2:12).

It was observed that Peter employs δόξα alongside references to the suffering experienced by his original Christian readers because of their faith in God. In the midst of their opposition and social ostracism, these Christians are reassured of the glorious inheritance that will be experienced by those who faithfully endure at the eschatological revelation of Christ. Perhaps most interestingly, δόξα is regularly employed in 1 Peter alongside references to the suffering experienced by the Christians because of their faith in Christ. Peter, thus, emphasises the certainty of the future glorious inheritance that Christians will enjoy if they endure in their faith (1:7). Christians who share in the sufferings of Christ will experience joy at the eschatological revelation of Christ as the Spirit of God and of glory will rest on them (4:13-14). Therefore, in the midst of their current trials, the Christians are to glorify God positively

because of their public association with Jesus Christ (4:16). To those suffering because of their faith in Christ, the promise of God's ultimate glory is a comfort and reassurance. For Peter, the eschatological promise of experiencing God's glory is pastorally applied to the suffering people of God to reassure them of their certain and ultimate vindication.

### 3. Conclusion

A cursory examination of 1 Peter may simply lead readers to briefly note the regular occurrences of δόξα and its cognates in the epistle. Despite this regularity being observed statistically by Selwyn back in 1946, this possible avenue of research has been overlooked in Petrine studies. This should not be too surprising. For many years, the Epistle of 1 Peter was the neglected step-child of New Testament studies and serious academic investigations were intent in discovering alleged source baptismal materials or in uncovering the meaning and background of Christ's proclamation to the Spirits in Prison. Only after the rehabilitation of the 'exegetical step-child' in the light of the works of Balch and Elliott did other scholars consider the various themes of the epistle. However, Petrine studies often became a quest to discover (and over-emphasise) the hermeneutical key for understanding the epistle and the author's purpose. Yet, despite this welcomed renaissance in Petrine studies, the concept of δόξα in 1 Peter received no major analysis.

Additionally, the study of Peter's usage of δόξα and its cognates did not materialise because the idea of the 'glory of the Lord' is such a common theme in Jewish (כבוד יהוה) and early Christian tradition (δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ). The terminology is observed throughout the Hebrew Scriptures. Moreover, the New Testament writers, mainly coming from a monotheistic Jewish tradition, and the early Church confidently asserted that Jesus Christ shares the divine glory and that this glory belongs inherently to him (τὸν ἐγεῖραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα, 1:21). These Christological and theological emphases are clearly evident in 1 Peter. In some ways, the terminology of δόξα and its cognates is so common in its usage that it is in danger of simply merging into the background of the theological text.

What is particularly noteworthy and which reveals the author of 1 Peter's theological focus is that Christ's glory is directly linked to his suffering and sacrificial death (1:11; 5:1). Christ is presented as the embodiment of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah who suffers and dies as the righteous one for the unrighteous. Furthermore, the resurrected and exalted Christ receives the ultimate vindication and honour from God in being bestowed his divine glory.

Writing to Christians who were suffering for their faith in Christ, the link between the suffering and death of the righteous Jesus and his ultimate glory and vindication would have been pastorally significant. These Christians of Asia Minor are promised by Peter ultimate vindication at the end of the age from the same God who raised Jesus from the dead and honoured him. In contrast to the ephemeral honour of humans, Peter holds forth the eternal and imperishable glory from God for all who endure in the faith. To people suffering unjustly, Peter presents a Christological pattern for Christians to follow assuring them that as they endure and share in the suffering of Christ, so they also share in the very glory of Christ.

With its many occurrences in the epistle, it is tempting to claim that δόξα should be regarded as the hermeneutical key of 1 Peter in understanding the author's purpose in writing and the socio-historical situation of his original readers. The problem with this approach would be that it would elevate one term over the rest in the epistle and is open to influencing one's reading of the entire text. The usage of δόξα and its cognates appears to echo much of the rest of the New Testament and the Christian tradition. However, δόξα is preferred by Peter as it is and sitting naturally in the letter to express the ultimate hope of the believers in Asia Minor in God's ultimate vindication. Until that time, these Christians will endure as they share the suffering and glory of Christ.

Peter's message of hope and ultimate vindication of God's people who endure in the faith remains relevant and a necessary message for believers today. Whether to Christians navigating their way in the increasingly post-Christian societies of the West and experiencing increased social ostracism and dislocation, or to believers enduring physical abuse and death for their faith in other parts of the world, Peter reminds the believers that Christ is exalted at God's right hand and that his followers are assured of ultimate vindication and honour. Those who endure in the faith will share in the very glory of Christ.

# Bibliography

- Abbott, T.K. 1891. *Essays Chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Achtemeier, P.J. 1984. Reviewed Work: *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* by J.H. Elliott. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103:130-133.
- Achtemeier, P.J. 1989. Newborn Babes and Living Stones: Literal and figurative in 1 Peter. In Horgan, M.P. and Kobelski, P.J. (eds.). *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A Fitzmeyer*. New York: Crossroad. pp207-236.
- Achtemeier, P.J. 1993. Suffering Servant and Suffering Christ in 1 Peter. In Malherbe, A.J. and Meeks, W.A. (eds.). *The Future of Christology: Essays in Honor of Leander E. Keck*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press. pp176-88.
- Achtemeier, P.J. 1996. *1 Peter*. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- Achtemeier, P.J. 1999. The Christology of 1 Peter: Some Reflections. In Powell, M.A. and Bauer, D.R. (eds.). *Who Do You Say That I Am?: Essays on Christology*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press. pp140-54.
- Applegate, J.K. 1992. The Co-Elect Woman of 1 Peter. *New Testament Studies* 38:587-604.
- Aristotle. 1932. *Politics*. Rackham, H. (trans.). Loeb Classical Library 264. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Arnold, C.E. 1992. *Powers of Darkness*. Leicester: IVP.
- Aune, D.E. 1986. Magic; Magician. In Bromiley, G.W., (gen. ed.). *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, Vol 3. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. pp213-19.
- Balch, D.L. 1981. *Let Wives be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter*. (SBL monograph series, Volume 26). Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Balch, D.L. 1986. Hellenization/Acculturation in 1 Peter. In Talbert, C.H. (ed.). *Perspectives on First Peter*. Macon: Mercer University Press. pp79-101.
- Baldwin, J. 1972. *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*. Tyndale Old Testament Commentary. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press.
- Bandstra, A.J. 2003. "Making Proclamation to the Spirits in Prison": Another Look at 1 Peter 3:19. *Calvin Theological Journal* 38:120-24.
- Barr, J. 1961. *The Semantics of Biblical Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barr, J. 1968. Common Sense and Biblical Language. *Biblica* 49:377-97.
- Barrett, C.K. 1959. 'The Background of Mark 10:45'. In *New Testament Essays*. Higgins, A.J.B. (ed.). Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp1-18.
- Bauer, W, W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, & F.W. Danker. 1979. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Baumgarten, J.M. 1999. Art in the Synagogue: Some Talmudic Views. In Fine, S. (ed.). *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue: Cultural Interaction during the Greco-Roman Period*. New York: Routledge. pp71-86.
- Beale, G.K. 1999. *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. New International Greek Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Beare, F.W. 1970. *The First Epistle of Peter*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Beasley-Murray, G.R. 1962. *Baptism in the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Bechtler, S.R. 1998. *Following in His Steps: Suffering, Community and Christology in 1 Peter*, SBLDS, 162. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Best, E. 1971. *1 Peter*. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott.
- Best, E. 1986. A First Century Sect. *Irish Biblical Studies* 8:115-21.

- Bigg, C. 1901. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Black, M. 1975. 'Die Apotheose Israels: Eine neue Interpretation des danielischen 'Menschensohns'' Berz, A. (trans.). In *Jesus und der Menschensohn*. Pesch, R. and Schnackenberg, R. (eds.). Freiburg: Herder. pp92-99.
- Black, M. 1976. 'Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission and the 'Son of Man': A Study in Tradition-History'. In *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity*. Hamerton-Kelly, R. and Scroggs, R. (eds.). Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity. Leiden: Brill. pp57-73.
- Black, M. 1985. in consultation with J.C. VanderKam, with an appendix on the "Astronomical" Chapters (72-82) by O Neugeberger. *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*. SVTP 7. Leiden: Brill.
- Block, D.I. 1997. *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1-24*. New International Commentary of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Bockmuehl, M. 2007. Peter's Death in Rome? Back to Front and Upside Down. *Scottish Journal of Theology* 60:1-23.
- Boismard, M.-É. 1956a. La typologie baptismale dans la première épître de Saint Pierre. *La Vie Spirituelle* 94:339-52.
- Boismard, M.-É. 1956b. Une liturgie baptisimale dans la Prima Petri, I: Son influence sur Tit, I Jo. Et Col. *Revue Biblique* 63:182-208.
- Boismard, M.-É. 1957. Une liturgie baptisimale dans la Prima Petri, II: Son influence sur l'épître de Jacques. *Revue Biblique* 64:161-83.
- Boismard, M.-É. 1961. *Quatre hymnes baptismales dans la première épître de Saint Pierre*. LD 30. Paris: Cerf.
- Bolt, P.G. 1996. Jesus, the Daimons and the Dead. In Lane, A.N.S., (ed.). *The Unseen World: Christian Reflections on Angels, Demons and the Heavenly Realm*. Carlisle: Paternoster. pp75-102.
- Boman, T. 1960. *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek*. London: SCM.
- Boobyer, G.H. 1929. 'Thanksgiving' and the 'Glory of God' in Paul. Borna-Leipzig: R Noske.
- Boring, M.E. 1993. Interpreting 1 Peter as a Letter [not] Written to Us. *Quarterly Review* 13:89-111.
- Bornemann, W. 1920. Der erste Petrusbrief – eine Taufrede des Silvanus?' *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 19:143-65.
- Botha, J. 1988. Christian and Society in 1 Peter: Critical Solidarity. *Scriptura* 24:27-37.
- Bright, J. 1965. *Jeremiah: Introduction, Translation and Notes*. Anchor Bible 21. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Bright, J. 1981. *A History of Israel*. (3rd ed.). Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Broughton, T.R.S. 1938. Roman Asia Minor. In Frank, T., ed. *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol 4. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press. pp499-918.
- Brooks, O.S. 1974. I Peter 3:21: The Clue to the Literary Structure of the Epistle. *Novum Testamentum* 16:290-305.
- Brox, N. 1989. *Der erste Petrusbrief*, (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). EKNNT 21. Zurich: Benziger Verlag.
- Bruce, F.F. 1982. *The Epistle to the Galatians*. Exeter: Paternoster.
- Brueggemann, W. 1979. Trajectories in Old Testament Literature and the Sociology of Ancient Israel. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98:161-85.
- Brueggemann, W. 1980. A Convergence in Recent Old Testament Theologies. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 18:2-18.
- Brueggemann, W. 1985a. A Shape for Old Testament Theology, I: Structure Legitimation. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 47:28-95.
- Brueggemann, W. 1985b. A Shape for Old Testament Theology, II: Embrace of Pain. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 47:395-415.

- Calvin, J. 1963. *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews and the First and Second Epistles of St. Peter*. Calvin's New Testament Commentaries. Translated by W.B. Johnston. Torrance, D.W. & Torrance, T.F. eds. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Campbell, R.A. 1994. *The Elders: Seniority Within Earliest Christianity*. Studies of the New Testament and Its World. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Caragounis, C.C. 1986. *The Son of Man: Vision and Interpretation*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1/38. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck.
- Carroll, R.P. 1986. *Jeremiah: A Commentary*. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Carson, D.A., Moo, D.J., & Morris, L. 1992. *An Introduction to the New Testament*. Leicester: IVP.
- Carter, W. 2004. Going All the Way? Honoring the Emperor and Sacrificing Wives and Slaves in 1 Peter 2:13-3:6. In Levine, A. and Robbins, M.M. (eds.). *A Feminist Companion to the Catholic Epistles*. London & New York: T&T Clark. pp14-33.
- Casey, M. 1978. *The Son of Man: Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7*. London: SPCK.
- Childs, B.S. 1974. *The Book of Exodus: A Critical Theological Commentary*. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Childs, B.S. 1979. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Chin, M. 1991. A Heavenly Home for the Homeless: Aliens and Strangers in 1 Peter. *Tyndale Bulletin* 42: 96-112.
- Clements, R.E. 1965. *God and Temple*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Clowney, E.P. 1988. *The Message of 1 Peter: The Way of the Cross*. Leicester: InterVarsity Press.
- Collins, J.J. 1979a. 'Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre'. *Semeia* 14:1-20.
- Collins, J.J. 1979b. 'The Jewish Apocalypses'. *Semeia* 14:21-59.
- Collins, J.J. 1983. *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*. New York: Crossroad.
- Collins, J.J. 1984. *Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*. The Forms of the Old Testament Literature 22. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Corley, K.E. 1995. 1 Peter. In Schüssler Fiorenza, E. (ed.). *Searching the Scriptures, Vol. 2: A Feminist Commentary*. London: SCM. pp349-60.
- Cotterell, P. & M. Turner, 1989. *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation*. London: SPCK
- Craigie, P.C. 1973. The Poetry of Ugarit and Israel. *Tyndale Bulletin* 22:3-31.
- Craigie, P.C. 1978. *The Problem of War in the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Craigie, P.C. 1983. *Psalms 1-50*. Word Biblical Commentary 19. Waco: Word.
- Cranfield, C.E.B. 1960. *I & II Peter and Jude*. London: SCM.
- Cremer, H. 1895. *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Edinburgh T&T Clark.
- Cross, F.L. 1954. *1 Peter: A Paschal Liturgy*. London: Mowbray.
- Cross, F.M. 1950. Notes on a Canaanite Psalm in the Old Testament. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 117:19-21.
- Cross, F.M. 1953. The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12:74-77.
- Cross, F.M. 1973. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Dahood, M. 1965. *The Psalms I: 1-50*. Anchor Bible 16. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Dalton W.J. 1989. *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 Peter 3:18-4:6*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Analecta Biblica, 23. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Danker, F.W. 1983. Reviewed Work: *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* by J.H. Elliott. *Interpretation* 37:84-88.
- Davids, P.H. 1990. *The First Epistle of Peter*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

- Dean-Otting, M. 1984. *Heavenly Journeys: A Study of the Motif in Hellenistic Jewish Literature*. Judentum Und Umwelt 8. Frankfurt am Main: Pater Lang.
- Decreus, F. 1974/75. Doxa-Kabod. Schematische Transposite of struktuurgelijkheid? *Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen*. 22:117-85.
- Deissmann, G.A. 1901. *Bible Studies*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Deissmann, G.A. 1908. *The Philology of the Greek Bible: Its Present and Future*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Deissmann, G.A. 1927. *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World*. New York: George H. Doran.
- Dibelius, M. 1931. Zur Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments (ausserhalb der Evangelien). *Tru NS* 207-41.
- Dijkman, J.H.L. 1987. 1 Peter: A later Pastoral Stratum?. *New Testament Studies* 33:265-71.
- Dillard, R.B. & Longman III, T. 1994. *An Introduction to the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House.
- Dryden, J. de Waal. 2006. Theology and Ethics in 1 Peter: Paraenetic Strategies for Christian Character Formation. *WUNT* 2.209. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Dubis, M. 2002. *Messianic Woes in First Peter: Suffering and Eschatology in 1 Peter 4.12-19*. *Studies in Biblical Literature*, 33. New York: Peter Lang.
- Dubis, M. 2006. Research on 1 Peter: A Survey of Scholarly Literature Since 1985. *Currents in Biblical Research* 4(2):199-239.
- Durham, J.I. 1987. *Exodus*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word.
- Elliott, J.H. 1966. *The Elect and the Holy: An Exegetical Examination of 1 Peter 2:4-10 and the Phrase basileion hierateuma*. (Novum Testamentum Supplements, 12). Leiden: Brill.
- Elliott, J.H. 1976. The Rehabilitation of an Exegetical Step-Child: 1 Peter in Recent Research. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95:243-54.
- Elliott, J.H. 1981. *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Elliott, J.H. 1990. *A Home for the Homeless: A Social-Scientific Criticism of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- Elliott, J.H. 1993. *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism?* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship: New Testament Series). Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Elliott, J.H. 1995. Disgraced Yet Graced: The Gospel according to 1 Peter in the Key of Honor and Shame. *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 24:166-78.
- Elliott, J.H. 2000. *1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 37B). New York: Doubleday.
- Elliott, J.H. 2001. Elders as Leaders in 1 Peter and the Early Church. *Currents in Theology and Mission* 28:549-59.
- Erickson, M.J. 1995. Is There Opportunity for Salvation after Death? *Bibliotheca Sacra* 152:131-44.
- Eusebius of Caesarea. 1980. *Ecclesiastical History. Vol 1. Books 1-5*. Lake, K., Oulton, J., & Lawlor, H. (Trans.). Loeb Classical Library 153. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Feinberg, J.S. 1986. 1 Peter 3:18-20, Ancient Mythology, and the Intermediate State. *Westminster Theological Journal* 48:303-36.
- Feldmeier, R. 1992. *Die Christen als Fremde. Die Metapher der Fremde in der antiken Welt, im Urchristentum und im 1. Petrusbrief*. *WUNT*, 64. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Feldmeier, R. 2008. *The First Letter of Peter*. Davids, P.H. (Trans.). Waco: Baylor University Press.
- France, R.T. 1982. *Jesus and the Old Testament*, London: Tyndale.
- Frend, W.H.C. 2000. Martyrdom and Political Oppression. In Esler, P.F. (ed.). *The Early Christian World*. New York: Routledge. pp815-39.

- Furnish, V.P. 1975. Elect Sojourners in Christ: An Approach to the Theology of I Peter. *Perkins School of Theology Journal* 28:1-11.
- Garrett, S. 1992. Sociology of Early Christianity. In Freedman, D. N. (ed.). *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. New York: Doubleday. Volume 6:89-99.
- Gibson, J.C.L. 1978. *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Goldingay, J. 1989. *Daniel*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas: Word.
- Goodenough, E.R. 1953. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 12 Vols. New York: Pantheon.
- Goppelt, L. 1982. Theology of the New Testament. In Roloff, J. (e.d.). *The Variety and Unity of the Apostolic Witness to Christ*. Vol 2. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Goppelt, L. 1993. *A Commentary on I Peter*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Guthrie, D. 1981. *New Testament Theology*. Leicester: IVP. pp841-843.
- Green, J. 2001. Modernity, History and the Theological Interpretation of the Bible. *Scottish Journal of Theology* 54:308-29.
- Greenberg, M. 1983. *Ezekiel 1-20*. Anchor Bible 22. Garden City: Doubleday.
- Groningen, G.V. 1990. *Messianic Revelation in the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Grudem, W. 1986. Christ Preaching Through Noah: 1 Peter 3:19-20 in the Light of Dominant Themes in Jewish Literature. *Trinity Journal NS* 7: 3-31.
- Grudem, W. 1988. *The First Epistle of Peter: An Introduction and Commentary*. Leicester: IVP.
- Grudem, W. 1991. "He Did Not Descend into Hell": A Plea for Following Scripture instead of the Apostles' Creed. *Journal of the Evangelical Theology Society* 34:103-13.
- Habel, N. 1965. The Form and Significance of the Call Narratives. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 77:297-323.
- Hanson, P.D. 1975. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Harnack, A. von. 1897. *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Irenäus*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Vol. 1 of *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*. 2 Vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Harrison, E.F. 1982. 'Glory.' Pages 477-83 in vol. 2 of the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* Edited by G.W. Bromiley. 4 Vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. 1977-1988.
- Hatch, E. 1889. *Essays in Biblical Greek*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hauck, F. 1957. *Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus Judas und Johannes*. 8<sup>th</sup> Ed. Das Neue Testament Deutsch 10. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hemer, C.J. 1978. The Address of 1 Peter. *Expository Times* 89:239-43.
- Hill, D. 1967. *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms*. SNTSMS 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hill, D. 1976. On Suffering and Baptism in I Peter. *Novum Testamentum* 18:181-89.
- Hillyer, N. 1970. First Peter and the Feast of Tabernacles. *Tyndale Bulletin* 21:39-70.
- Hobbie, P.H. 1993. I Peter 2:2-10. *Interpretation* 47:170-73.
- Holloway, P.A. 2002. 'Nihil Inopinati Accidisse- "Nothing Unexpected has Happened": A Cyrenaic Consolatory Topos in 1 Pet 4:12f. *New Testament Studies* 48:433-48.
- Hooker, M. D. 1967. *The Son of Man in Mark*. London: SPCK.
- Horrell, D.G. 2002. The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 86: 29-60.
- Horrell, D.G. 2007. The Label Χριστιανός: 1 Pet 4.16 and the Formation of Christian Identity. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 126: 341-61.
- Horrell, D.G. 2007b. Between Conformity and Resistance: Beyond the Balch-Elliott Debate Towards a Postcolonial Reading of First Peter. In Webb, R.L. and Bauman-Martin, B. (eds.). *Reading First Peter with New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of First Peter*. London: T&T Clark. pp111-143.

- Horrell, D.G. 2008. *1 Peter*, London: T&T Clark.
- Horrell, D.G. 2009. The Themes of 1 Peter: Insights from the Earliest Manuscripts (the Crosby-Schøyen Codex ms 193 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex containing P<sup>72</sup>). *New Testament Studies* 55: 502-22.
- Horrell, D.G. 2015. "'Already Dead' or 'Since Died'? Who are 'The Dead' and When was the Gospel Preached to Them (1 Pet. 4:6)?" In *Becoming Christian: Essay on 1 Peter and the Making of Christian Identity*. London: Bloomsbury T& T Clark.
- Howe, F.R. 2000a. Christ, the Building Stone, in Peter's Theology. *Bibliotheca Sacra* 157:35-43.
- Howe, F.R. 2000b. The Christian Life in Peter's Theology. *Bibliotheca Sacra* 157:304-14.
- Howe, F.R. 2000c. The Cross of Christ in Peter's Theology. *Bibliotheca Sacra* 157:190-99.
- Howe, F.R. 2000d. God's Grace in Peter's Theology. *Bibliotheca Sacra* 157:432-38.
- Hubbard B.J. 1974. *The Matthean Redaction of a Primitive Apostolic Commissioning: An Exegesis of Matthew 28:16-20*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 19. Missoula: SBL/Scholars.
- Hubbard B.J. 1977. Commissioning Stories in Luke-Acts: A Study of Their Antecedents, Form and Content. *Semeia* 8:103-26.
- Hunzinger, C-H. 1965. Babylon als Deckname für Rom. und die Datierung des 1. Petrusbriefes. In Reventlow, H.G. (ed.). *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land: Hans-Wilhelm Hertzberg zum 70. Geburtstag*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. pp67-77.
- Hurtado, L.W. 1988. *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Hurtado, L.W. 1997. Christology. In Martin, R.P. & Davids, P.H. (eds.). *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments*. Leicester: IVP, pp170-84.
- Jobes, K.H. 2005. *1 Peter*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- Johnson, D.E. 1986. Fire in God's House: Imagery from Malachi 3 in Peter's Theology of Suffering (1 Pet 4:12-19). *Journal of the Evangelical Theology Society* 29: 285-94.
- Johnson, L.T. 2002. God Ever New, Ever the Same: The Witness of James and Peter. In Das, A.A. and Matera, F.J. (eds.). *The Forgotten God: Perspectives in Biblical Theology: Essays in Honor of Paul J. Achtemeier on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press. pp211-27.
- Kaiser, O. 1972. *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary*. Wilson, R.A. (trans.). Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Kaiser, W.C. & Silva, M. 1994. *An Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Kelly, J.N.D. 1969. *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*. Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Kendall, D.W. 1985. The Christian's Vocation: The Call to Holiness according to the First Epistle of Peter. *Asbury Seminarian* 40:3-12.
- Kendall, D.W. 1986. The Literary and theological function of 1 Peter 1:3-12. In Talbert, C.H. (ed.). *Perspectives on First Peter*. Macon: Mercer University Press. pp103-20.
- Kendall, D.W. 1987. 1 Peter 1:3-9: On Christian Hope. *Interpretation* 41:66-71.
- Kennard, D.W. 1987. Petrine Redemption: Its Meaning and Extent. *Journal of the Evangelical Theology Society* 30:399-405.
- Kennedy, H.A.A. 1895. *Sources of New Testament Greek or The Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Kim, S. 1984. *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 1/18. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck.
- Kittel, G. 1938. *Lexicographia Sacra: Two Lectures on the Making of the Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. "Theology" Occasional papers 7. London: SPCK.

- Kittel, G. 1964. 'Δόξα.' Pages 233-37; 242-53 in vol. 2 of the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by G. Kittel & G. Friedrich. Translated by G.W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans. 1964-1976.
- Kittel, H. 1934. *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes: Studien zu Geschichte und Wesen eines neutestamentlichen Begriffs*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 16. Giessen: Töpelmann.
- Klein, R.W. 1983. *I Samuel*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word.
- Knibb, M.A. 1984. '1 Enoch'. In *The Apocryphal Old Testament*. Sparks, H.F.D. (ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press. pp169-319.
- Koch, K. 1972. *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and Its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy*. (Trans. Kohl, M.). Studies in Biblical Theology 2/22. London: SCM.
- Krentz, E. 1999. Order in the "House" of God: The *Haustafel* in 1 Peter 2:11-3:12. In Hills, J.V. (ed.). *Common Life in the Early church: Essays Honoring Graydon F. Snyder*. Harrisburg: Trinity press International. pp279-85.
- Kümmel, W.G. 1973. *Introduction to the New Testament*. 17<sup>th</sup> ed. Translated by Kee, H.C. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Leaney, A.R.C. 1964. I Peter and the Passover: An Interpretation. *New Testament Studies* 10:238-51.
- Leaney, A.R.C. 1967. *The Letters of Peter and Jude: A Commentary on the First Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter*. CBC. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, J.A.L. 1983. *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Chico: Scholars.
- Le Roux, E. 2018. Ethics in 1 Peter: The *Imitatio Christi* and the Ethics of Suffering in 1 Peter and the Gospel of Mark – A Comparative Study. Eugene: Pickwick Publications.
- Liddel, H.G. & R. Scott. 1940. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. (rev. ed.). Augmented by H.S. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Longman III, T. & Reid, D.G. 1995. *God is a Warrior*. Carlisle: Paternoster.
- Lohse, E. 1954. Paränese und Kerygma im I. Petrusbrief. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 45:68-89.
- Lohse, E. 1986. Parenesis and Kerygma in 1Peter. In Talbert, C.H. (ed.). *Perspectives on First Peter*. Macon: Mercer University Press. pp37-59.
- Louw, J.P. 1982. *Semantics of New Testament Greek*. Semeia Studies. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Louw, J.P. & Nida, E.A. (eds.) 1988. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*. 2 Vols. New York: United Bible Societies.
- Mackay, C. 1968. Zechariah in Relation to Ezekiel 40-48. *Evangelical Quarterly* 40:197-210.
- Marshall, I.H. 1991. *1 Peter*. Leicester: IVP.
- Martin, R.P. 1962. The Composition of I Peter in Recent Study. In *Idem*. (ed.). *Vox Evangelica: Biblical and Historical Essays by Members of the Faculty of the London Bible College*, London: Epworth. pp29-42.
- Martin, R.P. 1978. *New Testament Foundations Vol 2*. Exeter: Paternoster.
- Martin R.P. 1994. 1 Peter. In Chester A.N. and Martin, R.P. (eds.). *The Theology of the Letters of James, Peter and Jude*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp87-133.
- Martin, T.W. 1992. *Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter*, SBLDS, 131. Atlanta: Scholar's Press.
- Martin, T.W. 1992b. The Present Indicative in the Eschatological Statements of 1 Peter 1:6, 8. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 111:307-12.
- Martin, T.W. 2007. The Rehabilitation of a Rhetorical Step-Child: First Peter and Classical Rhetorical Criticism. In Webb, R.L. & Baumann-Martin, B. (eds.). *Reading First Peter with New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of First Peter*. T&T Clark: London. pp41-71.

- McCrudden, K.B. 2007. Compassionate Soteriology in Hebrews, 1 Peter, and the Gospel of Mark. *Biblical Research* 52:41-56.
- McKnight, S. 1996. *1 Peter*. NIV Application Commentary. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Meeks, W.A. 1986. *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Michaels, J.R. 1966-1967. Eschatology in I Peter III.17. *New Testament Studies* 13:394-401.
- Michaels, J.R. 1988. *1 Peter*. Waco: Word.
- Miller, J.M. and Hayes J.H. 1986. *A History of Israel and Judah*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Mitchell, S. 1993 a. *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor. Volume I: The Celts and the Rise of Roman Rule*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Mitchell, S. 1993 b. *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor. Volume II: The Rise of the Church*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Molthagen, J. 1996. Die Lage der Christen im römischen Reich nach dem 1. Petrusbrief. *Historia* 44:446-49.
- Motyer, J.A. 1993. *The Prophecy of Isaiah*. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press.
- Moule, C.F.D. 1956-1957. The Nature and Purpose of I Peter. *New Testament Studies* 3:1-11.
- Moule, C.F.D. 1982. *Essays in New Testament Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mohrmann, C. 1953. *Epiphania*. Nijmegen/Utrecht: Dekker & Van de Vegt.
- Mohrmann, C. 1954. 'Note sur doxa'. *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung: Festschrift Albert Debrunner*, Bern: Francke. pp321-28.
- Mohrmann, C. 1957. Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church. *Vigiliae Christianae* 11:11-36.
- Mowinckel, S. 1956. *He That Cometh*. Anderson G.W. (trans). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Moyise, S. 2000. 'Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament'. In Moyise, S. (ed.), *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*. JSNTSup 189. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Mueller, C.D. 2002. People of God, Hear God Who Calls. *The Bible Today* 40:211-17
- Munro, W. 1983. *Authority in Paul and Peter: The Identification of a Pastoral Stratum in the Pauline Corpus and in 1 Peter*. SNTSMS, 45; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Musurillo, H. 1972. *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs: Introductions, Texts and Translations*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Neill, S. 1961. *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Neill, S. & Wright, N.T. 1990. *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1986*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Newman, C.C. 1992. *Paul's Glory-Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric*. Leiden: Brill.
- Newsom, C. 1985. *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*. Harvard Semitic Studies. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Nida E.A. & Taber, C.R. 1974. *The Theory and Practice of Translation*. Leiden: Brill.
- Noth, M. 1965. *Leviticus: A Commentary*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Olsson, B. 1995. A Social-Scientific Criticism of 1 Peter. In Fornberg T. and Hellholm D. (eds.). *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in their Textual and Situational Contexts. Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman*. (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press): 827-46.
- Oswalt, J.N. 1983. *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39*. New International Commentary of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Oswalt, J.N. 1998. *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66*. New International Commentary of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Paschke, B.A. 2006. The Roman *ad bestias* Execution as a Possible Historical Background for 1 Peter 5.8. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 28:489-500.

- Parker, D.C. 1994. The Eschatology of 1 Peter. *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 24:27-32.
- Pax, E. 1960. Ex Parmenide ad Septuaginta: De notion vocabuli δόξα. *Verbum Domini* 38:82-102.
- Pearson, S.C. 2001. *The Christological and Rhetorical Properties of 1 Peter*. Studies in Bible and Early Christianity, Vol 45. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Perdelwitz, R. 1911. *Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des I. Petrusbriefes: Ein literarischer und religionsgeschichtlicher Versuch*. RVV 11/3. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann.
- Perkins, P. 1994. *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Petersen, D.L. 1984. *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8*. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Pilch, J.J. 1991. "Visiting Strangers" and "Resident Aliens". *The Bible Today* 29:357-61.
- Piper, J. 1980. Hope as the Motivation of Love: 1 Peter 3.9-12. *New Testament Studies* 26:221-31.
- Pliny the Younger. 1969. *Letters, Volume 1: Books 1-7*. Radice, B. (trans.). Loeb Classical Library 55. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Polycarp. 2003. *The Apostolic Fathers, Volume I*. Ehrman, B.D. (ed. & trans.). Loeb Classical Library 24. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Popovic, M. 2007. *Reading the Human Body. Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah vol. 67*. Leiden: Brill.
- Poythress, V.S. 1988. What Does God Say Through Human Authors? In Conn, H.M. (ed.). *Inerrancy and Hermeneutic, A Tradition, A Challenge, A Debate*, Grand Rapids: Baker. pp81-99.
- Prasad, J. 2000. *Foundations of the Christian Way of Life According to 1 Peter 1, 13-25: An Exegetico-theological Study*, AnBib 146. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Preisker, H. 1949. *Das Ethos des Urchristentums*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Gütersloh: Mohn.
- Preisker, H. & Windisch H. 1951. *Die katholischen Briefe*. 3rd ed. Tübingen: Mohr. pp152-162.
- Procksch, O. 1933. 'Christus im Alten Testament'. *Neue kirkliche Zeitschrift* 44:57-83.
- Proctor, J. 1993. Fire in God's House: Influence of Malachi 3 in the NT. *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 36:9-14.
- Pryor, J.W. 1986. First Peter and the New Covenant. *Reformed Theological Review* 45: 1-4, 44-51.
- Reicke, B. 1964. *The Epistles of James, Peter and Jude: Introduction, Translation and Notes*. AB 37. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Reicke, B. 1968. *The New Testament Era: The World of the Bible from 500 B.C. to A.D. 100*. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Rendtorff, R. 1968. The Concept of Revelation in Ancient Israel. In W. Pannenberg, (ed.). *Revelation as History*. Granskou, D. (trans.). New York: MacMillan Co. pp25-53.
- Richard, E. 1986. The Functional Christology of First Peter. In Talbert, C.H. (ed.). *Perspectives on First Peter*. Macon: Mercer University Press. pp121-39.
- Richard, E. 2000. *Reading 1 Peter, Jude, and 2 Peter: A Literary and Theological Commentary*. Macon: Smyth & Helwys.
- Richards, E.R. 2000. Silvanus Was Not Peter's Secretary: Theological Bias in Interpreting Διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ... ἔγραψα. *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 43:417-32.
- Robinson, P.J. 1989. 'Some Missiological Perspectives from I Peter 2:4-10. *Missionalia* 17:176-87.
- Rowland, C. 1979. 'The Vision of God in Apocalyptic Literature'. *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 10:137-54.
- Rowland, C. 1982. *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity*. London: SPCK.
- Sanders, J.T. 1986. *Ethics in the New Testament*. London: SCM Press.
- Sawyer, J.F.A. 1972. *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation*. Studies in Biblical Theology 2<sup>nd</sup> Series 24. London: SCM.

- Schertz, M.H. 1992. Nonretaliation and the Haustafeln in 1 Peter. In Swartley, W.M. (ed.). *Love of Enemy and Nonretaliation in the New Testament* (Studies in Peace and Scripture). Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press. pp258-86.
- Schmid, H. 1971. 'Daniel, der Menschensohn'. *Judaica* 27:192-220.
- Schneider, J. 1932. *Doxa: Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie*. NTF 3. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann.
- Schrage, W. 1982. *Ethik des Neuen Testaments*. Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament, NTD 4.4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schreiner, T.R. 2003. *1, 2 Peter, Jude*. Nashville: Boardman & Holman.
- Schutter, W.L. 1989. *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, WUNT, 2/30. Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck].
- Schweizer, E. 1977. Die Weltlichkeit des Neuen Testaments: Die Haustafeln. In Donner, H. (ed.). *Beiträge zur alttestamentliche Theologie*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. pp397-413.
- Scott, J.C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Seland, T. 2001. πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος: Proselyte Characterizations in 1 Peter. *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 11.2:239-68.
- Seland, T. 1995. The "Common Priesthood" of Philo and 1 Peter: A Philonic Reading of 1 Peter 2.5, 9. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 57:87-119.
- Seland, T. 2005. *Strangers in the Night: Philonic Perspectives on Christian Identity in 1 Peter* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 76). Leiden: Brill.
- Selwyn, E.G. 1947. *The First Epistle of St. Peter*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: MacMillan.
- Silva, M. 1975. Semantic Borrowing in the New Testament. *New Testament Studies* 22:104-10.
- Silva, M. 1980. Bilingualism and the Character of New Testament Greek. *Biblica* 69:198-219.
- Silva, M. 1983. *Biblical Words & their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*. Grand Rapids: Academie.
- Skilton, J.H. 1996. A Glance at Some Old Problems in First Peter. *Westminster Theological Journal* 58:1-9.
- Slaughter, J.R. 1995. The Importance of Literary Argument for Understanding 1 Peter. *Bibliotheca Sacra* 152:72-91.
- Smith, M.S. 1983. 'The 'Son of Man' in Ugaritic'. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45:59-60.
- Smith, R.L. 1984. *Micah-Malachi*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word.
- Smith, S.T.T. 2016. *Strangers to Family: Diaspora and 1 Peter's Invention of God's Household*. Waco: Baylor University Press.
- Soltau, W. 1905. Die Einheitlichkeit des ersten Petrusbriefes. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 78:302-25.
- Sparks, H.F.D. 1992. *The Apocryphal Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Steuernagel, V.R. 1986. An Exiled Community as a Missionary Community: A Study Based on 1 Peter 2:9, 10. *Evangelical Review of Theology* 10:8-18.
- Stowers, S.K. 1986. *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Streeter, B.H. 1929. The Church in Asia: The First Epistle of St. Peter. In Streeter, B.H. (ed.). *The Primitive Church: Studied with Special Reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry*. New York: Macmillan. pp115-36.
- Stuart, D. 1987. *Hosea-Jonah*. Word Biblical Commentary 31. Waco: Word.
- Talbert, C.H. 1986. Once Again: The Plan of 1 Peter. In Talbert, C.H. (ed.). *Perspectives on First Peter*. Macon: Mercer University Press. pp141-51.
- Thiselton, A.C. Semantics and New Testament Interpretation. In Marshall, I.H. (ed.). *New Testament Interpretation*. Carlisle: Paternoster. pp75-104.
- Thompson, J.A. 1980. *The Book of Jeremiah*. New International Commentary of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

- Thurén, L. 1990. *The Rhetorical Strategy of 1 Peter*. Åbo: Åbo Academy Press.
- Thurén, L. 1995. *Argument and Theology in 1 Peter: The Origins of Christian Paraenesis*. JSNTSup 114. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Tite, P.L. 1997. *Compositional Transitions in 1 Peter: An Analysis of the Letter Opening*. San Francisco: International Scholars Publications.
- Tite, P.L. 2009. Nurslings, Milk and Moral Development in the Greco-Roman Context: A Reappraisal of the Paraenetic Utilization of Metaphor in 1 Peter 2.1-3. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 31.4: 371-400.
- Treblico, P.R. 1991. *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*. SNTSMS, 69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tuñi, J.O. 1987. Jesus of Nazareth in the Christology of 1 Peter. *Heythrop Journal* 28:292-304.
- Turner, N. 1962. The Language of the New Testament. In Black, M. & Rowley, H.H. (eds.), *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons. pp659-62.
- Turner, N. 1980. *Christian Words*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Van Rensburg, F.J. 1998. Christians as "Resident and Visiting Aliens": Implications of the Exhortations to the *paroikoi* and *parepidēmoi* in 1 Peter for the Church in South Africa. *Neotestamentica* 32:573-83.
- Van Rensburg, F.J. 2000. Dékor of Konteks?: Die Verdiskontering van sosio-historiese Gegewens in Interpretasie van 'n Nuwe Testament-Teks vir die Prediking en Pastoraat, geïllustreer aan die hand van die 1 Petrus-Brief. *Skrif en Kerk* 21:564-82.
- Van Rensburg, F.J. 2004. 'Sarah's Submissiveness to Abraham: A socio-historic Interpretation of the Exhortation to Wives in 1 Peter 3:5-6 to take Sarah as Example of Submissiveness.' *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 60(1&2):249-260.
- Van Rensburg, F.J. 2005. Metaphors in the Soteriology in 1 Peter: Identifying and Interpreting the Salvific Imageries. In Van der Watt, J.G. (ed.). *Salvation in the New Testament: Perspectives on Soteriology*. Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 121. Leiden: Brill. pp409-35.
- Van Rensburg, F.J. 2006. 'A Code of Conduct for Children of God who suffer unjustly: Identity, Ethics and Ethos in 1 Peter'. In Van Der Watt, J.G. (ed.). *Identity, Ethics, and Ethos in the New Testament*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. pp473-509.
- Van Rensburg, F.J. 2009a. 'The Referent of Egeusasthe (You Have Tasted) in 1 Peter 2:3'. *Acta Theologica* 2:103-119.
- Van Rensburg, F.J. 2009b. 'No Retaliation! An Ethical Analysis of the Exhortation in 1 Peter 3:9 Not to Repay Evil with Evil.' In: Fitzgerald, J.T.; Van Rensburg, F.J. & Van Rooy, H.F. (eds). *Animosity, the Bible, and Us: Some European, North American and South African Perspectives*. Atlanta: SBL.
- Van Rensburg, F.J. 2010. 'Die Eskatologie van 1 Petrus: Hoop en Vindikasie vir tydelike en permanente Uitlanders.' *In Die Skriflig* 44(1):201-228.
- Van Unnik, W.C. 1954-55. The Teaching of Good Works. *New Testament Studies* 1:198-202.
- Van Unnik, W.C. 1956. Christianity According to 1 Peter. *Expository Times* 68:79-83.
- Van Unnik, W.C. 1962. First Letter of Peter. In Buttrick, G.A. (ed.). *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Vol. 3. New York: Abingdon. pp758-69.
- Van Wyk, G.J. & Van Rensburg, Fika J. 1997. *Oiketai* (Huisbediendes) in die eerste-eeuse Grieks-Romeinse Samelewing. 'n Sosio-historiese Konstruksie vir die Interpretasie van 1 Petrus 2:18. *In die Skriflig* 31(3):229-249.
- Vermes, G. 1990. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Penguin.
- Volf, M. 1994. Soft Difference: Theological Reflections on the Relation between Church and Culture in 1 Peter. *Ex Auditu* 10:15-30. Weiß, B. 1855. *Der petrinische Lehrbegriff*. Berlin: Wilhelm Schulze.
- Weavers, J.W. 1969. *Ezekiel*. New Century Bible Commentary. London: Marshall Morgan, Scott.

- Weiß, B. 1887. *A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament*. Vol.2. Translated by A.J.K. Davidson. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Westermann, C. 1970. Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift. In Stoebe, H. (ed.). *Wort-Gebot-Glaube: Festschrift für W. Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag*, Beiträge zur theologie des Alten Testaments 59. Zurich: Zwingli. pp227-49
- Westermann, C. 1978. *Elements of Old Testament Theology*. Scott, D.W. (trans.). Atlanta: John Knox Press.
- Wifall, W. 1975. 'Son of Man – a Pre-Davidic Social Class?'. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 37:331-40.
- Wilson, B.R. 1959. An Analysis of Sect Development. *American Sociological Review* 24:3-15.
- Wilson, B.R. 1961. *Sects and Society: A Sociological Study of the Elim Tabernacle, Christian Science, and Christadelphians*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Wilson, B.R. 1973. *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest among Tribal and Third-World Peoples*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Wilson, W.T. 1997. *The Hope of Glory: Education and Exhortation in the Epistle to the Colossians*. Novum Testamentum Supplements 88. Leiden: Brill.
- Windisch, H. 1930. *Die katholischen Briefe*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck.
- Winter, B. 1988a. The Public Honouring of Christian Benefactors: Romans 13:3-4 and 1 Peter 2:14-15. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 34:87-103.
- Winter, B. 1988b. "Seek the Welfare of the City": Social Ethics according to 1 Peter. *Themelios* 13:91-94.
- Whybray, R.N. 1981. *Isaiah 40-66*. New Century Bible Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Young, E.J. 1972. *The Book of Isaiah*. 3 Vols. New International Commentary of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Zerbe, G.M. 1993. Non-retaliation in 1 Peter: A Pragmatic or a Christological Ethic?' in *idem, Non-retaliation in Early Jewish and New Testament Texts: Ethical Themes in Social Contexts*. JSPSup, 13. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Zimmerli, W. 1979. *Ezekiel. Vol 1*. Hermeneia. Clements, R.E. & Martin, J.D. (trans.). Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Zimmerli, W. 1983. *Ezekiel. Vol 2*. Hermeneia. Clements, R.E. & Martin, J.D. (trans.). Philadelphia: Fortress.