

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY

1 PETER

VOLUME 1
CHAPTERS 1-2

A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY

TRAVIS B. WILLIAMS
& DAVID G. HORRELL

The
INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL
COMMENTARY
on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and
New Testaments

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A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL
COMMENTARY

ON

1 PETER

in 2 Volumes

BY

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AND DAVID G. HORRELL

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME 1

Commentary on 1 Peter 1–2

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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

Much scholarly work has been done on the Bible since the publication of the first volumes of the International Critical Commentary in the 1890s. New linguistic, textual, historical and archaeological evidence has become available, and there have been changes and developments in methods of study. In the twenty-first century there will be as great a need as ever, and perhaps a greater need, for the kind of commentary that the International Critical Commentary seeks to supply. The series has long had a special place among works in English on the Bible, because it has sought to bring together all the relevant aids to exegesis, linguistic and textual no less than archaeological, historical, literary and theological, to help the reader to understand the meaning of the books of the Old and New Testaments. In the confidence that such a series meets a need, the publishers and the editors are commissioning new commentaries on all the books of the Bible. The work of preparing a commentary on such a scale cannot but be slow, and developments in the past half-century have made the commentator's task yet more difficult than before, but it is hoped that the remaining volumes will appear without too great intervals between them. No attempt has been made to secure a uniform theological or critical approach to the problems of the various books, and scholars have been selected for their scholarship and not for their adherence to any school of thought. It is hoped that the new volumes will attain the high standards set in the past, and that they will make a significant contribution to the understanding of the books of the Bible.

S. D. W.
C. M. T.

PREFACE

The commitment to write this commentary dates back to 2004, when the late Graham Stanton—whose generous and gracious presence is much missed—invited one of us (David Horrell) to take on this project. Graham expressed the hope that it might be completed within seven years, or ten at most, but the distractions of other projects and commitments, together with the sheer mass of material to consider, has led to considerable delay. Indeed, I (David) found myself overwhelmed at the scale of the task, and in 2012 invited Travis Williams, who had completed his PhD on 1 Peter with me at Exeter in 2010, to join me as co-author. Having developed our perspectives on 1 Peter in collaboration, and having both published quite extensively on the letter, it seems a good fit to combine our efforts in producing this commentary. We have drawn on our earlier publications where relevant, particularly in the Introduction.

We have both worked hard over many years to complete the project: an initial exegesis of Chapters 1–3 was undertaken by David Horrell, Chapters 4–5 by Travis Williams, and the introduction was divided between us. We subsequently undertook our own independent exegesis of the sections covered by the other author and then merged them together such that the commentary in its entirety reflects both of our work. However, despite the shared and collaborative labour, I (David) would like to put on record that much of the work in recent years has been done by Travis: I would never have managed to bring the work to completion on my own. Much of the detailed grammatical analysis, references to primary texts, and extensive engagement with scholarly literature is due to his prodigious labour (hence he is named as first author).

The resulting work is very long, especially for a text that runs to only 105 verses. But there are reasons for the length and detail. First, a commentary is not intended to be read like a monograph (we pity any reviewers) but to serve as a reference work, and (in the case of the ICC) as a compendium of scholarship and information about the text that will endure for some years. We have tried

to ensure that anyone consulting this commentary for information about any of the words or phrases within the text, even short or apparently insignificant ones, will find material to inform their interpretation—something that is not always the case, even with the largest commentaries. Second, commentaries on biblical texts are part of an extended scholarly conversation—indeed, a conversation that, as the turn to *Wirkungsgeschichte* has rightly highlighted, goes back to the earliest years of the text’s reception and interpretation. As time goes along, the breadth and depth of that conversation gets steadily greater, and exponentially so in recent years. Yet as Markus Bockmuehl has remarked, in a discipline overwhelmed by ‘the sheer flood of both printed and electronic publication’, there is a tendency to engage only the most recent works of scholarship: ‘It is considered an embarrassment if a dissertation fails to engage with a relevant work published eighteen months ago. The entire nineteenth century, however, can be disregarded with impunity’.¹ But whereas many commentaries restrict their engagement to the works of recent decades, we have tried to engage with the full history of critical scholarship, for reasons that will be noted immediately below.

We have of course been unable to interact with commentaries that have appeared very recently, notably Ruth Anne Reese, *1 Peter*, New Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), PHEME Perkins, Eloise Rosenblatt, and Patricia McDonald, *1–2 Peter and Jude*, Wisdom Commentary 56 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2022), and Christoph G. Müller, *Der Erste Petrusbrief*, Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2022). We have only been able to add minimal engagement with the new edition of Karen Jobes’ commentary (where this is done, it is distinguished from other references by the addition of the date, 2022). We would like to thank Baker Academic for providing us with a pre-publication copy of Craig Keener’s commentary, which enabled us to engage with this work much more than would otherwise have been possible.

¹ Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word*, 37 and 34 respectively.

There are several specific features of the commentary to which we would like to draw attention, in the hope that this prefatory orientation will help readers to maximize the benefit of their engagement with it.

- In terms of format, while remaining within the conventions of the ICC, we have tried to set out our work in a way that facilitates readers' use of it, depending on their specific interests. Each section of text opens with an *Initial Bibliography* of works specifically related to the passage, followed by detailed notes on the *Text*. A short *Introduction* explains the literary form and key features of the section of the letter, while the *Exegesis* contains the detailed analysis. Finally, a *Summary* section draws together key points, offering a wider (and theoretically informed) analysis of the text's message, strategy and significance. Throughout we have made extensive use of footnotes, aiming thereby to make the main text more readable than it would be if primary and secondary references were liberally scattered in brackets throughout the text, as one sometimes encounters in commentaries. A complete bibliography lists all the works referred to. Multiple entries by the same author are ordered by date. (We have not included indexes, since their scale would make them unwieldy and therefore largely unhelpful, and also because readers are most likely to use the commentary to find information relating to a specific word or passage in 1 Peter, which can easily be located.)
- We engage in close detail with the textual variants, not only as a means to ascertain as far as possible the initial text but also because they are often interesting in their own right as examples of reception and interpretation (one example is the marginal summaries that appear in P⁷²). Even the most detailed previous commentaries often omit to mention many significant variants, yet we have been able to benefit for the first time from the enormous labour contained in the *Editio Critica Maior* (and now represented in NA²⁸) and from the insights of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) employed in producing this resource, even if we have at a few points differed from the judgments represented in the *ECM*.

- We offer a detailed level of grammatical analysis, something again that is relatively lightly covered even in the major commentaries, though the recent works of Dubis and Forbes, focused specifically on grammar, have been a valuable resource for our own work, even at the points where we differ from their judgments.
- As noted above, we have sought to engage as thoroughly as possible with older as well as more recent commentary literature. In part, the older literature is significant simply as a part of the history of the letter's reception and interpretation, but it is also important in helping to gain critical perspective on contemporary positions, some of which have acquired a near consensus status that engagement with older perspectives helps to unpick and to challenge (for example, on approaches to the suffering or persecution evident in the letter). Rediscovering older perspectives and theories helps to clarify the range of interpretative options and, at times, to inform a move away from the more recently popular views.
- Resources such as the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG), online databases of papyri, inscriptions, etc., have also allowed us to extend the range of primary data used to inform an interpretation of the text. Using such resources only adds to our admiration for those earlier scholars, such as Hort, who pursued their work with such deep learning, unaided by the ability to search through thousands of documents with the click of a mouse (they worried only that mice might chew up their notes!). The resources now available offer the opportunity to move beyond the recycling of primary sources identified by earlier commentators, or scholars writing for the *TDNT*, and to bring new data to the table.
- In something of a departure from the ICC tradition, but in a way reflective of the contemporary discipline of biblical studies, we have also drawn on a range of theoretical perspectives—from social psychology, postcolonial theory, and so on—to illuminate the author's message and strategy, and to help us understand the ways in which the letter contributes to the making of emerging Christian identity. The brief *Summary* at the close of each section of exegesis offers readers an overview, informed by such perspectives, and we

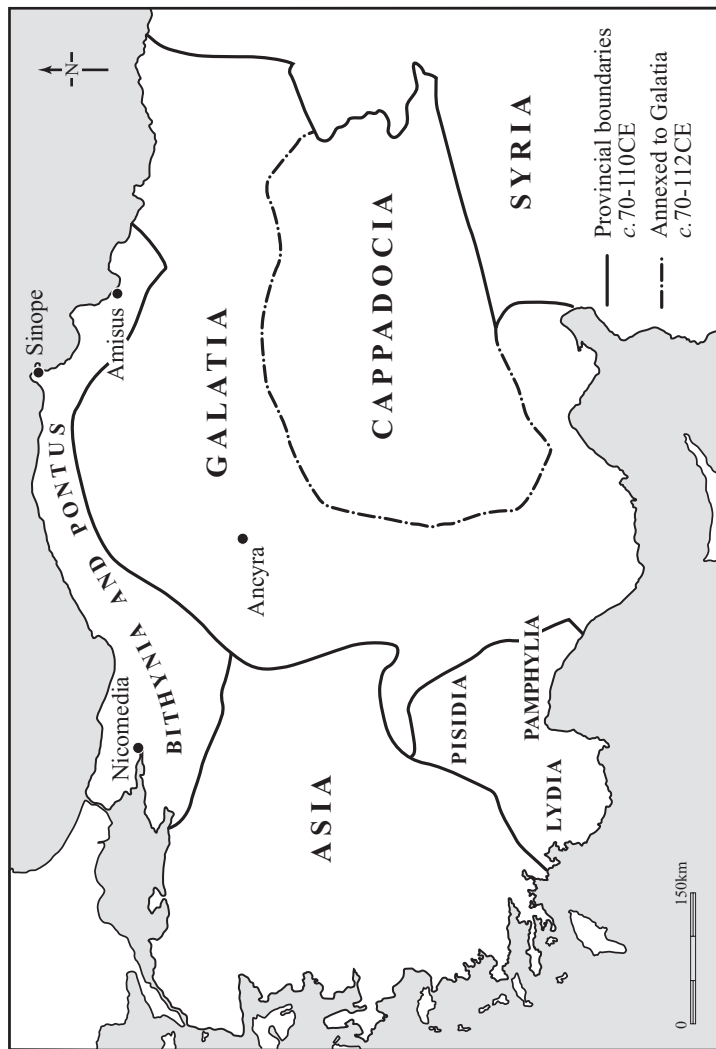
hope will prove valuable to those who want to enrich their understanding of the letter without engaging in the minutiae of the detailed exegesis.

- All of this work, in many cases building on our earlier published research, has, we hope, offered a range of new perspectives on the letter, on topics including the imperative participle, the nature of suffering and persecution, the meaning and function of 'doing good', the identity-defining significance of the letter's strategy, and the letter's stance towards resistance and survival.

It remains to offer our heartfelt thanks to all those who have supported and enabled this work, whether in their professional or personal capacities. We will forbear repeating our specific thanks to all those named in our previous works on 1 Peter, though the research presented there has shaped the present work too. We would, however, like to thank Bradley Arnold and Wei Hsien Wan, who helped us very considerably by checking a wide range of primary and secondary sources cited in the exegesis of Chapters 1–3. We are very grateful to Stephen Mitchell, for permission to draw information from the maps in his magisterial volumes on Anatolia, and to Sue Rouillard, of the University of Exeter, for drawing the maps presented here. We would also like to express our grateful appreciation to all the staff (esp. Lelia Dykes) who facilitate access to library resources, not least inter-library loans, at our own institutions and at other libraries we have been able to use at Cambridge University, the Wissenschaftlich-Theologisches Seminar, University of Heidelberg, the Faculty of Theology at the University of Mainz, the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies at KU Leuven, Vanderbilt University, and Emmanuel Christian Seminary. Also deserving of very sincere thanks are all those who have helped to see this complex manuscript through the production process, especially our typesetter/copy-editor, Duncan Burns.

David Horrell would like to thank his Exeter students and colleagues, particularly Louise Lawrence and Francesca Stavrakopoulou, for frequent (but friendly and supportive) teasing at every mention of 1 Peter and the unfinished commentary. Perhaps at last they will stop! He would also like to express profound gratitude to Carrie, Emily and Cate, for so much more than words could ever

convey and for being the people at the centre of his world. Emily and Cate endured most of his inaugural lecture (on 1 Peter) at the tender ages of six and three—rescued for some playtime after forty minutes or so by the always heroic Dan Morgan—so this work has been at the fringes of their consciousness for much of their lives! Travis Williams would like to thank everyone at Tusculum University—both colleagues and students—for their generous support of this project from the beginning. But above all, he would like to extend the deepest and most heartfelt debt of gratitude to Amy, Bryce, Trent, and Callan. For the past ten years, they have sacrificed so that this work could become a reality. In the process, they have been his strength and support, and they will forever be his love and joy.



Map 1. The Roman Provinces of Asia Minor (late first century CE)



Map 2. The Road Network in Asia Minor



ABBREVIATIONS

All references that fall within the sphere of biblical studies are abbreviated according to *The SBL Handbook of Style for Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014). Abbreviations for the epigraphic evidence follow (with some alterations) Pierre Roussel, et al., eds., *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* (Lugduni Batanorum: Sijthoff, 1923–), and the papyrological evidence is listed according to John F. Oates, et al., eds., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>, January, 2022.

AE	Cagnat, René, et al., ed. <i>L'Année épigraphique: revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine</i> . Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1888–.
Agora XXI	Lang, Mabel, ed. <i>The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> , vol. 21: <i>Graffiti and Dipinti</i> . Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1976.
AMP	Amplified Bible
ASV	American Standard Version
BDAG	Bauer, Walter. <i>A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3 rd ed. Edited by Frederick W. Danker, based on Walter Bauer, <i>Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur</i> . 6 th ed. Edited by Kurt and Barbara Aland, with Viktor Reichmann and on previous English editions by W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BDF	Blass, Friedrich and Albert Debrunner. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Translated and revised from the 9 th –10 th German edition, incorporating supplementary notes of A. Debrunner by Robert W. Funk. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
BGU	<i>Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> . 15 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895–1983.
BRG	Blue Red and Gold Bible

CCAG	Kroll, Wilhelm, et al, ed. <i>Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum</i> . 12 vols. Brussels: Lamertin, 1898–1953.
CEB	Common English Bible
CEV	Contemporary English Version
CGCG	Boas, Evert van Emde, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, and Mathieu de Bakker, ed. <i>The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
Ch.L.A.	Bruckner, Albert, et al, ed. <i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> . Dietikon-Zurich: Graf, 1954–1998.
Chrest.Mitt.	Mitteis, L. and U. Wilcken, ed. <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i> , II Bd. <i>Juristischer Teil</i> , II Hälfte <i>Chrestomathie</i> . Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1912.
Chrest.Wilck.	Mitteis, L. and U. Wilcken, ed. <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i> , I Bd. <i>Historischer Teil</i> , II Hälfte <i>Chrestomathie</i> . Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1912.
CID	Rougement, Georges, et al. ed. <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes</i> . 4 vols. Paris: de Boccard, 1977–2002.
CIG	Boeckh, Augustine, ed. <i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i> . 4 vols. Berlin: Reimer, 1828–1877.
CIIP	Cotton, Hannah M., et al. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: A Multi-Lingual Corpus of the Inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad. Volume 1: Jerusalem. Part 1: 1–704</i> . Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010.
CIJ	Frey, Jean-Baptiste, ed. <i>Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum: recueil des iscriptions juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ au VIIe siècle de notre ère</i> . 2 vols. Rome: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia Cristiana, 1936–1952. Revision of vol. 1: Baruch Lifshitz, <i>Corpus of Jewish Inscriptions: Jewish Inscriptions from the Third Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D.</i> New York: KTAV, 1975.
CIL	Mommsen, Theodor, et al., ed. <i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> . Berlin: Reimer, 1853–.
CIRB	Struve, Vasilii V., ed. <i>Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani</i> . (Russian) Moscow: Nauka, 1965.
CJB	Complete Jewish Bible
CMRDM	Lane, Eugene N., ed. <i>Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis</i> . Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 19/1–4. Leiden: Brill, 1971–1978.

CPR	Wessely, Carl, et al, ed. <i>Corpus Papyrorum Raineri</i> . Vienna: Hollinek, 1895–2011.
CRF	Ribbeck, Otto, ed. <i>Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta</i> . 3 rd ed. Leipzig: Teubner, 1897.
C-S	The Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193 (<i>ECM</i> , Sahidic Coptic ms sa 31). Published as <i>The Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193 in the Schøyen Collection</i> . Edited by James E. Goehring. CSCO 521. Leuven: Peeters, 1990.
CSB	Christian Standard Bible
Darby	Darby Translation
DLNT	Disciples' Literal New Testament
Douay-Rheims	Douay-Rheims Bible (1899)
<i>ECM</i>	Aland, Barbara, et al., ed. <i>Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior IV Catholic Letters</i> , Parts 1: <i>Text</i> . 2 nd ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013.
<i>ECM</i> (Part 2)	Aland, Barbara, et al., ed. <i>Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior IV Catholic Letters</i> , Parts 2: <i>Supplementary Material</i> . 2 nd ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013
EHV	Evangelical Heritage Version
ERV	Easy-to-Read Version
ESV	English Standard Version
FD III	Bourguet, Émile, et al, ed. <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , III. <i>Épigraphie</i> . Paris: de Boccard, 1929–1976.
Geneva	Geneva Bible (1599)
GIMB	Newton, Charles T., ed. <i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> . 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1874–1916.
GNT	Good New Translation
Goodspeed	<i>The New Testament: An American Translation</i> . Edited by Edgar J. Goodspeed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923.
Graffites d'Abydos	Perdrizet, Paul and Gustave Lefebvre, ed. <i>Les Graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos</i> . Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1919.
GVI	Peek, Werner, ed. <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> . Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955.
GW	God's Word Translation
HCSB	Holman Christian Standard Bible

- I.Ankara Mitchell, Stephen, and David French, ed. *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)*, vol. 1: *From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD*. Vestigia 62. Munich: Beck, 2012.
- I.Apameia Corsten, Thomas, ed. *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 32. Bonn: Habelt, 1987.
- IAph2007 Reynolds, Joyce, Charlotte Roueché, and Gabriel Bodard, ed. *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias (2007)*, available <<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007>>.
- I.Arykanda Şahin, Sencer, ed. *Die Inschriften von Arykanda*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 48. Bonn: Habelt, 1994.
- I.Asklepieion Peek, Werner, ed. *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros*. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Band 60, Heft 2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969.
- I.Beichtinschriften Petzl, Georg, ed. *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens*. Bonn: Habelt, 1994. [= *Epigraphica Anatolica* 22 (1994): v–xxi, 1–178].
- I.Délos Durrbach, Félix, et al., eds. *Inscriptions de Délos*. 7 vols. Paris: Champion, 1926–1972.
- I.Didyma Rehm, Albert, ed. *Didyma*, II. *Die Inschriften*. Berlin: Mann, 1958.
- I.Eleusis Clinton, Kevin, ed. *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone. Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*. 2 vols. in 3 parts. Vivliothēkē tēs en Athēnais Archaio-logikēs Hetaireias 236 and 259. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 2005–2008.
- I.Eph. Wankel, Hermann, et al., ed. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 11.1–17.4. 8 vols. Bonn: Habelt, 1979–1984.
- I.Erythrai Engelmann, Helmut and Reinhold Merkelbach, ed. *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 1–2. 2 vols. Bonn: Habelt, 1972–1973.
- IG Kirchhoff, Adolf, et al., ed. *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: Reimer/De Gruyter, 1873–.
- IGBulg Mihailov, Georgi, ed. *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*. 5 vols. Serdicae: Academia Litterarum Bulgarica. Institutum Archeologicum, 1958–1997.

- IGLPalermo Manni Piraino, Maria T., ed. *Iscrizioni greche lapidarie del Museo di Palermo*. Sikelika, Serie Storica 6. Palermo: Flaccovio, 1973.
- IGLSyr Jalabert, Louis, et al., ed. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929–2009.
- IGRR Cagnat, René, et al., ed. *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*. 4 vols. Paris: Leroux, 1906–1927.
- IGTh Baillet, Jules, ed. *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes à Thèbes*. 3 vols. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Mémoires publiés par les membres 42. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1920–1926.
- IGUR Moretti, Luigi, ed. *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae*. 4 vols. in 5 parts. Rome: Istituto Italiano per la storia antica, 1968–1990.
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I.Stratonikeia	Şahin, M. Çetin, ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> . Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 21–22.1–2. 2 vols. Bonn: Habelt, 1982–1990.
ISV	International Standard Version
I.Smyrna	Petzl, Georg, ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> . Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 23–24.1–2. 3 vols. Bonn: Habelt, 1982–1990.
I.Tralleis	Poljakov, Fjodor B., ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa</i> . Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 36. Bonn: Habelt, 1989.
IvP	Fränkel, Max, ed. <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> . 2 vols. Altertümer von Pergamon 8.1–2. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1890–1895.
JCSCS	<i>Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JUB	Jubilee Bible 2000
Kaibel, EG	Kaibel, George, ed. <i>Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta</i> . Berlin: Reimer, 1878.
KJV	King James Version
Knox	<i>The Holy Bible: A Translation from the Latin Vulgate in the Light of the Hebrew and Greek Originals</i> . Translated by Ronald Knox. London: Burns & Oates, 1945–1949.
LB	Living Bible
LEB	Lexham English Bible
Lindos	Blinkenberg, Christian, ed. <i>Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1931–1941.
LSJ	The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek–English Lexicon < https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/ >

MAMA	Keil, Josef, et al., eds. <i>Monumenta asiae minoris antiqua</i> . Journal of Roman Studies Monographs. 10 vols. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1928–.
Message	The Message Bible
MEV	Modern English Version
MHT	Moulton, James H., Wilbert F. Howard, and Nigel Turner. <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i> . 4 vols. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906–76.
MM	Moulton, James H., and George Milligan. <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources</i> . London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914–1929.
Mounce	Mounce Reverse Interlinear New Testament
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Catholic Bible
NCV	New Century Version
NET	New English Translation
<i>NewDocs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> . North Ryde, NSW: Eerdmans, 1981–.
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NLV	New Life Version
NMB	New Matthew Bible
NOG	Names of God Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTE	New Testament for Everyone
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- OJB Orthodox Jewish Bible
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RECAM II	Mitchell, Stephen, ed. <i>Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor</i> , II: <i>The Ankara District, the Inscriptions of North Galatia</i> . British Archaeological Review International Series 135. Oxford: British Archaeological Review, 1982.
RPC I	Burnett, Andrew M., et al., ed. <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> : vol. 1: <i>From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 B.C.–A.D. 69)</i> . London/Paris: British Museum Press/Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1998.
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RSV	Revised Standard Version
SB	Preisigke, Friedrich, et al, ed. <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1915–.
SEG	Roussel, Pierre, et al., ed. <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Lugduni Batanorum: Sijthoff, 1923–.
SGDI	Collitz, Hermann, et al, ed. <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> . 4 vols. in 7. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1884–1915.
SIG ³	Dittenberger, Wilhelm, ed. <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> . 3 rd ed. 4 vols. Leipzig: Apud S. Hirzelium, 1915–1924.
Stud.Pal.	Wessely, Carl, ed. <i>Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde</i> . Leipzig: Avenarius, 1901–1924.
TAM	Kalinka, Ernst, et al, ed. <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> . Vienna: Alfredi Hoelder/Academiam Scientiarum Austriacam, 1901–2007.
TDNT	Kittel, Gerhard and Gerhard Friedrich, ed. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
Tempel von Dakke III	Ruppel, Walter, ed. <i>Der Tempel von Dakke</i> , III: <i>Die griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften von Dakke</i> . Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Les Temples immergés de la Nubie. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1930.

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Tit. Cam.	Segre, Mario and Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli. 'Tituli Camirenses'. <i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente</i> 27–29, n.s. 11–13 (1949–1951): 141–318.
TLNT	Spicq, Ceslas. <i>Theological Lexicon of the New Testament</i> . Translated and edited by James D. Ernest. 3 vols. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994.
UPZ	Wilcken, Ulrich, ed. <i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)</i> . 2 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1927–1957.
WEB	World English Bible
Weymouth	Weymouth New Testament
Williams	Williams New Testament
Wycliffe	Wycliffe Bible
YLT	Young's Literal Translation

INTRODUCTION

Initial Bibliography

M. Eugene Boring, 'First Peter in Recent Study', *WW* 24 (2004): 358–67; Anthony Casurella, *Bibliography of Literature on First Peter*, NTTS 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Édouard Cothenet, 'Les orientations actuelles de l'exégèse de la première lettre de Pierre', in *Études sur la première lettre de Pierre. Congrès de l'ACFEB, Paris 1979*, ed. Charles Perrot, LD 102 (Paris: Cerf, 1980), 13–42; idem, 'La Première de Pierre: Bilan de 35 ans de recherches', in *ANRW*, ed. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase, Part II, *Principat* 25.5 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 3685–712; Mark Dubis, 'Research on 1 Peter: A Survey of Scholarly Literature Since 1985', *CBR* 4 (2006): 199–239; Rinaldo Fabris, 'Lettere Cattoliche: Un ventennio di ricerca (1990–2010)', *RivB* 59 (2011): 523–44; Abson P. Joseph, 'The Petrine Letters', in *The State of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research*, ed. Scot McKnight and Nijay K. Gupta (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019), 425–43; Watson E. Mills, *1 Peter*, Bibliographies for Biblical Research: New Testament Series 17 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen Biblical, 2000); Peter Müller, 'Der 1. Petrusbrief', *TRu* 80 (2015): 336–71, 425–65; Raúl Humberto Lugo Rodríguez, 'La Primera Carta de San Pedro en los estudios actuales', *EfMex* 10 (1992): 269–73; Dennis Sylva, '1 Peter Studies: The State of the Discipline', *BTB* 14 (1980): 155–63; J. W. C. Wand, 'Lessons of First Peter: A Survey of Interpretation', *Int* 9 (1955): 387–99; Robert L. Webb, 'The Petrine Epistles: Recent Developments and Trends', in *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research*, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), 373–90.

Before presenting a detailed reading of 1 Peter, it is necessary first to set down some parameters for its interpretation, situating the letter in its literary, historical and social context and establishing a position with regard to the various introductory issues that commentators have long discussed—with strikingly diverse results on matters like authorship and date. Without in any way pretending that our treatment could—or even should—be 'objective', uninfluenced by the various facets of our social and theological locations, we aim to assess the evidence as carefully as possible, and to elucidate what seem the most plausible conclusions. For that reason, we begin with the most concrete aspects of the letter's existence and

character (*viz.* the manuscripts in which it is preserved) and attempt to build a coherent case regarding its setting and content. We also outline some key aspects of the theoretical perspectives from which we shall offer an overall interpretation of the letter and its contributions to the making of Christian identity.

Text of 1 Peter

Initial Bibliography

Francis W. Beare, 'The Text of 1 Peter in Papyrus 72', *JBL* 80 (1961): 253–60; idem, 'Some Remarks on the Text of 1 Peter in the Bodmer Papyrus', in *Studia Evangelica III*, ed. Frank L. Cross, TU 88 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 263–65; Hans-Gebhard Bethge, 'Der Text des ersten Petrusbriefes im Crosby-Schøyen-Codex (Ms. 193 Schøyen Collection)', *ZNW* 84 (1993): 255–67; Jean Duplacy and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, 'A propos de l'histoire du text de la première épître de Pierre', in *Études sur la première lettre de Pierre. Congrès de l'ACFEB, Paris 1979*, ed. Charles Perrot, LD 102 (Paris: Cerf, 1980), 155–73; David G. Horrell, 'The Themes of 1 Peter: Insights from the Earliest Manuscripts (the Crosby-Schøyen Codex ms 193 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex containing P⁷²)', *NTS* 55 (2009): 502–22, revised in *Becoming Christian: Essays on 1 Peter and the Making of Christian Identity*, LNTS/ECC 394 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 45–72; J. K. Elliott, 'The Early Text of the Catholic Epistles', in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 204–24; Eduard Massaux, 'Le texte de la 1^a Petri du Papyrus Bodmer VIII (P⁷²)', *ETL* 39 (1963): 616–71; Philip D. Strickland, 'The Curious Case of P⁷²: What an Ancient Manuscript Can Tell Us about the Epistles of Peter and Jude', *JETS* 60 (2017): 781–91; William W. Willis, 'The Letter of Peter (1 Peter)', in *The Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193 in the Schøyen Collection*, ed. James E. Goehring, CSCO 521 (Leuven: Peeters, 1990), 135–215; Kenneth Keumsang Yoo, 'The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of 1 Peter with Special Emphasis on Methodology' (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 2001).

How do we know anything at all about 1 Peter? The answer, of course, is through the extant witnesses of the letter, including the numerous manuscripts that have been preserved in Greek and various other languages (e.g., Latin, Coptic, Syriac, etc.) and the citations that are found in the writings of early church fathers.¹ This

¹ An extended discussion of the text of 1 Peter is given by Beare (1–24), though a good deal of this space is devoted to the treatment of P⁷² (3–10). Elliott (149–50) provides only a brief summary of this material.

simple observation suggests that a good place to begin our study is with a brief overview of textual witnesses to 1 Peter and the method by which we will attempt to determine the *Ausgangstext* ('initial text').² Specific textual issues and variants are discussed at appropriate points throughout the commentary.³ However, the manuscript evidence is important not only as a source of variants, to be counted and weighed in an effort to reconstruct the earliest available form of 1 Peter, but also as a witness to the ways in which the text was regarded, treasured, and understood through its (early) history.⁴ We therefore give brief attention to the ways in which some of the early manuscripts in particular can inform us about the interpretation of the letter, the understanding of its themes, structure, and so on.⁵

An important factor that must be considered when assessing the external evidence is where a manuscript fits within the history of textual transmission. For many years in textual criticism it was common to group manuscripts according to textual similarity, originally thought to be geographically based, and then grouped into 'text-types'. Among those Petrine commentators who have addressed text-critical issues, this seems to be the perspective from

² Like the editors of *ECM* (30), we will speak of the *Ausgangstext* ('initial text') rather than the original text, based on the complex and diverse senses of the term 'original' (see Epp, 'The Multivalence of the Term', 245–81; Holmes, 'From "Original Text" to "Initial Text"', 637–88). While we cannot simply identify this critically reconstructed (and therefore, hypothetical) initial form with the author's original autograph (see Epp, 'In the Beginning', 35–70), it is unlikely that there would be much significant difference between the two (cf. *ECM* 30).

³ These are sometimes given surprisingly little attention, even in the most substantial commentaries. Elliott's comment that '[o]f the 105 total verses in 1 Peter, 70 verses are free of variants' (150) ignores many of the variants listed in NA²⁷ (to which he had access) and even more now detailed extensively in *ECM*.

⁴ For some of the insights that can be gained in this way, see, e.g., Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*.

⁵ It is unfortunate that these aspects of the text's preservation and history of interpretation are so widely ignored, for example, in scholarly discussions of the letter's structure (see below). This is just one instance of the broader tendency of NT scholars to conduct their interpretative conversations primarily with modern biblical scholarship and especially with the most recent literature (cf. Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word*, 34). But the turn to *Wirkungsgeschichte* in recent decades has rightly pressed scholars to pay due attention to the ways in which interpreters of the text through the ages, including the earliest phases of the letter's transmission, have found meaning in it.

which most have worked.⁶ The tendency has been to categorise the Greek manuscript tradition into two (or sometimes three)⁷ text-types: Alexandrian (represented by \aleph , A, B, C, P, Ψ , 33, 72, 81, 326, 1175, 1739) and Byzantine (represented by K, L, and S, along with the majority of minuscule manuscripts).⁸ On the basis of these groupings, and according to the priority normally assigned to the Alexandrian text (in light of the antiquity of its representatives), interpreters have rendered their critical decisions on the text of 1 Peter.

During the last two decades—and thus postdating many of the standard treatments of text-critical issues in 1 Peter (e.g., Michaels, Goppelt, Achtemeier, Elliott)—the field of NT textual criticism has undergone significant change. Not only has the purpose of the discipline been re-evaluated, but also the nature and relationships of the ancient manuscripts themselves have been re-assessed. The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM), made possible by the transcription of manuscripts onto computers, which allows for systematic comparison, serves as the basis for the *ECM* and *NA*²⁸ (for the Catholic Epistles).⁹ Initially developed by Mink, this method is designed to trace the genealogical relationships among extant witnesses, allowing textual variants to be both counted

⁶ See, e.g., Beare 1–16; Schelkle 16–17; Goppelt 55–57; Achtemeier 75. In one place, Elliott adopts a particular textual reading on the basis that it is ‘favored by the variety of other MSS representing different text types’ (828 n. 676). But there is no place in the commentary where he defines what he means by ‘text type’, nor does he address the various text-types represented in 1 Peter (cf. Michaels 26, who refers to Alexandrian and Western witnesses).

⁷ Some have postulated the existence of the ‘Western’ text-type in 1 Peter as well (see, e.g., Duplacy and Amphoux, ‘A propos de l’histoire du text’, 157, 171; cf. also Duplacy, ‘Le texte occidental’, 397–99; Goppelt 56). The existence of a Caesarean text-type in the Catholic Epistles has even been suggested (see Carder, ‘A Caesarean Text’, 252–70, although see the critique of Aland, ‘Cäsarea-Text der Katholischen Briefe’, 1–9).

⁸ The most thorough treatment of this subject is Yoo (‘Classification of the Greek Manuscripts’), who classifies 106 Greek manuscripts of 1 Peter using computer-generated profiles and factor analysis. He divides them into three text-types: Alexandrian, Byzantine, and Mixed, with each category containing multiple sub-groupings (see esp. 190–93).

⁹ For a critical overview of the *ECM* project and the role of the CBGM within it, see Head, ‘*Editio Critica Maior*’, 131–52.

and weighed.¹⁰ In this approach, scholars employ the traditional canons of textual criticism to assess variants and to determine their relationship to one another and, by implication, their witnesses. On the basis of their text-critical decisions, interpreters can then construct computer-generated representations of the genealogical connections of all witnesses and can thus illustrate the ‘textual flow’ of the tradition.¹¹

Still in its infancy, this genealogical approach to the NT text has only been applied in a comprehensive manner to the Gospel of John and the Catholic Epistles; but the results thus far have been promising.¹² Their implications for the text of 1 Peter, however, have yet to be fully appreciated. The *ECM* has been used by a few Petrine commentators since its publication (e.g., Feldmeier, Schlosser), but it has been drawn upon primarily as an exhaustive collection of variant readings. So far none have attempted to use the genealogical relationships established by the method to aid text-critical decision-making. Such an approach would have a significant impact on the way that variants are assessed. Rather than giving preferential treatment to variants because of their attestation in a particular text-type (e.g., Alexandrian), the CBGM allows scholars to consider the place of individual manuscripts within the textual transmission and thereby to make more precise judgments about the relative weight of external evidence.¹³

¹⁰ See Mink, ‘Ein umfassende Genealogie’, 481–99; idem, ‘Highly Contaminated Tradition’, 13–85; idem, ‘Contamination, Coherence, and Coincidence’, 141–216. Cf. also Wachtel, ‘Coherence-Based Genealogical Method’, 123–38. For a brief comparison of the CBGM with the grouping approach, see Parker, *Textual Scholarship*, 76–100.

¹¹ For this reason, Lin (*Erotic Life of Manuscripts*, 125) notes that ‘it may be easier to think of CBGM not as a method, but rather as an application that textual critics can utilize to generate results based on whatever philological method they choose’.

¹² For a helpful review and evaluation of this approach, see Wasserman and Gurry, *A New Approach to Textual Criticism*; cf. also Gurry, ‘How Your Greek NT Is Changing’, 675–89; idem, *A Critical Examination*; Carlson, ‘A Bias at the Heart’, 319–40.

¹³ Cf. Wachtel, ‘Toward a Redefinition’, 126: ‘Applying external criteria guided by the CBGM involves determining the probable source of a reading in every single manuscript in which it is attested. On this basis we gain a far more clearly differentiated picture of the position of a witness in the whole of the transmission process’.

When the editors of *ECM* (re-)evaluated the text of 1 Peter through this genealogical method, there were nine places in which it differed from the text of NA²⁷/USB⁴.¹⁴

	<i>ECM</i> /NA ²⁸	NA ²⁷
1.6	λυπηθέντας	λυπηθέντες
1.16	γέγραπται ἄγιοι ἔσεσθε	γέγραπται [ὅτι] ἄγιοι ἔσεσθε
1.16	ἐγὼ ἅγιος	ἐγὼ ἅγιος [εἰμι]
2.5	--	[τῷ]
2.25	ἀλλ'	ἀλλά
4.16	ἐν τῷ μέρει τούτῳ	ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ
5.1	Τοὺς	οὖν
5.9	τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητι	τῇ ἐν [τῷ] κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητι
5.10	ἐν Χριστῷ	ἐν Χριστῷ [Ἰησοῦ]

As this list indicates, the extent of changes is largely very minor, and in five cases concerned only with words already indicated (by square brackets) as doubtful in NA²⁷. It will also be readily apparent that the most significant and substantial change concerns the change from ὀνόματι to μέρει in 4.16. However, there are good reasons to question the decision of the *ECM* at this point.¹⁵ Other readings found in the *ECM* are also open to challenge, and these are addressed in detail in the *Text* section at the appropriate verse.

Beyond these changes, there are also nine places where textual decisions are left open due to the uncertainty of the editors.¹⁶ At these points, the primary textual line is split (or in the NA²⁸ it is

¹⁴ The first edition of *ECM* lists the number of differences as seven (23*; cf. also Elliott, 'The Petrine Epistles', 333), but this overlooks the change that occurred at 1 Pet 2.5, where [τῷ] is omitted in NA²⁸/*ECM*, and 5.1, in which the οὖν from NA²⁷/USB⁴ was altered to τοὺς in NA²⁸/*ECM*. This mistake has been corrected in the second edition (see *ECM* 35*–36*), though the change from ἀλλά to ἀλλ' at 2.25 is dropped from the list.

¹⁵ See also the recent challenge in Knight, 'Reading between the Lines', 899–921.

¹⁶ *ECM* 37*. The list includes: (1) 1 Pet 1.22: καθαρᾶς or omit; (2) 1 Pet 2.12: ἐποπτεύοντες or ἐποπτεύσαντες; (3) 1 Pet 3.5: τόν or omit; (4) 1 Pet 3.20: ὀλίγοι or ὀλίγαι; (5) 1 Pet 4.11: εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν or εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν; (6) 1 Pet 5.9: τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ or τῇ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; (7) 1 Pet 5.10: ἐν

marked by a diamond), forcing the reader to draw his or her own text-critical conclusions. This situation reveals the need for a close examination of the evidence. In the commentary itself, we will take a fresh look at the data—using but also occasionally departing from a strictly genealogical approach—to closely consider which readings lead us back to the *Ausgangstext*.

Greek Manuscript Evidence

Most of the earliest and most important textual evidence comes from Greek manuscripts.¹⁷ There are four Greek papyrus manuscripts of 1 Peter: P⁷², P⁷⁴, P⁸¹, and P¹²⁵.¹⁸ Undoubtedly the most significant of these is P⁷², not only on account of its age, but also because it preserves the entire letter. It is one of the two oldest manuscripts of 1 Peter, certainly the oldest in Greek, and possibly the oldest of all. This manuscript is to be dated to the third or perhaps the fourth century. (The collection of which it is a part, on which see below, almost certainly dates from the fourth century.) It is thought to preserve a text that has the *Ausgangstext* ranked as a primary candidate among its potential ancestors, agreeing with this ‘initial text’ to a greater extent than other potential witnesses.¹⁹ Much younger is P⁷⁴ (sixth–seventh century), which preserves only an incomplete and fragmentary text (1 Pet 1.1–2, 7–8, 13, 19–20, 25; 2.6–7, 11–12, 18, 24; 3.4–5). Even more fragmentary is P⁸¹, which dates from the fourth century and consists of only one sheet (1 Pet 2.20–3.1; 3.4–12). The most recently discovered fragment is P¹²⁵, which contains 1 Pet 1.23–2.5; 2.7–12. It has also been dated to the third or fourth century. Because of their fragmentary state,

Χριστῷ or ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ; (8) 1 Pet 5.11: τῶν αἰώνων or omit; (9) 1 Pet 5.14: Χριστῷ or Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

¹⁷ For complete details on the Greek MSS of 1 Peter (e.g., date, location, etc.), see Aland, et al., ed., *Kurzgefasste Liste*. A digital (and searchable) version of this resource can now be found in the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room maintained by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste>).

¹⁸ On the papyrus texts from 1 Peter, see Grunewald and Junack, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*. To this discussion should be added Chapa, ‘First Letter of Peter I 23 – II 5, 7–12’, 17–22 (with Plates II–III).

¹⁹ See ECM 33* n. 25.

P⁷⁴, P⁸¹, and P¹²⁵ have been excluded from discussions of genealogical relationships.

There are seventeen majuscule manuscripts of 1 Peter, although some of these only preserve parts of the letter.²⁰ Particularly significant, due to their antiquity and witness to the early history of the text, are Codex Sinaiticus (ⲁ), Codex Alexandrinus (A), and Codex Vaticanus (B), ⲁ and B dating from the fourth century, A from the fifth.²¹ Together with the papyri manuscripts, these majuscules provide some of the most important evidence for reconstructing the text of 1 Peter. Each contains a text that has the *Ausgangstext* as its potential ancestor with rank one, meaning that they agree with no other witness to a greater degree than the 'initial text'. Among the lectionary manuscripts that contain 1 Peter, the most noteworthy is L1575. This Greek-Coptic majuscule, which was part of the same codex as 0129 and 0203, dates to the eighth century and preserves a text that is independent of the Byzantine lectionaries.²²

The *ECM* lists 115 Greek minuscule manuscripts containing 1 Peter, with another ten lectionary manuscripts containing some or all of the letter.²³ Further minuscules have since been added to the list.²⁴ Given the development of the minuscule script (ninth and tenth centuries), most manuscripts are rather late, and consequently are representative of the Byzantine tradition.²⁵ Nevertheless, the relative age of these manuscripts alone does not determine their ability to move us toward the *Ausgangstext*. In 1 Peter, there are

²⁰ See *ECM* (Part 2) 8.

²¹ In the commentary, we use capital Latin (and Greek and Hebrew) letters for these majuscules (as used in NA²⁸), rather than the Gregorian numerals used in *ECM*. However, we follow the numbered system for referring to the correctors of ⲁ, B, and C set out in *ECM* (29*), though using superscript numbers only ⲁ¹, etc., rather than 01C1, etc., to denote the various correctors, and an asterisk (*) where necessary to indicate the original hand.

²² See *ECM* (Part 2) 14; cf. also Schüssler, 'Eine griechisch-koptische Handschrift', 218–65.

²³ *ECM* (Part 2) 8.

²⁴ See the *Kurzgefasste Liste*.

²⁵ The use of the designation 'Byzantine' is not meant to describe a text-type, but the form of text represented by the majority of all NT manuscripts composed since the ninth century. In the case of the Catholic Epistles, the Byzantine tradition does not depart substantially from the *Ausgangstext*. With reference to 1 Peter, more specifically, 'the Byzantine text differs from the primary line in only 52 of the more than 700 instances of textual variation' (Hernández, Jr., 'Modern Critical Editions', 706 n. 72).

twenty-one minuscules that have the ‘initial text’ as either their first-, second-, or third-ranked potential ancestor. The charts below contain a list of the manuscripts that are, according to the CBGM, most closely aligned with the *Ausgangstext* in 1 Peter, along with their percentage of correspondence.²⁶

<i>Ausgangstext</i> as First-Ranked Potential Ancestor		
<i>G-A Designation</i>	<i>Date (century)</i>	<i>Correspondence (%)</i>
B	4th	94.599
1739	10th	93.803
A	5th	93.478
623	11th	93.343
81	11th	92.475
93	10th	91.317
Ψ	9th/10th	89.436
1852	13th	89.146
Ⲛ	4th	88.116

²⁶ The *ECM* (33*) lists the percentages of the Catholic Epistles (as a whole) drawn from *Genealogical Queries*, Version 1 (2008), a database of the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung that applies the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method to the manuscript witnesses (<http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbGM/GenQ.html>). The percentages listed here, however, are drawn from *Genealogical Queries*, Version 2 (2013) (<http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbGM2/GenQ.html>), a revised version of the same program based on the comprehensive set of data from the first edition of *ECM*. Furthermore, we have attempted to be slightly more precise, seeking only the genealogical relationships represented in manuscripts of 1 Peter, given the letter’s early circulation. (Since our *Ausgangstext* differs at a few points, notably 4.16, from *ECM*, these percentages would be slightly different if based on our text, but not significantly so.) It appears that the letter circulated independently at first and was later grouped with 2 Peter (and Jude), as in P⁷², and then eventually with other letters in a collection of texts known as καθολικός, ‘catholic’ (see Beare 24–25). In fact, it is notable that in what are probably our earliest extant texts of 1 Peter, P⁷² and C-S, the letter is found not as part of a compendium of NT texts, but as part of a more varied compilation, with some evident thematic connections (see below). This process of development stands in contrast to the canonical Gospels and the Pauline epistles, which seem to have circulated very early in their own respective collections. What is more, it suggests that ‘the manuscripts which contain the Catholic epistles (usually Acts and the Catholic epistles) cannot be treated as if the several documents constituted a group with a common textual history. The character of the text must be determined individually for each epistle’ (Beare 9).

<i>Ausgangstext</i> as Second-Ranked Potential Ancestor		
<i>G-A Designation</i>	<i>Date (century)</i>	<i>Correspondence (%)</i>
1735	10th	92.041
2464	9th	91.947
323	12th	91.134
436	11th/12th	90.738
424	11th	90.593
2541	12th	90.580
C	5th	90.354
1243	11th	89.796
2344	11th	89.747
2718	12th	88.792

<i>Ausgangstext</i> as Third-Ranked Potential Ancestor		
<i>G-A Designation</i>	<i>Date (century)</i>	<i>Correspondence (%)</i>
5	13th	91.317
945	11th	90.738
468	13th	90.304
2298	12th	90.276
2805	12th/13th	89.870
1448	12th	89.725
1175	10th	88.567

A few other texts are only slightly more removed from the *Ausgangstext*.²⁷ Together with the manuscripts listed above, these texts constitute the most important witnesses for tracing the textual flow of the tradition and for moving us back toward the ‘initial text’.

Patristic Citations

Patristic citations serve as an important witness to the text of 1 Peter because they provide evidence that can be geographically located and, in many cases, precisely dated. The evidence has been exhaustively detailed in *ECM*,²⁸ although to this point it has received little attention in Petrine scholarship. The recent studies by

²⁷ *Ausgangstext* as Fourth-Ranked Potential Ancestor: 33 (89.756%), 307 (90.449%), 808 (90.698%), 1409 (89.260%). *Ausgangstext* as Fifth-Ranked Potential Ancestor: 018 (90.580%), 1067 (88.175%).

²⁸ See *ECM* (Part 2) 45–50.

Merkel and Batovici mark a significant contribution toward defining the place of 1 Peter within the literature and theology of the early church fathers,²⁹ but these efforts have been directed primarily towards tracing the letter's reception rather than assessing text-critical significance.

The number of patristic citations of 1 Peter is comparable to the other Catholic Epistles of James and 1 John, with somewhat fewer references being made to 2 Peter, Jude, and 2–3 John. Particularly popular with the early church fathers were 1 Pet 2.22 (especially the phrase [οὐδὲ] ἐνρέθη δόλος), which is referenced sixty-six times by twenty-five different authors, and 5.8b, which is referenced forty times by seventeen different authors.³⁰ In general, the patristic evidence for 1 Peter is slightly less reliable than the manuscript tradition, although the situation varies according to individual authors. Some are more closely connected to the initial text (e.g., Procopius of Gaza, Photius, and Clement of Alexandria), while the citations of other fathers are further removed (e.g., John Chrysostom, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Anastasius of Sinai).

<i>Patristic Evidence for 1 Peter</i>				
<i>Name</i>	<i>Date (century)</i>	<i># of Citations</i>	<i># Citation Units (*Variations)</i>	<i>Correspondence with Initial Text</i>
IrLat	2nd	5	11 (2*)	81.818
Clem	3rd	42	209 (21*)	89.952
Hym	3rd	2	12 (0*)	100
Or	3rd	55	192 (26*)	86.458
PsDionAl	3rd	3	16 (1*)	93.750
Am	4th	2	11 (2*)	81.818
Apoll	4th	2	6 (1*)	83.333
AstS	4th	3	9 (3*)	66.666

²⁹ See Merkel, 'Checks and Balances', 239–46; idem, '1 Peter in Patristic Literature', 167–79; idem, *1 Petrus*; idem, 'Ein "stilles Blümlein"', 168–205; Batovici, 'Mark, Peter's Son', 431–42; idem, 'Commenting on 1 Pt 4:7–11', 163–74; idem, 'Reception and Marginal Texts', 95–105; idem, *1 Petrus*. See also the works listed in *Introduction: Impact and Influence of 1 Peter*.

³⁰ Cf. also 1 Pet 4.1 (referenced by 14 different fathers); 3.15 (referenced by 13 different fathers); 1.12 (referenced by 12 different fathers). Pace Holzmeister 404–405, who claims that 1 Pet 5.8 is the most frequently cited verse among the church fathers.

Ath	4th	13	58 (11*)	81.034
Bas	4th	9	30 (6*)	80.000
CyrH	4th	14	50 (12*)	76.000
Did	4th	92	298 (59*)	80.201
Eus	4th	15	45 (11*)	75.555
Evagr	4th	1	4 (2*)	50.000
GregNy	4th	7	14 (0*)	100
Marcell	4th	5	12 (3*)	75.000
PetrAl	4th	1	7 (1*)	85.714
BasSel	5th	3	16 (1*)	93.750
Chrys	5th	14	50 (14*)	72.000
Cyr	5th	140	668 (114*)	82.934
Epiph	5th	9	24 (9*)	62.500
FlavC	5th	1	4 (2*)	50.000
HesH	5th	7	28 (2*)	92.857
Isid	5th	8	20 (3*)	85.000
MarcEr	5th	6	24 (1*)	95.833
Nest	5th	1	3 (2*)	33.333
NilAnc	5th	5	19 (5*)	73.684
ProclC	5th	1	1 (0*)	100
PsEusA	5th	1	2 (0*)	100
SevGab	5th	1	2 (0*)	100
Socr	5th	2	6 (1*)	83.333
Thdrt	5th	10	32 (5*)	84.375
ThdtAnc	5th	2	5 (1*)	80.000
ThphAl	5th	1	1 (0*)	100
AnastA	6th	6	16 (3*)	81.250
AnastS	6th	18	63 (15*)	76.190
ConCP	6th	2	3 (0*)	100
CosmIn	6th	1	1 (0*)	100
CyrSc	6th	1	5 (2*)	60.000
DorGaz	6th	1	2 (1*)	50.000
Eustr	6th	1	4 (0*)	100
GregAnt	6th	1	2 (0*)	100
LeontH	6th	3	9 (1*)	88.888
Olymp	6th	2	9 (0*)	100
Procop	6th	16	61 (5*)	91.803
Antioch	7th	31	156 (21*)	86.538
MaxConf	7th	12	71 (9*)	87.323
Dam	8th	5	21 (3*)	85.714
Phot	9th	15	46 (4*)	91.304

The significance of these statistics, however, needs to be carefully understood.³¹ First, each patristic writer quotes a different amount of text from 1 Peter. For this reason, it is best to consider only those whose writings contain an adequate number of citations (and citation units). Second, patristic citations are not evenly distributed throughout 1 Peter. This means that a given author might quote the same verse a number of times, and, depending on the accuracy of his text at that particular instance, the percentage could thus be significantly affected.³² Finally, some of the variations (and thus percentages) may be the result of a writer's careless mistakes or even the copying errors made by later scribes who transmitted his works (and thus not representative of the text from which he cites).³³ All of these considerations demand that the witness of the patristic evidence be assessed individually on a case-by-case basis rather than summarily viewing a given writer as a(n) (un)reliable witness and treating his testimony as such throughout the text-critical analysis of 1 Peter.

Ancient Versions

Along with many patristic citations, also important for the textual reconstruction of 1 Peter are the early translations, including Latin, Coptic, and Syriac.³⁴ One witness from among the translations that

³¹ On the difficulties surrounding the use of patristic evidence, see Fee, 'The Use of the Greek Fathers', 353–56.

³² In terms of a negative impact, the text cited by John Chrysostom diverges from the *Ausgangstext* at fourteen places; yet eight of these are repeated quotations of the same verse (1 Pet 5.8). In terms of a positive impact, many fathers quote 1 Pet 2.22 multiple times in their writings (e.g., Cyril of Alexandria – 12 times; Origen – 10 times; Theodoret of Cyrus – 7 times), thus boosting their percentages.

³³ The case of Eusebius, who has one of the lower correspondences with the *Ausgangstext*, is one example where this has occurred. In total, his work diverts from the initial text on eleven occasions. But one variation was the result of a split in the manuscript tradition of Eusebius' work (1 Pet 2.2), and another was a variation of word order, not content (1 Pet 2.13: κτίσει ἀνθρωπίνην vs. ἀνθρωπίνην κτίσει). In a separate instance, the divergence may have been the result of Eusebius' quotation from memory (1 Pet 5.8: ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιέρχεται – although he correctly quotes περιπατεῖ elsewhere). Further, three of the divergences come from three separate quotations of the same verse at which the manuscript tradition of 1 Peter was strongly divided (1 Pet 5.8: τινα καταπιεῖν).

³⁴ See *ECM* (Part 2) 64–66, 73–76, 81–84. For information on these translations and their significance for NT textual criticism, see Metzger, *The Early Versions*.

is worthy of particular note is the Crosby-Schøyen Codex ms 193 (= sa 31, in *ECM*; hereafter cited as C-S). This Coptic manuscript, in the Sahidic dialect, may perhaps be the oldest witness to 1 Peter, though its dating—as with many manuscripts—cannot be precisely or indisputably determined. Most of those who have studied it seem to favour a date in the mid-third century, including the editor and translator of its text of 1 Peter (Willis), though opinions range from late second to early fifth centuries.³⁵ Certainly the Greek *Vorlage* from which this translation was made must have been old, probably older than the text of P⁷², such that C-S is an important witness to the early history of the letter.³⁶

One reason why P⁷² and C-S are such interesting and unique witnesses to the early history of 1 Peter, beyond their contribution to the assessment of particular readings and reconstructions of the *Ausgangstext*, relates to the other texts with which the letter was bound, in the codices of which each is a part (see below). Both codices ‘derive from the same early Christian library’,³⁷ a library of the Pachomian monastic order, ‘discovered late in 1952 in Upper Egypt near Dishnā’.³⁸ Their texts of 1 Peter, however, ‘appear to be quite unrelated’,³⁹ so one cannot simply be viewed as a translated copy of the other. Yet neither do these codices necessarily indicate how Christians in general, or across wide geographical areas, received and interpreted 1 Peter. But they do give us a fascinating glimpse into its reception among those who produced these particular manuscripts.⁴⁰

³⁵ See Willis, ‘Letter of Peter’, 137. Cf. Aland and Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 201, who place the date at ‘probably ca. 400’. For more on the dating, see Robinson, ‘Manuscript’s History’, xxxiii.

³⁶ Willis (‘Letter of Peter’, 138) notes that since C-S is evidently a ‘copy of a copy’, not itself a direct translation from the Greek, ‘the original translation on which it is based must be pushed back to A.D. 200, perhaps even earlier. Apparently, therefore, the Crosby-Schøyen text derives from a Greek manuscript earlier than P⁷² and no longer extant’. Similarly, Bethge claims, ‘Die griechische Vorlage, die man größtenteils mit hinreichender Sicherheit rekonstruieren kann, dürfte älter als der Text des p⁷² gewesen sein’ (‘Der Text des ersten Petrusbriefes’, 259 n. 18). He suggests that it goes back to the second century.

³⁷ Willis, ‘Letter of Peter’, 137.

³⁸ Robinson, ‘Manuscript’s History’, xxvii; cf. also xxxv.

³⁹ Willis, ‘Letter of Peter’, 137.

⁴⁰ For a more extensive treatment, see Horrell, ‘Themes of 1 Peter’, 502–22, revised and extended in idem, *Becoming Christian*, 45–72.

Since both codices comprise a small collection of biblical and non-biblical literature, their contents are especially interesting. The other early manuscripts of the letter—in Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and so on—are biblical manuscripts and so present 1 Peter in its now established canonical context. Set out below, and side-by-side, are the contents of the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex (hereafter BMC) which includes P⁷² (the label applied to the NT texts therein) and the Crosby-Schøyen Codex ms 193 (they are presented below in the order in which they appear in each codex):

Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex (including P⁷²)⁴¹	Crosby-Schøyen Codex⁴²
<i>Nativity of Mary</i> (= <i>Protevangelium of James</i>)	Melito of Sardis, <i>On the Passover</i>
Apocryphal Correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians (3 <i>Corinthians</i>)	2 Macc 5.27–7.41 (entitled ‘The Jewish Martyrs’)
<i>Odes of Solomon</i> 11	1 Peter (= ‘The Epistle of Peter’)
The Epistle of Jude	Jonah (= ‘Jonah the Prophet’)
Melito of Sardis, <i>On the Passover</i>	Unidentified Text (probably an early Christian homily) ⁴³
Fragment of a liturgical hymn	
<i>Apology of Phileas</i>	
Psalms 33–34 [LXX]	
1 and 2 Peter	

A number of things are striking about the contents of these two codices in terms of the early reception of 1 Peter. First, it is clear in both cases that 1 Peter does not appear as part of a collection of what would (later) become canonical, NT writings, nor even as part of a collection of ‘Catholic Epistles’. The distinction between

⁴¹ For the contents, see Robinson, ‘Manuscript’s History’, xxix; Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer V*; idem, *Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX*; idem, *Papyrus Bodmer X–XII*; idem, *Papyrus Bodmer XIII*; Grunewald and Junack, *Die katholischen Briefe*, 17; Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 96–97. Testuz comments that these texts ‘constituent une véritable anthologie, avec les ouvrages très diverse’. Nonetheless, ‘[n]ous sommes actuellement certain que tous ces textes faisaient partie du même recueil, et qu’ils se suivaient dans l’ordre indiqué’ (*Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX*, 8–9).

⁴² For the contents, see Goehring, ed., *Crosby-Schøyen Codex*; Robinson, ‘Manuscript’s History’, xxix; Bethge, ‘Crosby-Schøyen-Codex’, 257.

⁴³ So Goehring, ‘Unidentified Text’, 264. Goehring notes that this text is ‘markedly distinct’ from the other four in the codex, and suggests it is perhaps included as a ‘secondary addition to an original collection of four tractates’ (263).

canonical and non-canonical has no apparent relevance in these manuscripts.⁴⁴ (Indeed, the library from which they were recovered included a wide variety of texts, including classical Greek writers such as Homer.⁴⁵) In C-S, moreover, the letter is titled simply ‘the epistle of Peter’, implying knowledge only of this one Petrine letter (see below on the letter’s *inscriptio*). In BMC, 1 Peter does appear along with two other ‘Catholic’ epistles, Jude and 2 Peter, though the scribe who produced 1–2 Peter may have been different from the scribe who produced Jude.⁴⁶ This may indicate something about the early beginnings of a Catholic letter collection (see below).

Second, the appearance in both codices of Melito’s Περὶ Πάσχα is striking, and suggests something of what these early readers took to be intertextual connections and key themes for 1 Peter, namely, the OT’s prefiguration of the suffering of Christ, as the sacrificial lamb who brings deliverance to God’s people. While the theory that 1 Peter was originally a homily, perhaps even a liturgy for use in the early church’s Easter celebration of the Πάσχα (including baptisms),⁴⁷ has—for good reason—gone out of favour in recent years,⁴⁸ the links between 1 Peter and Melito’s Περὶ Πάσχα indicate that such theories have identified thematic commonalities that early readers also perceived.

Third, and building on the previous point, the collection of texts in both codices seems to indicate something about what were taken to be the themes of 1 Peter. As a collection, C-S would seem to be focused around particular themes: the paschal suffering of Christ, the suffering (and martyrdom) of his people (2 Macc 5.27–7.41), and (less obviously) the existence and mission of Christians in a

⁴⁴ The contents and arrangement of texts in BMC make it difficult to follow the theory of Strickland (‘Ancient Manuscripts’, 789–90) that this manuscript and the Nag Hammadi collection represent what competing Christian groups in ancient Egypt (Proto-Orthodox versus Gnostic) regarded as authentic Petrine tradition.

⁴⁵ See Robinson, ‘Manuscript’s History’, xxviii–xxxii; Bethge, ‘Crosby-Schøyen-Codex’, 258.

⁴⁶ Pace Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX*, 8. See Beare 9 n. 1; Turner, *Typology*, 79–80; Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 97–100. However, Wasserman (‘Papyrus 72 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex’, 137–54) has presented strong arguments for the same scribe having written Jude and 1–2 Peter.

⁴⁷ Willis (‘Letter of Peter’, 137) comments that the ‘inclusion [of 1 Peter] in the Crosby-Schøyen codex confirms at least that the scribe or organizer of the codex considered the epistle Paschal in character’.

⁴⁸ See *Introduction: Genre, Literary Integrity, and Structure*.

hostile Gentile world (Jonah). These themes might well be especially appropriate at Easter—Jonah's emergence from the great fish was a favourite image of Christ's resurrection and the hope of resurrection for his people⁴⁹—but need not by any means be restricted to that season of the Christian year.⁵⁰

BMC is a more diverse and complex collection, and no single theme seems to unite the various texts included. Yet a significant amount of the content again seems to relate particularly to the themes of Easter, and specifically the paschal suffering of Christ and the related suffering of his people in a hostile world: 1 Peter and Melito, plus Psalms 33–34 (LXX)—which focus on the theme of suffering and hope for vindication of the righteous—and the *Apology of Phileas*, a Christian martyrology.⁵¹ It is also notable that 1 Peter quotes Psalm 33 (LXX) twice, including a lengthy citation at the centre of the epistle (3.10–12), and it has been suggested that this psalm shapes the content of the whole letter.⁵² While this thesis, at least as presented in maximalist form by Bornemann, has generally been rejected, the evidence of the codex might well indicate that there is (or was seen to be) some significant intertextual and thematic connection between these texts.

⁴⁹ Cf. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 171–74. In the NT, see Matt 12.39–40; 16.4; Luke 11.29, and related to the general Christian hope for resurrection, see 3 Cor. 3.29–31.

⁵⁰ Cf. Bethge, 'Crosby-Schøyen-Codex', 257, who suggests that the themes of the codex centre around 'Leiden, Passion, Ostern'.

⁵¹ For the detail of this argument, see Horrell, *Becoming Christian*, 61–66. The proposals concerning thematic links between 1 Peter and other texts in C-S and also the BMC have been challenged by Jones ('Bodmer "Miscellaneous" Codex', 9–20), who argues that they are composite codices with texts added over time without any thematic connections or coherence. However, the fact that a codex may have grown gradually, by the adding and compilation of texts, does not necessarily mean that no thematic connections were discerned between the various texts—it seems unnecessary to assume that, if they were to be identifiable, such themes must have been intended 'from the outset' (*pace* Jones, 'Bodmer "Miscellaneous" Codex', 14). There is, of course, the risk that thematic connections are detected by the modern scholar but were not perceived or intended by the ancient scribes. This must be critically assessed on a case-by-case basis. It seems that the thematic connections within C-S are strong, and are also likely (though less clear) among a significant number (but not all) of the texts in BMC. As such, it would not be 'inconsistent' to accept that not all the texts in BMC share a common theme, but that a significant number of them do (*pace* Jones, 'Bodmer "Miscellaneous" Codex', 13).

⁵² See *Introduction: Sources, Traditions, and Affinities*.

These manuscripts, then, provide valuable indications as to the ways in which some early Christians treasured and interpreted 1 Peter. It seems likely that some of the early readers of 1 Peter found it to be a text full of paschal themes, with connections to some of the Psalms and to Melito. They also found it to be a text resonant with the themes of persecution and martyrdom, of the suffering and vindication of Christ, and of God's people in a hostile world. Such an understanding of the letter need not, of course, be decisive for our reading of it, but it is at least instructive to consider seriously how 1 Peter has been understood by its very early readers and tradents.

One other feature of BMC's text of 1 (and 2) Peter is also notable in terms of its possible insight into the early interpretation and understanding of the letter. This is the marginal headings or brief thematic summaries that appear alongside the text at various points (but only, in BMC, in 1–2 Peter).⁵³ Comparable to some extent with the later κεφάλαια⁵⁴—recorded by Euthalius in the fifth century and found in subsequent manuscripts⁵⁵—these marginal summaries mostly pick up key terms from the text, offering a concise summary of its theme, and do not—unlike the κεφάλαια—demarcate sections as such.⁵⁶ They function to indicate the topic under discussion, not to mark the beginning of a reading section. They are as follows (preserving the spellings in BMC, and listing those for both 1 and 2 Peter):⁵⁷

⁵³ It is striking that these headings are, to our knowledge, nowhere discussed for their interpretative significance in commentaries on 1 Peter. They are listed as part of an extended discussion of the text of 1 Peter by Beare (4–5), though only to illustrate the scribe's weak knowledge of Greek.

⁵⁴ On which, see *Introduction: Genre, Literary Integrity, and Structure*, and *Introduction: Theology, Message, and Strategy of 1 Peter*.

⁵⁵ See Euthalius (PG 85:680–81), and the collation of τίτλοι/κεφάλαια in von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 458.

⁵⁶ Hence, Grunewald and Junack comment on these 'marginalen Zwischenüberschriften, die aber offensichtlich in keine Beziehung zu den später gebräuchlichen Einteilungen in κεφάλαια zu setzen sind: sie nehmen direkten Bezug auf den daneben stehenden Text' (*Die katholischen Briefe*, 21).

⁵⁷ These are presented in their marginal location in the text of P⁷² edited by Testuz, and are listed and discussed by Wiefel, 'Kanongeschichtliche Erwägungen', 301; Grunewald and Junack, *Die katholischen Briefe*, 21; Nicklas and Wasserman, 'Theologische Linien', 183–84. Testuz takes the form of the headings as evidence that the scribe was not a native Greek speaker, but more probably a Copt, a proposal supported by the appearance of at least one Coptic word in the margin of the text at 2 Pet 2.22 (Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer VII–IX*, 33). However, the headings

1 Peter

1.15 περι αγειοσυνη

1.22 περι αγνια

2.5 περι ιερατευμα αγιον

2.9 περι γενοσ εγλεκτον βασιλιον ιερατευμα εθνοσ αγιον
λαον περιποησι3.18 περι θανατου εν σαρκι και ζωοποιου και ακεκλεισμενοις⁵⁸4.1 περι $\chi\rho\nu$ παθοσ εν σαρκι

4.6 περι σαρκος

4.8 περι αγαπη

4.19 περι θυ κτειστη

2 Peter

2.1 περι ψεδοδιδασκαλοι

2.15 περι τεκνα καταρα

3.3 περι εμπεκται

3.14 περι ειρηνη

As Wiefel points out, these summary phrases together give a clear indication of the priorities of Christian life in the world: holiness and purity, the holy priesthood and chosen people of God, belief in the sufferings of Christ in the flesh and in the creator God, separation from false teachers and scoffers, love and peace.⁵⁹ In his claim that ‘in these headings we encounter the image (*Bild*) of a mainstream orthodox (*großkirchlichen*) Christianity’,⁶⁰ however, Wiefel rather exaggerates the extent to which the headings constitute a mini-summary of the key aspects of orthodox early Christianity. They do perhaps show something of the effect of placing 1 and 2 Peter side-by-side, and provide a historical example in the manuscript tradition where the two letters together represent a combined witness to the doctrines and concerns of early orthodoxy.⁶¹

The summary notes certainly reflect an interpretative perspective on the text which, by identifying and summarising topics, influences

do not simply repeat words from the text of 1 Peter, and so require some independent knowledge of Greek vocabulary on the part of their author.

⁵⁸ On the possible text-critical significance of this word, see *Text* at 1 Pet 3.18-22 nn. c and f.

⁵⁹ Wiefel, ‘Kanongeschichtliche Erwägungen’, 302.

⁶⁰ Wiefel, ‘Kanongeschichtliche Erwägungen’, 302.

⁶¹ From a modern canonical-theological perspective, cf. Wall, ‘Teaching 1 Peter as Scripture’, 368-77; idem, ‘Canonical Function of 2 Peter’, 64-81; Nienhuis and Wall, *Reading the Epistles*.

subsequent readings. For 1 Peter in particular, it is interesting to note that by far the two longest marginal notes relate to the declaration of the identity of the new people of God (2.9) and the death and new life of Christ, in the context of his enigmatic proclamation to the imprisoned spirits (3.18; cf. also the heading to 4.1). This focus of attention gives a further indication of what was seen as the thematic and theological centre of the letter.⁶²

Genre, Literary Integrity, and Structure

Initial Bibliography

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Genre and Literary Integrity of 1 Peter

Two introductory issues fundamental to our reading of 1 Peter concern the genre and literary integrity of the work. Until the modern era, these matters were rarely discussed. Since 1 Peter was understood to be a letter, it was seen as a unified composition sent

⁶² See *Introduction: Theology, Message, and Strategy of 1 Peter*.

by its designated author to the Christian communities addressed in the prescript. Yet with the dawn of critical research, interpreters began to re-consider the composition and integrity of 1 Peter.

One contributing factor was a discrepancy that some noted between the various descriptions of suffering: whereas suffering only appears to be a remote possibility in the first half of the text (1 Pet 1.3–4.11), it is assumed to be a present reality in later portions (4.12–5.11). A second question left scholars equally perplexed, *viz.* the readers' identity as Jewish or Gentile.⁶³ Do the distinctively Jewish descriptors used of the recipients suggest their Jewish identity, or are they applied to largely Gentile communities?

Over the years, these issues forced interpreters into a number of interesting exegetical maneuvers.⁶⁴ The primary means of resolving the difficulties was to question the genre and literary integrity of 1 Peter. In 1897, Harnack sought to reconcile the fact that the prescript (1 Pet 1.1) appeared to him to have been directed toward a Jewish-Christian audience, while the body of the letter (1.3–5.11) suggested a Gentile-Christian readership. It was on this basis that he made the influential suggestion that 1 Peter was not an actual letter (*ein eigentlicher Brief*), but rather a homiletical treatise (*ein homiletischer Aufsatz*).⁶⁵ To this composition, he proposed, someone later added an introduction (1.1–2) and conclusion (5.12–14), giving us the present form of 1 Peter. Harnack's theory was met with a mixed response.⁶⁶ But as the first in modern scholarship to claim that 1 Peter was something other than a genuine epistle,

⁶³ See *Introduction: Ethno-Religious Identity*.

⁶⁴ An example of an early attempt to resolve the portrayal of suffering in 1 Peter is found in the commentary of Kühl (30–32), who posited two different types of persecution. According to his reading, the earlier descriptions, which seem to place suffering in a more theoretical realm, were references to persecution from the Gentiles. About this conflict, the author had no substantial information, and therefore he portrayed it with much less detail. On the other hand, the later references to suffering are thought to describe Jewish opposition, circumstances to which the author had much more insight and thus could provide more specific detail.

⁶⁵ Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, 451–65.

⁶⁶ Some of the early critics include: Wrede, 'Bemerkungen zu Harnacks Hypothese', 75–85; Clemen, 'Die Einheitlichkeit des 1. Petrusbriefes', 619–28. Examples of those who followed Harnack's interpretation include: Soltau, 'Die Einheitlichkeit des ersten Petrusbriefes', 302–15; idem, 'Nochmals die Einheitlichkeit des ersten Petrusbriefes', 456–60; Gunkel 248.

this hypothesis laid the foundation for more inventive and elaborate theories regarding the composition and genre of 1 Peter.⁶⁷

Without reference to Harnack's earlier proposal, Hart (1910) took the partitioning of 1 Peter to a whole new level. Building on 1 Peter's encyclical nature (1 Pet 1.1) and the fact that it contains two doxologies (4.11; 5.11), Hart proposed that 1 Peter was actually a combination of two letters written by the same author to separate audiences facing different circumstances.⁶⁸ For those communities who were not undergoing persecution, the author composed a set of general instructions on the Christian life (1 Pet 1.3–4.11). Appended to this correspondence was an additional (or alternative) letter (4.12–5.11), which was reserved for those churches to whom suffering was already a present reality. In each case, the courier would determine which letter was most appropriate for any given congregation. While this view gained little acceptance, a much more widely noticed version of this same proposal can be found in a later article by Moule.⁶⁹

A significant turning point in the discussion surrounding the unity and genre of 1 Peter came in 1911 with the publication of Perdelwitz's *Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des I. Petrusbriefes*.⁷⁰ The primary purpose of the monograph, as its title suggests, was to trace the connections between 1 Peter and ancient mystery religions. But while Perdelwitz's notion of the letter's *religionsgeschichtliche* influences gained little acceptance, a more subsidiary portion of his study was picked up and widely disseminated. Being favourably disposed towards Harnack's suggestion that 1 Peter was originally a sermon, and dissatisfied with the way most interpreters dealt with the two different points of view with regard to suffering, Perdelwitz submitted a new theory on the unity and genre of the epistle.

⁶⁷ For a discussion of various compositional theories, see Martin, 'Composition of 1 Peter', 29–42.

⁶⁸ See esp. Hart 3–4, 29–30. This view was followed years later by Wand 1–3.

⁶⁹ Moule, 'Nature and Purpose of I Peter', 1–11. A variation of this view was later proposed by Thurston ('Interpreting First Peter', 176–78), who suggested that the apostle Peter composed different portions of the letter at different times: 1.1–4.11 prior to the persecution of Nero and 4.12–5.14 after the Neronian pogroms had begun.

⁷⁰ Perdelwitz, *Die Mysterienreligion*, 12–16 (on literary integrity), 29–105 (on the comparison with the mystery religions). For a critique of the latter, see Selwyn 305–11.

He proposed that 1 Peter was a combination of a baptismal homily (*Taufrede*) (1.3–4.11), which was originally addressed to recent converts from the mystery cults,⁷¹ and a letter (1.1–2; 4.12–5.14) written to the same communities at a later time when they had begun to experience persecution.

Following its introduction, this view became extremely popular (esp. within German scholarship),⁷² due in large part to the fact that it was able (seemingly) to bring resolution to questions surrounding both the unity and genre of 1 Peter.⁷³ It would receive further recognition when it was adopted by Streeter and circulated in the English-speaking world.⁷⁴ Although Streeter possessed only a second-hand knowledge of the proposal,⁷⁵ he was intrigued by the idea and therefore put it into service in connection with his own historical reconstruction. He suggested that the two writings—one a sermon written to recent converts (1.3–4.11), the other a

⁷¹ The view of the letter as a *Taufrede* was also developed by Bornemann, though without reference to Perdelwitz or his partition theory (see ‘Der erste Petrusbrief’, 143–65). Defending Harnack’s earlier proposal that 1 Peter bore the character of a homily, Bornemann argued that 1 Pet 1.3–5.11 (the letter frame being added later), ‘ursprünglich eine Taufrede war, und zwar im Anschluß an Psalm 34 um Jahr 90 von Silvanus in einer Stadt Kleinasiens gehalten’ (146). This thesis has been criticised in some detail by Schutter (*Hermeneutic*, 44–49), but has recently been reevaluated and revived in a very different form by Woan (‘Psalms in 1 Peter’, 213–29; idem, ‘Use of the Old Testament’).

⁷² E.g., Windisch 82; Hauck 36; Cranfield 11–13; Schneider 41; Leaney 8; Beare 25–28; Schröger, ‘Die Verfassung der Gemeinde’, 240; Marxsen, ‘Der Mitalteste und Zeuge’, 382–83. Cf. also Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament*, 251–58.

⁷³ Perdelwitz (*Mysterienreligion*, 12–16) was able to marshal a number of key arguments that seemed to demand the letter’s division: (a) While suffering is described in the first half of the epistle as merely hypothetical (cf. 1.6; 3.14, 17), the second half seems to assume its reality (4.12, 19). (b) In 1 Pet 1.6, 8, joy is thought to be something currently possessed by the readers, whereas in 4.12–14 it is that which will be gained in the future. (c) The doxology in 4.11 appears somewhat intrusive in that it brings the author’s thought to a close only to have it revived again—albeit in a different direction—in 4.12. (d) The use of ὀλίγος (‘brief/briefly’) to describe an epistle consisting of approximately 1,675 words seems like an exaggeration—although it would make more sense if it were only meant to include the second part of the letter (4.12–5.14).

⁷⁴ Streeter, *Primitive Church*.

⁷⁵ Streeter admits that he learned of the proposal through the commentary of Gunkel and did not have ‘direct access’ to Perdelwitz’s work (see *Primitive Church*, 123 with n. 1).

letter written to those undergoing persecution (4.12–5.11)—were composed sometime around the year 90 CE by Aristion of Smyrna. Due to the fact that both were copied onto the same papyrus roll, they eventually came to be viewed as a single composition. Years later, after the name of the original author had been lost, an introduction (1.1–2) and conclusion (5.12–14) were added (possibly at Sinope), and the letter was sent out to the designated areas under the pseudonym Peter sometime during the governorship of Pliny.⁷⁶

Although challenges to these partition approaches occasionally arose,⁷⁷ their popularity continued unabated throughout the early twentieth century. Likewise, the view of 1 Peter's origin as a baptismal homily came to be widely held in Petrine studies. One twist to the proposals on the genre and structure of 1 Peter was suggested by Preisker. Contributing a supplement to the third edition of the commentary by Windisch, Preisker sought to resolve the problems left open by the discussion of Windisch:⁷⁸ how and why the two parts of 1 Peter were joined. He answered this question with a bold new hypothesis about the liturgical character of 1 Peter. He claimed that the document represented a baptismal liturgy from the church at Rome.⁷⁹ As such, it was thought to contain the oldest record of an early Christian service.⁸⁰

According to Preisker's reconstruction, 1 Peter is divided into two parts. The first half is said to have been directed specifically to the congregation's baptismal candidates (1.3–4.11), while the second was addressed to the whole community (4.12–5.11).⁸¹ Preisker

⁷⁶ Streeter, *Primitive Church*, 122–33.

⁷⁷ One of the most formidable challenges came from Selwyn, whose commentary offered a sustained defence of the letter's compositional unity and epistolary genre (1–6). His primary aim was to demonstrate that the apparent discrepancies in the letter's portrayal of suffering could be accounted for by the sporadic nature of the readers' trials, and as a result, no partition theories were required. On its own, however, the argument of Selwyn did little to curb the enthusiasm of partition theorists.

⁷⁸ Windisch (82) followed Perdelwitz in regarding 1 Pet 1.3–4.12 as a baptismal address, with the remainder of the letter as an admonitory writing (*Mahn schreiben*).

⁷⁹ Priesker, 'Anhang zum ersten Petrusbrief', 156–62.

⁸⁰ Priesker, 'Anhang zum ersten Petrusbrief', 157.

⁸¹ Years earlier, a similar idea was proposed but then rejected by Streeter. He maintained that the abrupt break at 1 Pet 4.12, 'might be explained by supposing that the preacher now turns from the group of the newly baptized to address the

proposed an elaborate scheme whereby each part of the document represented a different portion of the liturgical service.⁸² In this way, the various descriptions of suffering were ascribed to readers at different points in their commitment to Christianity: while those who had yet to undergo baptism were free from the threat of persecution (cf. 1.6), once they partook of the initiatory Christian rite (which is said to have taken place between 1.21 and 22), they, along with the rest of the community, found themselves in the midst of the fiery trial (cf. 4.12–19). This view has been adopted (and adapted) by numerous interpreters since its introduction.⁸³

One interpreter who enthusiastically endorsed Preisker's analysis was Cross, although he added even greater specificity to its liturgical function.⁸⁴ The work of Cross began by setting 1 Peter—with its unusually large number of uses of *πάσχω/πάθημα*—into the context of the earliest Christian Easter Passover celebrations, using Melito and Hippolytus in particular to illuminate the character of that festal time.⁸⁵ It was a feast that celebrated 'the Redemptive Work of Christ in the Death and Resurrection together' and was 'pre-eminently the season for baptism in Hippolytus' time'.⁸⁶ According to Cross, 1 Peter combines the themes of suffering and joy, 'precisely the dominant note in the ethos of Easter'.⁸⁷ With its Exodus (and more specifically, Passover) allusions, and its focus on the suffering and vindication of Christ, 1 Peter seems to fit 'a "Paschal" context'.⁸⁸

larger congregation present—including presbyters who have come in from the adjacent villages' (*Primitive Church*, 124).

⁸² For the specific divisions, see Priesker, 'Anhang zum ersten Petrusbrief', 157–60.

⁸³ E.g., Coutts, 'Ephesians I. 3–14 and I Peter I. 3–12', 115–27; Fransen, 'Une homélie chrétienne', 28–38; Boismard, *Quatre hymnes baptismales*; Brooks, '1 Peter 3:21', 290–305.

⁸⁴ Cross, *1 Peter*.

⁸⁵ The connection that Cross draws between *πάσχειν* ('to suffer') and *πάσχα* ('Easter') is questioned by van Unnik ('Christianity according to 1 Peter', 79), who insists that no such word-play is made in 1 Peter.

⁸⁶ Cross, *1 Peter*, 18, 9, respectively.

⁸⁷ Cross, *1 Peter*, 24.

⁸⁸ Cross, *1 Peter*, 19. Allusions to the exodus/Passover have been found by other Petrine interpreters as well. See, e.g., Leaney, '1 Peter and the Passover', 238–51; Deterding, 'Exodus Motifs', 58–65; Schlosser, 'Le thème exodial', 259–74; Chapple, 'Appropriation of Scripture', 155–71.

Agreeing with Preisker (and others) that 1 Peter is, in large part, a baptismal homily,⁸⁹ Cross went beyond this theory in proposing that the baptismal context is specifically that of the Paschal Baptismal Eucharist: 'The themes of I Peter are Baptism, Passover, Passion-Resurrection, moral duties. Taken together they seem to connect the "Epistle" with the Paschal Baptismal Eucharist, as the one setting where these subjects belong together.'⁹⁰ Building on the liturgical theory of Preisker in particular, Cross suggests that 'our "Epistle" partakes of the nature of both a homily and a liturgy, viz. that it is the Celebrant's part for the Paschal Vigil, for which, as the most solemn occasion in the Church's year, the Baptismal-Eucharistic text must have been very carefully prepared'.⁹¹ Following Preisker closely, Cross then set out a liturgical analysis of the letter (from 1 Pet 1.3–4.11),⁹² including the moment of baptism between 1.21 and 22, suggesting that there are similarities between the material in 1 Peter and the Baptismal Rite in Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*.⁹³

Criticisms of these baptismal and partition theories had already been expressed in the commentary of Selwyn (1946), although it was not until later that concentrated efforts were made to challenge these popular approaches. A noticeable shift in scholarship began during the 1950s and 60s, having been set in motion by two articles in consecutive volumes of the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*. The first was the form-critical study of Lohse, who argued that 1 Peter was an occasional letter whose purpose was to encourage communities undergoing persecution.⁹⁴ In composing

⁸⁹ Cross, *1 Peter*, 28–35.

⁹⁰ Cross, *1 Peter*, 36. Other early interpreters similarly connected 1 Peter with a baptismal ceremony during the time of the Paschal celebration (e.g., Danielou, *Sacramentum futuri*, 141; Llopart, 'La protovetlla pasqual apostolica', 387–522; Carrington, *Early Christian Church*, 207).

⁹¹ Cross, *1 Peter*, 37. Because of Cross' focus on the baptizand, some have questioned whether it could even be called a baptismal liturgy. Rather than being the actual liturgy itself, Wand contends that Cross' proposal makes 1 Peter simply 'the Bishop's running commentary on the liturgy' ('Lessons of First Peter', 388).

⁹² Cross does not explicitly espouse a partition theory like that of Perdelwitz, but it is interesting that he finds only this major section susceptible to a liturgical analysis (cf. his comment on p. 40). This is one of the major weaknesses of his proposal (see further Martin, *New Testament Foundations*, 342).

⁹³ Significant criticisms were levelled against the theory of Cross in subsequent years (see, e.g., Thornton, '1 Peter, a Paschal Liturgy?', 14–26; Hall, 'Paschal Baptism', 234–51).

⁹⁴ Lohse, 'Paränese und Kerygma', 68–89.

such a letter, Lohse argued that the Petrine author employed the paraenetic material that had been handed down to him. These underlying traditions were said to explain the diversity in 1 Peter. Furthermore, Lohse called into question the importance of baptism in the overall scheme of 1 Peter, an argument that would be echoed in subsequent analyses.⁹⁵

With Lohse tackling the problem from a *formgeschichtliche* perspective, Nauck set out to examine the epistle's description of suffering using a *traditionsgeschichtliche* approach.⁹⁶ The problem with the composite theories, according to Nauck, was that they did not take into account the traditional theme of 'joy in suffering', which pervades both halves of the epistle (1 Pet 1.6; 4.13). Just as one cannot differentiate between hypothetical and concrete faith/experience, Nauck argued that it is equally unreasonable to draw these same distinctions between the descriptions of suffering in 1 Peter.

At this point in the discussion, while great strides had been made in discrediting the baptismal and partition theories, the primary focus was still on the forms and traditions underlying the epistle. What Petrine scholarship lacked was an adequate explanation of how these pieces fit together into a coherent whole. This lacuna was filled in 1965 with the publication of Dalton's important monograph, *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits*.⁹⁷ Not only did Dalton's study form a landmark for the interpretation of 1 Pet 3.18–4.6, it also firmly established the epistle as a literary unity. Following a critique of popular theories on the letter's genre and composition, Dalton attempted to delineate 'The Plan of 1 Peter' (see below).⁹⁸ Over the years, his structural division (along with his methodology) have met with mixed response. Nevertheless, his case for the letter's unity has been widely accepted.

⁹⁵ Not only did interpreters point out that there was no mention of baptism at the one place where it might be most expected, viz. the reference to the 'new birth' in 1 Pet 1.23 (see Blendinger, 'Kirche als Fremdlingschaft', 129; cf. Dalton, '"So That Your Faith"', 266), but they also raised doubts about the importance of the theme when it is mentioned (see Hill, 'On Suffering and Baptism', 181–89; cf. Dibelius, 'Zur Formgeschichte', 232). For a recent attempt to locate baptism more broadly within the epistle (although without appealing to earlier views about the genre of 1 Peter), see Schlesinger, 'Fire in the Water', 279–81.

⁹⁶ Nauck, 'Freude im Leiden', 68–80.

⁹⁷ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*.

⁹⁸ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 93–108.

The fresh stimulus offered by Dalton's work was further reinforced by the publication of four major commentaries (Schelkle [1961], Spicq [1966], Kelly [1969], and Best [1971]). Although they differed in both language and perspective, all were in agreement at two important points: 1 Peter was a genuine letter and a unified composition. By the late 1970s, baptismal and partition theories had fallen out of favour,⁹⁹ and they would continue to face further challenges in the decades that followed. During this time, a number of significant contributions appeared which answered specific issues on the unity and genre of 1 Peter. All of this contributed to what has now become the modern consensus on 1 Peter's unity and epistolary genre.¹⁰⁰

More recent work by Doering has further refined the classification of 1 Peter as a letter, particularly through comparison with other Jewish letters. Such an analysis has been rather neglected in research on NT epistolography, which has tended to focus more on Greco-Roman letters and letter-writing conventions.¹⁰¹ In particular, Doering makes a compelling case for regarding 1 Peter as a kind of 'early Christian Diaspora letter', analogous in various respects to Jewish Diaspora letters—a number of which are associated with the prophet Jeremiah and his scribe Baruch (Jer 36.4; see Jer 29 [36 LXX].1–23; Ep Jer; Bar; 2 Macc 1.1–2.18; 2 Bar. 78.1–87.1; for Christian examples, see Acts 15.23–29; Jas 1.1).¹⁰² Though these were generally sent from Jerusalem to Jewish communities

⁹⁹ In 1976, Elliott ('Rehabilitation', 249) could refer to the 'growing conviction' within scholarship that 1 Peter was in fact a unified composition. The following decades saw a number of significant contributions to more specific issues in the debate (e.g., Shimada, 'Is 1 Peter a Composite Writing?', 95–114; Reichert, *Eine urchristliche praeparatio ad martyrium*, 27–72; Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 19–84; Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*; even more recently, Williams, 'Reading Social Conflict', 119–60).

¹⁰⁰ Very few in more recent scholarship have defended partition theories, although this view is espoused on occasion (e.g., Krodel 58–59; Cazotto Terra, 'Um Lar (Celestial), 70–94).

¹⁰¹ E.g., White, *Form and Function*; Stowers, *Letter Writing*. Among the exceptions is the study of Taatz, *Fruehjudische Briefe*.

¹⁰² Doering, 'Early Christian Diaspora Letter', 215–36, 441–57. See also, more broadly, idem, *Ancient Jewish Letters*. Others have similarly connected 1 Peter to Jewish diaspora letters (see Müller, 'Herausforderung und Chance', 72; Klein, *Bewährung in Anfechtung*). The view that 1 Peter reflects the influence of the Diaspora letter genre has been taken to the extreme by Richards, who argues

in the Diaspora, with Jeremiah's letter to the exiles in Babylon (Jer 29[36 LXX].1–23) being an important early model, there are also examples sent from elsewhere.¹⁰³ With its opening depiction of its addressees as διασπορᾶς (1.1) and its author's self-location ἐν Βαβυλῶνι (5.13), 1 Peter, 'can...be understood as a letter from the Diaspora (qualified in terms of the Babylonian exile) to the Diaspora' (cf. also Jas 1.1; Acts 15.23–29).¹⁰⁴ This, Doering argues, fits well with the constructed image of Peter as author, an entirely apposite and unsurprising communication from 'the leading figure of the Jewish Christian community of Jerusalem', who had left Jerusalem (cf. Acts 12.17), joined in the Gentile mission (cf. Acts 10.1–11.18; 1 Cor 1.12) and 'finally suffered and was crucified...in Rome' (see further below).¹⁰⁵

It is most plausible, then, to understand 1 Peter as a letter, written as a unity and representing a form of early Christian Diaspora letter—focused on paraenesis—that owes a good deal to Jewish precedents in that regard. However, while it thus takes the *form* of a letter, there remain questions about how genuinely it was composed, sent, and received as such, questions we address under *Authorship* and *Recipients* below.

Structure of 1 Peter

The final feature of 1 Peter's literary composition that remains to be considered is its structure, a crucial foundation for the exegetical analysis. There is a long history of attempts to discern the plan and structure of 1 Peter.¹⁰⁶ Aside from the structural divisions that commentators provide as a basis for their exegetical discussion, there have been more substantial discussions focused on this specific

not merely that the Petrine author was influenced by Jer 29, but that 1 Peter 'is a midrash on Jeremiah 29' ('General Epistles', 241).

¹⁰³ Doering, 'Early Christian Diaspora Letter', 233–34. Doering notes 4Q Apocryphon of Jeremiah C, Baruch, 4 Baruch (Paraleipomena Jeremioi), and Esther, as examples (see pp. 218–21, 223–24). The exchange of letters between Jerusalem and Babylon in the Jeremiah–Baruch tradition are particularly notable.

¹⁰⁴ Doering, 'Early Christian Diaspora Letter', 233. Some have noted one important difference between 1 Peter and other diaspora letters: the fact that 1 Peter is addressed to a specific group of churches within a particular area (see van Rensburg, 'Code of Conduct', 475 n. 646).

¹⁰⁵ Doering, 'Early Christian Diaspora Letter', 235–36.

¹⁰⁶ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, 3–39.

topic, with some even suggesting that the letter has no clear plan or structure.¹⁰⁷ The analysis of Holzmeister, published in 1937, is commonly viewed as a particular landmark in research. Holzmeister divided the letter into three main sections: 1.3–2.10; 2.11–4.4; 4.5–5.11.¹⁰⁸ Another significant contribution, which has already been mentioned, is Dalton's outline of 'the Plan of 1 Peter'.¹⁰⁹ Drawing on six structural indicators developed by Vanhoye in his analysis of Hebrews,¹¹⁰ Dalton offered a compositional analysis of 1 Peter that consisted of three major sections (apart from the traditional letter opening and closing greetings): the dignity of the Christian vocation and its responsibilities (1.3–2.10); obligations of Christian life (2.11–3.12); and the Christian and persecution (3.13–5.11).¹¹¹

An important detailed analysis of the literary character and structure of 1 Peter is provided by Martin, who emphasises the 'epistolary form' as '[o]ne of the most obvious features of 1 Peter'.¹¹² Martin's epistolary analysis demonstrates how 1 Peter 'exhibits the five basic parts of an ancient letter'.¹¹³

1.1–2	'The prescript', which 'identifies the sender and addressees';
1.3–12	'The blessing section', which 'identifies the eschatological context in which the letter is to be read and understood';
1.13–5.12	'The letter-body', which 'contains the message that the author wanted to communicate to his readers'
5.13–14a	'The greeting section'
5.14b	'The farewell'

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Bigg 6: 'There is no definite plan or logical evolution of a train of thought'.

¹⁰⁸ Holzmeister 167–72. See, e.g., Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 93; Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, 3–4.

¹⁰⁹ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 93–108.

¹¹⁰ Vanhoye, 'De structura litteraria', 73–80; idem, *La Structure littéraire*.

¹¹¹ Dalton's division of the later part of the letter (2.11–5.11) is contested. His identification of chiasmic patterns in relation to the groups addressed seems less than compelling (see Talbert, 'Plan of 1 Peter', 141–51).

¹¹² Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, 41.

¹¹³ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, 269. For the analysis that follows, see 78–79, 269–70.

Martin further identifies 1.13 and 5.12 as the body opening and body closing, respectively.¹¹⁴

But even though this approach sets out the basic structure of the document, it does not, as Martin notes, help with the structural analysis of the extensive ‘body-middle’ (1.14–5.11), the majority of the letter.¹¹⁵ In an attempt to understand the composition of this key section, Martin therefore turns to an analysis of the form of the letter, identifying its type, or *genre*, as paraenesis. This kind of writing, Martin claims, ‘may be composed around a common theme or motif’, and ‘this feature proves to be the key for unlocking the Petrine compositional structure’.¹¹⁶ Martin thus moves on to examine the metaphor clusters within the letter, seeing these as the key to understanding the structure and composition of the letter-body itself. What he concludes is that the ‘controlling metaphor of 1 Peter is the Diaspora’.¹¹⁷ Within this overarching metaphor, three distinct clusters, he argues, constitute the structuring principle of the letter-body:

The first metaphor cluster is built around the image of the elect people of God and contains metaphors pertaining to the house of God (1:14–2:10). The second metaphor cluster is composed of metaphors that group around the notion of strangers and aliens (2:11–3:12). The third metaphor cluster is determined by the concept of the Diaspora as a place of suffering (3:13–5:11). All three of these metaphor clusters are related through the overarching and controlling metaphor of the Diaspora.¹¹⁸

There have been questions raised about whether ‘Diaspora’ is the controlling theme of the letter in the way Martin proposes, and about whether the three related metaphor-clusters should form the basis for the structural analysis of the letter’s main body. Other central themes—such as Elliott’s ‘household of God’, Achtemeier’s ‘Israel as a totality’—have also been proposed,¹¹⁹ and one might also question how far the letter’s compositional structure can be

¹¹⁴ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, 70–74.

¹¹⁵ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, 79.

¹¹⁶ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, 133.

¹¹⁷ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, 144, cf. 273–74.

¹¹⁸ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, 160–61.

¹¹⁹ Elliott, *Home for the Homeless*; Achtemeier 69.

discerned from its central theme(s). Nonetheless, it is significant to note that Martin's three main sections of the letter body—once the opening blessing (1.3–12) is distinguished—correspond exactly to the three main sections proposed by Dalton.

An alternative approach is taken by Campbell, who applies classical rhetorical criticism, combined with a social-scientific approach, to 1 Peter.¹²⁰ According to Campbell, 1 Peter is an example of *deliberative* rhetoric, since 'the major sections of the letter reflect exhortation to take future action'.¹²¹ The structure of the letter is thus to be understood in light of the standard rhetoricians' outline for speeches:

A proem or exordium that seeks to obtain the auditors' attention and goodwill precedes a narration (*narratio*) of the facts of the case and the proposition (*propositio*) that sometimes features a partition (*partitio*) into separate headings. The proof (*probatio*) contains the speaker's arguments and refutation (*refutatio*) of the opponent's views. Finally an epilogue or peroration (*peroratio*) sums up the rhetor's arguments and seeks to sway the emotions of the hearers toward the orator's view.¹²²

Campbell's analysis of the letter is then as follows:

1.1–2	'an address that serves as a quasi-exordium' (p. 229);
1.3–12	the exordium, a 'prologue' which is concerned to introduce the matters to be discussed in the speech, to establish a 'positive ethos for the speaker' and 'the attentiveness and goodwill of the audience' (p. 33);
1.13–2.10	First <i>argumentatio</i> : these aim to set out and establish what is to be proven. The first establishes 'that the Christian alien residents and visiting strangers of Asia Minor have an honored and dignified position as members of' the household of God (p. 98);
2.11–3.12	Second <i>argumentatio</i> , which deals with the way in which the slandered Christians should respond to the challenge to their honour. It constitutes 'the core of the letter' (p. 231);

¹²⁰ Campbell, *Rhetoric of 1 Peter*.

¹²¹ Campbell, *Rhetoric of 1 Peter*, 30.

¹²² Campbell, *Rhetoric of 1 Peter*, 9.

3.13–4.11	Third <i>argumentatio</i> , which ‘seeks to persuade [the] hearers that they are honored and that they ought to pursue a course of action commensurate with their privileged position’ (p. 233);
4.12–5.14	The <i>peroratio</i> , which ‘sums up the affirmations and arguments...put forth in 1:1–4:11’ (p. 199). 5.12–14 is in fact ‘appended to the <i>peroratio</i> in order to provide (with 1:1–2) the discourses of 1:3–5:11 with a suitable epistolary frame’; they ‘may be classified as a “quasi-peroratio”’ (p. 227).

Thus, according to Campbell, ‘Peter operates throughout according to definite principles concerning the invention, arrangement, and style of discourse as these principles found expression in the theoretical treatises on Greco-Roman rhetoric’.¹²³

Yet questions could be raised about how well the categories and forms of classical rhetoric ‘fit’ the content and structure of 1 Peter. First (as with Paul), there are questions about the educational level of the author, and specifically whether he (or she, but almost certainly ‘he’) would have been aware of the techniques and forms taught in Greco-Roman education in rhetoric. Second, one may question whether the categories fit as well as Campbell (and others) suggest, and whether they truly illuminate and explain the arguments and choice of material the author makes. Is it really correct to summarise the exordium (1.3–12) as a section in which the author ‘praises his audience’, or to suggest that in 3.18–22 the author ‘adopts noble and lofty material...that embellishes the argumentation of vv. 13–17’, or to suggest that 4.12–5.14 ‘sums up the affirmations and arguments...put forth in 1:1–4:11’?¹²⁴ These and other examples might suggest that the rhetorical categories are somewhat forced upon the material, and that organising the letter in this way—including seeing its central body as three ‘arguments’ related to a central proposition—may not offer a compelling analysis of its structure. The epistolary analysis of Dalton and Martin seems to offer a firmer—if not uncontested—basis for understanding the letter’s plan and structure.

¹²³ Campbell, *Rhetoric of 1 Peter*, 235.

¹²⁴ Campbell, *Rhetoric of 1 Peter*, 229, 178, 199, respectively.

It is unfortunate that in most scholarly discussions of the letter's structure, little attention is paid to the various demarcations of sections in the manuscript traditions. Needless to say, these are not to be taken as definitive of the literary structure, but they are significant, not least as indications of how earlier readers—often closer to the letter in terms of language and culture than modern scholars—understood it.¹²⁵ The following table sets out the divisions in Sinaiticus and Vaticanus (see NA¹⁸), along with the ancient (Euthalian) κεφάλαια.¹²⁶ These may also be compared with the marginal thematic summaries in P⁷² (listed above under *Introduction: Text of 1 Peter*), though these are least indicative of convictions regarding structure as such, since they summarise the theme of a part of the letter alongside it, rather than marking the beginning of a reading section.

Divisions of Vaticanus/Sinaiticus	Secondary divisions in Vaticanus	κεφάλαια¹²⁷
		1.1
1.13		1.13
1.22b (before ἐκ καρδίας)		2.1
2.13	2.13	2.13
3.8		
4.1		4.1
4.12	4.12	4.12
5.1		5.1
		5.10

From this table, our attention is drawn to 1.13, 2.13, 4.1, 4.12 and 5.1 in particular, as possibly significant points of structural transition in the letter. The identification of 1.13 would add weight to the

¹²⁵ Cf. Williams, 'Not the Prologue', 375–86.

¹²⁶ Holzmeister (165–67) discusses the manuscript divisions in relation to the letter's structure. Martin (*Metaphor and Composition*, 4–5) notes and considers the compositional analysis conveyed by Pseudo-Euthalius. For these, see PG 85:679–82 and the τίτλοι listed by von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 458.

¹²⁷ For these headings in detail, see below on *Introduction: Theology, Message, and Strategy of 1 Peter*.

view, strongly argued by Martin, that it is here that the main body of the letter begins, with 1.3–12 (after the opening address) constituting the introductory ‘blessing’. Most modern scholars identify 2.11, rather than 2.13, as a major point of structural transition. This seems more compelling, given the vocative address ἀγαπητοί (cf. also 4.12) and the explicit exhortation παρακαλῶ, which together seem to mark not only a literary transition but also a thematic one, into the more practical and ethical instruction that characterises the second half of the letter. Nonetheless, as Goppelt notes,¹²⁸ 2.11–12 serve as something of a hinge between the two major parts of the letter, both reiterating the sense of the readers’ identity that has been set out in the opening part and introducing the appeal for good conduct that will be prominent in the remaining chapters. The traditional indications of a section beginning at 2.13 do therefore add some weight to the view that this part of the letter is a significant point of structural transition.¹²⁹ There seems little reason to take 4.1 as the beginning of a major new section of the letter, though 4.1–6 is often identified as a small sub-section.¹³⁰ By contrast, 4.12—again marked by the vocative ἀγαπητοί—seems to mark the beginning of another major section, focusing particularly on the need for steadfast endurance in suffering. A less significant point of structural transition is found in 5.1, although it does mark the beginning of a sub-section dealing with the responsibility of elders and (less extensively) the junior members of the congregations (5.1–5).

One remaining question is how to weigh the significance of the structural marker at 4.12 compared with what Dalton and Martin see as a more significant structural and thematic shift at 3.13. Although the theme of persecution and suffering becomes more prominent from 3.13 onwards, what a structural division at this point perhaps misses is the close parallels between the instruction given to wives in 3.1–6 and that given to the whole community in 3.13–17, which ties these sections together.¹³¹ One way to acknowledge the significance

¹²⁸ Goppelt 20. Cf. also Elliott 81: ‘a major transitional unit or hinge’.

¹²⁹ Pace Martin, *Metaphor and Composition*, who sees the body-middle (1.14–5.11) as structured around three metaphor clusters (1.14–2.10; 2.11–3.12; 3.13–5.11).

¹³⁰ E.g., Elliott 83.

¹³¹ See further Horrell, ‘Fear, Hope, and Doing Good’, 409–29.

of both points in the letter—especially the significance of the lengthy scriptural quotation in 3.10–12—is to see this quotation as a central hinge of the letter, identifying key thematic concerns that are woven throughout,¹³² but to see the marker ἀγαπητοί as a deliberate (and therefore significant) structural division in the plan of the letter. In considering such points it is worth reminding ourselves that, beyond the formal aspects of letter-writing convention (e.g., opening and closing greetings, and so on), the author is unlikely to have worked with a conscious or deliberate sense of a structural plan, such that discerning a detailed plan is an exercise in scholarly analysis rather than an act of ‘discovering’ what was intended. Insofar as such structural outlines help us to see the shape and message of the letter, they are helpful, but we should remain aware of their degree of artifice.

These various insights may therefore be woven into a more systematic literary analysis of the letter, which forms the basis for the divisions in the commentary that follows:

Greetings

- 1.1–2 Epistolary Prescript: Identification of Author/Addressees and Opening Greetings

Opening Blessing: God’s Glorious Salvation

- 1.3–12
- 1.3–5 Blessing of God for a New Birth
 - 1.6–9 Trials, Trust, and Future Joy
 - 1.10–12 Prophecy Concerning Christ and the Salvation now Announced

First Major Section of the Letter-Body

- 1.13–2.10
- 1.13–16 A Call to Holiness
 - 1.17–21 A Note of Warning and a Reminder of their Costly Redemption
 - 1.22–25 A Call to Love based on Rebirth from Divine Seed
 - 2.1–3 An Exhortation to Crave Spiritual Food for Growth
 - 2.4–10 Christ the Chosen Cornerstone and the Community as a Chosen People

¹³² See Woan, ‘Psalms in 1 Peter’, 213–29; idem, ‘Use of the Old Testament’.

Second Major Section of the Letter-Body

2.11–4.11

- 2.11–12 Exhortation to Good Conduct while Living as Strangers
- 2.13–17 Submission and Freedom within the Structures of Imperial Power
- 2.18–25 Instructions to Slaves through an Appeal to the Example of Christ
- 3.1–7 Instructions to Wives and (more briefly) to Husbands
- 3.8–12 Summary Instructions to All, and Supporting Scriptural Quotation
- 3.13–17 Suffering for Doing Good, and Being Ready to Give an Account
- 3.18–22 Christ's Suffering, Proclamation to the Imprisoned Spirits, and Vindication
- 4.1–6 Exhortation to Keep Away from Sin and a Past Way of Life, for Judgment Will Come
- 4.7–11 Instructions on Life within the Christian Community

Third Major Section of the Letter-Body

4.12–5.11

- 4.12–19 Sharing the Sufferings of Christ and Glorifying God 'as a Christian'
- 5.1–5 Instruction to Elders and to the Whole Community
- 5.6–11 Depending on God and Resisting the Devil

Closing Greetings

5.12–14

Sources, Traditions, and Affinities

Our letter has long been recognised as 'une Épître de la Tradition'.¹³³ Its sources include the Jewish scriptures, as well as various formula materials (e.g., hymns, dominical sayings, etc.) from the Jesus tradition and even a few Pauline letters. The Petrine author weaves these materials together creating a patchwork of citations and allusions upon which he builds his paraenesis.¹³⁴

Despite the widespread agreement that 1 Peter makes abundant use of source materials, the identification of these sources has led to considerable debate. The exact number of times that 1 Peter

¹³³ Spicq 15.

¹³⁴ For an early thorough study, see Foster, 'Literary Relations'.

makes a specific reference to the Jewish scriptures is a question upon which few have been able to agree. This is due in large part to disputes over the legitimacy of proposed citations/allusions. But the variation can also be attributed to the different definitions (and labels) from which scholars have worked. When it comes to drawing literary connections with early Christian materials, a different issue arises. Scholars readily acknowledge that 1 Peter contains numerous linguistic and structural affinities with other NT texts; yet many are reticent to posit a literary relationship. Instead, such affinities are normally attributed to oral traditions that circulated within early Christianity and from which multiple authors drew.¹³⁵ Before we examine the use of sources and traditions in 1 Peter, therefore, it is important to first explain the method by which these materials will be identified and described.¹³⁶

In the discussion that follows, references to written sources in 1 Peter will be described using two basic categories: (1) citation/quotation, which is defined as the re-use of one or more word(s) or concept(s) from a source-text as indicated by a citation formula (or some equivalent); and (2) allusion, which involves the re-use of one or more word(s) or concept(s) from a source-text without any explicit indication.¹³⁷ By their very nature, the only distinguishing

¹³⁵ According to Brodie, one of the factors that can mislead or cause confusion within discussions of intertextuality is the postulation of alternative explanations like shared tradition. He notes that the latter 'is possible, and cannot be directly disproved. But it is a gratuitous claim and cannot be proved. And since it bears the burden of proof—it claims...traditions for which there is no reliable evidence—it is in the weaker position' (*Birth of the New Testament*, 47; cf. Adamczewski, *Q or not Q?*, 204).

¹³⁶ For further discussion, see Williams, 'Intertextuality and Methodological Bias', 169–87.

¹³⁷ In examining the use of the OT in 1 Peter, scholars have created complex classification schemes that draw fine distinctions between different types of intertextual references. Most notable are the treatments by Schutter (*Hermeneutic*, 35–43) and Woan ('Psalms in 1 Peter', 213–15), who not only distinguish between types of citations but also between levels of allusions (and beyond). While these taxonomic classifications are a useful heuristic tool for understanding textual references in 1 Peter, they tend to treat OT references in isolation from other source materials, which fuels the view that other literary connections in 1 Peter (e.g., with early Christian writings) are either secondary or altogether absent. Furthermore, the narrow focus of these categories (e.g., 'biblicism') means that they are not (easily) transferable to different forms of source material.

characteristic between these categories is the (lack of a) formulary introduction. The purpose of using structural definitions like these is that they place all intertextual references—whether from the Jewish scriptures or from early Christian writings—on the same grounds.¹³⁸

Perhaps even more important than the labels that describe source-references is the method used to identify them. The importance of methodology in this case is magnified by the fact that most who treat the topic of intertextuality in 1 Peter neglect to specify the criteria they use to judge the existence and direction of literary dependence.¹³⁹ Even when a clearly articulated method has been employed, it has not prevented an imbalanced treatment of the relevant materials. This can be seen most readily in the studies of Shimada, who is one of the few Petrine interpreters that has delineated a set of criteria for making source-critical judgments.¹⁴⁰ One drawback with Shimada's approach,¹⁴¹ however, is that he fails to

¹³⁸ It is important to recognise that both the use of Jewish scripture and early Christian writings are instances of literary dependence. Some have overlooked this because they define literary dependence too narrowly. For instance, Sargent understands literary dependence to involve 'the conscious imitation of another text' (*Written to Serve*, 9 n. 16; cf. Shimada, *Studies on First Peter*, 105). But while literary borrowing might involve exact replication (see n. 140 below, on Shimada), it could just as easily include a significant departure from the source text (cf. 2 Peter's use of Jude).

¹³⁹ The absence of criteria is not just a problem within Petrine studies, it a lacuna within biblical studies more generally, as noted in a recent work on intertextuality: 'it may come as somewhat of a surprise to realize that there is no recognized self-evident method of tracing literary dependence, whether in biblical studies or elsewhere' (Brodie, et al., 'Problems of Method', 291).

¹⁴⁰ Shimada, *Studies on First Peter*, 100–166. Shimada proposes the use of four guidelines to confirm literary dependence: (1) A passage should be quoted explicitly and extensively (and the author and writings, from which he allegedly quotes, should be identified, if possible). (2) From a context-analytical point of view, both the original and the reproduced passages or phrases should be exactly the same, or at least very similar. (3) The phrases (if possible, with the same word order) or words should be identical, or be replaced with paronyms of similar meaning. (4) The concepts represented should be the same or very close (105). The importance of these methodological principles within Petrine scholarship derives from their perception among interpreters. Shimada's regulated method gives the impression that his conclusions are situated on a firm methodological foundation (see Elliott 22; cf. Achtemeier 16 n. 148).

¹⁴¹ See Horrell, *Becoming Christian*, 17 n. 66, 20; Williams, 'Intertextuality and Methodological Bias', 176–78.

take into account the variety of ways that intertextual borrowing occurred in Greco-Roman antiquity, and as a result, his criteria are so rigidly constructed that literary dependence could rarely—if ever—be demonstrated.

Attempting to move the discussion beyond the work of Shimada, we have recently proposed a new set of criteria by which one can seek to demonstrate, with a reasonable degree of probability, whether literary borrowing has occurred in 1 Peter. Echoing many of the criteria that have been recently discussed in both Hebrew Bible/OT¹⁴² and NT studies,¹⁴³ we suggest that there are five general guidelines—each serving different purposes—that could be used to gauge the strength of the evidence related to literary dependence in 1 Peter. These include:

Explicit Reference. The most certain indicator of literary dependence occurs when an author makes a direct reference to a source, either by explicitly naming the source or by using a quotation formula to introduce a citation.

External Plausibility. The relationships of time and space must allow for the possibility that an author borrowed from a particular source. That is, '[d]ependence can be invoked only if external factors make such dependence plausible'.¹⁴⁴ In order to propose a literary connection between two documents, the hypotext must have been composed prior to the hypertext, and it must have been accessible (either in written or aural form) to the author of the hypertext.

¹⁴² E.g., Edenburg, 'How (not) to Murder a King', 72–74; Carr, 'Direction of Dependence', 107–40; Stackert, *Rewriting the Torah*, 21–27; Leonard, 'Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions', 241–65; Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy*, 59–67; Bergsma, 'Biblical Manumission Laws', 1:65–89.

¹⁴³ E.g., Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge*, 11–24; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 29–32; Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 33–37; Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 10–13; MacDonald, *Homeric Epics*, 8–9; Brodie, *Birthing of the New Testament*, 43–49; Adamczewski, *Q or not Q?*, 187–205; Winn, *Mark and the Elijah–Elisha Narrative*, 30–33; Nelligan, *Quest for Mark's Sources*, 18–32.

¹⁴⁴ Brodie, *Birthing of the New Testament*, 44. Cf. also MacDonald, *Homeric Epics*, 8; Winn, *Mark and the Elijah–Elisha Narrative*, 30; Nelligan, *Quest for Mark's Sources*, 27–28.

Authorial Tendency. The chances of literary borrowing increase when a given author has demonstrated a tendency to use source materials in other written works, and/or in the text in question.

Recurrence. If a source was widely known and commonly quoted by other authors during a given time period, this can increase the chances that it was cited by the author in question.¹⁴⁵

*Verbal Agreement.*¹⁴⁶ If the two documents share a certain level, number, and type of verbal affinities, then it is plausible to posit a literary connection between them.

Level of Similarities. Verbatim agreement across multiple words or phrases provides the clearest indication of literary borrowing; however, a difference in the form and order of words need not rule out a literary connection between two texts. In some cases, a receptor-text might depart from its source-text in significant ways (cf. 2 Peter's use of Jude). Therefore, the similarities between two texts should be the determining factor for evaluating literary dependence, not their differences.¹⁴⁷

Number of Similarities. As the number of similarities are multiplied, the likelihood of a literary connection also increases. Nevertheless, the numbers in and of themselves can be misleading: 'parallels

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 30; Nelligan, *Quest for Mark's Sources*, 28.

¹⁴⁶ The value of this criterion is downplayed by Sargent, who claims that 'an assessment of verbal similarities relies too much on whether the majority readings of extant OG Scripture, to which a possible citation might be compared, was really available [to] the New Testament writer in question' (*Written to Serve*, 52). It is true that the fluidity of the scriptural text might create difficulties if there were some discrepancies between a potential citation and the extant text of the OG; nevertheless, in cases where there is considerable verbal and structural agreement, it can (potentially) be a strong indication of literary borrowing.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Leonard, 'Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions', 249: 'The presence of shared language may serve to indicate a connection between texts or traditions. More importantly, however, the fact that a text contains additional language that is idiosyncratic or not shared *in no way* undermines the possibility of a connection. Unique or idiosyncratic language may be a reflection of the creativity or writing style of a given author. It may even point toward an author's use of multiple sources. It tells us very little, however, about the existence or nonexistence of allusions in the language that is shared with other texts' (original emphasis).

between two texts may be numerous but trivial... On the other hand, as few as two or three weighty similarities may suffice.¹⁴⁸

Type of Similarities. If two texts contain similar words, phrases, or ideas which distinguish them from other texts (i.e., if they both employ terms or phrases that are rare, or if they both use language in a peculiar way), this increases the likelihood that a literary connection exists.¹⁴⁹ This can be one of the strongest arguments in favour of dependence.¹⁵⁰

The first criterion (*Explicit Reference*) is not a necessary prerequisite for positing a literary relationship between texts; however, if it does occur, such a connection cannot be denied. This criterion, in many ways, goes without saying. It is nevertheless included as an initial point of departure. Moving beyond the explicit indication of literary borrowing, the second criterion (*External Plausibility*) serves as an essential condition that must be met in order for a literary connection to be plausible. The next two criteria (*Authorial Tendency* and *Recurrence*) mark another category of evidence, providing indirect support for literary borrowing. When these factors are present, they serve to increase the probability that borrowing has occurred, but on their own they cannot be used to demonstrate literary dependence. In this way, they are supplementary considerations that add cumulative weight to existing evidence. The final criterion (*Verbal Agreement*) provides 'the most objective and

¹⁴⁸ MacDonald, *Homeric Epics*, 8.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 30; Edenburg, 'How (not) to Murder a King', 72; Leonard, 'Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions', 251–52; Bergsma, 'Biblical Manumission Laws', 66–68; Nelligan, *Quest for Mark's Sources*, 30.

¹⁵⁰ This criterion has been challenged on the grounds that '[e]ven an event [or, in this case, a word or phrase] which is intrinsically highly improbable... is quite likely to occur if it is given sufficient opportunity to do so' (Noble, 'Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions', 250). In relation to two different stories (or texts), Noble contends, 'The longer they are the more opportunity they afford for a resemblance to arise just by chance; and if they are sufficiently long it becomes quite likely that they will resemble each other *in some way or other*, even though the *particular* resemblances that happen to occur may indeed be improbable' (250; original emphasis). The problem is that within Noble's constructed hierarchy, a remote possibility is afforded just as much weight (if not more) than something that is highly likely. Consequently, his argument fails to account for varying levels of probability that are inherent within any decision regarding literary dependence.

verifiable' basis for making judgments related to the use of source-texts.¹⁵¹ Therefore, when linguistic and thematic similarities occur, they deserve sustained attention.

Guidelines like these do not represent mathematical formulae by which to conclusively prove literary dependence. It must be recognised that 'no list of criteria, however sophisticated, can altogether clarify the fuzzy logic of intertextual referencing. Criteria are tests, not laws.'¹⁵² They are merely ways of facilitating the assessment of literary affinities between two texts with the goal of discerning the relative probability that borrowing has occurred. Furthermore, literary connections are not determined on the basis of any single criterion being met, but on the cumulative weight from multiple criteria.¹⁵³

Old Testament/Jewish Scriptures and Traditions

Initial Bibliography

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¹⁵¹ Leonard, 'Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions', 247; cf. also Nurmela, 'Growth of the Book of Isaiah', 246–47.

¹⁵² MacDonald, *Homeric Epics*, 8. This perspective is to be contrasted with the much more optimistic view of Goodspeed, who stated, 'No method in literary study is more objective or more fruitful than the comparison of one work with another to determine the question of literary indebtedness' ('Foreword', vii).

¹⁵³ Cf. Edenburg, 'How (not) to Murder a King', 72; Leonard, 'Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions', 253–55; Winn, *Mark and the Elijah–Elisha Narrative*, 32–33.

2007), 197–213; Thomas P. Osborne, ‘L’utilisation des citations de l’Ancien Testament dans la première épître de Pierre’, *RTL* 12 (1981): 64–77; Thomas James Parker, ‘Jesus and Scripture: A Comparative Study of Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter and their Use of the Old Testament and Jesus Traditions’ (Ph.D. diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2022), 109–41; Benjamin Sargent, *Written to Serve: The Use of Scripture in 1 Peter*, LNTS 547 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015); William L. Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, WUNT 2/30 (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1989); Susan A. Woan, ‘The Psalms in 1 Peter’, in *The Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 213–29; eadem, ‘The Use of the Old Testament in 1 Peter, with especial focus on the role of Psalm 34’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Exeter, 2008).

Scriptural Sources in 1 Peter. One source from which the Petrine author draws extensively is the Jewish scriptures.¹⁵⁴ This is clear enough from the fact that, on occasion, the letter employs quotation formulae to indicate the presence of scriptural citations (cf. 1 Pet. 1.16, 24–25; 2.6–8, 25; 3.10–12). Even when such formulae are absent, numerous allusions are posited. By some estimates, the letter contains as many as thirty or forty references to specific scriptural passages.¹⁵⁵ Beyond this, many consider 1 Peter to be filled with intertextual echoes (or even, what some describe as ‘biblicisms’), which mark a connection to the language and themes of the scriptural text. When the count is extended to include these references, then ‘scarcely a verse in this epistle would be exempt’.¹⁵⁶ Thus, among the writings of the NT, 1 Peter is—along with Romans, Hebrews, and Revelation—one of the most saturated with references to the Jewish scriptures.

¹⁵⁴ Aside from the studies listed in the initial bibliography, numerous (unpublished) doctoral dissertations have focused on this topic as well. See, e.g., Lea, ‘Peter’s Use of the Old Testament’; Glenn, ‘Use of the Old Testament in 1 Peter’; Mudendeli, ‘L’utilisation de l’Ancien Testament’; McCartney, ‘Use of the Old Testament’; Gréaux, ‘Function of the Old Testament’; Woan ‘Use of the Old Testament’.

¹⁵⁵ According to Osborne (‘L’utilisation des citations’, 65), the letter contains 31 references to the Old Testament, while Schutter (*Hermeneutic*, 43) counts 41. Some find even more scriptural references in 1 Peter: 59 references (Hiršs, *Ein Volk aus Juden und Heiden*, 13–14); 64 references (Gréaux, ‘The Lord Delivers Us’, 610–12). A maximalist case for the influence of Ps 33 (LXX) on 1 Peter was originally made by Bornemann (‘Der erste Petrusbrief’, 143–65; for critique, see Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 44–49, and further discussion below).

¹⁵⁶ Carson, ‘1 Peter’, 1015.

The letter contains eight explicit quotations from the scriptural text, each introduced with some kind of introductory marker.¹⁵⁷ The passages, along with their reference and citation formula, are listed in the table below.

Text	Reference	Formula
1 Pet 1.16	Lev 19.2	διότι γέγραπται
1 Pet 1.24–25	Isa 40.6–8	διότι
1 Pet 2.6	Isa 28.16	διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ
1 Pet 2.7	Ps 117[118].22	διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ... (implied from v. 6)
1 Pet 2.8	Isa 8.14	καί (as a continuation of v. 6)
1 Pet 3.10–12	Ps 33[34].13–17	γάρ
1 Pet 4.8	Prov 10.12	ὅτι ¹⁵⁸
1 Pet 5.5	Prov 3.34	ὅτι

It is generally agreed that 1 Peter quotes from the text of the Greek scriptures, rather than the Hebrew Bible.¹⁵⁹ This is clear from how closely 1 Peter corresponds to the Greek text. On occasion, there is exact agreement between the Petrine citation/allusion and the reconstructed text from the Old Greek,¹⁶⁰ an outcome that is highly

¹⁵⁷ To the list of explicit quotations, Elliott (13) adds 1 Pet 2.25 (citing Isa 53.6); however, the γάρ in this passage is insufficient to serve as an introductory formula, since it is integral to the flow of the sentence's argument. Commenting on 4.18, Achtemeier (317 n. 171) makes the erroneous claim: 'Only once does the author indicate a quotation (1:16); normally, he does not (e.g., 1:24-25; 2:6 [where the *RSV* has added a gratuitous "it stands in scripture"]; 3:10-12)' (the phrase in square brackets is Achtemeier's). This is an odd slip, since Achtemeier himself translates διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ (2.6), 'it stands written in Scripture' (149; cf. 159).

¹⁵⁸ The citations in both 1 Pet 4.8 and 5.5 are introduced by ὅτι, which is not as clear as other formula markers. But Schutter (*Hermeneutic*, 37) makes the case 'that ὅτι may reflect διότι, the author's seemingly preferred [introductory formula] used consistently for the first four citations, and may compare as well with the causal use of γάρ [*sic*] to introduce what can only be the explicit quotation of Ps. 34 in 3.10–12'.

¹⁵⁹ One dissenting opinion is that of Voorwinde ('Old Testament Quotations', 6), although his decision is influenced more by the assumption that the Petrine author (whom he identifies as Peter) was the apostle to the Jews than by a close analysis of the textual evidence.

¹⁶⁰ According to Jobes ('Septuagint Textual Tradition', 315), there are five places where the agreement is either exact or where there are only trivial

unlikely if the author were providing his own translation of the Hebrew.¹⁶¹ Even stronger evidence that 1 Peter was dependent upon the Greek scriptures is the fact that when the Greek and Hebrew texts diverge from one another, the Petrine author tends to follow the former.¹⁶²

Aside from direct citations, 1 Peter also contains numerous allusions to the Jewish scriptures.¹⁶³ In some cases, these echoes are very strong, involving verbatim agreement across multiple words or phrases. Some of the clearest examples are listed below.

Allusion in 1 Peter	Source Text
εἰ ἐγέυσασθε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος (1 Pet 2.3)	γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος (Ps 33.9 LXX)
ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ (1 Pet 2.22)	ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ (Isa 53.9 LXX)

differences without textual or hermeneutical significance: 1 Pet 1.16 (Lev 19.2); 2.7 (Ps 117[118].22); 2.12 (Isa 10.3); 2.22 (Isa 53.9); 4.18 (Prov 11.31); 5.5 (Prov 3.34). But this list could easily be expanded even further. If the primary issue is correspondence with the Greek text, then other citations/allusions could be added, e.g., 1 Pet 2.3 (Ps 33[34].9); 2.24 (Isa 53.5, 12); 3.14–15 (Isa 8.12–13).

¹⁶¹ This is not to imply that the Petrine author slavishly follows his source-text. At times, he departs from both the Hebrew and Greek texts to facilitate his interpretive aims. But, overall, his manipulation of the scriptural text is fairly limited (see Ådna, ‘Alttestamentliche Zitate’, 229–48).

¹⁶² There are three places where this type of divergence occurs: (a) 1 Pet 1.24–25 (Isa 40.6–8): both 1 Peter and the OG lack **הַנֶּחֱמַח בְּרוּחַ יְהוָה נִשְׁבַּח בּוֹ אֲנִי הָעֵצַר** (‘when the breath of YHWH blows on it; surely the people are grass’); (b) 1 Pet 4.18 (Prov 11.31): whereas the Hebrew text represents a *qal wāḥômer* argument that establishes the guarantee of recompense in this life, in both 1 Peter and the OG the recompense is placed in the afterlife; (c) 1 Pet 5.5 (Prov 3.34): both 1 Peter and the OG depart from the MT in the first half of the couplet, marking God’s resistance to the arrogant (ὁ θεὸς/κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται) instead of God’s scoffing at scoffers (**אִם לִלְצִים הוּא יִלְיִן**).

¹⁶³ Vahrenhorst notes that in such allusions to the scriptural text, the Petrine author ‘sich der Sprache der Heiligen Schrift bedient, um seine eigenen Gedanken zur Sprache zu bringen’; that is to say, ‘dass die Heilige Schrift in ihrer griechischen Fassung für den Verfasser des 1Petr so etwas wie ein “Sprachraum” ist, in dem er sich souverän bewegt – und dessen Sprache er sich hin und wieder ganz selbstverständlich bedient’ (‘Der Text der Septuaginta’, 270).

<u>τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε</u> <u>μηδὲ παραχθῆτε, κύριον δὲ</u> <u>τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς</u> <u>καρδίαις ὑμῶν (1 Pet 3.14–15)</u>	<u>τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ</u> <u>φοβηθῆτε οὐδὲ μὴ παραχθῆτε·</u> <u>κύριον αὐτὸν ἀγιάσατε, καὶ</u> <u>αὐτὸς ἔσται σου φόβος (Isa</u> <u>8.12–13 LXX)</u>
<u>καὶ εἰ ὁ δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται,</u> <u>ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ποῦ</u> <u>φανείται (1 Pet 4.18)¹⁶⁴</u>	<u>εἰ ὁ μὲν δίκαιος μόλις σώζεται,</u> <u>ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ποῦ</u> <u>φανείται (Prov 11.31 LXX)</u>

In other cases, characters from the Jewish scriptures are mentioned in ways that obviously allude to the biblical narratives (Sarah: 1 Pet 3.6/Gen 18.12; Noah: 1 Pet 3.19–20/Gen 6.1–8.22). Scriptural allusions are also evident from the presence of rare terms or phrases, or from the peculiar use of language that 1 Peter shares in common with a scriptural passage: 1 Pet 2.9 (Exod 19.6 and Isa 43.20–21); 2.10 (Hos 1.6, 9; 2.1, 3, 25); 3.22 (Ps 109[100].1 and Ps 8.6–7).

At times, the verbal parallels are not quite as extensive as those listed above, but there are still sufficient similarities to suggest the presence of a scriptural reference. Examples of these weaker allusions include: 1 Pet 2.12 (Isa 10.3); 2.17 (Prov 24.21); 2.23 (Isa 53.7); 2.24 (Isa 53.5, 12 and Deut 21.23); 2.25 (Isa 53.6); 3.6 (Prov 3.25); 4.14 (Isa 11.2); 5.7 (Ps 54[55].23[22]). Finally, there are some cases where the passage in question displays a few minor affinities with a given scriptural passage, but not enough to posit a literary relationship with any certainty. In this category of potential (or possible) allusions we could include: 1 Pet 1.18 (Isa 52.3); 1.19

¹⁶⁴ At times, καί is used to string together multiple quotations in a way similar to the *waw*-consecutive in Hebrew (cf. Rom 15.10–12; 2 Cor 6.16–18). The Petrine author employs the conjunction in this way in 2.8, where it serves as a continuation of a previous citation formula (διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ, 2.6). It is on this basis that some view the καί in 4.18 as an introduction to the OT reference (see Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 37; Elliott 13). However, without a preceding formula, the use of καί alone is a somewhat weak and uncertain basis for introducing a quotation. Furthermore, as even Schutter himself admits, ‘καὶ [*sic*] seems to be used more to draw the quotation into the natural flow of the author’s discourse than to serve the proper introductory role it did in 2.8’ (*Hermeneutic*, 37). Consequently, the scriptural reference in 1 Pet 4.18 is best described as an allusion.

(Isa 53.7; cf. Exod 12.5); 2.11 (Gen 23.4; cf. Ps 38.13 LXX); 3.13 (Isa 50.9); 4.17 (Ezek 9.6); 5.8 (Ps 21[22].14).¹⁶⁵

The manner in which these scriptural passages are referenced varies considerably. Some of the references are rather simple citations, consisting of a formulary introduction followed by the scriptural text (e.g., 1 Pet 1.16/Lev 19.2; 1 Pet 3.10–12/Ps 33[34].13–17). But others involve much more complexity. Schutter lists six different kinds of complex references in 1 Peter:¹⁶⁶ (1) the abbreviation or ‘telescoping’ of a text (1 Pet 2.10/Hos 1.6, 9; 2.1, 3, 25; 1 Pet 2.22–25/Isa 53.5–12); (2) a catena of texts gathered around a single idea (1 Pet 2.6–8/Stone testimonia); (3) the conflation of multiple texts (1 Pet 2.24/Isa 53.5, 12 and Deut 21.23); (4) the wider text-plot is presupposed (1 Pet 1.24–25/Isa 40.6–8; 1 Pet 2.22–25/Isa 53.5–12); (5) a crucial association of the text with a familiar exegetical tradition is presupposed (1 Pet 2.24/Deut 21.23 and the cross; 1 Pet 3.19–20/Gen 6.1–8.22 and the Watchers); and (6) a concentration of numerous texts, or ‘florilegium’ (1 Pet 2.3–10).

Among the scriptural books that seem to have been most influential in the composition of 1 Peter, three stand out: Isaiah (15 references), Psalms (7 references), and Proverbs (5 references).¹⁶⁷ Given the author’s christological approach toward ancient prophecy (1 Pet 1.10–12), it is probably not a coincidence that the book of Isaiah is appealed to with such frequency.¹⁶⁸ As with other Hebrew prophets, the ‘spirit of Christ’ is thought to have been at work in

¹⁶⁵ Other allusions have been suggested within the relevant literature, e.g., 1 Pet 1.21 (Isa 52.13); 1.25b (Isa 40.9); 2.4 (Ps 33[34].6); 2.9 (Isa 42.12; Mal 3.17 or Hag 2.9); 3.18b (Isa 53.11); 4.19 (Ps 30.6 LXX) 5.7 (Wis 12.13). But ultimately the similarities are insufficient to posit a literary connection. One question that these subtle references raise is the scriptural literacy of the readers. On this question, see Müller, ‘Der Erste Petrusbrief und die Schrift’, 197–213.

¹⁶⁶ See Schutter, *Hermeneutic*, 43.

¹⁶⁷ Interestingly enough, Isaiah and Psalms are two books that were frequently cited in the epigraphic evidence from later Christians living in Asia Minor (see Breytenbach, ‘Early Christians’, 759–74).

¹⁶⁸ On the use of Isaiah in 1 Peter, see Moyise, ‘Isaiah in 1 Peter’, 175–88; Langford, *Defending Hope*. Some, it could be argued, tend to overemphasise the influence of deuterio-Isaiah on the composition of 1 Peter to the neglect of other sources (e.g., Rehfeld, ‘Die “Gottesknechtsgrammatik”’, 121; Egan, *Scriptural Narrative*). While the impact of deuterio-Isaiah on the Petrine author cannot be denied, it represents only one of a number of sources from which he draws.

Isaiah¹⁶⁹ as he predicted the sufferings of Christ (Isa 53.5–12), the gospel's proclamation to the readers (Isa 40.6–8), the division (belief/stumbling) created by the message of Christ (Isa 28.16/8.14), the need for commitment to the lordship of Christ amidst suffering (Isa 8.12–13), and the bestowal of the spirit on those who are afflicted (Isa 11.2).¹⁷⁰

Consistent with the number of points of contact, scholars have tended to focus most closely on the references to Isaiah 53, where Jesus' suffering is aligned with the fate of the Suffering Servant described in deutero-Isaiah. More than just seeking to understand Jesus' experience through the lens of a traditional pattern, the Petrine author identifies Jesus as the Suffering Servant who has been 'predicted' in the sacred scriptures. Various authors within early Christianity drew from Isaiah 53 (e.g., Matt 8.17; Mark 14.61; Acts 8.32–33); but one could make the case that 1 Pet 2.21–25 represents 'the earliest definite proof for the full identification of Jesus with the servant in all its Christological significance', including the concept of vicarious suffering.¹⁷¹

It is possible that the Petrine author, like others within ancient Judaism and early Christianity, viewed the Psalms prophetically.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ At this time, the book of Isaiah would have been read as a unified composition, written by a single author, the prophet Isaiah. This is evident both from the ancient references to the prophet and his work (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 10.35; 11.5–6; 13.64; 4 Macc 18.14; Matt 3.3; John 12.38–39) as well as the manuscript evidence from Qumran (1QIsa^{a-b}, 4QIsa 1^{b-c,e}), which reveals no indication of a division.

¹⁷⁰ Many of these same passages are alluded to elsewhere in the NT: Isa 8.14 (Luke 2.34; Rom 9.33); Isa 11.2 (Eph 1.17); Isa 28.16 (1 Cor 3.11; Eph 2.20); Isa 53.5 (Matt 26.27); Isa 53.7 (Matt 27.12; Mark 14.60–61; 15.4–5; 1 Cor 5.7; Rev 5.6; 13.8); Isa 53.12 (Matt 27.38; Luke 23.33–34; Heb 9.28).

¹⁷¹ Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant*, 127; cf. also Langkammer, 'Jes 53 und 1 Petr 2,21–25', 90–98; Achtemeier, 'Suffering Servant', 176–88. It appears that this interpretation was aided in some ways by the Greek translation of the LXX (see Breitenbach, '"Christus litt eurentwegen"', 437–54).

¹⁷² This emerging tradition was the result of attributing the Psalms to David, who increasingly came to be viewed as a prophet (see Fitzmyer, 'David, "Being therefore a Prophet..."', 332–39; Flint, 'Prophet David at Qumran', 158–67). David is explicitly identified as a prophet by multiple authors (Philo, *Agr.* 50; *Her.* 290; Acts 2.29–31), while others describe his prophetic abilities, including the capacity to predict future events (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.166; 8.109–110; Acts 1.16; 2.29–31; Barn. 12.10). As a prophet, David is said to have composed the Psalms through prophecy (11QPs^a 27.2–11). For this reason, pesher commentaries are devoted to the Psalms at Qumran.

If so, they would record David's predictions about the rejection of Christ (Ps 117[118].22), along with his eventual exaltation (Ps 109[100].1 and Ps 8.6–7). The prophecies would also relate to the readers as well, defining the ethic by which they should live (Ps 33[34].13–17) and reminding them of the goodness of the Lord (Ps 33[34].9), who cared for them (Ps 54[55].23[22]).¹⁷³

Of these references, scholars have tended to focus most of their attention on Psalm 33 LXX [34 Heb]. Years ago, Bornemann set forth the theory that this psalm was the key text on which 1 Peter was based, claiming to find six quotations and numerous echoes of the psalm in 1 Peter.¹⁷⁴ Since that time, much has been written on this topic, with most judging Bornemann's case to be vastly overstated. There appear to be far fewer references to Psalm 33 LXX [34 Heb] than Bornemann imagined.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, some have continued to maintain that this psalm played a formative role in the composition of 1 Peter beyond providing a linguistic connection.¹⁷⁶ What ties 1 Peter together so closely with Psalm 33 LXX [34 Heb] is the context of suffering out of which each is thought to have arisen.¹⁷⁷ Because the later superscription identified the psalm with David's escape from king Abimelech, it

¹⁷³ Other early Christian writers likewise referenced many of the same passages: Ps 8.6 (1 Cor 15.27; Eph 1.20–21); Ps 109[100].1 (Matt 22.44; 26.64; Mark 12.36; 14.62; Luke 20.42–43; 22.69; Acts 2.34–35; Heb 1.3); Ps 117.22 LXX (Matt 21.42; Mark 12.10–11; Luke 20.17; Acts 4.11; Rom 9.33). For a fuller list (although with an exaggerated number of references), see Phillips, 'Use of the Psalms', 115–18.

¹⁷⁴ Bornemann, 'Der erste Petrusbrief', 146–51.

¹⁷⁵ A much more conservative estimate is found in Jobes, 'Got Milk?', 10–12, who lists eight different echoes aside from the two citations (cf. Schutter, *Hermeutic*, 44–49, who lists nine potential references). Some, however, still insist on a rather large number of connections (e.g., Hauge, 'Reading 1 Peter in Light of Psalm 34', 88, who lists 18 references, along with 20 different thematic echoes and similar expressions, most containing multiple points of contact).

¹⁷⁶ According to Snodgrass ('1 Peter II.1–10', 102–103), this psalm also shaped the selection of other OT references in 1 Peter (cf. Bornemann, 'Der erste Petrusbrief', 147). Taking this one step further, Woan has proposed that Ps 33 LXX not only influenced the selection of other scriptural references, but also the composition of 1 Peter (see 'Psalms in 1 Peter', 222–25; idem, 'Use of the Old Testament', 227–35). She claims that, structurally, the quotation in 1 Pet 3.10–12 both summarises the material that precedes it and also introduces the material that follows, in what she refers to as 'Janus Behaviour'.

¹⁷⁷ Gilmour, 'Psalm 34's Influence', 404–11.

came to be read as a record of God's deliverance.¹⁷⁸ Thus, it 'was applied in situations of affliction and suffering, as a reminder from the history of Israel of the blessing of obedience in the midst of trial'.¹⁷⁹

At various points throughout the letter, the author's citations diverge—sometimes in small ways, sometimes in more substantial ways—from modern printed versions of the LXX. Scholars tend to explain this situation in one of three ways.¹⁸⁰ Some have questioned whether the Petrine author had a physical manuscript in front of him when he cites or alludes to a passage from the Jewish scriptures,¹⁸¹ leading to the possibility that discrepancies might represent unintentional changes resulting from the author's inability to recall the text precisely.¹⁸² It is also possible that the divergences stem from the author's use of an alternate text-form than the one(s) found in modern printed versions of the LXX.¹⁸³ In such a case, the discrepancy could be unintentional if the author simply adopted the text-form that he had at hand, or it could be intentional if he was aware of variations and then selected the one that best fit his purposes.¹⁸⁴ Finally, it may be that the differences represent intentional changes to the source text resulting from the author's attempt to stress a theological point or to make the passage more applicable to his audience by conforming it to their situation.¹⁸⁵ Conclusively

¹⁷⁸ On the social setting of Ps 34 [LXX 33], see Eriksson, "Come, Children, Listen to Me!", 81–93; Botha, 'Social Setting', 178–97.

¹⁷⁹ Christensen, 'Solidarity in Suffering', 350, who cites 4 Macc 18.15 (Ps 34.19) as another example of the psalm's use during this period.

¹⁸⁰ See Stanton 1494; Rodgers, 'Book of 1 Peter', 582.

¹⁸¹ E.g., Davids, 'Second Temple Traditions', 414.

¹⁸² Most commentators at least allow for this possibility when assessing textual variation (see, e.g., Selwyn 24–25, 152; Grudem 133–34; Michaels 78; Elliott 391; Schreiner 188, 196).

¹⁸³ On the importance of recognising and accounting for textual fluidity (in both the Greek and Hebrew scriptures) prior to studying the Petrine author's use of scripture, see Egan, *Scriptural Narrative*, 5–6.

¹⁸⁴ It is possible to combine these options as well; that is, it may be that the Petrine author was quoting a fluid text from memory.

¹⁸⁵ This possibility assumes that if the author had access to a given source text, then he would have replicated it verbatim unless he was intentionally trying to make a point through alteration. However, we must be careful not to attribute too many of our modern proclivities to ancient writers. Evidence from within the biblical text reveals that *Vorlage*-based copying often results in many of the