

**Showing forth the great works of God: the witness
of the people of God in the socio-historic context
of 1 Peter and its implication for the church today**

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Abstract

Showing forth the great works of God: the witness of the people of God in the socio-historic context of 1 Peter and its implication for the church today

Christian communities often refer to the book of Acts and the missionary preaching of the apostle Paul when they consider their witness to society. Missionary preaching is therefore often seen as the main mode for witness and little attention is given to the socio-historic context of the book and the social position of the apostle Paul. The apostle Paul was an educated rabbi and Roman citizen and therefore well suited to engage in missionary preaching. The hearers of 1 Peter, on the other hand, were from a different social background. This study is focussed on the concept of witness in the letter and the modes of witness which the author encourages within the socio-historic context of his hearers.

Thus, the socio-historic context of the hearers of the letter in the Petrine provinces has been investigated and a comprehensive exegetical process has been applied to the unit 1 Peter 2:4-10 in order to understand the theological identity of the hearers and the witness motif in 1 Peter 2:5 and 9. Exegesis was done according to the traditional grammatical-historical method. Furthermore, traditional methodologies like structural, historical and grammatical analyses have been applied in investigating the Old Testament references, and literary concepts, like intertextuality, have been applied to further enhance the understanding.

Further, through exegesis, the identity of the resident aliens, household servants and married women, and the modes of witness present in 1 Peter 2:11-3:6 were analysed in their particular socio-historic-context.

One conclusion of this study is that two different modes of witness can be identified in the section 1 Peter 2:4-10. Furthermore, the author, in consideration of the social position of his hearers, chose a mode of witness that would have been most effective in that context.

Thus, the letter of 1 Peter provides a biblical basis and mandate for Christian communities to consider their social context in order to identify suitable modes of witness that would be most effective in their particular situation.

Key terms

1 Peter; socio-historic context; theological identity; mode of witness; priesthood; spiritual sacrifices; showing forth; doing good; way of life; married women; household servants; resident aliens

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“But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for his own possession, that you may proclaim the excellencies of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light.” 1 Peter 2:9-10 (ESV)

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER

- 1.1 Problem Statement and Substantiation
- 1.2 Research Aims and Objectives
- 1.3 Central Theoretical Argument
- 1.4 Method of Research
- 1.5 Provisional Chapter Division
- 1.6 References

1.1 Problem Statement and Substantiation

Background

In 1993 I moved to Istanbul, Turkey where I became involved in the work of the Union Church of Istanbul while also leading biblical site tours and lecturing at a local Bible institute. In 2001 the Union Church of Istanbul called me as Senior Pastor. The Union Church is a multicultural inter-denominational church established in 1833 and is the oldest and largest protestant church in Turkey. The church has services in English, Turkish, Chinese and Ahmaric (for East African refugees) in order to accommodate the diverse congregation made up of people from 40 different countries and a wide range of social and economic backgrounds. During my time of ministering in Turkey I have become aware of the importance of contextualisation, not just in missionary activity but also in the praxis of the church. I have realised many times that this unique church exists in a middle eastern context and that these social, cultural and historical influences need to affect the decisions I make, the way that I relate to others and the practices in the church. A simple attitude or practise which may enhance the witness of the church in a western or South African context may jeopardise the effectiveness of the witness in Istanbul. I believe it is essential therefore to consider the cultural, social and historical context of the witness of the church.

Formulation of the problem

Schutz wrote in 1982 that a case can be made that the interest in the social world of early Christianity started with the apostle Paul himself in 1 Corinthians 1:26, and this interest continued throughout the centuries. However, during the past hundred years this field of study has perhaps received more attention than any time before.

Adolf Deissmann dominated the scene after the publication of his book 'Light from the Ancient East' (1928). He argued that the Early Christian Movement was a non-literary movement and that its earliest recruits were from the lower classes. He based his argument mainly on the evidence from papyri discoveries written in the same *koine* Greek of the New Testament with little consideration to other evidence from the socio-historic context. In the last few decades scholars like Theissen have argued convincingly against Deissmann. (Schutz 1982:3-4) and much scholarly interest has been directed towards the social world of the early Christians,

specifically their social status within the Roman Empire. Malherbe published his socio-historical study 'Social Aspects of Early Christianity' in 1983 and argues that the early Christians had a higher social status than that claimed by Deissmann (Malherbe1983:59).

Wayne Meeks' socio-historical study 'The First Urban Christians' focuses on the social world of the first century Christians in the Pauline cities. John Stambaugh and David Balch produced a socio-historic study 'The Social World of the Early Christians' in 1986. In 2007 Capes, Reeves and Richards produced 'Rediscovering Paul –An Introduction to His World, Letters and Theology.' This publication demonstrates the dynamic relationship between the social world of the apostle Paul, and his letters and theology.

In 1990 John H. Elliott wrote in the introduction to the first paperback edition of his book 'A Home for the Homeless' that 1 Peter is 'an original and powerful statement on the social role of the Christian minority movement in a hostile non-Christian society' (Elliott 1990:xviii). He (Elliott 1990:xxii) adds that it was 'designed as a specific response to a specific situation and that to understand the response it is first necessary to ascertain the situation of the intended audience as perceived and described by the letter's author'.

In studies of the socio-historic world of the Christians in 1 Peter scholars have investigated the aim and strategy of the author regarding the household code in 1 Peter 2:11-3:9. This code addresses the hearers in their specific socio-historic context.

Bruce Winter in his book 'Seek the Welfare of the City' concludes that despite the complex and difficult circumstances of the Christians in 1 Peter the author sees no reason for them not to seek the welfare of the 'city'. He argues that 1 Peter 2:13-17 exhorts Christians to live up to the standard of first class citizens (Winter 1994:23).

Major contributions have been made by John H. Elliott and David L. Balch regarding the strategy and aim of the author of 1 Peter. Elliott in his socio-scientific study, 'A Home for the Homeless', uses the help of social scientific research on sects to reconstruct the social dynamics and issues in 1 Peter. He argues that the social conditions, tensions, and strategies evident in 1 Peter are typical of sects in their formative stages. The author of 1 Peter addresses issues in the communities he wrote to that are typical in the process of sect formation. The issues include problems concerning identity, social cohesion and the relationship of the sect with society in general. Therefore, Elliott argues that 1 Peter is neither an encouragement to remind the hearers of their heavenly citizenship, nor an instruction to behave appropriately to avoid legal confrontations. Nor is it an encouragement to the believers to stay within the structures of society (Elliott 1981:225).

According to Elliott the author of 1 Peter's strategy with the letter in general and household code in particular was to affirm the distinctive communal identity and strengthen the solidarity of the community so that they could resist outside pressure to conform to society, and in the process be a witness of the life and faith of the community (Elliott 1986:78).

Balch, on the other hand, argues that the author of 1 Peter's main concern was acculturation and peace and harmony both in the spiritual house of God and in Greco-Roman society (Balch 1986:80-101). The author adopted the household code as a means for the new Christian communities to contribute to the harmony of

Greco-Roman communities. The context here is a social situation where Roman society was critical of new religious cults, like the Isis and Dionysus cults, as well as of Judaism, which were seen as corrupting the order of society (Balch 1981:66). 1 Peter reflects the social situation in which slaves and wives, who had converted to Christianity, were accused of immoral and insubordinate behaviour by some people in Roman society. The author of 1 Peter then instructs the Christians to apply the Aristotelian household code as a response to the accusations against them (Balch 1981:95).

Within this broader discussion there are also more specific debates, for example concerning the identity and the social and political status of resident aliens (Van Rensburg 1996) and household servants (Van Rensburg and Van Wyk 1997). These issues are important in order to discern the ‘texture of life’ (Meeks 1983:2) during the first century in the communities the author addressed.

Ultimately, possibly with further PhD studies, the problem to be investigated is the extent to which the socio-historical context should be considered and applied in the praxis of an urban church, for example, in the Middle East in order for the church to be an effective witness. However, for this dissertation the study is limited to the investigation of the concept of witness in the socio-historic context of 1 Peter with some preliminary application to the present day urban church in the Middle East.

In 1 Peter 2:9 the author describes his hearers as the people of God: His chosen race, His holy nation and His royal priesthood. The author refers to their theological status and identity and not to their social status and identity as resident aliens, house servants, etc. In the light of their theological identity and status he then describes their responsibility as ‘to show forth the praises of God who called them from darkness to light.’

1 Peter 2:9

English (New King James Version)	Greek (Nestle - Aland 28 th ed.)
⁹ But you <i>are</i> a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, His own special people, that you may proclaim the praises of Him who called you out of darkness into His marvelous light;	ὁμοίως δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασιλῆιον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς·

The first problem that has been investigated was the meaning of ἐξαγγέλλω in the context of 1 Peter 2:4-10. Among scholars there is debate about what the author of 1 Peter meant with ἐξαγγέλλω. Elliott in ‘The Elect and the Holy’ argues that in the context of 1 Peter the word should be understood as bearing witness to society of the great deeds God has done (Elliott 1966:84-85). Balch on the other hand argues that the word belongs to the domain of cultic worship and God is addressed. In the LXX the word is never used in relation to missionary preaching (Balch 1981:132-133). J Ramsey Michaels in his commentary on 1 Peter supports Balch’s view that ἐξαγγέλλω belongs to the domain of worship (Michaels 1988:110-111). Paul J Achtemeier in his commentary on 1 Peter argues that the word ἐξαγγέλλω contains an aspect of outward witness to society (Achtemeier 1996:166-167).

The relationship between 1 Peter 2:9 and the household codes in 1 Peter 2:11-3:9 will be investigated in order to determine the role the author's concern for witness played in his strategy and aim when he employed the household codes.

The second problem that has been investigated was the dynamic relationship between the theological identity of his hearers and their call to bear witness, and their social status as resident aliens, household servants and married women in the socio-historic context of Roman society. It has been investigated whether the author encouraged a mode of witness in their particular socio-historic context that resembled the witness of the people of God in the Old Testament rather than the mode of witness of the Apostle Paul, who, according to Acts, had a different social status.

Thirdly some preliminary applications have been suggested for Church leaders who live in the city of Istanbul today, and who are called to lead their churches to be witnesses in their socio-historic context. There are striking similarities between the socio-historic context of some of 1 Peter's hearers and the Christians in Istanbul. The city of Istanbul lies within the borders of ancient Bithynia, and lies on the same sea, only about 70km away from Nicomedia (Izmit), the ancient capital of Bithynia. Like Nicomedia, Istanbul is a harbour city with a thriving commerce and a cosmopolitan population. As in Nicomedia, the Christians in Istanbul form a small minority, with the majority of people belonging to the predominant religion. Among the Christians in Istanbul there are migrants and refugees, Asian household servants working for affluent Muslim families and women married to Muslims. The parallels between their social situation and those of the resident aliens, the household servants and married women of 1 Peter have been investigated and preliminary applications has been made.

1.2 Research Aims and Objectives

The general aim of this study has been to investigate the concept of witness in 1 Peter within the socio-historic context of the first hearers.

Specific objectives:

1. An analysis of the socio-historical context of 1 Peter
2. An exegetical analysis of 1 Peter 2:9 and a definition of the meaning of the word ἐξαγγέλλω in 1 Peter
3. Analysis of the concept of witness in the socio-historic context of the resident aliens in the Roman Provinces mentioned in 1 Peter
4. Analysis of the concept of witness in the socio-historic context of a household servants in 1 Peter
5. Analysis of the concept of witness in the socio-historic context of the married woman in 1 Peter

1.3 Central Theoretical Argument

The overriding hypothesis is that the cultural, social and historical context needs to be recognised by an urban church in its praxis in order to be an effective witness. However, in this limited study the central theoretical argument is that the concept of witness in 1 Peter finds particular expression in the socio-historical context of the time. Furthermore, the Christians in the first century socio-historical context were

guided by the Word of God as it came to them through the letter of 1 Peter. Those same words, as the Word of God, need to guide the Christians in Istanbul as they seek to bear witness to the great deeds of God in their socio-historic context.

1.4 Method of Research

This research has been done from within the reformed tradition with a reformed view of scripture and society (Van Rensburg 1996: 48-50).

The relevant literary sources have been consulted and the socio-historical method as applied by Malherbe (1983), Stambaugh & Balch (1986), typified by Garrett (1992:89-99) and described by Van Rensburg (1996 45-46) has been used. Where applicable, insights from the social sciences, such as sociology and anthropology were utilized.

The extra-textual data has been viewed as context to the biblical text rather than simply providing the background or 'decor' of the text. The dynamic interaction between the text and this data has been analysed.

In analysing the data and phenomena of the particular period an emic approach has been followed, allowing the data to an extent to guide the investigation rather than relying on a modern theory or model.

As the section 1 Peter 2:4 -3:6 includes many allusions, quotations and echoes from the Old Testament special attention has been given to the theological perspective of the author. When the author of 1 Peter uses the Old Testament passages he doesn't sever them from their original context (Moyise & Van Rensburg 2002:28) and their original meaning contributes to the understanding of the intent of the author of 1 Peter. Traditional methodologies like structural, historical and grammatical analyses have been applied in investigating these Old Testament references and literary concepts, like intertextuality, has been applied to further enhance the understanding of the text (Moyise & Van Rensburg 2002:28).

Exegesis of both the relevant Old Testament and New Testament passages has been done according to the grammatical-historical method (Deist & Burden 1980:111-113) Special attention has been given to understanding the passages the author of 1 Peter alludes to or quotes from in their Biblical context in the books of Exodus and Isaiah as well as how the author of 1 Peter applies them to his hearers in their socio-historic context.

Exegesis of both the relevant Old Testament and New Testament passages has been done according to the grammatical-historical method (Deist & Burden 1980:111-113) and where applicable, word studies according to the componential analysis method (Louw & Nida 1989). The relevant theological dictionaries, commentaries, articles, books and lexicons have been consulted.

1.5 Chapter Division

1. Introduction
2. The socio-historical context of 1 Peter
3. The interpretation of ἐξαγγέλλω in 1 Peter 2:9
4. The witness of the resident aliens of 1 Peter 2:11-12
5. The witness of the house servants of 1 Peter 2:18-25

6. The witness of the married women of 1 Peter 3:1-6

7. Conclusion

1.6 Possible Value of this Research

It is hoped that this study will be beneficial to church leaders ministering in multicultural megacities and will stimulate further research regarding the impact of the context on the *praxis* and witness of individual churches.

Cities throughout the world are becoming increasingly more complex and cosmopolitan and for effective witness to take place there needs to be an intentional consideration of the context of the church. It is hoped that this research will encourage an understanding of the benefits of researching the context of the unique situation of each church, and the application of this insight to the *praxis* of the church. As the Christians in 1 Peter were guided by the Word of God that came to them through this letter, so the church today needs to be guided by God's Word in its call to witness.

CHAPTER 2: THE SOCIO-HISTORIC CONTEXT OF 1 PETER

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 The author and hearers of 1 Peter
- 2.3 Rural or urban
- 2.4 Jews or Gentiles
- 2.5 The texture of life in the city and country
- 2.6 Conclusion

2.1 Introduction

The letter of 1 Peter is addressed to people living in five Provinces of Northern Asia Minor. It is a vast area of 334,108 square kilometers, the largest area any New Testament letter had in its scope (Elliott 2000:84). An outstanding feature of the area is its diversity in terms of the land, the people and the cultures. The area includes the coastal Provinces of Asia, Bithynia and Pontus as well as the inland Provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia. It includes the central Anatolian plateau as well as lakes and river systems. This diverse land was inhabited by people from different religious backgrounds, histories, cultures and languages (Elliott 1990:61). It is to be expected that the socio-historic context of people living in such a diverse and vast area would be complex, even more so, for example, than the socio-historic context of the hearers of Paul's letters to the church in Corinth.

In order to investigate the socio-historic context of the hearers of 1 Peter it is necessary to discern the 'texture of life' (Meeks 1981:2) of the normal people in the Provinces of Northern Asia Minor during the first century. This can only be done by investigating the literary sources available, and this investigation must be done with the awareness that the reality was probably much more complex than what can be discerned from the sources available today (Meeks 1981:13-14).

The relevant literary sources will be consulted and the socio-historical method, as described by Van Rensburg (1996:45-46), will be used. Where applicable, insights from the social sciences, such as sociology and anthropology, will be used.

The extra-textual data will be viewed as historical and textual context to the biblical text rather than simply providing the background, or 'decor' for the text. The dynamic interaction between the text and this data will be analysed.

In analysing the data and phenomena of the particular period an emic approach will be followed, allowing the data to guide the investigation to a certain extent, rather than relying on a modern theory or model.

2.2 The author and hearers of 1 Peter

2.2.1 The author of 1 Peter

The authorship of the letter of 1 Peter has been debated, particularly since the late nineteenth century (Jobes 2005:19). It has been argued that the letter was written by Silvanus under the instruction of Peter the apostle (Goppelt 1978: 48-51). Some also argue that it is unlikely that the apostle Peter wrote the letter, and that it is therefore pseudonymous (Achte-meier 1996:1-2). It has also been argued that it was likely the apostle Peter himself who wrote the letter (Michaels 1988:lxvi) (Jobes 2005:19). Questioning the apostle Peter as the author of the letter is a relatively late development, from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries based on source-critical assumptions for a later date for the letter – after Peter’s death. These assumptions have been refuted, but the argument that the letter is a pseudonymous work continues (Jobes 2005:19). There seems to be no conclusive evidence against the traditional view that the letter was written by the apostle Peter, with the help of Silvanus. However, it is probably best for the purpose of this dissertation to simply refer to the writer as the author of 1 Peter.

2.2.2 The author of 1 Peter and his relationship with his hearers

If the argument is accepted that the Apostle Peter is the author of the letter it raises the question what his relationship with his hearers was. There are a number of possibilities that can be considered.

2.2.2.1 Were the communities evangelised by the apostle Peter?

Neither the New Testament nor any other literature describe the evangelization of Northern Asia Minor, and it is not known who established the communities the author addresses in this letter. It has been argued by Cullman (1962:43) that even as Peter played a significant role as church administrator, he also spent much time as an itinerant apostle and could have established the Christian communities he addresses in this letter. However, the New Testament doesn’t give us much information about where Peter travelled and whether he established churches.

Therefore, given the limited information available, at best it can be argued that the facts available don’t exclude the possibility that Peter could have been involved in establishing at least some of the churches he addresses in his letter. If so, it provides strength for the argument that the letter was written by the apostle Peter.

2.2.2.2 Was there a Jerusalem connection?

Three of the Provinces mentioned in 1 Peter 1:1, Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, are listed in Acts 2:5 -11 as the land of origin of pilgrims who heard Peter’s speech on the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem. Jobes (2005:27) has pointed out that if these pilgrims were residents of these Provinces they would have seen Peter as a leader of the church, and he would have seen them as God’s diaspora, and as foreigners and resident aliens far away from Jerusalem. Elliott (1990:66) argues that the pilgrims from Jerusalem after Pentecost traveling along the well-established roads to the northern parts of Asia Minor leading to cities like, Mazaca Caesarea and Sinope provided the first foundations for the church in these Provinces. However, it is unclear from the book of Acts what happened to these pilgrims after Pentecost and whether they were part of the communities the author of 1 Peter addresses.

2.2.2.3 Was there a Rome connection?

It has been argued by Jobes (2005:32) that it is possible that, if the argument is accepted that the apostle Peter was the author of the letter, that his relationship with his hearers originated in Rome while he was resident in the city. During the reign of Augustus colonization became deliberate procedure. The purpose was to Romanize conquered areas by introducing native populations to the Roman language, culture and politics. Further, these colonists could serve strategically as a military presence, especially near the frontier. They also could develop commerce between Rome and the frontiers.

Claudius, who reigned 41-54 AD, colonized Asia Minor and established cities in all five Provinces mentioned in 1 Peter 1:1. Normally about 300 settlers would be sent to a town or city, but at times up to 6,000 colonists were sent to new areas. Sometimes slaves were granted freedom if they migrated to a new colony. Often military veterans were used to populate such colonies. Colonists were given land and normally within a generation or two would be part of the local elite. New colonies also provided work and trade opportunities for the local people (Jobes 2005:29-30).

It was common for the empire to deport troublemakers in Rome to a colony on the fringes of the empire. Sometimes whole populations were deported when the emperor confiscated their land, or due to food shortages. These groups were chosen on the basis of their religion, ethnicity, or occupation. Augustus, for example, deported all foreigners except doctors and teachers from Rome during a famine (Jobes 2005:30).

Besides his colonization activities, Emperor Claudius was known for his zeal for the preservation of Roman religion. He expelled from Rome followers of the mystic religions of Babylon and Egypt. His most notable expulsion, though, was that of Jews at the end of the fifth decade of the first century on the grounds that the Jews caused the disturbances at the instigation of *Chrestus*. This expulsion is mentioned in Acts 18:2. It is debated if *Chrestus* is a reference to Christ, even though this corruption of vowels also occurred in other early writings referring to Christ. According to Acts 18:12-17 it was Jews who were expelled, but given the historic reality that Christians were seen as part of Judaism it is conceivable that a significant number of Christians were expelled with them (Jobes 2005:33). This raises the interesting question whether the believers Peter addressed in his letter can be traced back to Rome. When Peter refers to them as exiles, does he literally mean people deported from Rome? Traditionally Peter is associated with Rome, and could have been in the city around 49 AD. The Jews exiled by Claudius could have included Christians known to Peter. As Claudius established cities in all five Provinces mentioned in 1 Peter 1:1, it is conceivable that Peter knew at least some of his readers from Rome. Even though Peter wrote the letter probably two decades later his relationship with at least some of his readers could go back to the late 40's in Rome (Jobes 2005:39-41).

2.2.2.4 Conclusion

Considering the available evidence, then, it is conceivable that some of the hearers of the letter were present in Jerusalem during Pentecost. It is also possible that Peter visited at least some of the Provinces for evangelism. The possibility that the relationship between Peter and his hearers goes back to when they were resident in Rome is attractive. It may also be that Peter has no direct link with his hearers, but was aware of their situation and out of a pastoral concern addressed them in their

situation.

2.3 Rural or urban

In order to discern the 'texture of life' (Meeks 1981:2) of the hearers of 1 Peter, it would be helpful to know if they lived mostly in a rural or urban setting. Meeks (1981) argues that during the first century Christianity was mainly an urban movement. According to the book of Acts, it seems that the first congregations were all established in major cities of the Roman Empire, and that it was Paul's strategy to evangelize these cities first. However, it has been argued (Elliott 1990:63) that in the case of the Petrine communities the situation was different, and that limited urbanization took place in these Provinces. The hearers of the letter may have included some city dwellers, but the majority should be considered in their rural setting. Elliott argues that as no city is mentioned in the letter, it indicates the rural setting of the hearers (Elliott 2000:90). This seems unlikely considering how Christianity spread in other parts of the Roman Empire as described in the book of Acts.

It also has been argued that the area included many cities that could have served as host cities for the communities and Wilson (2011:2) identifies seven cities, Sinope, Amisus, Caesarea Mazaca, Ancyra, Dorylaeum, Nicea and Nicomedia, that could have hosted Petrine communities. All these cities are on the possible route the carrier of the letter of 1 Peter used when he delivered the letter. Hort (1898:184) suggested that the sequence in which the Provinces in Asia Minor are listed in 1 Peter 1:1 indicate the route Silvanus took when he carried the letter. It is presumed Silvanus would have used the common sea and land routes of the day to reach the major cities of the area to deliver the letter to the different churches.

In today's terms these cities would be considered small. Michell (1995:1.144) estimates that in the Roman world in general, there was a ten to one ratio of rural to city dwellers, but for Asia Minor by 150 AD the ratio was 8:1. He further suggests that few cities had a population over 25,000, and that the majority of cities had between 5,000 and 15,000 inhabitants. Michell (1993:1.244) estimates that Nicomedia and Ancyra had about 25,000 citizens and Wilson (2011:4) concludes that Amisus and Caesarea, as provincial capitals, likely had populations between 20,000 and 25,000. Sinope, Dorylaeum and Nicea had populations of probably 10,000-20,000 people.

Wilson (2011) uses the social theories of Rodney Stark (2006) on why Christianity became an urban movement and spread so quickly in the first century, and applies them to the cities he selected. Stark (2007:77-79) argues that Christianity spread faster in cities that were closer to Jerusalem, that larger cities had Christian congregations before smaller ones (Stark 2007:81-83) and that port cities were more favourable for the spread of Christianity (Stark 2007:94-95). Stark (2007:134-136) further argues that cities with a significant Jewish diaspora community were Christianized before other cities.

Wilson (2011:8) concludes that as all seven of the cities he identifies along the possible route of the carrier of the letter were provincial capitals or leading cities on major transport routes, they would have been fairly easily accessible from Jerusalem and would have been targeted by those seeking to spread the gospel. Sinope, Caesarea Mazaca, Nicea and Nicomedia had Jewish diaspora communities and Amisus, Sinope, Nicea and Nicomedia were port cities. Christian traditions dating to

the second century AD are found in most of these cities and it can be concluded that Sinope, Amisus, Caesarea Mazaca, Ancyra, Dorylaeum, Nicea and Nicomedia most likely hosted the communities Peter addressed (Wilson 2011:8).

The colonization of Asia Minor under Claudius in the first century included the building of cities in all five of the Petrine Provinces (Jobes 2005:29-30), so it is likely that these cities would have hosted some Petrine communities.

From the letters of Pliny the Younger it is clear that, by the second decade of the second century, Christianity in the Petrine Provinces was both an urban and rural movement. It also seems to have spread from the *civitates* to the rural areas. Pliny wrote as follows:

“I have therefore postponed any further examination and hastened to consult you. The question seems to me to be worthy of your consideration, especially in view of the number of persons endangered; for a great many individuals of every age and class, both men and women, are being brought to trial, and this is likely to continue. It is not only the towns, but villages and rural districts too which are infected through contact with this wretched cult. I think though that it is still possible for it to be checked and directed to better ends, for there is no doubt that people have begun to throng the temples which had been almost entirely deserted for a long time; the sacred rites which had been allowed to lapse are being performed again, and flesh of sacrificial victims is on sale everywhere, though up till recently scarcely anyone could be found to buy it. It is easy to infer from this that a great many people could be reformed if they were given an opportunity to repent” (Pliny, *Letters* 10.96-97 translated by B. Radice).¹

In light of the information available, there is no compelling reason to think Christianity spread differently in the Petrine Provinces from the rest of the Roman world. It is therefore possible that the majority of the hearers of 1 Peter lived in the cities of northern Asia Minor. Given the large rural areas in the Petrine Provinces, it is likely that the communities also included a significant proportion of rural people.

2.4 Jews or Gentiles

There has been much debate over whether the hearers of 1 Peter were predominantly Jewish or Gentile (Jobes 2005:23). Does the large number of Old Testament references point to a mainly Jewish audience? To answer these questions both the external and internal evidence available need to be investigated.

2.4.1 External evidence

According to Acts 2:9 diaspora pilgrims from Pontus, Asia and Cappadocia were present in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. In those three Provinces there could

¹ 9 Ideo dilata cognitione ad consulendum te decucurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est; quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. 10 Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti passimque venire carnem victimarum, cuius adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit paenitentiae locus (Pliny, *Letters* 10.96-97).

have been Jews who converted to Christianity. There is no mention, though, of Bithynia and Galatia in Acts 2:9, and Wilson (2011:6-7) points out that the first archaeological evidence of a Jewish presence in the Province of Galatia is only from the third century AD. This means that in Galatia the hearers could have been predominantly Gentile.

2.4.2 Internal evidence

In terms of the internal evidence the following verse (1 Pet 1:18) is often discussed: εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας

ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου (knowing that you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your forefathers, not with perishable things such as silver or gold). Carson and Moo (1992:647) argue that the phrase τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου in 1 Peter 1:18 is clear evidence of a Gentile audience. Jobes (2005:23-24), on the other hand, argues that this reference in 1:18 could well refer to the life without Christ equally applicable for Jews and Gentiles.

However, Achtemeier (1996:127-128) argues convincingly that the word ματαία used in 1 Peter 1:18 in the LXX is used to describe the gods of the Gentiles, for example in Leviticus 17:7 and Jeremiah 8:19, and that in the New Testament it describes the pre-Christian life of the converts, for example in Acts 14:15 and Romans 1:21. The adjective πατροπαραδότος (traditions handed down from the fathers) in its association with ματαία is a reference to the pagan past of the hearers of 1 Peter.

2.4.3 Conclusion

Taking into consideration both the internal and external evidence, it seems most likely that the hearers of 1 Peter were a mixture of Jews and Gentiles, and that, at least in Galatia, some of the communities were predominantly Gentile. Old Testament references could easily be explained to the Gentile believers by those who were from a Jewish background.

2.5 The texture of life in the city and in the country

2.5.1 Roman roads in Anatolia

According to Acts 2:5-12² on the Day of Pentecost people from at least three Petrine Provinces, Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, were in Jerusalem. Most likely they travelled along the Roman roads to reach the city. If the sequence in which the Provinces in Asia Minor are listed in 1 Peter 1:1 indicate the route Silvanus took when he carried the letter, as Hort (1898:184) argues, he would have used the common sea and land routes and travelled along many miles of Roman road. It can be assumed whoever evangelised the Petrine Provinces would have travelled along

² Now there were staying in Jerusalem God-fearing Jews from every nation under heaven. ⁶ When they heard this sound, a crowd came together in bewilderment, because each one heard their own language being spoken. ⁷ Utterly amazed, they asked: "Aren't all these who are speaking Galileans?" ⁸ Then how is it that each of us hears them in our native language? ⁹ Parthians, Medes and Elamites; residents of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, ¹⁰ Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya near Cyrene; visitors from Rome¹¹ (both Jews and converts to Judaism); Cretans and Arabs—we hear them declaring the wonders of God in our own tongues!" ¹² Amazed and perplexed, they asked one another, "What does this mean? (Acts 2:5-12 NIV)

Roman roads. If some of the hearers of 1 Peter were colonists from Rome as Jobes (2005:29-32) argues, they would have used Roman roads to get to their new destinations. The Roman roads linked cities and towns and villages and would have been part of the 'texture of life' (Meeks 1981:2) of the hearers of 1 Peter. The *via Sebaste*, for example, was used to transport grain from the Anatolian plateau destined for other markets to the Pamphylian coast. Wagons and pack- animals were used to transport the grain. These convoys would have been accompanied by slave or freedmen managers (Mitchell 1995:247).

A rough calculation of the major highways in Anatolia shows that around 9000 km were covered. Paving stones were readily available, but still an enormous amount of forced labour would have been required to build and maintain these roads. Roman soldiers, citizens from nearby cities and slaves all probably contributed labour to the build the roads. It can be assumed that the cost of building and maintaining these roads would have been shared by Rome and the local cities (Mitchell 1995:126-127).

There were four major routes in the Anatolian network. The northernmost stretched from Byzantium and Nicomedia to the military headquarters at Satala. The second major route started at the Bosphorus or at the eastern part of Asia at Dorylaeum, and these two routes converged at Ancyra and ran east to Tavium, Sebastopolis and Sebasteia, where it branched south to Melitene and north to Nicopolis. The third route left the second at Ancyra and ran southeast to Caesareia in Cappadocia and from there to Melitene. The fourth route, the Pilgrims Road, crossed Anatolia from Byzantium in the northwest through Ancyra and the Cilician Gates to northern Syria cities (Mitchell 1995:127-129)

The building of the Roman roads changed the landscape of Anatolia and had far-reaching implications for the lives of the hearers of 1 Peter.

2.5.2 Public spaces in the city

Many of the cities in Asia Minor claimed foundation myths that included being founded by gods or kings, and often link the city with places like Athens and Sparta in Greece. This was all done to increase the status of the city (Mitchell 1995:206-207).

The construction of public buildings funded by Rome greatly increased during the reign of Augustus and continued until the middle of the second century (Mitchell 1995:214). Augustus built a great many temples and sanctuaries for the imperial cult in Asia Minor. These structures came to dominate city centres (Mitchell 1995:216). This would also have been true in the Petrine cities.

2.5.2.1 Temples

Two Lydian confession steles tell of the failure to provide service in terms of labour to the gods by cultivating their land, harvesting crops and maintaining temple property. These confessions point to the powerful role the temples played in the life of the community especially in the Petrine Provinces of Cappadocia and Pontus, where whole populations were composed of sacred slaves either born in the system or sold by parents or relatives or slave owners (Mitchell 1995:193).

Strabo, a contemporary of the hearers of 1 Peter and a native of the Province of Pontus, describes such a sacred city called Comana in Cappadocia as follows:

“In this Antitaurus are deep and narrow valleys, in which are situated Comana and the temple of Enyo, whom the people there call "Ma." It is a considerable city; its inhabitants, however, consist mostly of the divinely inspired people and the temple-servants who live in it. Its inhabitants are Cataonians, who, though in a general way classed as subject to the king, are in most respects subject to the priest. The priest is master of the temple, and also of the temple-servants, who on my sojourn there were more than six thousand in number, men and women together. Also, considerable territory belongs to the temple, and the revenue is enjoyed by the priest. He is second in rank in Cappadocia after the king; and in general the priests belong to the same family as the king.” (Strabo 12.2.3 translated by H.L. Jones)³

This description of Strabo indicates just how important religion was and how powerful religious leaders could become.

At the heart of worship was the practice of sacrifice. Prayers usually accompanied sacrifices, and the intent was to strike a bargain with the deities. The prayers would include a reference to the power of the deity, the request, and promise to do something for the god in return for answered prayer (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:129).

Strabo describes a temple to Anaitis at Zela, modern day Zile, where the sacred rites were characterized by great sanctity and where all the people of Pontus made their oaths concerning matters of great importance (Strabo 12.3.37). Strabo describes how people from everywhere assembled for a religious festival in the city of Comana in the Province of Pontus. Men and women would come from the towns and other cities to worship the goddess in this city, and worship here was often associated with great immorality (Strabo 12.3.36).⁴

Part of the reason why religion was so important was the belief among the pagans that everything was controlled by the gods, and that human action or inaction could influence the gods to bless or curse (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:128). Lydian texts describe the role the vengeance of the gods played in family disputes.

In one case the god Mēn punished a group of villagers who tried to cheat three orphans out of their inheritance by stealing some documents and by conniving with a

³ ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀντιταύρω τούτῳ βαθεῖς καὶ στενοὶ εἰσὶν αὐλῶνες, ἐν οἷς ἴδρυται τὰ Κόμανα καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐνουοῦς ἱερὸν ἠνέκεινοι Μᾶ ὀνομάζουσι: πόλις δ' ἐστὶν ἀξιόλογος, πλεῖστον μέντοι τὸ τῶν θεοφορήτων πλῆθος καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱεροδούλων ἐν αὐτῇ. Κατάονες δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες, ἄλλως μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ τεταγμένοι, τοῦ δὲ ἱερέως ὑπακούοντες τὸ πλέον: ὁ δὲ τοῦ θ' ἱεροῦ κύριός ἐστι καὶ τῶν ἱεροδούλων, οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιδημίαν πλείους ἦσαν τῶν ἐξακισχιλίων, ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ γυναῖξί. πρόσκειται δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ χώρα πολλή, καρποῦται δ' ὀϊερεὺς τὴν πρόσσodon, καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος δευτέρος κατὰ τιμὴν ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα: ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἦσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ ταῦτα δοκεῖ Ὀρέστης μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰφιγενείας κομίσει δεῦρο ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς Σκυθίας, τὰ τῆς Ταυροπόλου Ἀρτέμιδος, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν πένθιμον κόμην ἀποθέσθαι, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τοῦνομα τῇ πόλει. διὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ὁ Σάρος ῥεῖ ποταμός, καὶ διὰ τῶν συναγκειῶν τοῦ Ταύρου διεκπεραιοῦται πρὸς τὰ τῶν Κιλικίων πεδία (Strabo 12.2.3).

⁴ “And there are certain others, also, who in accordance with a vow are always residing there, performing sacrifices in honour of the goddess. And the inhabitants lived in luxury and all their property is planted with vines; and there is a multitude of women who make gain from their persons, most of whom are dedicated to the goddess, for in a way the city is a lesser Corinth; for there too on account of the multitude of courtesans, who were sacred to Aphrodite, outsiders resorted in great numbers and kept holiday. And the merchants and soldiers who went there squandered all their money, so that the following proverb arose in reference to them: “Not for every man is the voyage to Corinth.”” (Strabo 12.3.36 translated by H.L. Jones).

money lender. The villagers invoked the wrath of the god Mēn against them and they were destroyed (Mitchell 1995:192).

In another case three brothers had divided the vineyard they inherited among themselves, neglecting to give a part to a god as was promised. They fulfilled this obligation only after receiving a punishment from this god. In another case a woman was accused by the whole village of driving her stepson mad by poisoning him. She tried to rescue herself by setting up the staff and dedicating altars in the temple believing that these actions and her confession would be giving adequate satisfaction to the gods. However, it didn't work and she was punished by the gods (Mitchell 1995:192).

Crop failures due to mysterious rust, for example, were attributed to the gods' intervention. The popularly held view was that since humans haven't yet discovered all the gods that exist, there should always be space for more gods in the pantheon on whom the continued welfare of the state depended (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:128).

Inscriptions on tombstones in Bithynia, in the area of Nicea and Nicomedia, two likely Petrine cities, reveal that if anybody violated a grave the perpetrator paid a fine to the village and a further fine to the city to which the village belonged. In other cases, violators were threatened with divine destruction of them and their families (Mitchell 1995:187-188).

In rural communities the gods were not only seen as the protectors of the dead but also regulated traditional patterns of behaviour, conduct and relationships for the living gods and had priority over formal laws. In general terms the natives of Anatolia observed a strict conservative morality. The Phrygians in particular emphasized justice, proper behaviour, piety to the gods, respect for divine authority, and a fear of divine vengeance. Inscriptions in the area of Hieropolis describe the rule of the gods and how the gods were called upon to punish wrongdoers (Mitchell 1995:191-192).

The influence of religion extended well into daily life, and in a sense the social life in Greco-Roman cities was dominated by the worship of the official gods. Major holidays were associated with religious festivals, and sacrifices were a significant part of the economy. Many of the Greek gods were associated with agriculture. Zeus, Demeter, Dionysus, Aphrodite and Artemis were all associated with nature or agriculture, and many demigods inhabited rivers and forests and protected those living in their territory (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:127). Confession played a prominent role in rural Anatolian religion. A relief found in the area of Hieropolis, depicts a confession scene of a priest holding a wreath in one hand and a god's staff in the other. The confessor holds up his right hand as a pledge of honesty as he makes his confession (Mitchell 1995:192). Lydian texts include confessions of clothes being stolen from a bathhouse, animal hides from a temple, and money from a granary, as well as confessions of pigs, sheep, and fishing nets being stolen (Mitchell 1995:192).

Some gods were more associated with the cities, and their influence was important in terms of war and trade (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:127). The religious festivals provided variety to the routine of life. On the day of a specific god's annual festival the people would decorate the temple, offer sacrifices and hold processions in the streets. Enterprising people would use these opportunities for business, selling food and souvenirs in the streets (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:119).

The lives of the believers in 1 Peter would have been further complicated by the introduction of emperor worship. Today in Ankara (ancient Acyra), the capital of modern Turkey, there are remains of a temple to Augustus. Acyra was likely a host city for a Petrine community in Galatia (Wilson 2011:2). In the first century AD the ruler cult was introduced as part of the worship practice. Augustus declared Julius Caesar a god and erected a temple and altar in his honour in Rome (Stambaugh and Balch 1986:131). Augustus organised new sacred games in Asia Minor, and by the first century these games were directly linked to emperor worship. The games in Bithynia took place at Nicomedia and Nicea, in Galatia at Ancyra and Tavium, in Pontus at Neocaesarea and in Cappadocia at Caesarea (Mitchell 1995:219).

In the Greco-Roman cities adherence to the state and family religious cults was normally determined by birth and citizenship. However, mystery cults invited people to join in their worship and secret rituals, promising intimacy with the gods and life after death. Rituals involved wild dancing, hymns, reciting, eating, and drinking. Membership in these cults included a wide variety of people including high-ranking officials, workers and slaves (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:133).

Particularly relevant to the socio-historic context of 1 Peter are the Oriental cults flourishing in Asia Minor in the first century. The Egyptian cult of Isis, with her consort Osiris or Serapis, was exported from the Nile delta to Asia Minor in 250 BC (Stambaugh and Balch 1986:136). Isis worship was popular in northern Asia Minor in the Provinces addressed by the author of 1 Peter. In several of the cities, including Sinope, Amisus, Dorylaeum, and Nicea, coins and inscriptions have been found honouring of Isis, which serves as evidence that she was worshipped in these cities even though there may not have been an established cult (Wilson 2011:5-6).

It has been argued that the author of 1 Peter adopted the household code as a means for the new Christian communities to contribute to the harmony of Greco-Roman communities. The context here is a social situation where Roman society was critical of new religious cults, like the Isis and Dionysus cults, which were seen as corrupting the order of society (Balch 1981:66). 1 Peter was written to a society where slaves and wives who converted to Christianity were frequently accused of immoral and insubordinate behaviour. The author of 1 Peter instructs the Christians to apply the Aristotelian household code as a response to the accusations against them (Balch 1981:95). The author of 1 Peter's main concern was acculturation and peace and harmony, both in the spiritual house of God and in Greco-Roman society (Balch 1986:80-101).

2.5.2.2 The gymnasium, theatre and stadium

The gymnasium was the most important educational institution. The building usually consisted of an open courtyard surrounded by a colonnade, with rooms for baths and meeting rooms for classes. Teachers were specialists in writing and reading. In some cities they were paid by the parents, but in others by public funds. The students were instructed in reading and memorizing Greek texts that included the tragedies of Euripides, the epics of Homer, the comedies of Menander and the speeches of Demosthenes (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:122). Education at gymnasium prepared young men for citizenship (Mitchell 1995:218).

By the middle of the first century innovations such as heating and insulating bath houses had spread from Rome to Asia Minor and gymnasiums there were expected to have attached baths (Mitchell 1995:216).

By the second century AD every city in Asia Minor had a bathhouse and exercise area outside. Public bathing and the activities in the gymnasium became integrated and indistinguishable in terms of the buildings. The gymnasium was closely linked with the Agonistic festivals with its sport and musical competition. During Roman times in Asia Minor these festivals dominated civic life. Smaller festivals allowed only local athletes to compete, but bigger ones were open to all comers. The most prestigious games were called Sacred Crown Games because the winner received a crown dedicated to the gods (Mitchell 1995:217-218).

Chariot races in the stadium were an important part of the festivals, providing great excitement due to the dangers involved and the betting on the outcomes. Gladiator fighting was less popular than the chariot races, but was an important part of the festivities. Gladiators were seen as heroes, and even in Asia Minor Greek cities changed the architecture of their theatres to accommodate gladiatorial fights. Often gladiators would be paired and given different weapons. Public executions were part of the festivities, and the unarmed criminal usually faced either an experienced gladiator or hungry wild beasts. (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:121).

During the imperial period the gymnasium became the architectural symbol of the new cities. Maintaining these gymnasia was a major city expense. In the Phrygian city of Apamea the yearly expenditure for oil came to 34,000 denarii, a significant sum that would have paid for a major musical festival, such as the one founded by Iulius Demosthenes at Oenoanda, seven times over (Mitchell 1995:217).

Inscriptions from the cities of Bithynia indicate that building increased around 70 AD. Two city gates in Nicea were completed and ship owners of Nicomedia built a sanctuary and a 'ship owners' house. A private benefactor Ti Claudius Nestor built a gymnasium at Prusias ad Hypium (Mitchell 1995: 212).

In terms of leisure time there wasn't a weekend as it is known today, or a Sabbath day as the Jews practiced it, but Greco-Roman city dwellers made time for leisure. The rich exercised in the gymnasium for many hours and people could go to the public baths to cool down during the summer and find some warmth during the winter. As a result, these baths served for many people as social centres (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:119).⁵

2.5.2.3 The Marketplace

Strabo describes the buildings of Sinope, one of the likely host cities of a Petrine community, as follows: "Sinope is beautifully equipped both by nature and by human foresight, for it is situated on the neck of a peninsula and has on either side of the *isthmus* harbours and roadsteads and wonderful *pelanmydes*-fisheries, of which I have already made mention, saying that Sinopeans get the second catch and the Byzantians the third. Furthermore, the peninsula is protected all round by ridgy shores, which have hollowed-out places in them, rock-cavities, as it were, which the people call "choenicides"; these are filled with water when the sea rises, and therefore the place is hard to approach, not only because of this but also because of the whole surface of the rock is prickly and impassable for bare feet. Higher up,

⁵ Strabo describes Nicea, another likely host city of the Petrine communities, as follows: "The city has sixteen stadia in circuit and is quadrangular in shape; it is situated in a plain and has four gates; and its streets are cut at right angles, so that the four gates can be seen from the stone which is set up in the middle of the gymnasium" (Strabo 12.4.8 translated by H.L. Jones).

however, and above the city, the ground is fertile and adorned with diversified market gardens; and especially the suburbs of the city. The city itself is beautifully walled, and is also splendidly adorned with gymnasium and marketplace and colonnades.” (Strabo 12.3.11 translated by H.L. Jones).⁶ The *agora* was a prominent part of the city and was part of the daily life of people in the first century.

Some shops in the market were run by slaves of a rich entrepreneur, but many were run by people who had achieved moderate success in life, and with the help of a few slaves and some hired people operated their own small business. These included bakers, butchers, greengrocers, barbers, moneylenders and innkeepers.

Disrespected by the upper classes, these traders still took pride in their work, and often their children continued in the business. People became identified by their occupations, as in the case of Lydia, the seller of purple cloth from Thyatira in Asia Minor in Acts 16:14 (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:117).

A shop often consisted of a single room where stock was stored and products displayed. The owner and his slaves ate and even slept at the shop on a raised area inside. Social interaction took place at the agora, and many topics of the day were discussed. This included politics, philosophy and religion (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:117). According to the book of Acts, in cities with a strong Jewish presence and a synagogue Paul would often start his ministry by going to the synagogue and preaching to the Jews and God-fearers who gathered there. In the city of Athens, with its Greek population, he had a different *modus operandi* and visited the agora and engaged in conversation and discussion with the local citizens (Acts 17:17).

The compactness of cities made socializing easy. People could talk to neighbours in the communal courtyards or through house windows. Restaurants and taverns also served as social gathering places and many informal conversations took place in the shops and streets. Dinner was served several hours before sunset, and the rich hosted elaborate dinner parties, carrying on until late at night (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:119). Most people preferred to stay home after dark due to the dangers in the streets. The rich would only go out if they were accompanied by slaves who could protect them and who often carried weapons for this purpose (Stark 2006:29).

2.5.2.4 Private homes

Apart from the well-maintained public areas, Greco-Roman cities were generally, crowded, dirty, disorderly, filled with strangers, and afflicted with frequent disasters like fires, plagues, conquests, and earthquakes (Stark 2006:26).

The cities covered small areas so were very crowded. Antioch, two miles long and one mile wide, had a population of about a hundred thousand. The fact that 40% of the city was covered by public buildings meant that the city accommodated about

⁶ ἔστι δὲ καὶ φύσει καὶ προνοίᾳ κατεσκευασμένη καλῶς: ἴδρυται γὰρ ἐπὶ αὐχένι χερρονήσου τινός, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ λιμένες καὶ ναύσταθμα καὶ πηλαμοδεῖα θαυμαστά, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι δευτέραν θήραν οἱ Σινωπεῖς ἔχουσι, τρίτην δὲ Βυζάντιοι: καὶ κύκλῳ δ' ἡ χερρόνησος προβέβληται ῥαχιώδεις ἀκτὰς ἐχούσας καὶ κοιλάδας τινὰς ὡσανεῖβόθρους πετρίνους, οὓς καλοῦσι χοινικίδας: πληροῦνται δὲ οὗτοι μετεωρισθείσης τῆς θαλάττης, ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐπρόσιτον τὸ χωρίον καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς πέτρας ἐπιφάνειαν ἐχινώδη καὶ ἀνεπίβατον εἶναι γυμνῶ ποδί: ἄνωθεν μέντοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εὐγέων ἔστι τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἀγροκηπίοις κεκόσμηται πυκνοῖς, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ προάστεια. αὐτὴ δ' ἡ πόλις τετειχίσται καλῶς, καὶ γυμνασίῳ δὲ καὶ ἀγορᾷ καὶ στοαῖς κεκόσμηται λαμπρῶς (Strabo 12.3.11).

130 people per acre, which is more densely crowded than modern Calcutta, with very narrow streets. Even famous roads leading in and out of these cities, like the *Via Appia* and *Via Latina* were only about 16 feet wide. Buildings were not strong and people in Asia Minor lived in constant fear of earthquakes that easily could collapse their buildings (Stark 2006:27-29).

In the crowded city houses were normally built of wood thinly covered by stucco, that caught fire easily and often. The chimney still needed to be invented and cooking was done over wood-burning braziers. When neighbourhoods burned down, they were frequently rebuilt over the ashes. Houses were smoky, but asphyxiation was prevented by window openings covered by skins and hanging cloth, although the breeziness increased the risk of fires spreading rapidly (Stark 2006:27)

Poor people often lived in tiny rooms on the very top floor of tenement buildings or in single room *tabernae*. Others lived in small lofts above their workshops (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:110).

Generally sewers in Greco-Roman cities were ditches running down the middle of the narrow streets. Everything, including chamber pots, was dumped in the streets. Records reveal that officials often condemned the practice of people living on the second or third floor emptying these pots in the ditches through their windows. Water was transported to the cities via aqueducts and stored in cisterns, where it often became undrinkable. Only the very rich had water piped to their houses, others had to carry it in jugs from the public fountains. Water for cleaning houses and for washing clothes was scarce, so cities were dirty places with unpleasant smells all around (Stark 2006:28).

During the first century AD a popular style was peristyle housing with a courtyard and a reception room opposite the entrance. Styles varied throughout the empire. In Africa, Britain, Asia, and Syria peristyle houses had two paired side rooms next to the reception room, but in other parts of the empire they had fountains opposite the reception room to give visitors a view of the fountain (Ellis 2002:71).

The peristyle house was widely coveted, but in reality only the very rich could afford them. It is possible that the household servants of 1 Peter 2:18-25 worked in these type of houses, or that in some cities they served as the gathering place for the house church, but by far the majority of people Peter addressed would have lived in the crowded poor area of the city.

2.5.3 Rural life

In rural Anatolia the only architecture of significance would have been tomb stones and religious sanctuaries. Only wealthier villages would have had a temple (Mitchell 1995:189).

The different lifestyle, language, religious cults, and patterns of authority in the villages were viewed with contempt and suspicion by the city dwellers, who often tried to exploit them (Mitchell 1995:195).

An inscription of a decree that was found at Hieropolis in the Lucas valley informed the villagers that members of the gendarmerie now had to cover the cost of visiting villages from their own pockets, and the villagers would only have to provide firewood, fodder and lodging and were not obliged to honour the gendarmerie with a crown, unless special favours were rendered and acknowledged. The mere need for

such a decree points to the abuses that the villagers must have suffered (Mitchell 1996:195).

City officials could demand the villages in their area to contribute towards the cost of city festivals. An inscription from Oenoanda in northern Lycia dating to 125 AD gives some insight into how rural communities were organised in this regard. The inscription names all the rural settlements in the city's territory, stipulating that they were required to send sacrificial animals for a quadrennial music festival run by the city. In one case the settlements were organised into a group of twelve villages for this purpose, in another a group of three and on five occasions in groups of two. The rest of the settlements were liable as single communities. Attached to each group were isolated farmsteads who were to share in the burden of providing for the festival (Mitchell 1995:178).

Strabo, through his writings, provides insight into the lives of those who lived in the rural parts of the Petrine Provinces and contributes to the understanding of the "texture of life" (Meeks 1981:2) in these areas. Strabo describes the country around two Pontic cities as follows: "Thence people go to Amisus and Sinope by sea because the shores are soft and because of the outlets of the rivers. The country is excellent both in respect to its produce - except its honey which is generally bitter- and in respect to everything that pertains to ship-building; for it not only produces quantities of timber but also brings it down on rivers. And the people make linen in quantities and hemp, wax, and pitch. Their linen industry has been famed far and wide for they used to export linen to outside places" (Strabo 11.2.17 translated by H.L. Jones).

Strabo describes the fertility of land in Bithynia and recorded that the interior of Bithynia, in the area of Salon, the best pasturage for cattle was found and it was famous for its cheese. He also recorded that Nicea, the metropolis of Bithynia situated on the Ascanian Lake, was surrounded by a plain that is large and very fertile, but not good for health in the summer (Strabo 12.4.7).

Strabo recorded that "ruddle", a kind of dye used to mark animals, was produced in Cappadocia and its quality was the best in the world. It was called the Sinopean ruddle because it was exported through the harbour at Sinope before Ephesus was used for this purpose. Strabo also recorded that in Galatia slabs of crystal and onyx were found, and also a white stone from which sword handles were made (Strabo 12.2.10).

Strabo describes Mazaca Caesarea, a possible host city of a Petrine community in Cappadocia, as not naturally a suitable place for the founding of a city. There was nothing natural that could contribute to the defence of the city and the area surrounding the city was very barren. Nearby successive volcanic eruptions created tons of volcanic ash and a moonlike landscape was created. Strabo describes that the area was volcanic in the first century and full of fire pits; food and other resources had to be transported there from elsewhere. Timber for Cappadocia was brought from a nearby area called Argaeus. This area though, contained underground fires that were a danger for both humans and animals (Strabo 12.2.7).

From these descriptions of Strabo, it's clear the land was fertile and many people made their living from the resources available. Local products included timber, cheese, crystal, onyx and ruddle, and industry included shipbuilding and the production of linen, wax, hemp and pitch. The natural harbours of Pontus were used

for exports to other parts of the world. Some areas, such as Cappadocia, were less fertile due to volcanic eruptions.

Manual work was not respected and some philosophers believed the need to work prevented a person from having a good life. Manual workers were seen as stunted mentally, and it was believed if a man must work he would never have time to attain virtue, and would never be self-sufficient. The upper classes engaged in what was considered “proper” work, mainly law, politics and war. Time was often set aside for leisure to be enjoyed with friends (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:116).

Strabo’s description of conditions at a mine in the city of Pompeiopolis in the Province of Pontus indicates how difficult and dangerous living could be for certain slaves. The slaves working in the mine were sold at the market place because of their crimes and condition at the mine were so horrendous that it meant a certain death for the slaves that had to work there (Strabo 12.3.40).

2.5.4 Social groups and honour and shame in society

2.5.4.1 Social groups

Society was made up of many groups and associations, and it can be assumed that many of the believers of 1 Peter belonged to such groups. The honour of such groups depended on its members and if the believers belonging to such groups were shamed and accused of being disloyal citizens it would have been a disgrace to the group.

People belonged to these groups because of the social benefits, which aided survival in an environment where resources were scarce. The uncertainty of the future and the constant threat of disaster and disease made people vulnerable and they were forced to rely on relationships with others to ensure survival. Often marriages were arranged to keep control over resources. Friendships were often established in order to get ahead in life. Trade guilds and various other societies and clubs existed for advancing the common interest of members (Capes, Reeves and Richards 2007:28).

It can be assumed that the women in 1 Peter who could adorn themselves with gold and silver were married to wealthy husbands who would have belonged to a professional *collegia*. This group was composed of businessmen of a specific trade like shippers, carpenters, traders, and warehousemen. These clubs had considerable power and influence, but seldom got involved in political issues. Authorities expected them to see to the economic stability of the city and they accepted this responsibility. Generous members of these clubs were honoured with public inscriptions. Each group set its limits for the number of members it would accommodate and new members needed to be approved based on their credentials. A specific god was chosen by the group to preside over their meetings and to sacrifice to during their banquets (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:125).

Believers from a Gentile background could have belonged to a *collegia sodalicia*. This group was devoted to the worship of specific gods. Foreigners often belonged to such groups and worshipped a god from their place of origin. The Jewish synagogues would have shared similar features with such groups. Other groups who didn’t have the influence of the *collegia*, such as wool workers and veterans, often took advantage of a loophole in the law, and adopted a common deity organising themselves as a group around the deity and functioning legally as a *collegia*

sodalicia (Stambaugh & Balch 1986:125).

The very poor in society belonged to a *collegia tenuiorum*. According to Stambaugh & Balch (1986:125) this group mainly provided a decent burial for its members, who paid small initiation and monthly membership fees. People too poor to pay even that were buried in common graves without any ceremony. Besides providing a dignified funeral for its members this group's monthly fellowship meal was a significant place for social contact and celebration. The group included freeborn members, freedmen and slaves.

It has been argued (Elliott 1981:73) that the Christian community addressed in 1 Peter should be understood as a religious sect. In addition to being strangers and social outsiders in their communities, the Christians also belonged to a religious sect of their own with an exclusive membership and that would have raised the concern of their neighbours. Elliott (1981:75) further argues that the terms used by Peter referring to the community can apply to religious sects in general.

The letter speaks of the hearers as members of a clearly defined group: the elect and holy people of God (1 Peter 1:3-2:10). They were known as Christians (4:16) to the public and separated from society through the voluntary severing of ties that would compromise their faith (1:3-5, 2:4-10, etc.) They formed a family-like community of their own (1:22, 2:5, 5:9) and were defined by faith in Christ Jesus their saviour, and hope for the future (1:2-3, 2:4-10). Jesus Christ prescribes allegiance to God alone through fear and obedience (1:17, 2:17, 2:8, 3:20), and the salvation of the community will be experienced in full measure at the return of Christ (1:5-7). Until this event the sect is to maintain strict discipline and guard against pressure to assimilate with society (1:22, 1:14-16). Elliott argues that as a sect, it placed the believers in confrontation with society and they suffered as a result. Elliott (1981:78) concludes that the terminology used in 1 Peter and the contexts in which it occurs refer to social pressure, religious discrimination and hostility that were directed by society against inferior aliens and religious sects.

The nature of the communities Peter addresses is perhaps too complex to identify as a typical religious sect similar to others of the time, and they were ultimately defined in theological terms (1 Pet 2:9) and in terms of their relationship with Christ (1 Pet 2:5).

2.5.4.2 Honour and shame in society

In the socio-historical context of 1 Peter a person was not defined by his or her accomplishments, but by the family or people group the individual belonged to. Some people had a 'dyadic personality' and self-discovery didn't come through self-reflection, but rather through the opinion of others. A person's family, ancestral village and relationships with others defined the person. In the book of Acts, Paul identified himself in terms of his city or origin (Capes, Reeves and Richards 2007:27). Honour and shame were highly significant in terms of the self - understanding of city dwellers in the Petrine Provinces. The city of Ancyra adopted the anchor as its symbol and displayed it on its coins, due to the city's two foundation myths: In one the city is attributed to the Phrygian king Midas, who discovered the city's eponymous anchor and dedicated it in the temple of Zeus, where it was still present by the late second century AD. In the other the Galatians themselves founded the city and named it after the anchors which they had captured from the Ptolemaic fleet (Michell 1995:208).

People promoted the welfare of their own families in order to maintain their influence in society. Family and tribal leaders made sure those under them complied with the expectations of society. Individualists were seen as a threat to social stability. (Capes, Reeves and Richards 2007:28). Patrons sometimes lived in cities, but relied on income from land surrounding the cities for their position in society. Texts discovered in Buğdüz dating back to the Roman period in Galatia detail an Ancyran family which had established itself in the city council over several generations, and also tell of the family of a certain L. Claudius Diogeniamus, whose names indicate Roman origin, rather than being local villagers. Texts referring to two families of a C. Claudi appear around Ancyra, one on the road running west to Juliopolis and the other near Elmadağ on the road to Tavium. It is likely that these prominent citizens lived in Ancyra, but working with freedmen and agents owned property on the fertile land near Ancyra and maintained their position with the income from the land (Mitchell 1995:150-151).

It was the desire for honour and fear of shame that made people play by society's rules. Both rich and poor sought to be honoured in their respective social groups. Honour was seen as of greater importance than wealth. A man could not claim honour for himself, it could only be given to him by others who themselves were seen as honoured members of society. It was also understood that honour ultimately was bestowed by divinity, who endowed certain people to be kings, priests or fathers. The apostle Paul claimed that he was appointed by God as an apostle (Gal 1:1) even though he didn't fulfil the requirements set by Acts 1:21-22 (Capes, Reeves and Richards 2007:29-30). Those upon whom honour was bestowed had to defend their honour, and it was common practice to challenge someone's honour, often in public. This certainly happened in Corinth where Paul's honour as an apostle was challenged by the 'super apostles,' and he had to defend his apostolic appointment as being from God (Capes, Reeves and Richards 2007:33).

There were various ways to force a rebel to compliance in Greco-Roman society, from shunning the person to public beatings. It was essential for the sake of the group that people be brought back to compliance (Capes, Reeves and Richards 2007:31). There was a great contrast between the powerful rich and the poor, and judges favoured the rich to the point where the rich could virtually do as they wished to the poor. However, lower-class rebellions in Asia Minor are virtually unheard of. People knew and accepted their place in society and felt a strong sense of patriotism towards their city. Tomb inscriptions of people who died away from their city often included a reference to the city they were from. This loyalty and pride in their city were often built on the cultural heritage of the city (Mitchell 1995:206-207).

Even when it comes to the relationship between a client and patron, honour and shame were very important. Alliances between patrons and clients were established through the exchange of gifts. Magistrates were given gifts to ensure future favour. The emperor's favour was sought by building gates and statues in his name and by declaring special days in his honour. People without power became the clients of patrons with influence and resources. A client would present a potential patron with a gift, and if the gift was accepted the relationship was established. Once the relationship was established the patron would provide security for the client and the client would seek to promote the honour and business interest of the patron in society. Honour was of paramount importance and patrons saw it as a good exchange to provide security for those who brought him honour (Capes, Reeves and Richards 2007:29).

Patrons didn't just benefit clients, but sometimes whole city communities. At times it was hard to raise revenue through taxes in cities, and wealthy citizens were then expected to support city projects. There are many examples of this in the Greek cities of the east in Anatolia, where wealthy citizens provided for public buildings, grain distribution, expenditures in the gymnasium or funded a festival (Mitchell 1995:211).

Large land ownership also brought prosperity to whole areas. After Pompey created the Provinces of Bithynia and Pontus in 63 BC, Nicea in Bithynia started to thrive. Up to then Nicea was just a Hellenistic backwater. From inscriptions found in the area of the city it can be seen that few opportunities to buy land were missed and the big landowners changed the fortune of this area. This wild and unexploited land became quite profitable under management by slaves and freedmen. Members of the *gens Hostilia* are listed as land owners in Geyve in Bithynia in 60 AD. A number of female landowners are also listed, for example Claudia Galitte and Annia Astilla (Mitchell 1996:160).

It seems that the main weapon the general population used against the Christians in 1 Peter was to shame them to the point where they would conform with the expectations of society (Elliott 2007:78-79). In a world where belonging to a group and honour and shame were of such importance, converting to Christianity would have had significant negative consequences for the new believers, as society would usually turn against them.

2.5.4.3 The household codes

Particularly relevant to the letter of 1 Peter is the presence of household codes in Greco-Roman society that regulated behaviour within the household. Aristotle specified that the proper functioning of the household depends on the right understanding of authority in three relationships: master and slave, husband and wife and father and children (Balch 1981:44-5). The household codes were based on the understanding that men are the most rational and women least rational. Children were seen as immature and slaves as irrational. Based on these perceptions the codes portrayed the order of authority and submission for each group. This ordering became political ideology within the Roman Empire and was forced upon the peoples conquered. A challenge at any level to these categories of authority and submission would have been seen as a challenge to the Roman political order and its basic ideology (Achte-meier 1996:52). In understanding the authors intention with the instructions he gives in 1 Peter 2:11 – 3:6 the household codes need to be seen as part of the socio-historic context he needed to consider in his desire for his hearers to be effective witnesses to Greco-Roman society.⁷

⁷ There has been debate among scholars over the purpose of the household codes in 1 Peter. For example it has been argued that the author of 1 Peter's strategy with the letter in general and household code in particular was to affirm the distinctive communal identity and strengthen the solidarity of the community so that they could resist outside pressure to conform to society and in the process be a witness of the life and faith of the community (Elliott 1986:78). It also has been argued that the author of 1 Peter's main concern was acculturation and peace and harmony both in the spiritual house of God and in Greco-Roman society (Balch 1986:80-101). The author adopted the household code as a means for the new Christian communities to contribute to the harmony of Greco-Roman communities. The context here is a social situation where Roman society was critical of new religious cults, like the Isis and Dionysus cults, as well as of Judaism, which were seen as corrupting the order of society (Balch 1981:66).

2.5.5 Conclusion

From the literary resources available it can be concluded that life in the cities was dominated by religion, trade, education and entertainment. Most people lived in crowded neighbourhoods with little privacy and relatively few people lived in larger, more luxurious houses. Honour and shame were very important in society, and to survive and to get ahead in life it was important to belong to a group.

Strabo's observations, as a contemporary of the hearers of 1 Peter in the Provinces where they lived, helps discern the "texture of life" (Meeks 1981:2) in the rural areas. Life was hard and much work was done to use the many natural resources in these areas. And for certain slaves life was unbearably difficult.

2.6 Conclusion

It can be assumed that the socio-historical context of the hearers of 1 Peter and their "texture of life" (Meeks 1981:2) was much more complex than what can be deduced from the literary resources available today. The hearers of 1 Peter lived in vast area stretching over five Roman Provinces. The area included large inland areas, but also many cities, towns and villages on the coast. The population in these Provinces were diverse as it included the people who were native to the area as well as many foreigners who moved there from other parts of the world. The author of 1 Peter addressed his hearers in a social context where coming to Christ would have deeply impacted their lives, whether from Jewish or Gentile background, living in the country or in the city.

The world they lived in was dominated by religion and the worship at the temples and the religious festivals were the major events in society. It was believed that everything was determined by the gods and it was important to please them in order to ensure the welfare of the community. For the Christians to refuse participation in these religious activities would have created tension between them and society.

In the cities, life centred around the temple, gymnasium, theatre, stadium and marketplace. These public buildings served as centres for worship, education, leisure, training in various disciplines and trade. In addition to these well-kept public spaces, cities also consisted of neighbourhoods that were often crowded, with small houses and little privacy. Relatively few people could afford to live in larger, peristyle houses.

Large parts of the country were fertile and many people were employed in mining and agriculture. The coastal cities in the Petrine Provinces provided harbours for the traders to export their produce to other parts of the world. Life was difficult for those engaging in manual labour and for slaves sometimes unbearably hard.

In order to move ahead in a society where honour and shame were so important it was essential to belong to a group. There were many clubs, associations and trade guilds that people could join, and these provided many benefits for their members. Coming to faith in Christ could have made membership in such groups difficult for the Christians and in some cases, for example where worship of a god was involved, impossible.

In was in this context that the author of 1 Peter addresses his hearers, reminding them of their theological identity in Christ and their responsibility towards their society. In the next chapter their theological identity and responsibility to society will be explored.

CHAPTER 3: THE INTERPRETATION OF ἐξαγγέλλω IN 1 PETER 2:9

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 The unity of 1 Peter 2:4-10
- 3.3 Understanding ἐξαγγέλλω in the context of the witness motif in Exodus 19:4-6 and Isaiah 43:20-21
- 3.4 Understanding the verb ἐξαγγέλλω in the context of the worship and witness of Israel
- 3.5 The relationship between verses 5 and 9 in 1 Peter 2 and its significance for the meaning of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω
- 3.6 The meaning of the phrase τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε in the context of verses 9 and 10 in 1 Peter 2
- 3.7 Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

The hearers of 1 Peter lived in Asia Minor under Roman rule during the first century AD. They were from different ethnic groups, including both Jews and Gentiles, with differing social statuses and roles within their society. Among them were resident aliens, household servants and married women. One thing they had in common was the fact that they had received mercy and had become a new people through the work of Christ. At baptism they had received a new theological identity, described in 1 Peter 2:9, which brought about a new responsibility: Ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς.

Within their socio-historic context they were to show forth the great works of God who had called them from darkness to light. It is in the above verse that the word ἐξαγγείλητε from the verb ἐξαγγέλλω is found. This is the only place where this verb occurs in the New Testament and the author of 1 Peter appears to have used it in preference to the word διηγείσθαι from Isaiah 43:21 (LXX). In order to understand the choice and meaning of this word it needs to be determined whom the author intends to address by this praise. Two possibilities suggest themselves: God, who is to be addressed in worship, or Greco-Roman society, which is to be addressed in witness. If the author has witness in mind here, then verse 9 would be central in investigating the concept of witness in the socio-historic context of 1 Peter. Therefore the meaning of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω in verse 9 first needs to be investigated.

1 Peter 2:9

English (New King James Version)	Greek (Nestle-Aland 28 th ed.)
⁹ But you <i>are</i> a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, His own special people, that you may proclaim the praises of Him who called you out of darkness into His marvelous light;	Ἑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς:

The grammatical construction of the word ἐξαγγείλητε is Aorist Active Subjunctive second person plural of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω.

In the verse the subjunctive mood is used with ὅπως and expresses either purpose or result. Lexicons give the possibilities for the English translation of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω, a compound of ἀγγελω, as 'to announce', 'to proclaim throughout' and 'to speak out about' with emphasis on the extent of the announcement (Nida and Louw 1989:411). Understanding the grammatical construction of the word and its lexical meaning is useful, however, given the theological intent of the letter, the meaning of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω needs to be investigated within its theological context. This context is provided by the unit 1 Peter 2: 4-10 as well as the Old Testament passages that feature within this unit.

3.2 The unity of 1 Peter 2:4-10

In order to understand the meaning of ἐξαγγέλλω verse 9 should be studied in the context of the unit 2:4-10. The structure of the unit, the unique features and the particular vocabulary the author uses need to be investigated to see if and how the author's use of these features shed light on what the author intended to communicate in verse 9.

3.2.1 Place within the structure of 1 Peter

The unit 2:4-10 has a particular place within the structure of the whole letter: it is to be viewed in the context of the exhortation 1:3-12 to praise God for the new birth through Jesus Christ (Van Rensburg 1992:37). In 1:13-25 the readers are instructed to set their hope fully on the grace they have received and to be holy in all they do. In 2:1-3 the focus is on the individual spiritual growth of individuals who have received the new birth, and in 2:4-10 the emphasis is on growth together with other believers in community as God's people.

3.2.2 Old Testament references

Throughout the unit there are references and allusions to Old Testament passages. Elliot (1966:17) has identified two references to Psalm 118:22 and Isaiah 28:16, in verses 4 and 6-7, and to Exodus 19:6, in verses 5 and 9. He further identified references to Isaiah 28:16 in verse 6b, Psalm 118:22 in 7b, Isaiah 8:14 in 8a, Isaiah 43:20f in 9a and 9cd, Exodus 19:6 in 9a and b, Hosea 1:6 and 9 and Hosea 2:3 and 25 in 10a-b (Elliot 1966: 17). The people the author of 1 Peter addresses included men and women, slave and free and Jew and Gentile and the nature of such a community could only be described in theological terms. The church didn't fit any

single social category of the day (Jobes 2005:159). In order to describe the nature of their community the author makes use of titles that God used to define his people in the Old Testament.

This large amount of Old Testament material in the unit and the titles by which he describes his hearers may indicate that the author saw a dynamic relationship between the communities he addressed and God's people in the Old Testament. This may also mean that the author envisions his hearers to be witnesses of God's work in a similar fashion as God's people were in the Old Testament.

3.2.3 A stone and people complex

Besides the large number of Old Testament allusions, the unit is also marked by other features. The prominence of a 'stone' and 'people' complex in the unit has been acknowledged (e.g. Achtemeier 1996:149-150). In verses 6-8 a 'λίθος complex' is present and in verses 9-10 a 'λαός complex.'

3.2.3.1 A 'λίθος complex'

The 'stone' in the unit refers to Christ and his work on the cross which is at the heart of the witness of the communities the author addresses and the 'people' refers to those who are bearing witness. Therefore the author's use of these two complexes may also shed light on his intent with the use of the word ἐξαγγέλλω.

The 'stone complex' has its origin in the Old Testament as the stone motif which consistently looked forward to the Messianic age. This is also the case in the *Targumim* and early synagogue literature. It is present in the Qumran literature where it was associated with the idea of laying a new foundation in life when a person entered their community (Elliott 1966:26-27). In the New Testament the stone motif is used in close association with Christ. The New Testament idea of Jesus as the stone of Psalm 118:22 rested on Jesus' own words in Mark 12:1-12. In these verses Jesus tells the parable of the vineyard and concludes with a quotation from Psalm 118:22-23. The parable didn't include the vindication of the son, but by ending the parable with the quote from Psalm 118 Jesus points to this vindication (France 2002:463).⁸ The author of 1 Peter develops the motif by also identifying Jesus as the λίθος of Scripture. He emphasizes the exaltation of Christ as well as the fact that he is the cornerstone of the church. The stone is a living stone because it is possible for people to enter into a life-giving relationship with it (Selwyn 1949:158-159).

This Christological identification of the stone places the work of Christ at the centre of the identity and responsibility of the new community. The great deeds they were to proclaim are the works of God in Christ Jesus. The stone the builders rejected indeed became the cornerstone of the building. The believers also had to understand their witness and service in the context of being living stones in the spiritual house God is building and where Christ is the living stone. Witness and service were to be rendered by a community belonging to the stone that was rejected by men for their building but chosen by God for what he was building. Those who accepted Christ became part of what God was building and those who rejected Christ were rejected by God (1 Peter 2:7).

⁸ The quotation from Psalm 118:22-23 reveals that the rejection of God's Son was not just foreseen by God, but used by him for his glory (Edwards 2002: 360).

3.2.3.2 A λαός complex

The Christian communities the author of 1 Peter addresses consist of individual people, who through the stone (Christ) became a special community. In verses 9-10 the nature of the community is described. The new community consists of people who have received a new identity at baptism (Elliott 1966:22). They are now God's chosen race, his royal priesthood, his holy nation and special possession. They were 'no people' but now in Christ they have become 'God's people'. They were without mercy but in Christ they have received mercy. As a people they have been given the responsibility to show forth the great deeds of God who called them out of darkness into his marvellous light.

3.2.4 The word ἱεράτευμα (priesthood)

This unit 2:4-10 is further marked by the fact that the word ἱεράτευμα (priesthood) occurs twice, in verse 5 and again in verse 9. The word does not appear anywhere else in the New Testament. Other double occurrences of words in verses 4-5 and 6-10 show a close relationship between these two sections within the unit. Traditionally double occurrences of the same Old Testament material are evidence of secondary material added. Elliott though, argues that there is parallelism within the structure of these verses. Traditionally the material in verses 4-5 was seen as the basis for verses 6-10. However, Elliott argues for a different form of parallelism in the unit. Verses 4-5 were accommodated to the formulation of verses 6-10: verse 9, for example, follows the LXX directly whereas verses 4-5 shows no direct dependence. This means, according to Elliott, that in verses 4-5 we find the author's summary or interpretation of verses 6-7 and 9 (Elliott 1966:20). If this argument of Elliott is accepted, then verses 4-5 may shed light on the meaning of verse 9 and vice versa.

3.2.5 Preformed material

There are different views on whether the author of this unit made use of preformed material and the nature of such material. If the author did use preformed material then the nature and function of this material may influence the understanding of the intent of the author in verse 9. There are different possibilities for the nature of the preformed material used.

3.2.5.1 A collection of *Testimonia*

One possibility is that the unit is based on a collection of *Testimonia* that was put together in the first century either to instruct new believers in the Old Testament or to use in apologetics against opponents of the church (Michaels 1988:94). Harris (1916:26-29) argues that in the *Testimonia*, collected and edited by Cyprian in the third century, examples can be found of Old Testament testimonies that originated during the New Testament period, such as the stone saying in 1 Peter 2:8. Harris (1916:26-29) argues that the author of 1 Peter wasn't depending on Pauline material here, but that both the author of 1 Peter and Paul (Rom 9:32-33) relied on a testimony book. However, it can be convincingly argued that the existence of a stone *testimonia* collection is unlikely because the passages in the unit from the LXX Psalm 117 and Isaiah 8 and 28 referring to the stone are nowhere else combined in the New Testament (Achtmeier 1996:151).

Given the fact that there is no evidence of the use of a stone *testimonia* collection anywhere else in the New Testament there seems to be insufficient evidence to

conclude that the author used a document, like a testimony book, as a basis for this unit. However, there may have been another source of preformed material that could have been used by the author.

3.2.5.2 Hymn theory

The authors of the New Testament sometimes used preformed hymns in their letters and it is possible that the author of 1 Peter used such a hymn as the source for this unit (Selwyn 1949:274-277). The similarities and differences between the verses in 1 Peter 2:4-10 and their origin in the LXX can perhaps best be explained by arguing that these verses were adapted from an existing hymn that was known to the Christians. The fact that they would have known the hymn would have given more force to the words of the author of 1 Peter (Selwyn 1949:274-277).

However, arguments can also be made against such a hymn theory. Many of the traditional hymn elements found in the hymn sections of the New Testament are absent in 1 Peter. Some elements of the 1 Peter 2:4-10 text are present elsewhere in the New Testament, but as a whole the hymn unit isn't present anywhere else (Elliott 1966:136-137).

If a hymn was used as preformed material by the author, it would perhaps give strength to the argument that the language of the unit belongs to the domain of worship. Balch (1981:133) has argued that the verb ἐξαγγέλλω both in the Psalms and 1 Peter belongs exclusively to the domain of cultic worship and that the great deeds of God should be shown forth in formal worship. Selwyn's hymn theory probably would have given some weight to this argument. However, Elliott's argument against Selwyn is convincing.

3.2.5.3 A theological theme

It is also possible that the unit is held together by a theological theme. One possibility for such a theme is election (Elliott 1966:142). The style and word order of the unit reveals the author's intention to emphasize this idea. In verse 6 the first modifier of λίθος is ἐκλεκτόν and the repetition of ἐκλεκτόν in verse 9 indicates the priority the author gave to the election theme. It is further possible that the author interpolated γένος ἐκλεκτόν from Isaiah 43 into Exodus 19:6. The ὑμεῖς δὲ with which verse 9 begins is part of Exodus 19:6 and not the author's own words. The author then interpolated γένος ἐκλεκτόν before carrying on with βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα from Exodus 19:6. This was done intentionally to emphasize the importance of the elect status of the people of God (Elliott 1966:142).

According to Elliott (1966:143) if ὑμεῖς δὲ isn't taken as the original wording of the author but as part of the Exodus quote, then verses 8 and 9 don't stand in contrast to each other. Achtemeier (1996:163) has also pointed out that even though the use of ὑμεῖς δὲ implies a contrast to another group, those who are not God's people, verse 9 should probably be seen as a resumption of the description of God's people rather than as a contrast specifically to the unbelievers mentioned in verses 7b-8 since that phrase is already part of a contrast starting in verse 7a. So, just as the mention of a contrast in verse 4b was followed in verses 5-6 with a description of those who believed in Christ, so in verse 9 the contrast stated in verses 7-8 is followed by another description of God's people. Achtemeier's point provides strength to Elliott's argument that ὑμεῖς δὲ should be seen as part of the quote rather than the author's own words.

It is also possible that ὑμεῖς δὲ was not part of the Exodus quote, but rather the author's own choice of words. Michaels (1988:108) argues that it is unlikely that ὑμεῖς δὲ is part of the Exodus quote, but should be understood as indicating the contrast between those who have rejected the stone and those who have become God's people. Other scholars, like Goppelt (1978:148), have seen a contrast between believers and unbelievers in verses 8 and 9. Elliott (1966:143-144) pointed out though that verses 6-8 form a subunit and therefore verse 9 could only stand in contrast to the whole subunit and the subunit addresses both believers and unbelievers. Rather verse 9, where the community is described as the elect people, corresponds with verse 6, where Jesus is described as the elect stone. This interchange of predicates between Jesus and the church has been described by scholars as a transference of attributes and is common in other parts of the New Testament. In 1 Peter it plays a major role. However, Elliott (1966:143-144) has argued that the transference of attributes between these verses is limited as not all the predicates in verse 9 relate to attributes of Jesus. The phrases βασιλείου ἱεράτευμα and λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν do not derive from Jesus but from the people of Israel. According to Elliott (1966:143-144) these terms were never used to describe Jesus but are designates of a community and not a person. The phrase βασιλείου ἱεράτευμα has no connection with the kingship and priesthood of Jesus. Elliott (1966:143-144) argues that the only medium of correspondence between these verses is the theme of election. The structure and content of the whole unit indicates the intention of the author to emphasize the election aspect of the work of God. The material relates to other New Testament material on the same theme and could possibly include common catechetical or liturgical material. Elliott (1966:143-144) points out though that the material was uniquely arranged by the author for his own purpose to emphasize the election of God's people. The combination of the elect stone with the elect people forms a parallel and confirms the author's intention.

It seems more likely that ὑμεῖς δὲ is part of the Exodus quote that the author uses to convey his own message. The theme of election is prominent in the unit, but perhaps Elliott goes too far in arguing that 'chosen race' was interpolated to emphasize the election of the people. The author may have recalled these titles from memory and perhaps not too much should be made of the order in which they appear.

3.2.5.4 A concern for witness?

Is it not also possible that the unit is held together by the author's concern for an effective witness to Greco Roman society by the communities he addressed? In verses 4 and 5 he describes his readers in terms of their theological identity and in terms of their responsibility in the world. In verses 6-8 the author uses the stone metaphor to explain the gospel by which the hearers were saved. This gospel would also be the content of their witness in word and deed to the communities to which they belonged. In verses 9-10 the author again emphasizes the theological identity and responsibility of his hearers and the fact that, through the work of Christ, they themselves have received mercy. This should encourage them to show forth the great deeds of God to others. The emphasis on being a good witness in 2:12 and 3:1-2, for example, could be further evidence of the prominence of the author's concern for witness in the unit.

3.2.6 Conclusion

The author of 1 Peter may well have used some preformed material in the unit, but his arrangement and use of the material displays a unique character in order to serve his own purposes. Election is a prominent theme in the unit, but so is the witness of those elected and perhaps the unit is held together by the author's concern for witness. In order to investigate the meaning of ἐξαγγέλλω verse 9 will be considered as part of this unit. Using a particular structure and arrangement of words the author allows the different parts of the unit to inform each other. Therefore in order to understand what the author of 1 Peter intended to communicate in verse 9, and particularly with the use of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω the unit needs to be studied as a whole.

3.3 Understanding ἐξαγγέλλω in the context of the witness motif in Exodus 19:4-6 and Isaiah 43:20-21

In verse 9 the author uses material from the Old Testament to convey his message. The Old Testament isn't used simply as a pool of spiritual vocabulary to retrieve the right word, nor as theological background or 'decor' for the author of 1 Peter's writing, but serves as the theological context for his message. Van Rensburg's (2000:4-6) distinction between a context approach and a 'décor' approach in terms of the relationship between the text and the socio-historic data can also be applied to the relationship between the text of 1 Peter and the Old Testament. For the author there was a living and dynamic relationship between the people of God in the Old Testament, whom God had elected to be his people and delivered and saved from Egypt and Babylon, and the people of God in 1 Peter, whom he had elected and saved through Jesus Christ.

For the author there is no tension between the Petrine communities and Israel. The history of Israel is viewed as the prehistory of the church (1 Pet 1:10-12) and the church is in the age of fulfilment of God's promise of blessing. The characters of the Old Testament serve as the heroes of the church. The author of 1 Peter uses and applies the Old Testament as he addresses his hearers without any sense of historical distancing (Davids 1990:26).

The phrase 'διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ' in verse 6 refers to the Old Testament passages used in verses 4-10 and in verse 9 it refers to Exodus 19:6 and Isaiah 43:20-21 (Elliott 2000:423-424). In verses 9 and 10 however there are no direct quotes from the Old Testament but rather biblical epithets for the people of God.

3.3.1 Exodus 19:3-6

English (New King James Version)	LXX
<p>³ And Moses went up to God, and the LORD called to him from the mountain, saying, "Thus you shall say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel: ⁴ 'You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and <i>how</i> I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to Myself. ⁵ Now therefore, if you will indeed obey My voice and keep My covenant, then you shall be a special treasure to Me above all people; for all the earth <i>is</i> Mine. ⁶ And you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.' These <i>are</i> the words which you shall speak to the children of Israel."</p>	<p>καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους λέγων τάδε ἔρεῖς τῷ οἴκῳ Ιακωβ καὶ ἀναγγελεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ .. αὐτοὶ ἐωράκατε ὅσα πεποιήκα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ ἀνέλαβον ὑμᾶς ὡσεὶ ἐπὶ πτερυγῶν ἀετῶν καὶ προσηγαγόμεν ὑμᾶς πρὸς ἑμαυτόν.. καὶ νῦν ἐὰν ἀκοῇ ἀκούσῃτε τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς καὶ φυλάξῃτε τὴν διαθήκην μου ἕσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐμῆ γάρ ἐστιν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ... ὑμεῖς δὲ ἕσεσθέ μοι βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα ἔρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ</p>

In order to investigate the author's intention with 2:9 it is also necessary to understand the Old Testament allusions in their original context. It is necessary to keep in mind that the author saw the communities of 1 Peter as the true fulfilment of Scripture and that the New Testament authors viewed scripture in the light of the work of Christ (Moyise 2015:209). In his use of Isaiah in the unit 1 Peter 2: 4-10, for example, the author seems to have no intention of giving an exposition of Isaiah or writing a "Midrash" (Moyise & Van Rensburg 2002:28). He uses the passages from Isaiah for his own purposes and applies them to his hearers. In 1 Peter 2:9 the author borrows material from a variety of sources where he could have used his own language, as he sometimes does. The reason isn't to direct his hearers to a certain text, but by alluding to Old Testament passages he enriches the self-understanding of his hearers (Moyise & Van Rensburg 2002:27). When the author of 1 Peter uses the Old Testament passages he doesn't sever them from their original context (Van Rensburg and Moyise 2002:28) and their original meaning contributes to the understanding of the intent of the author of 1 Peter. Traditional methodologies like structural, historical and grammatical analyses should be applied in investigating these Old Testament references and literary concepts. Intertextuality, for example, can be applied to further enhance the understanding of the text (Moyise & Van Rensburg 2002:28).

3.3.1.1 Broader context of Exodus 19:3-6

It is of particular importance to investigate the presence of a witness theme in these passages. Exodus 19:3-6 falls within the larger section known as the Sinai tradition extending from Exodus 19 to Numbers 10. Exodus 19:1-25 portrays God addressing his people through Moses and preparing them for the announcement of the Decalogue and the renewal and enactment of the covenant between God and his people. The Sinai *pericope* was to play a cultic role in Israel and the *Sitz im Leben* may have been the ancient festival of covenant renewal (Elliott1966:50-51).

Verses 3-6 are part of the larger unit of verses 1-9. Verse 1 serves as a superscription to the chapters that follow and forms a sharp break in the history

which led to the arrival at Sinai. This arrival from Egypt is marked with a special day and verse 2 reinforces the idea that, for now, the journey has come to an end. In verses 2b and 3a the contrast between Moses and the people becomes clear: Moses ascends the mountain while the people stay at the camp. Then in verses 3-8 the purpose of God's leading Israel to Sinai is revealed. The structure of these verses is a stereotyped pattern of covenant renewal or enactment. The great acts of God in the past serve as the basis for the invitation to join the covenant. Above all, in verse 4, the deliverance from Egypt is emphasized. God has cared for them along the journey which led them to Sinai. The promise follows that Israel will enter into a special relationship with God and will be a kingdom of priests and a holy nation and a special possession of God among all people. At the same time a requirement of obedience is announced. If Israel obeyed God then they would continue to be God's own people among the nations, dedicated to God's service as priests among the nations and marked by covenantal holiness (Childs 2004:366-367).

In the socio-historic context of 1 Peter, where so much importance was given to social status, it was important to the author that his hearers understood their God-given identity. It has been argued (Elliott 1966:62) that Exodus 19 contains the most central and dominant expressions of Israel's theology and faith in terms of their status as God's elected people. Verse 6 presents the central emphasis of the *pericope*: if Israel was faithful to the covenant then she would be a kingdom of priests, that is, a holy nation sharing in the holiness of her God and enjoying the access to him typical of priests. The verse reflects an early period in Israel's history when the whole nation was viewed as an entire kingdom of priests in comparison with the caste of priests that functioned in Egypt. Such a reference to a kingdom of priests, which includes the whole nation, is only found in Exodus and later repetitions of the covenant formula don't include the phrase. The only passage possibly resembling Exodus 19:6 is Isaiah 61:6, but the only point of contact is that Israel as a nation should be called priests.

3.3.1.2 Identity and witness in Exodus 19:3-6

Exodus 19:3-6 clearly expresses the identity of Israel among the nations, and a witness motif can be identified. These verses assert that the whole world belongs to God and that he chose Israel from among all the nations to be his royal priesthood and holy nation. The verses need to be seen in the wider context of the covenant promises God made to Abraham which included the promise that all nations would be blessed through him. In the context of Exodus 19:3-6 the priests stood between God and humanity to help bring humanity closer to God and to dispense God's truth, justice, favour, discipline and holiness to mankind. This could take place through Israel in four different ways: Israel would serve as an example to other nations who would see Israel's holiness and be drawn to their holy God; Israel would proclaim the truth of God and invite other nations to accept him as God; Israel would intercede for the nations before God; and Israel would keep the promises of God, preserving his word spoken and revealed to them, so that at the fulfilment of time everyone in the world could benefit from this divine revelation (Stuart 2006:423).

In Exodus 9:16 the scope of God's witness and revelation through Israel is the whole earth. This reality is emphasized in Exodus 19:6 and a possible translation for the verse could be 'because all the earth is mine, so you, you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation' (Fretheim 1991:212). This indicates that the phrases relate to God's mission to the whole world. The God of all the nations had a specific

reason for selecting Israel for special favour and through Israel would bring blessing to the nations (Mackay 2001: 326-327).

All the nations belong to God, but they sinned and rebelled against him. As part of God's eternal plan to bring blessing and redemption to the world, the nation of Israel was established among the nations as his representative in the world.

So even though in Exodus 19:3-6 the main focus is the identity of Israel as God's chosen people, there is also a witness motif present and these verses should be understood in the light of God's covenant promise that all nations would be blessed through Abraham. The witness motif is significant in the investigation of the meaning of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω in 1 Peter 2:9. The author of 1 Peter addresses the believers in Asia Minor by the titles used for Israel in Exodus 19:6 implying that, if Israel's identity as a kingdom of priests and holy nation implied witness to the nations in the Old Testament context, then it would have the same implications for the hearers of 1 Peter. God's theological intent when he gave these titles to Israel finds its fullest expression through the work of Christ in the believers the author of 1 Peter addressed.

3.3.2 Isaiah 43:20-21

English (New King James Version)	Young's Literal Translation	LXX
<p>²⁰ The beast of the field will honor Me, The jackals and the ostriches, Because I give waters in the wilderness <i>And</i> rivers in the desert, To give drink to My people, My chosen.</p> <p>²¹ This people I have formed for Myself; They shall declare My praise.</p>	<p>²⁰ Honour me doth the beast of the field, Dragons and daughters of an ostrich, For I have given in a wilderness waters, Floods in a desolate place, To give drink to My people -- My chosen.</p> <p>²¹ This people I have formed for Myself, My praise they recount.</p>	<p>εὐλογήσει με τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ σειρήνες καὶ θυγατέρες στρουθῶν ὅτι ἔδωκα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὕδωρ καὶ ποταμούς ἐν τῇ ἀνύδρῳ ποτίσαι τὸ γένος μου τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν λαὸν μου ὃν περιεποίησάμην τὰς ἀρετὰς μου διηγῆσθαι</p>

The existence of Israel itself bears witness to the fact that God is faithful to his people and provides salvation for them, through the exodus from Egypt and their establishment in the Promised Land. However instead of obeying their covenant obligations, Israel rebelled against God and failed to bear witness to his holiness. In the time of Amos the relationship deteriorated to the point that the nations were called to gather in Samaria and to bear witness to Israel's depravity, which even exceeded that of the nations around them. These were the nations to whom Israel was called to be a witness of God's holiness. God's holy nation and royal priesthood had become even more wicked than the nations around them (Amos 3).

In the south the same pattern of disobedience repeated itself and as a result the holy city of Jerusalem was destroyed and the people were taken away into captivity.

However, the exile didn't mean that God had abandoned his people and in the latter part of the book of Isaiah, the future salvation of Israel is in focus.

3.3.2.1 The broader context of Isaiah 43:20-21

It is in the context of God's faithfulness in spite of the unfaithfulness of his people that the meaning of Isaiah 43:21, alluded to in 1 Peter 2:9, needs to be investigated. Isaiah 43 is part of a larger section beginning in chapter 42:10 and extending to chapter 44:22. The overall theme of this section is the gracious salvation of God and the witness of God's people. In these chapters the prophet explains that God, who called and established his people, has not abandoned them in exile and sin, and that he will act again decisively to save them. This act of salvation is an act of mercy and doesn't depend on anything God's people have done. Through this act of salvation and the work of the Spirit, the hearts of God's people will be changed and they will seek to walk with God again. God, who acted in the past and made his promises to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, is the same God who acts in the present and future to work the salvation of his people (Oswald 1998:137-144).

The section 43:14 - 44:5 focuses on God's promise to reveal to the world, through Israel, that he is the only Saviour and it is divided into three units. The first (43:14-21) emphasizes that the claims of God were not just based on past events, but that he would demonstrate his lordship again by doing new works of deliverance. This unit contains verses 20-21 which are alluded to in the argument of 1 Peter 2:9. The second unit (43:22-28) explains again that God's display of power on behalf of Israel wasn't due to Israel's righteousness. The third unit (44:1-5) promises that God will do something about the sinfulness of Israel by giving his Spirit to the people so that they would be glad to identify themselves as the people of God (Oswald 1998:151).

Isaiah 43:21 explains that Israel was established to declare the praises of God. Among all creation, it is only mankind who can glorify God as he deserves. People have the power and ability not just to speak, but to see God's work and respond appropriately.

3.3.2.2 The witness of Israel

The broader context of Isaiah 43: 20-21 shows that the people of Israel were set aside and given an identity to be his witness in the world. In spite of Israel's rebellion against God, God would remain faithful to them and God's faithfulness would serve as a witness to the world demonstrating his power and mercy. As people who had experienced the salvation of God themselves, they would bear witness of God's love and salvation (Oswald 1998:155). This continues to be the purpose of the people of God in the New Testament (Lk 1:74-75; Eph 1:4-6; 1 Pet 2:9).

According to these chapters in Isaiah, Israel would bear witness to the salvation acts of God as they declared his praises in worship and in life. At the same time, the very existence of Israel would bear witness to the sovereign power of God. As Ryken, Wilhoit and Longman III (1998:958) point out, these chapters reveal that 'Israel like a long - lasting rock - bears automatic testimony to the power and reality of the Lord.'

3.3.3 Conclusion

The author of 1 Peter refers to Old Testament passages in 1 Peter 2:9 that are rich in theological truth with a major theological theme being the responsibility of Israel to

be a witness to the nations. It is within this Old Testament theological context that the author of 1 Peter places the word ἐξαγγέλλω.

3.4 Understanding the verb ἐξαγγέλλω in the context of the worship and witness of Israel

In the unit 1 Peter 2:4-10 there are words that belong to the domain of worship and there are words in both verses 5 and 9 that have a cultic flavour. In verse 5 the holy priesthood is instructed to bring spiritual sacrifices and in verse 9 the royal priesthood is to declare the praises or great deeds of God (Elliott 1966: 184-185). This opens the possibility that the author of 1 Peter has a church worship meeting in mind when he refers to 'showing forth the great deeds of God' in verse 9. As mentioned in the introduction there is debate over whether the referent of ἐξαγγέλλω is God, who is to be addressed in worship, or society, which is to be addressed in witness. Balch (1981:133) argues that the verb ἐξαγγέλλω refers to proclaiming the praises, deeds, righteousness and works of God in worship. He cites as examples Psalm 9:15-16; Psalm 55:9; 70:15; among others. He concludes that the verb doesn't refer to missionary preaching either in the Psalms or in 1 Peter. Balch further argues that in 1 Peter 2:4-11 the author addresses people who were elected by God and given a new theological identity and that the praises of God's people, referred to in Isaiah 43:21, were directed to God. The actions of the priesthood, referred to in Exodus 19:6, were in worship towards God. Referring to 1 Peter 2:9, he argues that some of those who had been called from darkness to light were equipped to preach the gospel to those still in darkness, but this was by no means the responsibility of everybody. He further points out that in the whole of 1 Peter wherever there is a reference to missionary evangelizing it refers to the past event of the hearers own coming to faith.

Balch's argument is problematic when the different mode of witness in the household code in 1 Peter 2-3 is considered. The relationship between ἐξαγγέλλω and the mode of witness in this household code will be investigated in later chapters.

Also, important here is the argument of Achtemeier (1996:166) that in the context of 1 Peter the scope of the meaning ἐξαγγέλλω cannot be limited to Christian worship or the Eucharist. In verse 9 ἐξαγγέλλω conveys the meaning of telling forth the great deeds of God as shown in his acts of salvation in Christ. This telling forth should be done in word and deed.

In the light of the presence of a witness motif in the household codes in chapters 2 and 3 it seems doubtful that ἐξαγγέλλω refers only to the worship of God in a church service setting. But even if Balch's argument is accepted does it mean that witness to society is completely excluded in verse 9?

3.4.1 Worship and witness in Israel

The nature of worship and witness in Israel may shed light on the interpretation of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω. Michaels (1988:110) agrees with Balch that in 1 Peter 2:9 the word refers to the worship of God and not missionary preaching, but he does admit that in the Old Testament the lines of distinction between worship and testimony are not clearly defined.

In churches today there is often a clear distinction between worship and witness and the activities of each are often organised by different committees. In the Old Testament worship and witness were much more integrated as part of Israel's

identity and existence. Israel was God's holy nation and his kingdom of priests. This meant Israel represented God on earth and was chosen among the nations to represent the nations before God. The role of Israel among the nations also needs to be understood within the covenant promises that God made to Abraham including the promise that all the nations of the world would be blessed through him.

The nations feature prominently in the Book of Amos which provides a perspective on the nature of the relationship between God and the nations. In Amos 1 and 2 the nations are addressed and their wickedness is condemned and judgement is announced against them. The message is clear that the nations belong to God and are accountable to him. Even though Israel had a special position before God, other nations were also established by him (Amos 9:7-8). As God had treated the nations equally in generosity he would judge evenly as well (Anderson and Freedman 1989: 867). In Amos 3:11 it is also seen that God uses the nations for his purposes, in this case to bring judgement upon Israel. But Amos reveals that the nations also fall within the scope of God's mercy (Amos 9:11-12; Acts 15:16-17).

Worship in Israel reflected this reality and the Psalms show that the nations feature prominently within the worship cult. The Psalms serve as a witness to the nations of God's judgement, and the message conveyed to the Gentiles in many of the Psalms is similar to that of Jonah to the people of Nineveh. Similarly, some Psalms also declare that the nations fall well within the scope of God's grace and mercy (Ps 2, Ps 47 and Ps 86).⁹

Israel's existence, identity, obedience and worship were integrated concepts that served as a witness to the nations: both of God's judgement of sin and rebellion, and his mercy and salvation. The whole system of worship in Israel, including the powerful symbols of the ark, the tabernacle and the temple, was designed as a means of acknowledging God's holy presence and the need for the people of God to live in his presence. Obedience to God in cultic worship was to be accompanied by obedience in daily life (Peterson 1992:48).

The worship of God's kingdom of priests could be seen as the observance of all that was instructed to them by God in response to his mercies towards them. The failure of Israel to keep the covenant led to judgement and exile. The hope for the restoration of Israel and the blessing of the nations were intimately connected with a vision of worship in a restored temple (Peterson 1992:49).

The salvation of Israel, therefore, also had in scope the restoration of worship in the temple so that a witness could go out to the nations of God's faithfulness.

3.4.2 The Psalms and witness

The Psalms were used during the cultic worship sessions of Israel and expressed these theological realities. The words of the Psalms also expressed the integrated nature of Israel's identity, worship and witness.

This is demonstrated clearly in Psalm 9 where the overall theme is God as Judge and King as experienced in the life of the psalmist. At the same time the Psalm has in its view both the people of Israel and the nations of the world. Both Israel and the

⁹ Psalm 2, for example, reflects this universal aspect of salvation. The concept of the Son of God in Psalm 2 finds its fullest expression in Jesus Christ. He inherits the world and all who have been baptised in his sufferings are co-heirs with him (Waltke & Houston 2010:181).

nations should recognise that God is Judge and King and understand the consequences if they failed to do so (Kidner 1973:68).

In particular Psalms 9:11 demonstrates the extent of the integration of the concepts of witness and worship. The word ‘declare’ in the LXX is, like ἐξαγγέλλω, a compound of the verb ἀγγέλλω. ¹⁰ Dickson is correct when he points out that the Israelites were called to worship in the Psalm and to show forth the love and care of God to the world, so that God may also be glorified by the nations. When the nations heard about or saw the divine actions of God they were called to join in worship and experience his blessing. ¹¹

Psalms 9:11 (verse 12 in the LXX)

English (NIV)	LXX
Sing the praises of the LORD, enthroned in Zion; proclaim among the nations what he has done.	ψάλατε τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ κατοικοῦντι ἐν Σιων, ἀναγγείλατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ

In Psalm 9:11 the words of an individual believer calls others to join him in worship, so that God may be glorified among the nations. The individual is seen in the context of God’s growing kingdom, where he serves as a bearer of God’s revelation (Weiser 1962:151). The individual experience of God’s goodness becomes a theme in the worship of Israel and serves as a witness to the nations.

3.4.3 Conclusion

These Psalms demonstrate that Israel as a nation, through its existence, its identity as God’s people, its worship and witness, revealed the salvation work of God to the nations. The individual’s experience of God’s faithfulness in the midst of trouble was expressed in worship and served as a witness to the nations. This integrated nature of Israel’s life, worship and witness means that even if Balch’s (1981:133) argument that ἐξαγγέλλω belongs to the domain of worship is accepted, it doesn’t exclude the element of witness to the nations.

3.5 The relationship between verses 5 and 9 in 1 Peter 2 and its significance for the meaning of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω

There are words in verse 5 that are repeated in verse 9, and investigating the relationship between these two verses may further shed light on the author’s intent with the use of ἐξαγγέλλω in verse 9.

In the unit 1 Peter 2: 4-9 verses 5 and 9 stand in a particular relationship to each other. The word ἱεράτευμα occurs in both verses and is unique to this unit in the New Testament (Elliott 2000:420). In both verses the author chose this word from Exodus

¹⁰ ‘The Psalmist invites the rest of the godly to praise God with him. It is the duty of all believers to join cheerfully in the setting forth the Lord’s care over them and whatever makes his lovely majesty known to the world. For so he requires the present precept and example – sing praises to the Lord. The acts of the Lord are so stamped with the impression of his divinity that they are able to purchase glory for God even among the nations’ (Dickson 1959:39).

¹¹ Psalm 9 speaks both of destroying the nations and acting on behalf of them and there seem to be no tension between the two. God will act against faithless nations, but the praise of God’s people should be an invitation for the nations to join in worship (Goldingay 2006: 174).

19:6 (LXX) to describe the community of believers he was addressing. In verse 5 he calls them a *holy priesthood* and in verse 9 a *royal priesthood*. In both verses he explains that the reason God created his own ἱεράτευμα out of the Jews and Gentiles living in Asia Minor was 'to bring spiritual sacrifices' (2:5) and 'to show forth the great works of God' (2:9). This parallel use of ἱεράτευμα means that verse 5 can elucidate what the author intends to communicate in verse 9 and vice versa as well as on the meaning of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω.

3.5.1 The origin of the word ἱεράτευμα

The origin of the word ἱεράτευμα can be traced back to Egypt where the Jewish translators of the LXX lived in the city of Alexandria (Elliott 1966:75-76). They were a minority community in a foreign land and in some sense their circumstances were similar to some of the hearers of 1 Peter who were exiles and resident aliens far away from home.

The socio-historic context of the Jews in Alexandria demanded a translation of the Jewish Scriptures and as theologians they also interpreted these scriptures. When they translated Exodus 19:6, the formulation βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα was created for 'kingdom of priests'. Elliott (1966:68-69) argues that even though they maintained the MT word order they gave a theological translation of 'kingdom of priests' with βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα. The word ἱεράτευμα doesn't appear in any other Greek writings, but a comparison with similar words shows that a proper understanding of the word should include the aspects of activity, personal relatedness and collectivity. Therefore, a body of functioning priests would convey the meaning best. The Jewish population of Alexandria didn't want to see themselves simply as a foreign colony of expatriates in a Hellenistic city but as a priestly community charged with the worship of the true God. The LXX translators, with the construction of βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, adapted Exodus 19:6 to their situation as Jews in an Egyptian city who had been charged to fulfil a religious mission in their world. With the words βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα *diaspora* Israel was presented as a body of priests who, as God's community, had the responsibility of holy living and the task of serving as God's witnesses. This LXX translation of Exodus 19:6 influenced its interpretation until the New Testament period (Elliott 1966:75-76).

3.5.2 The witness of the ἱεράτευμα

It is possible that the translators of the LXX, as a minority in a pagan world, had a more acute awareness of their responsibility to represent the holiness of God in this world and to serve as his witnesses (Elliott 1966:75). The hearers of 1 Peter similarly found themselves as a minority in a large pagan society. The author in 1 Peter 2:5,9 instructs them about their responsibility as God's ἱεράτευμα to represent his holiness in the world and to bear witness to the great deeds of God in Christ Jesus. If the responsibility of the holy priesthood in verse 5 included a witness element then it would strengthen the argument that the author had witness to the Greco-Roman society in mind in verse 9.

3.5.2.1 Spiritual sacrifices as witness

In the Petrine communities both the Jews and the Gentiles would have been familiar with the practice of sacrifice. In 1 Peter 2:5 the author refers to spiritual sacrifices.

The figurative use of sacrificial language recurs in several places in the New Testament. Considering the centrality of the sacrificial system in the Old Testament it makes a natural vehicle to communicate New Testament truths (Moo 1996:750). The Old Testament recognises that outward rituals of worship must be expressions of inward reality (Micah 6:6-8)¹² and this further makes the cultic language of the Old Testament suitable for metaphorical use in the New Testament (Silva 1992:207). In Revelation 8:3-4 sacrificial language is used and describes the offering of incense and the prayers of the people. In Revelation 5:8 incense represent the prayers of the saints (Wilson 2002:58). In Hebrews 13:15 the cultic language refers to praise and the public confession of the name of Jesus and in Hebrews 13:16 spiritual sacrifices refer to doing good and caring for others (Witherington III 2007:363-364). Paul uses sacrificial language in Romans 12:1 and the spiritual sacrifice required is the dedication of the whole person to God in service (Moo1996:750-751). In 2 Timothy 4:6 it refers to Paul's martyrdom and labour for the church, and in Philippians 4:18 to alms giving. Paul uses sacrificial language in Ephesians 5:2 to describe brotherly love and kindness (Selwyn 1949:161).

Scholars differ over the meaning of πνευματικὰς θυσίας (spiritual sacrifices) in 1 Peter 2:5. It has been argued that spiritual sacrifices refer to the priestly service of the believers (Goppelt 1978:143) or that it refers to acts of worship and the social conduct of the believers (Michaels 1988:101). It has also been argued that it refers to all behaviour that flows from a life changed by the work of the Holy Spirit (Jobes 2005:151). Further it has been argued that the spiritual sacrifices should be understood as the righteous self-oblation, deeds of kindness, brotherly love, prayer and praise and repentance of the believers in the context of the sacrifice of the eucharist (Selwyn 1949:297).

These views need consideration, but it is also possible that the author of 1 Peter has another intent when he refers to spiritual sacrifices in 1 Peter 2:5.

In Romans 15:16 Paul uses sacrificial language to describe his duty to preach the gospel to the Gentiles as a priestly responsibility. He sees the converted Gentiles as an offering acceptable to God (Morris 1988:511).¹³

¹² With what shall I come before the LORD, and bow myself before God on high? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves a year old? Will the LORD be pleased with thousands of rams, with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" He has told you, O man, what is good; and what does the LORD require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God? (Micah 6:6-8 ESV)

¹³ The idea of the gentiles being an offering is unique here in the New testament, but the Apostle Paul may have used the concept following Isaiah 66:20 where the coming of the nations to Jerusalem is described as an offering to the Lord (Murray 1968:210).

Romans 15:16	1 Peter 2:5
<p>εἰς τὸ εἶναί με λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἡγιασμένη ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. (Nestle-Aland 28th ed.)</p> <p>¹⁶to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles. He gave me the priestly duty of proclaiming the gospel of God, so that the Gentiles might become an offering acceptable to God, sanctified by the Holy Spirit. (NIV)</p>	<p>καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς εἰς ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον, ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπρόσδεκτους Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. (Nestle-Aland 28th ed.)</p> <p>⁵you also, like living stones, are being built into a spiritual house^[a] to be a holy priesthood, offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. (NIV)</p>

Words and phrases like ‘priestly’, ‘offering’ and ‘acceptable to God’ in Romans 15:16 show similarities with words and phrases in 1 Peter 2:5. These similarities in language indicate the possibility of a witness motif in 1 Peter 2:5 as can clearly be identified in Romans 15:16. Further, it can be argued that the author of 1 Peter instructs his hearers to witness to society by their way of living and by doing good (1 Pet 2:12 and 15) and that the words ἀναστροφῆ (way of life) and ἀγαθοποιούντας (doing good) in these verses together express the content of the ‘spiritual sacrifices’ in 1 Peter 2:5. Both words express the Christian’s responsibility of living in such a way that a good witness will go out to the unbelievers in their societies (Elliott 1966:182-183). Further, it has been argued (Achteimer 1996:157-158) that the key to understanding the author’s intentions with the words ‘spiritual sacrifices’ in 2:5 lies in 2:9: the spiritual house of God was to offer spiritual sacrifices in their witness to the society in which they functioned. Achteimer sees the verb ἐξαγγέλλω in 2:9 as the key to understanding the meaning of spiritual sacrifices in 2:5.

Considering all these arguments it seems probable that in 1 Peter 2:5 the author sees the spiritual sacrifices of the holy priesthood as the witness of his hearers and the sacrifices they would need to make to be faithful in their witness to Greco-Roman society.

3.5.3 Conclusion

When 2:5 and 2:9 are considered together it seems that the author of 1 Peter sees the ἱεράτευμα as a community of people belonging to God. In the Old Testament this title was applied to the people of God to express their special relationship with him as well as their responsibility to the world. In 1 Peter it is applied to a community consisting of both Jews and Gentiles who, through the work of Christ, have become the people of God. In 1 Peter 2:5 the responsibility of the ἱεράτευμα is to bring spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. These spiritual sacrifices refer to the witness of the ἱεράτευμα by doing good and living in the right way. It also could refer to the difficulties they would experience in the process. The verb ἐξαγγέλλω in 2:9 describes the responsibility of the ἱεράτευμα in witness to Greco-Roman society.

3.6 The meaning of the phrase τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε in the context of verses 9 and 10 in 1 Peter 2

The author of 1 Peter writes that God established his people to show forth his excellences (τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε). Understanding this phrase may shed light on the meaning of ἐξαγγέλλω and on whether God is to be addressed in worship or society in witness in verse 9. Firstly, the meaning of the phrase τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε in the immediate context of verses 9-10 will be investigated.

3.6.1 Theological identity and witness

In both verses 9 and 10 heavy emphasis is laid on the theological identity of the people the author of 1 Peter addresses. The Christian communities in Asia Minor were different in the sense that they weren't part of a human institution, but one established by God for his own purposes. These communities didn't fit into any of the categories that existed in the socio-historic context of the Greco-Roman world and were seen as a distinct group. It couldn't be identified as a club or association or as a trade guild. These communities had a diverse membership and Jesus Christ, the Son of God was their founder. Therefore, they could only be defined in theological terms (Jobes 2005:159). Besides referring to the church as a priesthood, The author of 1 Peter also uses the titles γένος (race), ἔθνος (nation) and λαός (people) to describe the communities he addressed. These titles used together in verse 9 shed light on the theological identity of the hearers of 1 Peter.

3.6.1.1 Race (γένος)

The word γένος draws attention to a certain aspect of the theological identity of the hearers. It conveys the meaning of a people with a common origin and is used similarly in Philippians 3:5 (Goppelt 1993:148). The word applies to the Christian community in the sense that believers have a common origin in Christ and in baptism. The church consisted of people from different races and ethnic groups, social classes and gender, but in Christ and through baptism they became a γένος. The mere existence of such a diverse group living in harmony would have served as a witness to the community.¹⁴

The phrase 'a chosen race' is an allusion to Isaiah 43:20 where God reveals himself as the only hope Israel has of salvation from exile. God would save them so that they may proclaim his praises (Jobes 2005:158-159). In Isaiah the author is looking forward to God's deliverance, but in 1 Peter the author looks back to God's saving acts through Christ Jesus. The hearers have already been saved through the mighty works of God when he brought them from darkness into his marvellous light and are now called to bear witness to this reality.

3.6.1.2 Nation (ἔθνος)

The author of 1 Peter also refers to his readers as a holy nation (ἔθνος). Israel became God's holy nation among the other nations in fulfilment of God's promises to

¹⁴ One of the possible destinations of the letter would have been a city, now known as Samsun, in modern Turkey. Today there is a small church in the city where almost a hundred percent of the population adhere to a different faith. The mere existence of the church serves as a witness to the work of God to the community. Their worship and life further give expression of this witness. Similarly the mere existence of Israel served as a witness of God's salvation deeds (Ryken, Wilhoit and Longman III 1998:958).

Abraham. This title was first given to the Israelites in Exodus 19. Jesus' sacrifice on the cross established the new covenant and, through his sacrifice, the hearers of 1 Peter have become a holy nation (Jobes 2005:161). The theological identity they had received was based on grace, as they were sinners and in darkness, just like the rest of the people in Greco-Roman society. A proper understanding of grace would have influenced the way in which they viewed their pagan neighbours and would have created a desire in them to be witnesses even at personal cost. They also would have understood that it was through the work of Christ alone that they have become a holy priesthood resulting in a willingness to bring spiritual sacrifices and so serve as witnesses of God's great deeds in Christ.

The word ἔθνος conveys the meaning of a group of people who have the same customs (Goppelt 1993:148). The church may have consisted of men and women, slaves and free, rich and poor, but they all displayed a similar way of living as God's holy nation which is outlined in 1 Peter 1:13-25 and 4:1-11.

The Letter of Diognetus, presumably written in the second century, describes Christians whose socio-historic context would have been similar to that of the communities of 1 Peter. It describes a community which blends in with society in terms of language, food and dress and yet was undeniably different. They had a citizenship of their own and they lived according to their own customs. Their way of living seems similar to that which the author had in mind for his hearers¹⁵.

The work of Christ meant that believers stood in a new relationship with God, with a new identity, displaying a new custom and a new way of life. They were God's holy nation set apart in a relationship with him that deeply impacted all aspects of their lives in this world. This was visible to outsiders and served as a witness to them.

3.6.1.3 People (λαός)

In verse 9 the author also describes his hearers as 'a people' (λαός) who are God's special possession in a particular relationship with him. This relationship was not merely for them to enjoy the love and grace of God, but also included a responsibility towards the pagans in their world. The author of 1 Peter alludes to Exodus 19:5 and Isaiah 43:21 where God gave this title to Israel, as his special people among the nations, with the task to proclaim his great works (Jobes 2005:162-163). A similar task was given to the hearers of 1 Peter.

The word λαός conveys the meaning of a group of people, often Israel in the New Testament, pursuing a common goal (Goppelt 1993:148). Although accused of being a secret religious society, they were in fact a body of people with a specific place in

¹⁵ To quote from the Letter of Diognetus: 'For Christians are no different from other people in terms of their country, language, or customs. Nowhere do they inhabit cities of their own, use a strange dialect, or live life out of the ordinary. They have not discovered this teaching of theirs through reflection or through the thought of meddlesome people, nor do they set forth any human doctrine, as do some. They inhabit both Greek and barbarian cities, according to the lot assigned to each. And they show forth the character of their own citizenship in a marvellous and admittedly paradoxical way by following local custom in what they wear and what they eat and in the rest of their lives. They live in their respective countries but only as resident aliens; they participate in all things as citizens, and they endure all things as foreigners. Every foreign territory is a homeland for them, every homeland foreign territory. They marry like everyone else and have children, but they do not expose them once they are born. They share their meals but not their sexual partners. They are found in the flesh but do not live according to the flesh. They live on earth but participate in the life of heaven. They are obedient to the laws that have been made, and by their own lives they supersede the laws' (Ehrman 2003:139-141).

history. The description of the Christians in verse 9 makes it clear that they are only a people through election and sanctification in an eschatological sense that has already begun. They are an elect people because, like the stone, Christ, they were also elected by God for a special purpose. They are a holy people because they belong to the One who saved them through Jesus Christ (Goppelt 1993:148-149).

It is difficult anywhere to separate national identity and religious identity. If a person changes his religion, it is often seen as a betrayal of the nation. In Islamic countries, for example, converts to Christianity are often viewed as disloyal and as a possible threat to society. The strength of the society lies in its unity of faith, culture and language. The hearers of 1 Peter faced a similar predicament. For a people group to have a new identity and form a new race meant potential alienation from society and conflict with the Roman Empire.

This potential conflict of loyalties brought charges of poor citizenship and treason against the Christians. In a polytheistic society they were persecuted, not because they worshipped Jesus but because they claimed that only Christ, the One True God, should be worshipped. It was believed that the well-being of the state depended on religious forces and therefore the claims of the Christians about God brought a severe reaction from the Roman Empire. This persecution bears witness to the church's understanding of its identity as a holy nation separate from society (Jobes 2005:162).

The author of 1 Peter didn't instruct his hearers to remove themselves from society, but to stand in a particular relationship with society. Scholars like Elliott and Balch differ in opinion regarding the strategy and aim of the author especially on the issue of how he intended for them to relate to society.

According to Elliott the author of 1 Peter's strategy with the letter in general and household code in particular was to affirm the distinctive communal identity and strengthen the solidarity of the community. This would have encouraged them so that they could resist outside pressure to conform to society and in the process be a witness of the life and faith of the community (Elliott 1986:78).

Balch, on the other hand, argues that the author of 1 Peter's main concern was acculturation and peace and harmony, both in the spiritual house of God and in Greco-Roman society (Balch 1986:80-101). The author adopted the household code as a means for the new Christian communities to contribute to the harmony in their society. The context here is a social situation where Roman society was critical of new religious cults, like the Isis and Dionysus cults, as well as of Judaism, which were seen as corrupting the order of society (Balch 1981:66). 1 Peter reflects the social situation in which slaves and wives, who had converted to Christianity, were accused of immoral and insubordinate behaviour by some people in Roman society. The author of 1 Peter then instructs the Christians to apply the Aristotelian household code as a response to the accusations against them (Balch 1981:95).

It seems clear that the author wants his hearers to understand their unique theological identity and the responsibilities that it brings. However, with the household codes, he also wants his hearers to seek harmony with society, as Balch argues.

It was the task of this people of God to proclaim the mighty acts of God and display his grace and mercy in this socio-historic context (Jobes 2005:162-163). As their new faith brought them in conflict with society, it would have been of great

significance for them to understand their new theological identity and the responsibilities it brought in terms of their witness to society.

3.6.2 The author's intention with the phrase τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε

God's new people in verse 9 are called to show forth the great deeds (τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε) of him who called them out of darkness into his marvellous light. In this verse the author is alluding to Old Testament passages and is using the words of the LXX, but he seems to have replaced the original word διηγείσθαι of the LXX with the near synonym ἐξαγγείλητε. What motivated this change and could it shed light on the author's intent in verse 9. Was his concern for witness to society the motivation? The two words both convey the meaning 'to proclaim widely or publicly'. It has been argued that both words denote mere narration but ἐξαγγέλλω is the more vivid word and often implies the meaning of declaring something that was previously unknown (Hort 1898:128). It is also possible that the author of 1 Peter chose ἐξαγγείλητε above διηγείσθαι of the LXX, because it was a word most Greek readers would have easily understood as meaning 'proclaim'. Therefore, the church must proclaim that, through Jesus, the great works of God have taken place and can be experienced. This proclamation was through preaching and is supported by the existence and conduct of the church (Goppelt 1993:150-151).

Given the fact that most of the communities would have had Greek speaking Gentile believers among their members, it is most plausible that the author chose this word for their sake.

It has been argued that ἐξαγγέλλω was a more vivid word than διηγείσθαι and was more commonly used in Greek poetry (Selwyn 1946:278). If the argument is accepted that verses 6-10 derive from a preformed hymn, and if the authors of these hymns were aware of the Gentile element in the churches, then they could have chosen a word more known to the Greek speakers in the church (Selwyn 1946:278). Elliott (1966:42) argues against Selwyn, but it is difficult to follow Elliott's argument as he doesn't respond to the point Selwyn is making. Elliott claims that there is no basis for Selwyn's argument that the word ἐξαγγέλλω was adopted for its poetic qualities as the psalmists use both these words in poetic context (Elliott 1966:42). Elliott argues that the word ἐξαγγέλλω was preferred by the author because of the Christian connotations associated with proclaiming the mighty deeds of God. Therefore, the verb ἐξαγγέλλω, as a more vivid word, would have been more suitable (Elliott 1966:42).

Given the fact that it was the mighty deeds of God that needed to be proclaimed, ἐξαγγέλλω was probably chosen because it is a more vivid word that would have been better understood by the Gentile members of the church. But what exactly were the mighty deeds that needed to be proclaimed?

In the Old Testament, the nation of Israel proclaimed that God is holy, faithful, righteous, and the saviour of the world, through its existence, worship, life and witness. The author of 1 Peter uses the word ἀρετή to describe the content of the witness of his hearers. It has been argued that ἀρετή originally carried the meaning of excellence in any activity and the prestige achieved in the process. The plural of ἀρετή, as in Isaiah 43:21, is very rare in the LXX, but it would have appealed to Greek hearers and would have conveyed the meaning of the glory of the character of God and the noble acts through which he had revealed himself throughout history. In verse 9 the author of 1 Peter had in mind the redemption that was achieved through

the work of Christ and the love and wisdom, power and mercy, which lay behind this great work of God (Selwyn 1949:167).

In the New Testament context, the central message of the church was the work of Christ on the cross, and His resurrection. The presence of the stone complex in the unit 1 Peter 2:4-10 makes it likely that the word ἀρετή in verse 9 refers particularly to the excellences of God that were demonstrated by his work through Christ, and showed his power, holiness and faithfulness. The content of the witness of the hearers should have included both the salvation deeds of God in Christ and the excellences of God: his love, mercy and faithfulness in the past and also in the present.

3.6.3 The λαός concept in verse 10

In verse 10 the λαός concept is repeated and the author alludes to Hosea 1:6-9 which refers to the spiritual restoration of Israel. In Romans 9:25-26 Paul also refers to this passage in Hosea (NIV Study Bible) to show that God is a saving and forgiving God, who excels in making those who are not the people of God his own, and then applies it to the Gentiles in the church. The author of 1 Peter in verse 10 applies it to his hearers, who included both Jews and Gentiles, and reminds them of the fact that they were all without mercy, but in Christ, God had shown them mercy and they too have become the people of God. The author exchanges the phrase from Hosea 1:10 'sons of the living God' for the more simple 'people of God'. In this way verse 10 echoes the λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν of verse 9 and serves as a postscript and summary of the titles in verse 9 (Michaels 1988:112).

3.6.4 Conclusion

In the light of the context provided by verses 9 and 10 it can be concluded that the people addressed in 1 Peter experienced the grace and mercy of God for themselves. They received a theological identity from God and had the responsibility to bear witness to the work of God. The great deeds of God also reveal his character as a faithful, loving and saving God who, through Christ, brought into fulfilment all the promises of blessing and salvation made in the Old Testament. The τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε in verse 9 is best understood as conveying the idea of both the deeds of God and his excellence of character, that should be shown forth in word and deed to Greco-Roman society by the people of God living in Asia Minor.

3.7 Conclusion

In investigating the meaning of the verb ἐξαγγέλλω in the theological context of the unit 1 Peter 2:4-10 and the Old Testament passages that feature in the unit, it seems that the author has Greco-Roman society in mind as the indirect object of ἐξαγγέλλω. In the context of verse 9, it is primarily the Greco-Roman society that is to be addressed in witness. Given the cultic flavour of the language, worship to God was not excluded and it should be noted that Israel's worship was part of their witness. The first hearers of the letter should bear witness in word and life, to the great deeds that God had achieved through Jesus Christ. These Christians could bear witness to God's great deeds because they themselves had experienced salvation through the work of God, who had called them from darkness to light.

Both Exodus 19:6 and Isaiah 43:21 focus on the identity of Israel as God's special people. Yet in both passages there is a strong witness motif. The identity of the

people of God means a special relationship with him and a responsibility of service and witness to the nations around them. It was through the descendants of Abraham that God promised he would bless the nations. The unit contains much material from the Old Testament and perhaps also some preformed early Christian material, but it is the author of 1 Peter who wrote this passage and arranged the material in a specific way to communicate his message. His concern was the identity and responsibility of his hearers who had now become the people of God in Asia Minor because of the work of Christ.

In the mind of the author there should be no tension between Jews and Gentiles in the communities as they had all become the people of God through the work of Christ. The Christians of Asia Minor were the visible proof of God's promise that people from all nations would worship the living God. They were the fulfilment of the promise God made to Abraham when He said all nations would be blessed through him. In the Old Testament Israel was the chosen race, the royal priesthood and the special possession of God. But their existence wasn't an end in itself, but was always part of God's larger plan of salvation to show grace and mercy to the nations of the world. This process reached its climax with the work of Christ, the rejected stone, which became the capstone of the building. In him, both the Jews and Gentiles, the author of 1 Peter addresses became the people of God. In their socio-historic context, this group included resident aliens, household servants and married women, but in their theological context they were altogether the people of God.

1 Peter places special emphasis on the believers' identity as being part of the priesthood of God. The word *ἱεράτευμα* appears in both verses 5 and 9 and nowhere else in the New Testament. The author of 1 Peter took this word from the LXX where it had been created by the translators to convey the meaning of kingdom of priests (Ex 19:6). The fact that this title was used in the context where God declared that the whole world belongs to Him, and that Israel had been chosen from among the nations, implies that Israel had a responsibility towards the nations. Their existence, life and worship, would bear witness to God's power, holiness and redemption. When the LXX translators created the word *ἱεράτευμα* they made this responsibility to the world explicit. Being part of God's priesthood means standing in a special relationship with God but at the same time in a special relationship with the nations of the world. God's priesthood should serve society as an active body of priests. The author of 1 Peter captured this responsibility in both verses 5 and 9. In verse 5 he describes the responsibility of the holy priesthood as bringing spiritual sacrifices, which in the context of 1 Peter included doing good and displaying right behaviour in service, and resulted in witness to God's great deeds. In verse 9 he also describes the responsibility of the royal priesthood as showing forth the great deeds of God. The verb *ἐξαγγέλλω* conveys the meaning of a verbal announcement or proclamation, telling something that was unknown before. In the context of 1 Peter it was the great works of God in Christ that needed to be revealed.

The cultic flavour of the language of verse 9 is a reminder of the worship in the Old Testament. The worship and witness of Israel were integrated and, in announcing both the redemption and judgement of God, they bore witness to the nations. The stone motif in the unit further highlights the reality of redemption as well as judgement. The believers would bear witness to God's redemption and his future judgement. The meaning of 1 Peter 2:12 will be investigated in the next chapter but the verse needs to be understood in the light of the fact that the witness of the

believers included a witness to the mercy of God, but also to his judgement of those who rejected Christ.

In 1 Peter 2:11 the author introduces the household codes with its emphasis on the responsibility of the people of God towards society. In the household codes a witness motif is present which may further indicate that the author of 1 Peter has Greco-Roman society in mind as the indirect object of the verb.

In the unit 1 Peter 2:4-10 the author is using the Old Testament 'stone complex' to provide theological context for the work of Christ. The Old Testament also provides the theological context to explain the identity of his hearers as God's chosen race, holy nation, royal priesthood and special possession. It is further possible that the author of 1 Peter uses the Old Testament to provide the theological context for the mode of witness he was encouraging in the letter. In 1 Peter 2 and 3 the hearers are addressed in their socio-historic context and instructed to behave appropriately according to their theological identity. As God's people they were elected by God and redeemed by Christ to be a chosen race, a royal priesthood and holy nation, in order to be a witness to the world. The fact that this unit was placed just before the household code may indicate that the author of 1 Peter, in his strategy and aim with the household code, was concerned about the effective witness of his hearers to their society. The instructions in chapters 2 and 3 were to ensure that they lived in their context in such a way that they would effectively bear witness to the great deeds of God.

In summary, in the unit 1 Peter 2:4-10 the theological themes of the identity of the believer, the work of God in Christ, and the reality of redemption and judgement provide the theological foundation for witness. The believers belong to God and therefore can serve as his witnesses. They belong to God because of his grace and mercy, shown them in Christ Jesus. Their theological status depended solely on the choice of God and his work in Christ. Their theological identity put them in a certain relationship with God and other people. They were to be holy and dedicated to God and only out of this relationship with God could their witness flow to society. Their witness was integrated with their existence and identity as churches and their particular relationship with God. This means that with their life and word they would bear witness to the great deeds of God and testify to the excellence of God's character.

In the next chapters the mode of witness of resident aliens, household servants and married women in their social context will be investigated in the light of their theological identity and the author's concern for their witness to the great deeds of God in Christ.

CHAPTER 4: THE WITNESS OF THE RESIDENT ALIENS IN 1 PETER 2:11-12

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER

4.1 Introduction

4: 2 The identity and place in society of the addressees in 1 Peter 2:11

4.3 The witness of the παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους in 1 Peter 2:11-12

4. 4 Missionary preaching versus doing good as witness

4.5 Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

In 1 Peter 2:5 and 9 the author addresses his hearers in terms of their theological identity: in verse 5 he gives them the mandate to bring spiritual sacrifices pleasing to God through Jesus Christ. In verse 9 he urges them to show forth the great deeds of God, who called them out of darkness into his marvellous light. In 1 Peter 2:12-13 the author addresses them in their social context as resident aliens, household servants/slaves and married women. In these verses the author instructs his hearers how to respond to the challenges they face and, it will be argued, how to fulfil the mandate given to them 1 Peter 2:5 and 9.

In this chapter the identity and witness of the resident aliens in 1 Peter 2:11-12 have been investigated. In terms of the identity of the resident aliens the phrase παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους will be analysed. Attention has been given to the Old Testament origin of the phrase and how it has been understood by modern day scholars. The socio - historic context of 1 Peter has been considered in this investigation. Further, it has been investigated whether a witness motif is present in 1 Peter 2:11-12. The meaning of the phrase δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς has been investigated and missionary preaching and doing good as different modes of witness have been investigated in the light of the social status of the hearers of 1 Peter.

4: 2 The identity and place in society of the addressees in 1 Peter 2:11

4.2.1 The meaning of the phrase παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους in 1 Peter 2:11

In 1 Peter 2:11-12 the author writes as follows: Ἀγαπητοί, παρακαλῶ ὡς παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς· τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς.¹⁶

¹⁶ Beloved, I urge you as sojourners and exiles to abstain from the passions of the flesh, which wage war against your soul. ¹² Keep your conduct among the Gentiles honorable, so that when they speak against you as evildoers, they may see your good deeds and glorify God on the day of visitation. (1 Peter 2:11-12 ESV).

The idea of believers being alien to their world and societies features in a number of verses in 1 Peter. Van Rensburg (1996:37-39) has identified 1 Peter 1:1, 1:17, 2:11 and 5:13 in this regard. Van Rensburg further points out that there is much debate among scholars about whether the concept of being a resident alien (vreemdeling/uitlander) should be understood in a spiritual sense, as something the hearers experienced after their conversion, or literally as a social group in their socio-historic context. In order to understand the author's intent in terms of the witness of the resident aliens and exiles, it is needed to understand the author's intention in using these terms, and then to investigate how he envisioned his hearers as witnesses in their societies.

4.2.1.1 The Old Testament origin of the phrase

4.2.1.2 A literal interpretation of the phrase

There has been much debate among scholars whether the terms resident aliens and pilgrims in 1 Peter 2: 11 should be understood literally or spiritually (Van Rensburg 1996:39-42). Elliott (1981:48-49), for example, argues for a literal interpretation of the terms on the basis of the fact that these social categories existed during the first century Greco-Roman world. He goes so far as to suggest that the παροίκους could have referred to people who moved from a rural area to the urban centres where they were seen not as citizens but as resident aliens. The term παρεπιδήμους, he argues, could have referred to the many immigrant artisans, craftsmen, traders and merchants who either were passing through or resided temporarily in the cities, towns and villages of the eastern Provinces. Given the limited information available it is difficult to see how Elliott can be so specific in the identification of the παροίκους and παρεπιδήμους.

4.2.1.3 A new social status because of conversion

Arguments can also be made against such a literal interpretation. The phrase παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους wasn't used to describe people in their social status and the words παροίκους and παρεπιδήμους are only used together, in addition to 1 Peter 2:11, in the LXX Genesis 23:4 and Psalm 38:13 (Achtmeier 1997:174). Therefore the origin of the term παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους in Genesis 24:3 should be considered, and Achtmeier (1996:173-176) concludes that the term should not be understood as the status these believers held in society before their conversion, neither should it be understood in a spiritual sense, as referring to the fact that the real home of the believer is heaven where their true citizenship is. Rather, he argues convincingly it refers to the position the addressees of 1 Peter held in society due to their conversion. The fact that they have become followers of Christ means that even in their own homeland they would experience the difficulties of resident aliens and pilgrims.

This puts them in the same position God's people were in throughout the centuries. This is a convincing argument in the light of the fact that the author of 1 Peter applies the theological titles given to the people of God in the Old Testament to his hearers also in 1 Peter 2:5 and 9.

4.2.1.4 Conclusion

The phrase παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους could literally have included people who were immigrants away from home, and in a spiritual sense it is true that all believers,

whose real citizenship is in heaven, are παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους in this world (Phil 3:20). However, the main thrust of the phrase in 1 Peter 2:11 relates to the theological position of the believers in 1 Peter. The people of God, whom the author addresses, became παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους because of their faith in Christ, regardless of their position in society. They are God's holy nation and royal priesthood (1 Pet 2:5,9) in a theological sense, and they stand in a special relationship with God enjoying the blessing of salvation, but in terms of society they are resident aliens and pilgrims, with all the difficulties and challenges this brings. The hearers of 1 Peter who are in this position are, in this regard, similar to God's people through the centuries.

4.3 The witness of the παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους in 1 Peter 2:11-12.

4.3.1 The meaning of the phrase δοξάσωσιν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς in 1 Peter 2:12

There is much debate over the meaning of this phrase. What does "the day of visitation" refer to? The question is also raised whether the reference to the opponents of the hearers of the letter glorifying God means that they have converted to Christianity, or if the author intended another meaning.

4.3.1.1 The final judgement

The idea of divine visitation in the Old Testament is varied. It can refer to the visitation of God in rescuing his people, as in Genesis 50:1-25, or it can refer to a day of judgement, as in Amos 5:18-20 (Elliott 2000: 470-471).

In 1 Peter 2:12 the expression can have more than one meaning. It can be argued that the day of visitation refers to the final judgement when non-believers will be brought to the realization that the believers' conduct was under divine instruction and with divine approval. In response they will then glorify God. It has been argued, rather unconvincingly, that this glorification of God doesn't mean the pagans came to faith in Christ, but is rather a universal eschatological glorification of God as in Philippians 2:9-11¹⁷ (Achtemeier 1996:178). Given the strong presence of a witness motif in 1 Peter 2:4-10 it seems more likely that the author of 1 Peter has the conversion of the pagans in mind in verse 12.

4.3.1.2 A day of testing

It can also be argued that, according to 1 Peter 4:17-18, at the final judgement only the people of God will be present, and that therefore the day of visitation doesn't refer to the eschatological event of the future judgement. In the context of the oppression the hearers experience, the day of visitation could refer to a day of testing and challenge in this world, where the individual believer responds in such a positive way that it will win over the unbeliever (Elliott 2000:471). On this day, then, slanderous unbelievers will through their conversion receive the correct understanding of the Christian life (Selwyn 1949:171). For both Elliott and Selwyn, the glorifying of God implies the conversion of the heathen.

¹⁷ ⁹ Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name that is above every name, ¹⁰ so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, ¹¹ and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. (Phil 2:9-11 ESV)

4.3.1.3 Conclusion

The day of visitation probably refers to the day of the final judgement. On that day, some of the people who slandered the believers would have joined them and would glorify God. Perhaps the context provided by 1 Peter 2:4-10 should be considered here: Christ is the stone rejected by the builders, but was precious to God and became the living stone and the capstone of God's building. For those who accept him he is the source of life, but for those who reject him he is the source of judgement. The people of God in witness and worship show forth the great deeds of God because they have been saved. It therefore seems more likely that the Gentiles would glorify God in the context of their salvation, rather than in the context of their judgement.

It also will be argued in the following chapters that the instructions given to the household servants/slaves and married women were given in order for them to be good witnesses and to win over the masters they worked for and husbands they were married to. It can therefore be concluded that in verse 12 the author has in mind the salvation of those who slander the believers.

4. 4 Missionary preaching versus doing good as witness

The hearers of 1 Peter are encouraged in 1 Peter 2:11-12 to be a witness to their pagan accusers by doing good, and by the good conduct that they display in the face of opposition. Given their social status the mode of witness seems different from the mode of witness we find in the book of Acts, for example, where the emphasis is on missionary preaching. Nevertheless, the author of 1 Peter instructs his hearers in their social context how to be effective witnesses of the gospel of grace.

4.4.1 Missionary preaching in the book of Acts

In the book of Acts missionary preaching and verbal proclamation play a very important role. Out of around a thousand verses, 365 are speeches/sermons, about a third of the book (Witherington III 1998:116-117). It has been argued that the reason for the high amount of speech material is because the author is recording a historic movement driven mainly by evangelistic preaching. In this regard eight speeches were given by Peter, two by James, one by Stephen and nine by Paul (Witherington III 1998:118). Many of these speeches show marks of the rhetorical conventions of the day used by the author and the speechmaker to communicate the gospel of Christ (Witherington III 1996:45-46).

In Acts 17: 22-31 Paul, in his speech in front of the Areopagus, addresses a Gentile audience and defends his message. Paul positioned himself like an orator traditionally would do as he stands and speaks to the members of the Areopagus. His aim is to change the audience's behaviour, and he uses forensic rhetoric as he presents arguments for his understanding of God, humankind, salvation, resurrection and judgement. In the process he uses both Jewish and Greek resources (Witherington III 1996:517-518). Paul clearly considers the context in which he was speaking and communicated the gospel in a meaningful way to his hearers.

In Acts 13:16 – 41 Paul is addressing a diaspora Jewish audience in a synagogue in Pisidian Antioch. The context was very different from that of his speech to the Areopagus in Athens, and this is reflected in the way he addresses his audience. It has been argued that he used the form of deliberative rhetoric, but included patterns of early Jewish argumentation. For example, he employs Yelammedenu form

with Deuteronomy 4:25-46 as the seder text, 2 Samuel 7:6-16 as the haftorah and 1 Samuel 13:14 as the proem text (Witherington III 1996:408). The apostle Paul was able to adjust his rhetorical style according to the context of his audience to best communicate the gospel.

In the book of Acts the author emphasises the speeches made by the apostles. The apostles used different rhetorical styles depending on who their audiences were and the context in which they were speaking. This all indicates the huge importance that was given to the proclamation of the gospel through missionary preaching.

Even though the author of 1 Peter wants his hearers to be witnesses in their societies it seems, in contrast to the book of Acts, the mode of witness he encourages in 1 Peter 2:11-12 isn't missionary preaching, but something different.

4.4.2 Doing good as witness

The author uses the words ἀναστροφῆ and ἀγαθοποιούντας in 1 Peter 2:12 and 15. It has been argued that ἀναστροφῆ is best translated with the phrase 'way of life' (Elliott 1966:179). This word appears a total of 13 times in the New Testament of which six are in 1 Peter. According to 2:12 the believers, through their way of life in the midst of slander, will be a witness and will counter the false accusations against them. The reason they do this is not to vindicate themselves, but so that those accusing them may eventually glorify God (Elliott 1966:179-180). The 'way of life' of the believers should be different from the rest of society. On the one hand it will bring them into conflict with society, but at the same time it will serve as a positive witness of the great deeds of God in their lives.

The word ἀγαθοποιούντας in 1 Peter 2:15, meaning 'doing good,' appears more frequently in 1 Peter than in the rest of the New Testament together (Elliott 1966:180). Perhaps Peter was mindful here of Jesus' words in Matthew 5:14-16.¹⁸ In these verses Jesus instructs his followers of their responsibility in the world: By doing good they will serve as a witness to society and glorify God.

It seems that the author of 1 Peter instructs his hearers to witness to society by their way of living and by doing good (1 Pet 2:12 and 15). It can be argued that the words ἀναστροφῆ and ἀγαθοποιούντας together express the content of the 'spiritual sacrifices' in 1 Peter 2:5. Both words express the Christian's responsibility of living in such a way that a good witness will go out to the unbelievers in their societies (Elliott 1966:182-183). It has been argued (Achte-meier 1996:157-158) that the key to understanding the author's intentions with the words 'spiritual sacrifices' in verse 5 lies in verse 9: the spiritual house of God was to offer spiritual sacrifices in their witness to the society in which they functioned. Achtemeier sees the verb ἐξαγγέλλω in verse 9 as the key to understanding the meaning of spiritual sacrifices in verse 5.

¹⁸ You are the light of the world. A town built on a hill cannot be hidden. Neither do people light a lamp and put it under a bowl. Instead they put it on its stand, and it gives light to everyone in the house. In the same way, let your light shine before others, that they may see your good deeds and glorify your Father in heaven (Matthew 5:14-16).

The sacrifices made in doing good in the face of opposition become the spiritual sacrifices made by the ἱεράτευμα in their desire to be good witnesses to those who oppose them.

4.5 Conclusion

In 1 Peter 2:9 the responsibility of the ἱεράτευμα towards society is described by the verb ἐξαγγέλλω with a strong emphasis on verbal proclamation, but the responsibility of the ἱεράτευμα in 1 Peter 2:5 is described by the phrase “bringing spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ.” If Elliott’s argument (1966:182-183) is accepted the bringing of spiritual sacrifices could then also mean being a witness to society by doing good and living a good way of life.

This means that in both 1 Peter 2:5 and 1 Peter 2:9 there is a strong witness motif present. In 2:5 the emphasis is on being a witness by doing good and in 2:9 the emphasis is on verbal proclamation. In 1 Peter 2:11-17 the mode of witness the author has in mind is the practical application of 1 Peter 2:5. In 1 Peter 2:13-17 the author gave practical instructions in terms of how the believers could do good in their relationship to the government and government officials. Harmony in society was of extreme importance, and by refusing to worship the gods of Greco-Roman society the believers were perceived as threat to this harmony (Balch 1981:89-90). Even though they couldn’t participate in the religious activities of the day they could do other things to demonstrate their desire for social harmony as far as it was possible. The instructions in 1 Peter 2:13-17 should be understood in this context.¹⁹

The apostle Paul was a Roman citizen, an educated scholar who could apply the rhetorical skills of the day needed for both Jewish and Gentile audiences. The hearers of 1 Peter seem to have a different social position and where missionary preaching would have been most appropriate for the apostle Paul, the author of 1 Peter seems to encourage a different mode of witness for his hearers in 1 Peter 2:11-12.

In 1 Peter 2:11-12 the author addresses his readers/hearers in the eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire. They were a diverse group of people from different backgrounds, but after their conversion they all became resident aliens. Some of them may have been actual immigrants even before their conversion and, therefore resident aliens in a social sense. But when the author of 1 Peter uses this term it is with theological intent. Like the people of the Old Testament, their relationship with God means that they became strangers in this world – even in their own homeland. Their commitment to God means that they will be like literal resident aliens, facing similar challenges. Their commitment to God means that they couldn’t always conform to the expectations of society, and as a result they were slandered and falsely accused. In the face of these accusations the author of 1 Peter instructs them to do good. It will then be possible to silence their accusers and serve as a witness

¹⁹ Therefore submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, whether to the king as supreme, ⁴ or to governors, as to those who are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers and *for the praise of those who do good.* ⁵ For this is the will of God, that by doing good you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men— ⁶ as free, yet not using liberty as a cloak for vice, but as bondservants of God. ¹⁷ Honor all *people*. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king (1 Peter 2:13-17).

of the gospel of Christ so the very people who accuse them could be won over, join them and glorify God together with them on the day of the final judgement.

In 1 Peter 2:5,9 the author addresses his readers/hearers with the new theological identity they received in Christ. The believers also received a new mandate, in verse 5 to bring spiritual sacrifices, and in verse 9 to show forth the great deeds of God. In verse 5 it includes witness through doing good and in verse 9 the emphasis is more on a verbal proclamation of the gospel. Perhaps two different modes of witness can be identified in verses 5 and 9. By doing good in response to the slander they had to face from outsiders, believers could fulfil, especially, the mandate given to them in 1 Peter 2:5 and be a witness to their accusers.

CHAPTER 5: THE WITNESS OF THE HOUSEHOLD SERVANTS IN 1 PETER 2:18-25

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER

5.1 Introduction

5.2 The identity and place in society of the addressees in 1 Peter 2:18

5.3 The witness of the οἰκέται in 1 Peter 2:18-25

5.4 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

In 1 Peter 2:18 the author addresses the household servants as follows: Οἱ οἰκέται, ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπότηαις, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκολιοῖς.²⁰

The aim of this chapter is to investigate how the author 1 Peter envisioned the persons he addresses in 1 Peter 2:18-25 to be effective witnesses in their social context. The members of the holy and royal priesthood of 1 Peter 2:5 and 9 included household servants/slaves who in their social context were called to show forth the great deeds of God who brought them from darkness into his marvellous light (1 Pet 2:9). As members of God's holy and royal priesthood they found themselves in a theological context where there was no differentiation between Jew and Greek, slave and free and male and female (Gal 3:28). This would have impacted the way slaves and masters, for example, would have related at the worship gatherings of the Petrine communities. However, they still needed to function in social context with certain expectations in terms of class and relationship, and in that context they were expected to be witnesses of the gospel.

Attention has been given to the socio–historic context of the οἰκέται (household servants) and the reason why the author chose to use the word οἰκέται instead of δοῦλοι. Attention has been given to the purpose of the suffering servant motif from Isaiah 52:13 – 53:12 in 1 Peter 2:18-25. It has been investigated whether the author uses the suffering servant motif to encourage the household servants in their witness and to show them a mode of witness that would have been appropriate in their social context.

5.2 The identity and place in society of the addressees in 1 Peter 2:18

5.2.1 The socio–historic context of οἱ οἰκέται 1 Peter 2:18

The Greeks defined four freedoms enjoyed by normal citizens that were denied to slaves: The right to his or her own representative in legal matters, the right to be protected from illegal seizure, the right to work where he pleased, and freedom of

²⁰ (Household) servants, be subject to your masters with all respect, not only to the good and gentle but also to the unjust. (1 Pet 2:18 ESV).

movement. Slaves had no legal rights and their situation depended almost completely on what kind of master they had (Ferguson 1993:57).²¹

Strabo describes the working conditions of slaves in a mine in the Petrine Province of Pontus during the first century as follows:

“Mt Sandaracurgium is hollowed out in consequence of the mining done there, since the workmen have excavated great cavities beneath it. The mine used to be worked by publicans, who used as miners the slaves sold in the market because of their crimes; for, in addition to the painfulness of the work, they say that the air in the mines is both deadly and hard to endure on account of the grievous odour of the ore, so that the workmen are doomed to a quick death. What is more, the mine is often left idle because of the unprofitableness of it, since the workmen are not only more than two hundred in number, but are continually spent by disease and death.” (Strabo 12.3.40 translated by H.L. Jones).²²

From what Strabo writes it's clear that slaves working mines had a particular difficult life.

Slaves could be found in almost all occupations, and talented slaves were trained at the expense of their owners. Some served as philosophers, doctors, authors, teachers, artists administrators, agents, supervisors, managers, accountants, secretaries, legal messengers, artisans, sea captains, and in other responsible positions (Van Rensburg and Van Wyk 1997:7).

In the Petrine Provinces slaves were employed to build and maintain the vast network of Roman roads (Mitchell 1995:126-127).

Slaves also did normal household work, hard labour in mills and baths and on farms. Slaves were accessible to their owners at any time and could also be hired out to other people (Van Rensburg and Van Wyk 1997:8). There are examples of slaves in the Petrine Province of Bithynia that managed large estates after Pompey created the Provinces of Bithynia and Pontus in 63 BC. According to inscriptions found in the area large landowners used slaves and freedmen to manage their properties. (Mitchell 1995:160).

There is some evidence that grain from the Anatolian Plateau destined for other markets was transported to the Pamphylian coast along the *Via Sebaste*. Wagons

²¹ It is estimated that 85-90% of the population of Rome and the peninsula were slaves or of slave origin during the first and second centuries AD. The available evidence shows a similar situation in the Provinces (Ferguson 1993:57). Slavery was a normal part of life in the first century AD, and therefore it is not surprising that from the beginning people from this social class joined the church. The apostle Paul addresses slave related issues in his letter to Philemon and Galatians 3:28, as well as in the disputed letters: Colossians 3:22, Titus 2: 9-10 and Ephesians 6:5. The church provided a place where slaves could share in the blessing of the gospel like free persons.

²² τὸ δὲσανδαρακουργεῖον ὄρος κοῖλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς μεταλλείας, ὑπεληλυθότων αὐτὸ τῶν ἐργαζομένων διώρυξιμεγάλαις· εἰργάζοντο δὲ δημοσιῶναι μεταλλευταῖς χρώμενοι τοῖς ἀπὸ κακουργίας ἀγοραζομένοις ἀνδραπόδοις· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ἐπιπόνῳ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ θανάσιμον καὶ δύσοιστον εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα φασὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις διὰ τὴνβαρύτητα τῆς τῶν βώλων ὁδμῆς, ὥστε ὠκύμορα εἶναι τὰ σώματα. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκλείπεσθαι συμβαίνει πολλάκις τὴν μεταλλείαν διὰ τὸ ἀλυσίτελές, πλειόνων μὲν ἢ διακοσίων ὄντων τῶν ἐργαζομένων, συνεχῶς δὲ νόσοις καὶ φθοραῖς δαπανωμένων. (Strabo 12. 3.40).

and pack- animals were used to transport the grain. These convoys would have been accompanied by slave or freedmen managers (Mitchell 1995:247).

Most household workers would have been slaves. If families could afford it they would have had their own bakers, cooks, spinners, weavers, soap manufacturers, bookkeepers, and administrators. Household servants also washed the feet of visitors according to custom. Household servants also provided child care, taking children to school and assisting them with homework. They also ensured the household water supply was sufficient. In general, the treatment of slaves was determined by the attitude of the owner, and household slaves were generally treated better than those working on farms or in the mines (Van Rensburg and Van Wyk 1997:8).

Some liberated slaves also worked as house servants. It was expected that slaves at some point would be liberated. This often happened before the slave turned thirty. This was a profound change of status as the person was no longer the property of another. This could mean the loss of food security and other benefits. Freed slaves often became employees, clients of their former masters. Household slaves who were liberated often stayed in the household and were paid for their work while they provided for their own food and clothing, but some moved to a new household where they did the same work (Van Rensburg and Van Wyk 1997:11-13).

Poor citizens and poor resident aliens worked alongside slaves and liberated slaves in households as servants of wealthy families (Van Rensburg and Van Wyk 1997:8-14).

5.2.2 The meaning of οἱ οἰκέται in 1 Peter 2:18

In 1 Peter 2:18 the author writes: Οἱ οἰκέται, ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκολιοῖς.²³

In this verse the author of 1 Peter addresses a specific social group, and there is some debate over the meaning of the phrase οἱ οἰκέται here.

It has been argued that even though the word δοῦλοι is used in the context of the household code in Colossians 3:22 and Ephesians 6:5, the author of 1 Peter chooses οἰκέται, because he uses δοῦλοι in 1 Peter 2:16 to refer to all his hearers as slaves of God, and in 2:18 he wants to rather focus on the household servants as a specific group (Michaels 1988:138). It also has been argued that the phrase οἱ οἰκέται refers to persons who were slaves belonging to a household and working as household servants (Elliott 2000:513), and also that οἰκέται is just another generic term for δοῦλοι (Achte-meier 1996:194).

However, Van Rensburg and Van Wyk (1997: 15-16) argue that the majority of household servants belonged to the slave class, but when the socio-historic context of 1 Peter is considered, it becomes clear that poor resident aliens, liberated slaves and poor citizens worked alongside the slaves as household servants. The term οἱ οἰκέται was therefore chosen to include people from different social classes and the author of 1 Peter wishes to address all of them in 1 Peter 2:18-22. Therefore, οἰκέται and δοῦλοι should not be viewed as interchangeable synonyms for the meaning “slaves”, like the NIV and NRSV do.

²³ (Household) servants, be subject to your masters with all respect, not only to the good and gentle but also to the unjust. (1 Pet 2:18 ESV).

When the socio-historic context is considered, as demonstrated by Van Rensburg and Van Wyk (1997), it seems likely that the author chose the word οἰκέται deliberately over δοῦλοι because among these household servants were people from different social classes who all faced similar challenges at work, especially when their masters or employers were unkind. The author of 1 Peter wanted to include them all.

5.3 The witness of the οἰκέται in 1 Peter 2:18-25

5.3.1 Suffering as witness

5.3.1.1 The suffering servant in 1 Peter 2:22-25

1 Peter 2:22-25 includes four quotations from Isaiah and at least four allusions to Isaiah 52:13 – 53:12, one of the servant songs in the book of Isaiah (Beale and Carson 2007:1033). The concept of the suffering servant figure in Isaiah is fluid, and at times, as in Isaiah 41:8-11, the whole of Israel is in view. However, it seems more likely that in Isaiah 52:13 – 53:12 an individual is intended (Beale and Carson 2007:1034).

In Isaiah 52:7-8 it is Israel's salvation that is in view. The exile is over and God and his people have return home (Westermann 1969:251). In Isaiah 52:13-15 the scope of people benefitting from the actions of the suffering servant broadens to many nations who would be 'sprinkled'. This sprinkling refers to the fact that the nations are made holy through the work of the suffering servant (Motyer 1999:375). In Isaiah 53:11-12 again the focus is on the many that would benefit from the actions of the one, including the powerful, and no one is excluded (Patston 2010:277). The work of the suffering servant as described in Isaiah 53:12 is to bear the sins of many and to suffer and die in their place (Westermann 1996:269).

In 1 Peter 2:22-25 the author of 1 Peter identifies Jesus as the suffering servant of Isaiah 52:13-53:12, through whose wound the household servants were healed and their sins forgiven (Beale and Carson 2007:1035).

5.3.1.2 The purpose of the suffering servant motif in 1 Peter 2:22-25

There is debate among scholars about the purpose of the suffering servant motif in 1 Peter 2:22-25.

It has been argued that the suffering of Christ serves as an example of non-retaliation that the slaves should follow as they suffer unjustly (Michaels 1988:152-153, Elliott 2000:541-542). It has also been argued that the suffering of Christ was unique in the sense that it achieved atonement, and while the suffering of slaves would not achieve atonement, in suffering for the sake of the gospel they express gratitude for the salvation received through the suffering of Christ (Beale and Carson 2007:1035).

Another argument is that household servants were called to obedience to their masters not just because of social expectations, but primarily because of their obligation to God, and this would mean suffering according to the pattern of the suffering of Christ, who was innocent and suffered unjustly for their salvation (Achte-meier 1996: 193-194).

Yet, another argument is that the author of 1 Peter uses Isaiah's words to explain that the suffering of his hearers means that they too, like the Messiah, were chosen by God. The author speaks through Isaiah to his hearers encouraging them that they stand in a special relationship with God and that their suffering doesn't mean they have been forsaken by God, but is evidence that they have been chosen by Him (Jobes 2005: 200).

These arguments shed light on the understanding of the passage, but perhaps there is another reason why the author of 1 Peter uses the suffering servant motif in this section.

5.3.1.3 Witness as the purpose of the suffering servant motif in 1 Peter 2:22-25

The suffering servant in Isaiah 52:13 – 53:12 could refer to the suffering of King Hezekiah or the suffering of prophets like Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Patson 2010:278-279). However, it seems it finds its truest fulfilment in the suffering of Christ. In Acts 8, Philip explained Isaiah 53 to the Ethiopian and applied it to the suffering Christ (Patson 2010:279). Philip then baptised the Ethiopian as he was also included among the 'nations' and the 'many' of Isaiah 52:13 – 53:12.

The author of 1 Peter saw the ministry of Jesus as the ultimate fulfilment of the work of the suffering servant. The suffering of Jesus wasn't just for the nation of Israel, but for the "nations" including "many", no one was excluded. The author of 1 Peter reminded the household servants that they were also included among those who were saved through the suffering of the servant. But their masters also fell within this scope and the reference to the powerful in Isaiah 53:11-12 is relevant here.

Given the strong witness motif in 1 Peter 2:4-10 as well as in 1 Peter 2:11-17 and 1 Peter 3:1-6, it seems reasonable to also expect a witness motif in 1 Peter 2:18-25.

The household servants, like the resident aliens and the married women, became members of God's holy and royal priesthood to bring spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ (1 Pet 2:5) and to show forth the great deeds of God, who brought them out of darkness into his marvellous light (1 Pet 2:9). The household servants were expected to obey their masters in everything, and the mere fact that they were worshipping Jesus Christ and not the family deities probably gave offense (Van Rensburg and Van Wyk 1997:5-6). The Christian household servants therefore found themselves in a difficult position, and it would have been unlikely that they would have been able to proclaim the gospel verbally to their masters.

So perhaps the author of 1 Peter has in these verses a different mode of witness in mind for the household servants, and is implying that as the household servants were saved through the sacrifice of Christ making atonement for their sins, the unbelieving masters could also be saved through the same atonement, and the household servants could be a witness of this work of Christ. The witness of the household servants would be their good behaviour in the eyes of their masters as they endured unjust suffering like Christ did.

In Titus 2:9-10 the author writes the following: δούλους ἰδίοις δεσπόταις ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἐν πᾶσιν, εὐαρέστους εἶναι, μὴ ἀντιλέγοντας, μὴ νοσηζομένους, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν πίστιν ἐνδεικνυμένους ἀγαθὴν, ἵνα τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν

Θεοῦ κοσμῶσιν ἐν πᾶσιν.²⁴ According to this verse the Christian slaves through their submission and good behaviour could adorn the Gospel of Christ and be a positive witness to their masters and society.

If Christian slaves acquired a reputation for rebelliousness it would have reflected badly on the Christian communities and obscured the gospel. In contrast, by their good behaviour, even when they faced unkind masters, they could adorn the gospel by being good witnesses. In the light of the fact that those who would benefit from the work of the suffering servant in Isaiah 52:13 – 53:12 included the nations, the many and the powerful means that the household servants were included and so were their masters. Therefore it seems possible that the author of 1 Peter uses the suffering servant motif of Isaiah 52:13 – 53:12 to encourage the household servants in their witness to their masters, and thus to society.

5.4 Conclusion

In 1 Peter 2:18-25 the author addresses household servants of which the majority were probably slaves, but also included people from other social classes who were part of God's holy and royal priesthood through their faith in Christ Jesus.

In 1 Peter 2:9 the responsibility of the ἱεράτευμα towards society is described by the verb ἐξαγγέλλω with a strong emphasis on verbal proclamation. Given the social position of the household servants it would have been unlikely for them to be able to share the gospel with their masters through verbal proclamation. The responsibility of the ἱεράτευμα in 1 Peter 2:5 is described by the phrase ἀνεύγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (bringing spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ). The bringing of spiritual sacrifices could mean being a witness to society by doing good and living a good life (Elliott's 1966:182-183). Further, the key to understanding the author's intentions with the phrase πνευματικὰς θυσίας (spiritual sacrifices) in 2:5 may well be in 2:9: the spiritual house of God was to offer spiritual sacrifices in their witness to the society in which they functioned. Therefore, the verb ἐξαγγέλλω in 2:9 should be seen as the key to understanding the meaning of spiritual sacrifices in 2:5 (Achtmeier 1996:157-158).

This then means that the household servants of 1 Peter 2:18-25 could witness to their masters through their good behaviour and submission. In the process the household servants would experience suffering and that could be seen as an expression of the 'spiritual sacrifices' in 1 Peter 2:5.

In both 1 Peter 2:5 and 1 Peter 2:9 there is a witness motif present. In 2:5 the emphasis is on being a witness by doing good, and in 2:9 the emphasis is on verbal proclamation. In 1 Peter 2:18-25 the mode of witness the author has in mind is the practical application of 1 Peter 2:5.

By becoming Christians, the low social position of the household servants didn't change, but they could fully share in the honour of being witnesses of the great deeds of God who brought them out of darkness into his marvellous light.

²⁴ ⁹ Bondservants are to be submissive to their own masters in everything; they are to be well-pleasing, not argumentative,¹⁰ not pilfering, but showing all good faith, so that in everything they may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior. (Tit 2:9-10 ESV).

CHAPTER 6: THE WITNESS OF THE MARRIED WOMEN IN 1 PETER 3:1-6

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 The identity and place in society of the addressees in 1 Peter 3:1-6
- 6.3 The witness of the married women in 1 Peter 3:1-6
- 6.4 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In 1 Peter 3:1-6 the author addresses women who were married to unbelievers, as he had previously addressed the slaves/ household servants in 1 Peter 2:18-25. The married women, through the work of Christ, also became members of God's royal and holy priesthood, and it was their responsibility to bring spiritual sacrifices pleasing to God through Christ (1 Pet 2:5) and to show forth the great deeds of God, who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light (1 Pet 2:9).

The women found themselves in a certain social context, and it is in this context that the author of 1 Peter addresses them and instructs them to be a good witness of the gospel to their husbands and to society in general. In order to understand the instructions that the author of 1 Peter gives to the married women, it is necessary to consider their social context and analyse the instructions within this socio-historical context. The position of the women in society has been investigated and attention has been given to traditional views of women, the possible influence of the 'new Roman woman' in the Petrine Provinces, the different expectations between Jewish, Greek and Roman married women and the influence of the Egyptian religious cults in the Petrine Provinces. Further, the witness motifs in 1 Peter 3:1-2 and 2-3, as well as the modes of witness present have been investigated.

6.2 The identity and place in society of the addressees in 1 Peter 3:1-6

6.2.1 The socio-historic context of the married women of 1 Peter 3:1-6

The Petrine communities lived in a world where the household was of great importance; seen as the basic building block of the state. City populations consisted of households regulated by the state. The Aristotelian household codes were used to regulate relationships between husbands and wives (as well as between fathers and children, and masters and slaves) (Stambauch & Balch 1986:123). It was expected of a woman to submit to her husband, although financial strength often meant that a woman could have a certain degree of independence (Stambauch & Balch 1986:124).

6.2.1.1 Traditional views of women

In general, women were not respected²⁵.

Strabo, an inhabitant of a Petrine Province during the first century AD, perhaps reflects this attitude in his writings, dismissing stories of the Amazon women's military success and power with the following:

“A peculiar thing has happened in the case of the account we have of the Amazons; for our accounts of other peoples keep a distinction between the mythical and the historical elements; for the things that are ancient and false and monstrous are called myths, but history wishes for the truth, whether ancient or recent, and contains no monstrous element, or else only rarely. But as regards the Amazons, the same stories are told now as in early times, though they are marvellous and beyond belief. For instance, who could believe that an army of women, or a city, or a tribe, could ever be organized without men, and not only be organized, but even make inroads upon the territory of other people, and not only overpower the peoples near them to the extent of advancing as far as what is now Ionia, but even send an expedition across the sea as far as Attica? For this is the same as saying that the men of those times were women and that the women were men. Nevertheless, even at the present time these very stories are told about the Amazons, and they intensify the peculiarity above-mentioned and our belief in the ancient accounts rather than those of the present time.” (Strabo 11.5.3 translated by H.L. Jones).²⁶

6.2.1.2 The influence of the ‘new Roman women’

It would be wrong to view the women of the New Testament as a monochrome group, where all women were mainly confined to their homes where their sole responsibility was to care for the children and to serve their husbands (Winter 2003:6). Women served as priestesses and some held civic office. Some were successful in business, trade and manufacturing and a few gained athletic fame. Traditional roles and occupations for women were wives, mothers, midwives, prostitutes and wet nurses. Women, however, also practiced as doctors, musicians and artists (Ferguson 1993:72). Women in the first century could also be important landowners. After Pompey created the Provinces of Bithynia and Pontus in 63 BC Nicaea in Bithynia started to thrive. Among the wealthy who invested in the area and

²⁵ Apollodorus around the mid-fourth century BC describes a view of women that was still common in the first century. He said that they had courtesans for pleasure, handmaidens for day to day care of the body, wives to bear legitimate children and to be a trusted guardian of things in the house. Courtesans were also expected to provide entertainment at dinner parties that wives may not attend. The entertainment included musical and acrobatic performances. Handmaidens and slave girls also performed household duties in affluent homes (Ferguson 1993:70).

²⁶ ἴδιον δὲ τι συμβέβηκε τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ τὸ ἱστορικὸν διωρισμένον ἔχουσι: τὰ γὰρ παλαιὰ καὶ ψευδῆ καὶ τερατώδη μῦθοι καλοῦνται, ἢ δ' ἱστορία βούλεται ἀληθές, ἅν τε παλαιὸν ἅν τε νέον, καὶ τὸ τερατώδες ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἢ σπάνιον: περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεται καὶ νῦν καὶ πάλαι, τερατώδη τε ὄντα καὶ πίστεως πόρρω. τίς γὰρ ἂν πιστεύσειεν, ὡς γυναικῶν στρατὸς ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος συσταίη ἂν ποτε χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν; καὶ οὐ μόνον γε συσταίη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφόδους ποιήσαιο ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καὶ κρατήσκειν οὐ τῶν ἐγγύς μόνον ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῆς νῦν Ἰωνίας προελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαπόντιον στεῖλαιτο στρατείαν μέχρι τῆς Ἀτικῆς; τοῦτο γὰρ ὅμοιον ὡς ἂν εἴ τις λέγοι, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρας γυναικας γεγονέναι τοὺς τότε τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἀνδρας. ἀλλὰ μὴν ταῦτά γε αὐτὰ καὶ νῦν λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπιτείνει δὲ τὴν ἰδιότητα καὶ τὸ πιστεῦσθαι τὰ παλαιὰ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νῦν: (Strabo 11. 5. 3).

became land owners were also women, among them, for example, two women Claudia Galitte and Annia Astilla were listed in inscriptions that were found in the area (Mitchell 1995:160).

Traditional virtues for women included being chaste, loyal to the husband, hard-working and able to manage the household and train the children (Ferguson 1993:72).

Studies of the women in the letters of Paul have found the appearance of a 'new Roman woman' who challenged the traditional values and roles for woman in society and marriage, including traditions in terms of dress code, fidelity and chastity (Winter 2003:4-5).

In the light of what the author of 1 Timothy wrote in 2:9-10, for example, it can be argued that traces of the influence of this 'new Roman woman' could be found in the city of Ephesus. Culturally Ephesus and Rome were no strangers to each other. Roman culture was embraced in the cities of the east to the point where there was no substantial cultural distinction between a major city of Asia Minor like Roman Corinth and Rome itself (Winter 2003:97).

Given the accessibility of the Petrine cities by land and sea to the other cities of the empire (Wilson 2011:2) and the large number of immigrants who settled in these cities (Jobes 2005:28-42) from Rome, for example, it's possible the 'new Roman women' would have culturally influenced Petrine communities. If so the social position of women in the Petrine communities would have been more complex than what can be deduced from the literary sources available today.

6.2.1.3 Jewish, Roman and Greek women

The positions of women in Greek, Roman and Jewish societies were not identical. Given the diversity in population (Elliott 1990:61) in the Petrine communities, this should also be considered.

Women generally would have married in their teens. Gentile men married at an older age, but Jewish men were expected to be married by 18 (Ferguson 1993:68).

Marriages were registered in order to make the children legitimate. Greek law required that marriage be preceded by a formal betrothal agreement. A father would pledge his daughter to a prospective bridegroom, and witnesses for both parties would be present as a dowry was agreed upon.

The Roman ideal was for a woman to pass from being under the authority of her father to the authority of her husband. Roman women generally had more authority and freedom than Greek women. In fact, Roman history shows that women gradually gained more liberty, a higher legal status and greater power and influence (Ferguson 1993:71).

Jewish women were not as culturally restricted as Greek women, but neither were they as free as their Roman counterparts (Ferguson 1993:71).²⁷

²⁷ Jewish women were the mistress of the home but didn't qualify to appear as a witness in court. They were also exempt from fulfilling religious duties; her responsibility was the children and running the house. The religious duties were also performed at set times and women may not be in the state of religious purity at the given time, because of the menstruation cycle. The often-quoted prayer 'blessed are thou, O Lord our God who hasn't made me a women' must be balanced with many other more positive statements about women in rabbinic literature. The husband had to provide for his wife

6.2.1.4 The presence of the Egyptian religious cults

During the third and second centuries BC religious cults originating in the Nile Delta spread to various parts of the Hellenistic world. Evidence of these cults has been found in the Petrine cities. In Sinope, for example, an inscription mentions a lady who was a senator and a priestess in the cult of Isis. Coins dating from after the 1st century AD discovered in the city bear the image of the goddess. So even though no archaeological evidence of a temple to Isis in Sinope has been found yet, it can be assumed Isis worship did take place in the city and in the other Petrine cities by the first century AD (Wilson 2011:5-6).

Egyptian religious cults were seen as having a seditious influence on women, leading to the corruption of order in society (Balch 1981:74-76).²⁸ According to Balch, 1 Peter reflects a tense social situation in which wives (and slaves), who had converted to Christianity, were accused of immoral and insubordinate behaviour by some in Roman society. The author of 1 Peter then instructs his hearers to apply the Aristotelian household code as a response to the accusations against them (Balch 1981:108-109), to show that they are not insubordinate.

6.3 The witness of the married women in 1 Peter 3:1-6

6.3.1 The witness motifs in 1 Peter 3:1-6

6.3.1.1 The witness motif in 1 Peter 3:1-2

In 1 Peter 3:1-2 the author instructs the women as follows:

1 Peter 3:1-2 (Nestle-Aland 28 th ed.)	1 Peter 3:1-2 (ESV)
Ὅμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἵνα καὶ εἴ τινας ἀπειθοῦσιν τῷ λόγῳ, διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναστροφῆς ἄνευ λόγου κερδηθήσονται, ἐποπτεύσαντες τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἀγνὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν.	Likewise, wives, be subject to your own husbands, so that even if some do not obey the word, they may be won without a word by the conduct of their wives, when they see your respectful and pure conduct.

In 1 Peter 3:1-2 the author is addressing women married to men who were not yet believers in Christ.²⁹ Worshipping Christ exclusively meant the wives ran the risk of being seen by their husbands and society as rebelling against their husbands (Jobes 2005:302). The author uses the word wives (γυναῖκες) in 3:2 and the word γυναικείω (females) in 3:7, which may indicate that 3:1 should be seen as special instruction to these women in their particular social context (Achteimer 1996:208). The word

and maintain regular sexual relations with her. It was also forbidden to hit a woman. Duties of Jewish women included grinding flour, cooking, laundry, making beds and spinning wool. She was also supposed to maintain an attractive appearance for her husband (Ferguson 1993:71).

²⁸ There was an ancient characterization of Egyptians as people contrary to the general norms of Greco-Roman society. E.g., Octavian (Augustus) accused Mark Anthony of abandoning the Roman ways and of following Egyptian norms where husbands submitted to their wives and stayed home while the women engaged in trade (Balch 1981:75).

²⁹ It would have been unusual for women to be instructed directly, as the practice was to instruct married women through their husbands (Elliott 2000:554). The content of the instruction by the author of 1 Peter, however, would have echoed well in the ears of any critical (male) reader/hearer.

ὁμοίως in 3:1 links this verse with what was said to the household servants in 1 Peter 2:18, implying that these women need to submit to their husbands even when they were treated unfairly (Jobes 205:203) (Achte-meier 1996:203).³⁰

The author in 1 Peter 3:5-6 uses Sarah as an example of a women of faith who submitted to her husband and trusted God even though her husband’s expectations were unfair (Gen 12 and 20).³¹ The author of 1 Peter subtly modifies the harsh ‘obey’ of the household code to ‘submit’ in the context of the new freedom the married women had in Christ (Van Rensburg 2004:257-258).

It can be assumed that the women have already explained the gospel verbally to their husbands without a positive response (Achte-meier 1996:210), or that the husbands also heard the gospel being preached. The author now instructs the women to submit to their husbands, fulfilling the cultural expectation of the day, and then rather use their good behaviour to win them over for the gospel without having to say a word.

The word κερδηθήσονται (they will be won over) refers to the conversion of the husbands and belongs to the language of mission, as in Matthew 18:15 (Achte-meier 1996:210) (Ramsey Michaels 1988:157).

6.3.1.2 A witness motif in 1 Peter 3:3-4?

In 1 Peter 3:3-4 the author instructs the women as follows:

1 Peter 3:3-4 (Nestle-Aland 28 th ed.)	1 Peter 3:3-4 (ESV)
ὣν ἔστω οὐχ ὁ ἕξωθεν ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν καὶ περιθέσεως χρυσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων κόσμος, ἀλλ’ ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ ἀφάρτῳ τοῦ πραέως καὶ ἡσυχίου πνεύματος, ὃ ἔστιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ πολυτελής.	Do not let your adorning be external—the braiding of hair and the putting on of gold jewelry, or the clothing you wear—but let your adorning be the hidden person of the heart with the imperishable beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which in God's sight is very precious.

In Greco-Roman society a virtuous woman was modest. It can be argued that the point of the author here is to instruct the women to dress and to adorn themselves in such a way that it would be evident to their pagan husbands that inner qualities are more important to them. In that manner they would display Christian virtue and please God and at the same time be modest as society expected (Achte-meier 1996:212). In order to deal with their unreasonable husbands, the women should not rely on outer adornments, but rather on an inner nobility that possibly could bring about the necessary change in their husbands (Van Rensburg 1998:16). Through

³⁰ It has also been argued that the word ὁμοίως is simply a connective and shouldn't be seen as referring back to the relationship of slaves and masters (Ramsey Michaels 1988:156-157). For this study it is not necessary to decide between the two viewpoints, since it does not impact on the outcome of the interpretation.

³¹ The author of 1 Peter uses the word ‘lord’ from Genesis 18:12 and then uses Genesis 12 and 20 as context for what he says about Sarah. This manner of use of the Old Testament needs to be understood “in an atmosphere of revealed religion which regards scriptural statements as true both in whole and in various sized parts” (Van Rensburg 2004:257).

their inner beauty, rather than outward adornments, the women could be an effective witness of the gospel to their husbands.

Achtemeier (1996: 212) argues that the instructions in 3:3-4 aren't to counter the practices of the followers of Isis and Artemis of Ephesus, even though the things described were part of the adornment of women belonging to those cults.

However, it is also possible as Jobes (2005:204-205) argues that these words should be understood in a context where adorned women who left the house without the company of a man were viewed with suspicion. The women the author addresses attended church meetings presumably without their husbands, so their dress should show they had worship, not seduction in mind. This would have been particularly important in a context where women belonging to the mystery cults were often seen as unfaithful. It is therefore possible that the instructions in 1 Peter 3:3-4 includes a witness motif to society in the sense that a Christian woman should dress and adorn herself in such a way that it is clear to society that her aim is to worship and please God, unlike the women belonging to the cults who were known for impropriety.

6.4 Conclusion

The faith of the women in 1 Peter 3:1-6 put them in a difficult social situation. Society saw them as rebellious for not worshipping their husbands' gods. They lived in a world where women were not seen as equal with men and were expected to submit to their husbands, including accepting their religion as their own. Women who joined the Egyptian religious cults were considered immoral and viewed with suspicion. The author of 1 Peter, therefore instructs Christian women, in their context, how to be good witnesses to their husbands and win them over – not through “preaching”, but through their good behaviour. They should show that Christianity as a faith, actually underscore the values of society as far as the role of women goes.

In 1 Peter 2:9 the responsibility of the ἱεράτευμα towards society is described by the verb ἐξαγγέλλω, with a strong emphasis on verbal proclamation. It can be assumed the women did verbally share the gospel with their husbands. The responsibility of the ἱεράτευμα in 1 Peter 2:5 is described by the phrase “bringing spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Christ.” Again, if Elliott's argument (1966:182-183) is accepted, the bringing of spiritual sacrifices could then also mean being a witness to society by doing good and living a good way of life.³²

This then is also true of the women in 1 Peter 2:1-6, whose good behaviour would witness to their husbands and win them over. This attitude of the women towards their husbands would at times have been costly and their witness in the process could be seen as an expression of the spiritual sacrifices 1 Peter 2:5.

It can therefore be concluded that in both 1 Peter 2:5 and 1 Peter 2:9 there is a witness motif present. In 2:5 the emphasis is on being a witness by doing good, and

³²Also, again, keeping in mind it has been argued (Achtemeier 1996:157-158) that the key to understanding the author's intentions with the words 'spiritual sacrifices' in 2:5 lies in 2:9: the spiritual house of God was to offer spiritual sacrifices in their witness to the society in which they functioned. Achtemeier sees the verb ἐξαγγέλλω in 2:9 as the key to understanding the meaning of spiritual sacrifices in 2:5.

in 2:9 the emphasis is on verbal proclamation. In 1 Peter 3:1-4 the mode of witness the author has in mind is the practical application of 1 Peter 2:5.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER

- 7.1 Outcome of the research
- 7.2 Relevance of this research for churches today
- 7.3 Possible future research

7.1 Outcome of the research

The aim of this chapter is to conclude the study: that the main concern of the author of 1 Peter in the section 1 Peter 2:4 – 3:7 was the witness of his hearers, and that he considered their social context in his desire for them to be effective witnesses of the gospel.

In 1 Peter 2:4-10 the author's focus is on the new theological identity of his hearers as members of God's holy and royal priesthood. As members of God's holy priesthood (1 Pet 2:5) they have the responsibility to bring spiritual sacrifices that are pleasing to God through Jesus Christ. In the context of 1 Peter these spiritual sacrifices refer to the witness of the hearers, and the sacrifices they would have to make in the process (see 3.5.2.1 above). In 1 Peter 2:9 the author refers to his hearers as members of God's royal priesthood with the responsibility to show forth the great deeds of God who brought them out of darkness into his marvellous light. The verb ἐξαγγέλλω indicates a verbal witness to Greco-Roman society and witness in the context of worship (see 3.7 above).

The author of 1 Peter recognises the socio-historic context of his hearers, where their faith in Christ Jesus put them in a very difficult situation. But in spite of this the author of the letter still wants his hearers to be witnesses of the gospel of Christ. In the section 1 Peter 2:11 – 3:7 he addresses them in their social context when he instructs them in terms of their witness. The household codes that regulated human behaviour to ensure harmony in society were part of the social context of the hearers of the letter. The function of the household codes in this section do not seem to be something the author employed to affirm the distinctive communal identity and strengthen the solidarity of the community so that they could resist outside pressure to conform to society, and in the process be a witness of the life and faith of the community as Elliott (1986:78) argues, nor was it employed for the acculturation of the hearers for the sake of peace and harmony in society (Balch 1986:80-101). It rather seems that the author simply recognises the household codes as part of the social reality of his hearers, that he should consider, as he desires for them to be witnesses of the gospel.

In 1 Peter 2:11-17 the author addresses all his hearers as resident aliens, a theological description of all who come to faith in Jesus Christ (see 4.2.1.4 above). He considers their social context and instructs them to do good and so silence and win over those who slander them. Doing good and living a good way of life is a practical application of the mode of witness in 1 Peter 2:5 (see 4.4.2 above). The social context and status of the hearers were different from Paul, the Roman citizen and rabbi, skilled in rhetoric. Therefore, the author of 1 Peter uses a different mode

of witness than that evidenced in the missionary preaching of Paul described in the book of Acts (see 4.4.1 above).

In 1 Peter 2:18-25 the author addresses the household servants. Given their social context, missionary preaching as a mode of witness would have been very difficult and unlikely to be effective. But as members of God's holy and royal priesthood they too could be witnesses of the gospel. Considering the social context of these low-class persons as household servants, the author of 1 Peter instructs them to be obedient and good servants, and in this way to be witnesses of the gospel. This mode of witness is also a practical application of 1 Peter 2:5 (see 5.4 above).

In 1 Peter 3:1-6 the author addresses women who were married to unbelievers. In the social context of such a marriage the author instructs them to submit to their husbands and in this way to win them over, without a word. The women could also be a witness to their husbands and society through the inner qualities they display rather than outward adornment (see 6.3 above). The mode of witness here again is a practical implication of 1 Peter 2:5.

It is clear that the author of 1 Peter considered the social context of his hearers in his desire for them to be effective witnesses of the gospel.

7.2 Relevance of this research for churches today

The social context of churches in the cities of the world differs greatly. For example, an analysis of the social situation in cities like Potchefstroom, Soweto and Istanbul would indicate great differences in terms of culture, religion, and historical reality.

This means that a mode of witness that could be very appropriate in Potchefstroom could be less effective in Istanbul. In order for a church in Istanbul to be an effective witness, the social context of the church and its members needs to be considered. The Christians in the country make up less than one percent of the population and are an oppressed minority, often falsely accused and viewed with suspicion. One of the main accusations society levels against the church is that Christians have a political agenda to divide the country and destroy social harmony and unity. In order for a church to be an effective witness these realities, the cultural expectations of society, the importance of honour and shame, the location of the church, and the social position of the church members need to be considered, among other factors.

The Christian population of Istanbul includes Turks, Armenians, Syriacs and Greeks – all citizens of the Turkish Republic, but who have become resident aliens in their own country because of their faith in Christ. The Christian population also includes migrants and refugees from countries like Iran and Syria, household servants from countries like the Philippines and Ethiopia and international students, business people, church workers and teachers from all over the world. The social context of each of these groups needs to be considered in terms of the witness of the church.

A pastor of a church in Istanbul cannot simply turn to the book of Acts and instruct all the members of the church to engage in missionary preaching like the apostle Paul. In the social context of Istanbul, the modes of witness evident in 1 Peter may be more appropriate and effective.

Similarly, a missionary leader cannot send people to Istanbul without analysing the social context, and simply expect them to follow the example of the apostle Paul as described in the book of Acts.

This study demonstrates that the letter of 1 Peter provides a biblical basis and mandate for the consideration of the social-context of a country or city in order to define appropriate modes of witness.

7.3 Possible future research

Future research could include identifying modes of witness present in the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament, as well as the witness literature. These modes of witness could then be researched in terms of their socio-historic context.

Further, modes of witness in the Gospels and Pauline epistles can be investigated in the light of the relevant socio-historic context and then compared with the Old Testament material and parallels could be drawn.

Further, a city, like Port Louis in Mauritius, with a complex social situation could be analysed in terms of its social context. Attention could be given to the cultures and religions present, the different social positions of the people, the influences from outside, the history of the city and the events that form part of the collective memory of the people. A selection of churches in the different parts of the city could be identified and the social context of these churches could be analysed. Attention could be given to the location of the church, the neighbourhood and the social position of the people in the church and the people the members relate to outside the context of the church. For each church a profile in terms of its social context could be developed. The results of this dissertation could then be applied to the different churches in order to provide a biblical basis and mandate to define suitable modes of witness. A model could be developed that would be appropriate for any church to analyse its social context and the social situation of its members.

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