

“The burgeoning field of Petrine studies has recently cast up several important monographs on the apostle Peter. Dr. Bayer’s welcome addition appeals to the full range of New Testament materials, and carefully distinguishes between his ‘non-transferable’ functions as part of the historical ‘bedrock’ that mediates Jesus to later generations, and his ‘transferable’ functions, which model the character and virtues of genuine disciples of Christ. Worked out across the field of New Testament sources, that simple distinction proves to be both evocative and seminal.”

—D. A. Carson
**Research Professor, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School (TEDS),
Deerfield, Illinois, USA**

“Usually when one hears the term apostolic, one thinks of the historical and doctrinal roots of the faith, especially when combined with the image of bedrock. Hans Bayer gives us a fresh look at doctrine and history by pointing to these elements in Scripture’s presentation of Peter. He shows how the themes Peter raises contribute to and even aim at character, identity, and spiritual development. What a refreshing new take on these themes. When biblical teaching, identity, and ethics come together, it makes for powerful teaching.”

—Darrell Bock
**Senior Research Professor of New Testament Studies and
Executive Director for Cultural Engagement
The Hendricks Center, Dallas Theological Seminary,
Dallas, Texas, USA**

“Hans Bayer has written a wonderful and informative summary of Peter’s canonical testimony. He masterfully describes Peter’s transformation from rock-headed disciple to becoming the pastor-in-chief of the Christian churches of the west. Utilizing the Petrine perspective the Gospel of Mark, the speeches of Peter in Acts, and the two epistles attributed to Peter, Bayer lays out Peter’s witness to Jesus and Peter’s contribution to the formation of followers of Jesus. The result is a bountiful feast of Peter’s testimony, exhortations, and spirituality that will benefit many.”

—Michael F. Bird, PhD University of Queensland
Lecturer in Theology, Ridley College

“Hans Bayer’s new book, *Apostolic Bedrock*, serves the church, the scholarly community, and the wider society in manifold ways. It exegetes many New Testament texts related to the apostle Peter in a fresh way, showing how these texts preserved reliable traditions about the saving work of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. The book also contributes to our knowledge about the formation of the

canon, especially of the Gospels, Acts, and 1 and 2 Peter. When it summarizes key aspects of how Peter's identity and characteristics were formed by his Master, it points to our only hope in today's turmoil in our personal and communal lives: how we and our fellow human beings can be changed to become Christ-like personalities. The world needs this transformation—we all need it; this book is a great help to achieve it.”

—Péter Balla
Chair of New Testament Studies
Rector Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church
Budapest, Hungary

(February 16, 2017, review posted on Amazon.com) “In this refreshing monograph, Dr. Hans Bayer makes a strong case for the unity of the Petrine corpus (including the Gospel of Mark, sermons in Acts, and 2 Peter), based on the common themes and patterns of Christology and Christ-like Christian identity. Dr. Bayer has meticulously collected traceable NT clues of the apostle Peter's spirituality, and makes a convincing case that the Petrine writings preserved a homologous pattern when it comes to the identity of Christ and the character formation of the disciples of Christ. This study indirectly supports the common witness behind these writings, but the real focus of the thesis is the authority and content of Peter's personal example.

According to Dr. Bayer, the apostle Peter is a unique authority as a representative eye-witness to Christ, but is also an example of the general patterns of Christian discipleship. On the one hand, Peter preaches the Ebed-Jahve as a specially authorized, trustworthy witness to Him, with the authority and urgency that is comparable to an OT repentance preacher. On the other hand, Peter embodies his unique apostolic witness in his downward movement into humility, and thus is an example to every disciple. Peter, the Rock, has a non-transferable role as a witness, and a transferable role as an example. In this sense, the Church of Jesus Christ is truly built on him.

Dr. Bayer's fresh, creative thesis feeds the mind of the scholar looking for information and new ideas. At the same time it challenges our hearts and does not let us remain neutral about Christ and the state of our character. I whole-heartedly recommend this volume to both lovers of New Testament theology and students of Christian spirituality. Bayer's book is a brilliant combination of the two worlds, which in Peter's mind—as we learn—was still one.”

—Ádám Szabados
Ph.D. candidate under Prof. P. Balla, Budapest, Hungary
Pastor, Evangelical Christian Church, Veszprém, Hungary

“Is there a unity between theology and character formation? In his forthcoming book, Dr. Hans Bayer, based on the part of the New Testament associated with Peter, would say there is. If we put all the Peter-related material of the Bible—the Gospel of Mark, Peter’s speeches in Acts, and his letters, especially I Peter—we have a distinct Petrine witness. Then, one of the main themes that emerge from this distinct witness is a unity between theology and character formation.

Within this diverse, yet distinct witness, one helpful way of organizing Peter’s legacy is to think in terms of things non-transferable, semi-transferable, and wholly transferable. Regarding things non-transferable, for example, Peter serves as an irreplaceable, apostolic witness, a spokesperson for the collective, apostolic witness. As such, as in one of the earliest expressions of the gospel story in Acts 10:34–43, Peter has the non-transferable status of a guarantor of the safe transmission of that story. Also in this category of things non-transferable is Jesus’ declaration of Peter as the rock. While we agree with the Catholic Church that Peter with the apostles was the foundation of the church in a non-transferable way (no apostolic succession), we must not confuse the foundation with the cornerstone (Ephesians 2:20).

Some elements of the Petrine witness, though, are more transferable, though still unique. Jesus called Peter as a fisher of men (Mark 1:16) and a shepherd of his sheep (John 21), which, while we may participate in these roles, we do so only derivatively.

Finally, some elements of the Petrine witness are wholly transferable without any condition. This is where Christology and character formation powerfully converge. Rooted in Peter’s Christology, we have, what Bayer calls, ‘essential, Christ-driven character traits,’ consistent throughout the Petrine witness. There are, above all, six in order of priority: faith and trust, courageous witness, pursuing purity of heart, humility and service, overcoming in suffering, and surrender with obedience.

Now, the Petrine witness may lack Pauline sophistication and polish at times, as in places like I Peter 3:18, where surely Paul would have said something more “profound” about what Christ’s death did for us. However, while the Pauline witness overshadows the Petrine in a way, the legacy of Jesus, Bayer argues, is more directly carried on in Peter than Paul. Paul himself does not see himself on the same level as the original team of apostles (Acts 13:31) who were direct eyewitnesses of ‘his majesty’ (2 Peter 1:16). The gospel that Paul proclaimed he himself received (I Corinthians 15:1–11).

It made me proud to watch Dr. Bayer tell us all this. As a young man, Bayer says, he would never have imagined this kind of project. For him, it would have either been a study of high and lofty Christology or character study, but never together. If he had a choice, he said, he probably would never have undertaken a character study,

opting for something more polished and sophisticated. While Bayer spoke, it really did occur to me that there is a distinct Petrine witness, a clear Petrine voice with its own strength, vitality and emphasis, a voice I never discerned amidst the symphony of New Testament witness. I hereby resolve, therefore, to listen for it more carefully, and from now on, with Bayer's help, more knowledgeably.

What struck me is that to grasp the character formation that Peter himself experienced through a lifetime of walking with Jesus, Peter's Christology must become our Christology. We must devote ourselves to this Apostle's teaching (Acts 2:42) as a non-transferable guarantor of the Jesus story, so that, in some semi-transferable and some wholly transferable ways, we may become participants in the kind of discipleship to which the Petrine witness invites us. For this apostle, therefore, there was no distinction between theology and practice; neither should there be for us."

**—Pastor Samuel Belz, M.Div.
Covenant Theological Seminary**

PETER AS APOSTOLIC BEDROCK

**CHRISTOLOGY AND DISCIPLESHIP
ACCORDING TO HIS CANONICAL TESTIMONY**

Peter as Apostolic Bedrock

**Christology and Discipleship
According to His Canonical Testimony**

Hans F. Bayer

WIPF & STOCK • Eugene, Oregon

Wipf and Stock Publishers
199 W 8th Ave, Suite 3
Eugene, OR 97401

Peter as Apostolic Bedrock
Christology and Discipleship According to His Canonical Testimony
By Bayer, Hans
Copyright©2016 by Bayer, Hans
ISBN 13: 978-1-5326-7479-2
Publication date 5/21/2019
Previously published by Paternoster, 2016

Dedicated to Christopher, Benjamin, and Katharine

Contents

Preface: The Human Need for Sustained Transformation	xiii
Acknowledgements	xvii
Abbreviations	xix
Introduction	1
 PART ONE The Apostolic Foundation: Non-Transferable and Semi-Transferable Aspects of Peter's Work and Witness	 8
 Chapter 1 Peter's Development in the Setting of First-Century Palestinian Judaism	 9
The Names of Peter	9
Peter's Shaping Influences Prior to Becoming a Disciple of Jesus	10
Peter as a Disciple of Jesus	35
 Chapter 2 Non-Transferable Aspects of Peter's Work and Witness	 50
Peter and His Confession as the Foundational 'Rock' of Jesus's Nascent Church (Matt 16:18-19)	50
Peter's Apostolic Witness in Acts and Old Testament Prophetic Repentance Speeches	63
 Chapter 3 Peter's Non-Transferable Contributions to the Content and Formation of the New Testament Canon	 82
Peter as Key Guarantor and Transmitter of Oral Jesus-Tradition in the Form of the Earliest Gospel Witness	82
Peter as the Source of the Gospel of Mark, the Petrine Sections in Acts, and as the Author of 1 and 2 Peter	103
Peter as a Foundation-Laying Contributor to the New Testament Canon	117
 Chapter 4 Semi-Transferable Aspects of Peter's Work and Witness	 125
Peter as a 'Fisher of Men' (Mark 1:16)	125
Peter as Shepherd of God's Jewish and Gentile People (John 21:15-19 and Luke 22:31-32)	128
 PART TWO Transferable Aspects of Peter's Witness Embedded in His Apostolic Functions	 133
 Chapter 5 Christology, Identity, and Character Formation in the Gospel of Mark	 135
Christology	135
Identity and Character Formation	155
The Dynamic Between Christology, Identity, and Character Formation in Mark's Gospel	163

Chapter 6 Christology, Identity, and Character Formation in the Petrine Sections of Acts	165
Petrine Material in Acts	165
Peter's Apostolic Witness to Christ	167
Peter's Witness to Christ-Centered Identity and Character Formation	187
The Dynamic Between Christology, Identity, and Character Formation in Acts	195
Chapter 7 Christology, Identity, and Character Formation in 1 and 2 Peter	197
Characteristic Christological Themes	200
Identity and Character Formation	202
The Dynamic Between Christology, Identity, and Character Formation in 1 and 2 Peter	209
Chapter 8 Characteristic Dynamics Between Christology, Identity, and Character Formation in Peter's Canonical Testimony	211
The Thematic Cohesion of Peter's Testimony Despite the Virtual Absence of Literary Indicators	211
The Complementary Portraits of Peter	213
Characteristic Christological Connections in Peter's Testimony	214
Characteristic, Christ-Centered Identity and Character Formation according to Peter's Testimony	219
The Dynamic Between Christology, Identity, and Character Formation according to Peter's Testimony	226
PART THREE Universal Watermarks of Jesus: Contours of Christ-Driven Character Formation according to the Apostle Peter	228
Chapter 9 Essential Christ-Driven Character Traits Derived from Identity Formation	229
The Foundation of Christ-Driven Identity	229
Prominent Christ-Driven Character Traits	230
Conclusions	268
Author Index	274
Subject and Place Index	279
Index of Biblical and Extrabiblical Writings	292
Bibliography	322

PREFACE

The Human Need for Sustained Transformation

Regardless of our respective approaches to life, one of the most arresting phenomena in any culture, religion, and philosophy of life is the sustained and authentic transformation of a person for the better. The need for such personal and systemic transformation becomes particularly pressing when we seek to ameliorate political, social, and economic ills such as oppression, the sex trade, drug trafficking, child slavery, exploitation, gangs, and corruption, to mention but a few.¹

Many of our contemporaries who are most keenly concerned about personal and societal change are cognizant of the fact that even the most researched and optimally implemented programs for societal and systemic change are, at times, rendered ineffective because there is no concurrent transformation of the respective people's attitudes. The reason for this phenomenon lies, e.g., in a fixed cultural mindset, a certain religious persuasion, a traditional practice, or a personal attitude, preference, and need.²

The cynical side in us maintains that we will always be the disconcerting selves that we are (including negative genetic predispositions, dysfunctional family systems, and flawed personalities). At times, we merely camouflage our problems with sundry religious disciplines, philanthropic and optimistic altruism, or euphemistic speech.³ In the end, however, everything stays the same. One reason why we become, at times, cynical is the frustration over hypocritical, idealistic, or utopian political, economic, and/or ecclesiastical changes that merely mask the foul core inside. We must be prepared to face the fact that there is some bitter truth to this. Is history not our best teacher of this disheartening phenomenon? Have communism, fascism, the medieval Crusades, and many other movements not taught us this lesson once and for

¹ See D. Brooks, *The Social Animal: The Hidden Source of Love, Character, and Achievement* (New York, NY: Random House, 2011).

² From an economic standpoint, see, e.g., the work of the economist and 1988 Nobel laureate A. Sen, *Inequality Reexamined* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

³ See D.G. Benner, *The Gift of Loving Yourself: The Sacred Call to Self-Discovery* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2004).

all? Despite the fact that lasting change in human beings is elusive, we are heartened to discover that Jesus takes up this challenge by demonstrating that true, radical change is indeed possible.

The following study explores Jesus's approach to deep transformation of the inner human person and community, not only in terms of transformation (discipleship), but also in terms of mentoring leadership (shepherding) that affects and benefits a given community. Jesus's radical claim is, however, hard to swallow. He calls for a reconciliation with—and dependence upon—the Creator of this universe.⁴ Such reconciliation aims at the progressive realization of the purposes and aims of God as Creator and ruler of all of life. Jesus focuses on this root problem, seemingly skirting the pressing issues of societal ills, such as Roman political and economic oppression of Palestine in the first century AD.

Especially for the past two hundred years, we can trace not only an intellectual atheism as a red thread throughout the history of Western society, but also a practical atheism or agnosticism. The following study discusses Jesus's challenge of such atheistic autonomy of the mind and the will, and thus of the inner human being. Jesus implies that rationalistic and self-sufficient life patterns hinder true transformation. He insists that barring a foundational reconciliation with our Maker, we will remain, in one way or another, enslaved to our individual and communal self-centered greed, bound to our addictions and idols, our autonomous reflexes, our self-asphyxiation, and our ideologies at the expense of the dignity and growth that God intended for us and our communities. The perplexing disequilibrium which Jesus triggers in human lives arises from his appeal that healing a broken relationship with God lies at the heart of sustained change. To some, invoking a god to find true and sustained change in human life looks like an extraneous excursion into irrelevant territory.⁵ A person with a naturalistic, materialistic worldview, for example, might say that we can and do achieve sustained change without such an unnecessary and unfounded detour. Another default reaction to Jesus's call to true change is the widespread, often unconscious resistance toward a higher being to whom we might be accountable. In the recesses of our autonomous, inner being, we insist on being the masters of our own destiny. We tend to

⁴ Contrast, e.g., I. Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (London: Penguin Classics, 2008 [1781]) with J.G. Hamann's critique of Kant (see, e.g., R.A. Sparling, *Johann Georg Hamann and the Enlightenment Project* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011]).

⁵ To some, this might sound like K. Marx's *dictum* that 'religion . . . is the opium of the people' (K. Marx, 'Zur Kritik der Hegel'schen Rechts-Philosophie: Einleitung', *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, Paris, 7 and 10 February, 1844, n.p.).

resist any form of outside interference, especially from an unseen and inaudible Supreme Being.⁶

Should the above-mentioned challenges pose no obstacles to the reader, he or she is then faced with the following questions: who is this Jesus and what is his brand of *true* transformation? In the following pages, we seek to give an answer to this crucial question in the context of the overall mission and purpose of God. To accomplish this, we shall trace the astonishing life and transformation of the lower middle-class, Galilean fisherman Peter. We shall learn how radically Jesus changes this average man into a purified, God dependent, non-violent and ethical person who cares deeply about the personal and corporate purity and life of those he is to mentor and lead. He becomes a man who pursues individual and corporate growth in the midst of suffering and injustice, and who seeks lasting change in the midst of an oppressive society. Peter arises as *the* witness to the transforming presence and power of Jesus. As a consequence, the identity and character of those who listen to Peter's testimony are radically changed. As we shall see especially in the book of Acts and in 1 Peter, Peter mobilizes transformed followers to participate in the divine mission that breaks through cultural, philosophical, economic, and religious barriers to expand and deepen such individual and communal transformation.⁷

The pursuit of this kind of far-reaching transformation could sound overwhelming. As we follow, however, along the road of Peter's testimony, transformation, and leadership, we are encouraged to discover simplicity, clarity, and focus.

⁶ Contrast this with Peter's statement in 1 Pet 1:8.

⁷ My colleague, Mark Ryan, made me aware of various current sociological studies on transformation (see, e.g., J.D. Hunter, *To Change the World: The Irony, Tragedy, and Possibility of Christianity in the Late Modern World* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010]). Jesus calls individuals to discipleship which, in turn, issues in community development where maturing occurs and in which such transformation is exemplified and lived out (Hunter speaks of 'faithful presence'; note that our study does not focus on Hunter's main question of meaningful Christian engagement in civil and political society). Concerning a helpful proposal for community engagement cf. T. Keller, *Center Church: Doing Balanced, Gospel-Centered Ministry in Your City* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012).

Acknowledgements

My sincere gratitude goes to participants of a seminar on Peter, Jan. 14-23, 2015 (including Mark Ryan and Tim Baldwin) at Covenant Theological Seminary, Saint Louis, Missouri, who gave me significant feedback and encouragement on a draft of the present work. I am also very thankful for the board and administration of Covenant Theological Seminary to have afforded me a sabbatical leave in the spring semester of 2012 in order to begin work on this project. My colleagues at Covenant Seminary have been a wonderful source of inspiration in pursuit of this topic. The personal encouragement of Sam Belz, Don Carson, Jon Coody, Amy Felt, Daniel Gleich, Traugott Hopp, May Huang, Werner Neuer, Carey Newman, Dane Ortlund, Jay Sklar, Mark Stirling, Adam Szabados, Tim Vickers, and Robert Yarbrough is deeply appreciated. The careful editorial help of Rick Matt and Alissa Rockney was substantial and invaluable. Additionally, Alissa Rockney competently produced the three indexes. My wife, Susan, did not only give me much insightful feedback on a draft of this book but encouraged me, during a hike in the mountains of Mittersill, Austria, to pursue this topic. Finally, I would like to thank Dr Mike Parsons and the editorial board at Paternoster Press for accepting this work for publication and for Reuben Sneller's kind and helpful assistance in carefully guiding me through the publication process.

Select material on pages 87–93; 106–109; 112; 127–28; 135–37; 141–62; 232–45; 247–49; 257–58; 267–68 was partially taken from H.F. Bayer, *A Theology of Mark*, 2012, ISBN 978-1-59638-119-3, published by P&R Publishing Co., P.O. Box 817, Phillipsburg, N.J., 08865; www.prpbooks.com. Used with permission.

Some content on pages 64–68 and some material on pages 170–75; 180–82, and 184–88 was partially taken from H.F. Bayer, 'Christ-Centered Eschatology in Acts 3:17-26', in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ. Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*. Ed. J.B. Green and M. Turner, FS I.H. Marshall, Grand Rapids, MI/Carlisle: Eerdmans/ Paternoster, 1994, 236–50. Used with permission.

Select content on pp. 63–81; 171–73, and 180–82 was partially taken from H.F. Bayer, 'The Preaching of Peter in Acts' in I.H. Marshall and D. Peterson (eds), *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998, 257–74.

Hans F. Bayer, Saint Louis, June 2015

Abbreviations

Primary Sources

<i>1 Clem.</i>	<i>1 Clement</i>
<i>1 En.</i>	<i>1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)</i>
1–2 Macc	1–2 Maccabees
1QapGen	Excavated frags. from cave col. I
1QH	<i>Hymns of Thanksgiving</i>
1QIsa ^a	Isaiah ^a
1QM	<i>Milḥamah or War Scroll</i>
1QpHab	<i>Pesher Habakkuk</i>
1QS	<i>Serek Hayahad or Rule of the Community</i>
1QSa	<i>Rule of the Congregation</i> (Appendix a to 1QS)
2 Bar.	<i>2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)</i>
4 Ezra	<i>4 Ezra</i>
4 Macc.	<i>4 Maccabees</i>
4QCommGen A	<i>Commentary on Genesis</i>
4QDibHam ^a	<i>Dibre Hame 'orot^a</i>
4QFlor	<i>Florilegium</i>
4QMessAp	<i>Messianic Apocalypse</i>
4QTest	<i>Testimonia</i>
11QMel	<i>Melchizedek</i>
11QPs ^a	<i>Psalms Scroll^a</i>
11QtgJob	<i>Targum of Job</i>
'Abot	<i>Avot</i>
'Abot R. Nat.	<i>Avot of Rabbi Nathan</i>
<i>Acts Pet. 12 Apos.</i>	<i>Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles</i>
<i>Acts Pet. Andr.</i>	<i>Acts of Peter and Andrew</i>
<i>Acts Pet. Paul</i>	<i>Acts of Peter and Paul</i>
<i>Acts Pet.</i>	<i>Acts of Peter</i>
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	<i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales/Annals</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>Ap. John</i>	<i>Apocryphon of John</i>

<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apology (1 and 2)</i>
<i>As. Mos.</i>	<i>Assumption of Moses</i>
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Life of Augustus</i>
<i>b.</i>	<i>Babylonian Talmud</i>
<i>B. Bat.</i>	<i>Bava Batra</i>
<i>Bar</i>	<i>Baruch</i>
<i>Ber.</i>	<i>Berakhot</i>
<i>CD</i>	<i>Damascus Document</i>
<i>Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum/Against Celsus</i>
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronicle</i>
<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Life of Claudius</i>
<i>Comm. Matt.</i>	<i>Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei</i>
<i>Cons.</i>	<i>De Consensu Evangelistarum/Harmony of the Gospels</i>
<i>Cor.</i>	<i>De Corona/On the Crown</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistula (ae)</i>
<i>Ep. Pet. Phil.</i>	<i>Letter of Peter to Philip</i>
<i>Gen. Rab.</i>	<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>
<i>Geogr.</i>	<i>Geography</i>
<i>Gos. Heb.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Hebrew</i>
<i>Gos. Pet.</i>	<i>Gospel of Peter</i>
<i>H.Ar.</i>	<i>Historia Arianorum/History of the Arians</i>
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Adversus haereses/Against Heresies</i>
<i>Hag.</i>	<i>Hagigah</i>
<i>Her./Heir</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit/Who is the Heir?</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae/Histories</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica /Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>Ign. Rom.</i>	<i>Ignatius, To the Romans</i>
<i>Ign. Smyrn.</i>	<i>Ignatius, To Smyrnaeans</i>
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
<i>Jdt</i>	<i>Judith</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	<i>Jewish War</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>L.A.B. (Ps.-Philo)</i>	<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo)</i>
<i>Legat./Embassy</i>	<i>Legatio ad Gaium/On the Embassy to Gaius</i>
<i>Life</i>	<i>The Life</i>
<i>m.</i>	<i>Mishnah</i>
<i>Mak.</i>	<i>Makkot</i>

<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Adversus Marcionem/Against Marcion, Tertullian</i>
<i>Meg.</i>	<i>Megillah</i>
<i>Menah.</i>	<i>Menahot</i>
<i>Nero</i>	<i>Life of Nero</i>
<i>Oed. col.</i>	<i>Oedipus coloneus</i>
<i>Opif./Creation</i>	<i>De opificio mundi/On the Creation of the World</i>
<i>POxy</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus papyri</i>
<i>Pol. Phil.</i>	<i>Polycarp, To the Philippians</i>
<i>Praescr.</i>	<i>De praescriptione haereticorum/Prescription against Heretics</i>
<i>Pre. Pet.</i>	<i>Preaching of Peter</i>
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
<i>Pud.</i>	<i>De pudicitia/Modesty</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>De republica</i>
<i>Šabb.</i>	<i>Šabbat</i>
<i>Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Scorp.</i>	<i>Scorpiace/Antidote for the Scorpion's Sting</i>
<i>Serm.</i>	<i>Sermones</i>
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
<i>Sir</i>	<i>Sirach/Ecclesiasticus</i>
<i>Sukkah</i>	<i>Sukkah</i>
<i>t.</i>	<i>Tractates of Tosefta</i>
<i>T. 12 Patr.</i>	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>
<i>T. Ash.</i>	<i>Testament of Asher</i>
<i>T. Benj.</i>	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
<i>T. Dan</i>	<i>Testament of Dan</i>
<i>T. Iss.</i>	<i>Testament of Issachar</i>
<i>T. Jud.</i>	<i>Testament of Judah</i>
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>T. Naph.</i>	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>
<i>T. Sol.</i>	<i>Testament of Solomon</i>
<i>T. Zeb.</i>	<i>Testament of Zebulun</i>
<i>Tg. Isa.</i>	<i>Targum Isaiah</i>
<i>Tob</i>	<i>Tobit</i>
<i>Unit. eccl.</i>	<i>De catholicae ecclesiae unitate/The Unity of the Catholic Church</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Life of Vespasian</i>
<i>Vir. ill.</i>	<i>De viris illustribus/Lives of illustrious Men</i>
<i>Wis</i>	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>

Secondary Sources

ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
<i>AJT</i>	<i>Asia Journal of Theology</i>
<i>ANF</i>	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.</i> Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972–
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Bauer, W., F.W. Danker, W.F. Arndt, and F.W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.</i> 3 rd ed., Chicago, IL, 1999
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.</i> Oxford, 1907
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum</i>
<i>DNTB</i>	<i>Dictionary of New Testament Background.</i> Edited by C.A. Evans and S.E. Porter. Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 2000
<i>EDNT</i>	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament.</i> Edited by H. Balz and G. Schneider. ET. Grand Rapids, MI, 1990–93
<i>Enc</i>	<i>Encounter</i>
<i>ESV</i>	English Standard Version
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>ISBE</i>	<i>International Standard Bible Encyclopedia.</i> Edited by G.W. Bromiley. 4 vols, Grand Rapids, MI, 1979–88
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JGRChJ</i>	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LASBF</i>	<i>Liber annuus Studii biblici franciscani</i>
<i>L&N</i>	<i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains</i> . Edited by J.P. Louw and E.A. Nida. 2 nd ed. New York, NY, 1989
<i>NICOT</i>	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIDNTT</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i> . Edited by C. Brown. 4 vols. Grand Rapids, MI, 1975–1985
<i>NIGTC</i>	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTOA</i>	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by J.H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1985
<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i>QD</i>	Quaestiones Disputatae
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> . Edited by K. Galling. 7 vols, 3 rd ed. Tübingen, 1957–65.
<i>RTR</i>	<i>Reformed Theological Review</i>
<i>SBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature
<i>SBLMS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
<i>Scr</i>	<i>Scripture</i>
<i>SJLA</i>	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>Str-B</i>	Strack, H.L., and P. Billerbeck. <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> . 2 nd ed. 6 vols, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1922–61
<i>TANZ</i>	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
<i>TBei</i>	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Trans. G.W. Bromiley. 10 vols, Grand Rapids, MI, 1964–76
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TNTC</i>	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries

<i>TQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>TSK</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

Miscellaneous abbreviations

/	Old and New Testament echoes or parallels
CTS	Covenant Theological Seminary, Saint Louis, Missouri, USA
FS	Festschrift
HL	<i>hapax legomenon</i>
n.p.	no page
par(r).	synoptic parallel(s)

Italicized references to the Old and New Testaments are given for emphasis

Introduction

In the following study we seek to isolate key issues of Christology and identity and character formation in select New Testament writings which are, in one way or another, historically associated with Peter's Christ-centered witness, transformation, and mentoring. Throughout this study we will repeatedly refer to three bodies of writings: (1) two letters attributed to Peter (1 and 2 Peter), (2) an account of which Peter is said to be the primary source (the Gospel of Mark), and (3) an account in which Peter is prominently featured (Luke's report of Peter's acts and speeches, roughly covering the first half of Acts). As we discuss the historical and historical-critical issues surrounding these texts, we will call these groups of writings *Peter's canonical testimony*. We avoid the nomenclature *corpus Petrinum* since this phrase refers more specifically to a collection of works written by a particular author. Furthermore, we will not so much focus on precise literary connections between the books associated with Peter as we will on various compatible Petrine concepts and emphases of Christology and identity and character formation nestled within the early Christian witness.

A Consistent, Uniquely Petrine Testimony

Our contention is that the historical figure of Peter stands behind the canonical testimony associated with his name. Regarding the various historical questions, we keep in mind what Cullmann remarked in the preface to the second edition of his classic work on Peter: 'Often, unfortunately, with the somewhat primitive prejudice, whose day one would have thought was past, that to pronounce something "spurious" is a mark of scientific method while results of the opposite kind are suspicious signs of an "uncritical" attitude!'¹

Furthermore, we will isolate not so much a comprehensive 'characteristic Petrine theology' in Peter's canonical testimony as we will seek to identify—and come face-to-face with—Peter's bedrock witness and unique impact upon early Christianity. Cullmann cautions: 'In view of the nature of the sources it would be a rash undertaking to try to present a "theology" of the apostle Peter.

¹ O. Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr* (Waco, TX: Baylor Univ. Press, 2011), 8 n. 1.

Even if one holds that the First Epistle of Peter was written by the apostle himself, the basis for this undertaking is too small'.² Bond aptly adds:

Peter remains an elusive character without a clear voice of his own. The great apostle was clearly one of the most influential people in the early church, but researchers today are left to reconstruct his actions and significance from the writings of others, writings that often tell us as much about the interests of various early Christian groups as they do about the man who inspired them.³

Bockmuehl likewise observes: 'Indeed it is remarkably difficult to identify distinctive theological themes associated with Peter'.⁴ On the other hand, we offer in the present work much that commends Peter as the key 'rock' of reliable testimony to Jesus's identity and character formation ministry, with a witness spanning the forty years from approximately AD 27 until AD 67. In comparison, Paul is merely a significant supplementary witness to Jesus, building on Peter (Gal 1:18; Acts 13:31).

Generally speaking, then, we seek to trace Petrine emphases and selections from the common early Christian witness and teaching, especially in Mark and the Petrine sections in Acts. We believe it is a false dichotomy to claim that this material stems *either* from Peter or from the early Christian witness. Rather, we see Peter as a *central and driving force amidst* the early Christian witness. We take Acts 15 seriously and do not identify it as an early Christian synthesis devoid of historical fact. We are convinced that James,⁵ Peter, Barnabas, and Paul essentially *share* the early Christian conviction that Jesus's claims and life, especially his atoning death and resurrection, are true and real. We thus see Peter as a significant, central, and mediating spokesperson for the early Christian testimony. Even if that accords with the historical facts, it will not be easy to isolate unique and characteristic theological emphases of Peter. What we can expect, however, is to point the reader to selections and emphases in Mark and the Petrine sections in Acts that most likely have Peter as a source, especially when supported by 1 and 2 Peter. While the present work does not,

² Cullmann, *Peter*, 66.

³ H.K. Bond, 'Introduction', in Cullmann, *Peter*, 11. For a brief but apt survey of the scholarly discussion on Peter since the time of F.C. Baur, see Bond, 'Introduction', in Cullmann, *Peter*, 11–13.

⁴ M. Bockmuehl, *Simon Peter in Scripture and Memory: The New Testament Apostle in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 77.

⁵ Recent studies on James include: J. Painter, *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004) and B. Chilton and J. Neusner, *The Brother of Jesus: James the Just and His Mission* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2004).

therefore, seek to prove unequivocally the Petrine origin of the content of Mark and those sections in Acts attributed to Peter, our study supplies ample, indirect evidence in support of the *substantial thematic compatibility* of Mark, the Petrine sections in Acts, and 1 and 2 Peter; evidence which accords with the patristic notion that Peter is the source behind these documents. This compatibility encompasses at least Christology (in the context of Trinitarian theology with ensuing soteriology) and Christ-centered identity formation and character formation, that is, essential identity and personality traits which then drive integrity in morality and ethics. In other words, what we seek to shed light on in this study is the fact that this body of writings stands up to scrutiny as constituting the significant and central Petrine contribution to the general pool of early Christian witness to Jesus and his mission, a body of writings that even displays, at times, unique Petrine characteristics.

Essential Aspects of the Petrine Witness

Our study of Peter's canonical testimony leads to a surprising focus and confluence of witness to Christ (Christology) and core characteristics of discipleship (central aspects of Christian identity and character formation). While Christian maturity has many facets, it is refreshing to learn that, according to Peter's testimony, there are central building blocks of spiritual maturity. A focus on these Petrine core elements helps us build on a solid foundation of dependence upon Christ and to begin growth toward clear goals, both individually and corporately. We thus avoid both vague generalizations on the one hand, and on the other, a sense of feeling overwhelmed by the sheer number of character traits to be appropriated as maturing disciples.

Focus on the core elements does not imply, however, that one should neglect other aspects of following Christ (such as various further forms of spiritual discipline; personal development of skills; ethics; or social, political, economic, and cultural concerns). On the contrary, when we focus on—and grow in—core aspects of discipleship, we will develop in further areas with a sense of inner peace and a trusting confidence in God's guidance toward personal and communal growth. Even though complex societal issues are important and pressing, both during Peter's time and ours, we do well to follow Jesus to the crucial transformation of our inner beings in the hope—and with the goal—of serving as transformed and transforming members of our respective churches, cultures, societies, and nations. According to Peter's testimony, the heart of such transformation is turning from autonomy to God-dependence.

In part 1, we trace the historical portrait of Peter's striking growth as disciple, apostolic witness, and mentoring shepherd with particular focus on Mark, the Petrine portions of Acts, and 1 and 2 Peter (covering the non-transferable and semi-transferable aspects of Peter's formation). We explore how Jesus calls and shapes Peter (as a somewhat extended case study) in his identity, attitude, and inner character, thus laying the foundation for his moral

conduct, ethics, and socially responsible ways of living (see the Gospel of Mark). Peter thus gains access to the facilitating source of and power for sustained and authentic transformation, affecting all areas of his personal and communal life. Under such tutelage, he becomes a highly motivated and motivating team leader. Subsequently, we discover that Peter arises, surprisingly, as a prophetic preacher of repentance to Israel and emerges as the ‘witness and transformation rock’, representing a key foundation upon which Jesus himself builds his worldwide community of disciples, accompanied by much suffering.

After laying this groundwork, parts 2 and 3 then seek to describe the meaning of Peter’s foundational and unique witness and exemplary growth in terms of his witness to Christ (Christology) and in terms of the identity and character formation of a Christian disciple and leading mentor (in other words, the transferable aspects of Peter’s character formation). We explore how Peter develops into a humble mentoring leader of suffering and struggling disciples of Christ in Palestine and Asia Minor (see Acts and 1 Pet). We thus seek to identify marks of spiritual maturity and characteristics of leadership by looking at transferable examples and teachings of Peter.

Technical, historical, and theological studies abound in treating various aspects of this material. Likewise, there are many popular books on Christian maturity. There is, however, a definite lack of a biblical-theological study that describes historically, exegetically, and biblically who Christ is in Peter’s witness, what Christ-centered identity and character formation looks like according to Peter, and how it serves as the foundation of personal and communal change and transformation. We thus seek to explore a Petrine theological witness which is relevant for transformed life.

We are convinced that we conform to God’s revealed approach to transformation and sustained change both personally and in community when we consider Peter’s testimony to the dynamic between Christ (Christology) and the identity formation of the follower as crucial and central to Christian formation. It is biblically unconvincing to look merely at the work of Christ and then to consider directly our response to it in terms of our conduct. On the contrary, *we are incapable of responding in our conduct to God’s work in Christ unless our inner being has been radically undone and ‘reconfigured’ at the hand of the chief physician.* In other words, a divinely initiated, orchestrated, and sustained heart-transaction and transformation (with ensuing identity formation) has to go hand-in-hand with a restorative conduct in our individual and communal lives. Such a heart-transaction can only be mediated and accomplished by God the Holy Spirit, who communicates the will of the Father and the atoning, substitutionary work of the Son. Our studies in the Gospel of Mark, the Petrine sections in Acts, and 1 and 2 Peter will thus display a tripartite understanding of Christian identity and formation, which, incidentally, echoes that of Paul. By looking at the tripartite impact of Christ, we mean that Christian maturity (discipleship in God’s kingdom) addresses at least the following aspects and dimensions:

- a) The *work and ongoing presence of the triune God*—the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—focusing especially on the atoning work of the eternal Son, Jesus. We will often refer to this aspect as the christological, and thus Trinitarian, basis of discipleship and Christian maturity.
- b) The corresponding transformation of the followers' *identity* in heart and mind. Transformation, according to Christian discipleship, addresses, above all, issues of individual and corporate *identity formation as character foundation* under the ongoing influence of Christ, mediated by the Holy Spirit. From this follows,
- c) The resulting *character formation* as the essential makeup of a person or community, once again driven by Christ and mediated by the Holy Spirit. The consequences of such an impact are reflected in individual and societal behavior, morals, and ethics.

The aspect of ethics will not, unfortunately, be discussed in the present work, as important as it is for navigating personal decisions and conduct as well as public guidelines and cultural norms in contemporary culture. Far from speaking against keeping the law of God, however, we emphasize in this study that God's way of accomplishing Christ-centered, law-congruent godliness (see Rom 8:4; 10:4; 13:10; cf. Matt 5:17-20) arises from Christ's atoning and reconciling cleansing of the autonomous heart and will (Mark 7:22-23). He focuses on the transformation of the inner person that leads to a personal and purified, God-dependent identity and character. Only then can moral, ethical, and social issues in conduct and behavior, both individually and corporately, be addressed in a meaningful, God-empowered and sustained way (cf. 2 Pet 1:3). Only then will we be following Christ's priorities and his thoughtful and sustained approach to heralding God's royal and eternal rule on earth.

Definition of Concepts and Terms

Before we begin, let us define a few key concepts and terms that will play a significant role in what lies ahead.

Virtue. Part of this study pursues the question of what characterizes and marks the inner disposition and outlook (see 'Heart' below) of those who grow in a new identity in Christ. We are looking for marks of spiritual maturity and attitudes of the inner being that affect thinking, feeling, and behavior. In antiquity and modernity, the term 'virtue' was and is often used to describe such character formation (e.g., Pharisaic Judaism or Stoicism). The reason why we will not use this term much in our study is the fact that 'virtue', even in our contemporary usage, often implies the concept of self-generated excellence and autonomous perfection (Webster's definition is 'conformity to a standard of right'). This understanding is alien and antithetical to the biblical notion of a godly character and attitude of heart as a *consequence* of perpetual dependence

upon God. We also question self-generated virtue due to the *pondus peccati* (i.e., the profound alienation of mankind from God outside the atonement provided by Christ)⁶ and mankind's failure to live according to the standards of God. We thus prefer to speak of 'attitudes of the heart', 'marks of Christian maturity', 'mature discipleship' or the like, to describe these inner qualities of a person, which are based on a renewed identity and dependence upon Christ. Thus 'love', for example, is such a consequence rather than a 'virtue' (*pace* KJV for 1 Cor 13:1-7 or 2 Pet 1:5).

Character. Webster defines character as it applies to our subject as 'the complex of mental and ethical traits marking and often individualizing a person, group, or nation'. It furthermore pertains to the 'main or essential nature especially as strongly marked and serving to distinguish'. Finally, it represents 'moral excellence and firmness'. In addition to these definitions, we would like to add that in our study we will encounter the dimension of emotional maturity in terms of self-awareness, self-acceptance, and interpersonal adaptability. We will frequently use the terms *godly identity* and *character formation*. We caution the reader not to associate 'character' merely with principled conduct but rather with the deeper change of heart traceable in Peter's life and witness as a response to Jesus's person and teaching.

Heart. Webster defines the *figurative* use of the heart as 'one's innermost character, feelings, or inclinations', connected with personality and inner disposition. As we draw on passages from the Old and New Testaments, we will see that in addition to character, feelings, and inclinations, we must add inner thoughts, worldview, convictions, and volition to this list.

Ambiguities Between Heart Attitudes (Character Traits) and Expressed Character. A final word of clarification is necessary before we embark on our study: at times, we will discuss such heart attitudes and character traits as 'obedience', 'perseverance in persecution', 'courageous witness', 'prayerfulness', 'forgiveness', and 'living as alien sojourners'. It can be argued that these characteristics are not as much attitudes of the heart (and thus character traits) as they are *consequences* of heart attitudes; for instance, obedience as the consequence of the heart attitude of surrender, or perseverance in persecution as the result of faith, etc. While we acknowledge this ambiguity between heart attitudes (character traits) and expressed character, we have found in our texts that many of the aforementioned traits are deeply embedded in heart attitudes (for instance obedience embedded in surrender; courageous witness, prayer, and forgiveness embedded in faith), while at the same time *manifesting* themselves in the art of living. Our study suggests that these

⁶ See C. Plantinga, *Not the Way It's Supposed to Be: A Breviary of Sin* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995).

characteristics could be identified as a 'heart of obedience', a 'heart of perseverance', a 'heart of witness', a 'heart of prayer', a 'heart of forgiveness', and a 'heart of living intentionally as sojourner in this world'. In other words, some of these forms of apparent conduct have so much become 'second nature' that they now characterize a follower of Christ in heart (character) *and* action.

PART ONE

The Apostolic Foundation:

Non-Transferable and Semi-Transferable Aspects of Peter's Work and Witness

By non-transferable aspects of Peter's work and witness we mean those elements of his early Christian work which are entirely unique to him and contain no hint of succession, continuation, or imitation. By semi-transferable aspects of Peter's work and witness we mean those elements of his work which are partially applicable to other followers of Christ.

CHAPTER 1

Peter's Development in the Setting of First-Century Palestinian Judaism¹

The Names of Peter

Hengel rightly observes that the sheer fact that Peter is mentioned by name 181 times in the New Testament (75 times in the Synoptic Gospels and 35 times in John) indicates his prominence in early Christianity.² The New Testament features the following names for the Apostle Peter: (a) his original, 'native Greek'³ name, Simon;⁴ (b) the patronymic and Aramaic Simon Bar-Jonah⁵ (=Simon, son of Jonah or John);⁶ (c) the Aramaic nickname and common noun⁷

¹ Besides Cullmann, *Peter*, 19–33, more recent biographical sketches of Peter's life include: Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 153–76; L.R. Helyer, *The Life and Witness of Peter* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012), 19–31; M. Hengel, *Saint Peter: The Underestimated Apostle* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 1–48; C.P. Thiede, *Simon Peter: From Galilee to Rome* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1986), 17–26; E. Dinkler, 'Petrus, Apostel', *RGK*, V, cols. 247–49; cf. R. Pesch, *Simon–Petrus. Geschichte und geschichtliche Bedeutung des ersten Jüngers Jesu Christi* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1980); K.H. Rengstorff (ed.), *Das Petrusbild in der neueren deutschen Forschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964); R.E. Brown, Donfried, and K.P., Reumann, J. (eds), *Peter in the New Testament: A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2002).

² Hengel, *Peter*, 10–11. Helyer, *Life*, 21, notes that Paul is mentioned 177 times in the NT.

³ Cf. Helyer, *Life*, 19–20, and 20 n. 4. Cullmann (*Peter*, 19) states that Andrew and Philip (both from Bethsaida) likewise have Greek names.

⁴ Often, the name 'Simon' occurs in conjunction with 'Peter': 10x in Matthew; 9x in Mark; 12x in Luke; 23x in John; 11x in Acts. Only in Acts 15:14 (cf. 2 Pet 1:1 in conjunction with 'Peter') the Semitic form of Symeōn is used.

⁵ Matt 16:17; a relatively rare reference.

⁶ John 1:42; 21:15–17. Yohana(n) can be transcribed as Iōna in Greek; thus 'Son of Jonah' and 'Son of John' are not necessarily at odds with each other; *pace* M. Bockmuehl, *The Remembered Peter in Ancient Reception and Modern Debate* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 145.

⁷ See Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 22, who views the term 'Cephas' in the Aramaic-speaking churches of Palestine as 'a kind of dominical title of honor'. Cf. Cullmann, *Peter*, 21.

Cepha (or Cephas), given to him by Jesus (John 1:42)⁸ and which means ‘rock’, ‘stone’, or ‘cliff’ and is translated into the relatively common Greek name of Πέτρος (*Petros*=rock; cf. Mark 3:16 and Matt 16:17); (d) Simon Peter, i.e., ‘Simon Rock’;⁹ (e) Peter.¹⁰ The name Simon occurred more frequently in Judaism subsequent to the Hasmonean uprising,¹¹ which included *Simon Maccabeus* (see below). Due to this name connection, it is possible, among other reasons, that Simon Peter might have taken special notice of the history of the Maccabean uprising during his early years in Galilee. Unlike the Maccabean Simon the ‘hammer’, however, Peter will arise as Simon the humbled and thus solid ‘rock’ for Christ. As our goal initially is to describe what type of person Jesus calls to be a disciple, a key witness and apostle, a brief sketch of Peter’s life up to the time of his encounter with the Messiah is in order. Furthermore, our brief sketch will put into relief the life-lessons Peter internalizes in his particular life-setting *prior* to meeting the Messiah. By looking at formative elements in Peter’s past, we will begin to see fundamental characteristics of Palestinian Jewish theology (from which his messianic expectations arose), teacher-pupil relationships, and patterns of leadership emerge. We will discover ostensible connections as well as distinct contrasts between his past and his radical formation under the tutelage of the Messiah.

Peter’s Shaping Influences Prior to Becoming a Disciple of Jesus

The Place and Date of Peter’s Birth

Peter lived in Galilee, in the context of revived Palestinian Judaism. However, according to John, Peter was born in the border-town of Bethsaida, perhaps

⁸ John 1:42; 1 Cor 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5; Gal 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14. Cepha[s] (Aramaic ܥܦܐ; Hebrew פֶּתָח) is transcribed into Greek as Κηφάς=Kephas (or Cephas). Like the OT (Gen 17:5; 32:27-30; Isa 62:2; 65:15), Jesus gives nicknames to signal a particular characteristic of or divine purpose for some of his followers; see, e.g., Mark 3:17, regarding the sons of Zebedee; cf. Cullmann, *Peter*, 21. Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 59, argues that *hermeneutetai* in John 1:42 denotes ‘meaning rather than naming’.

⁹ Cf. Cullmann, *Peter*, 21; 3x in Matthew, 2x in Mark, 2x in Luke, 17x in John, 5x in Acts.

¹⁰ ‘Peter’ occurs 19x in Matthew, 17x in Mark, 17x in Luke, 12x in John, 49x in Acts, as well as in Gal 2:7-8, 1 Pet 1:1, 2 Pet 1:1.

¹¹ Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 21.

around 1 BC (cf. John 1:44).¹² According to Bockmuehl, Roman era Bethsaida Julias, east of the Jordan,¹³ probably corresponds to the modern site of Et-Tell.¹⁴

When Peter grew up there, it was probably a small town or village (Mark 8:23, 26). It became a Roman *polis* in AD 30 (cf. Luke 9:10; John 1:44).¹⁵ It was inhabited by both Gentiles and, to a lesser degree, Jews. Bockmuehl argues that Peter grew up bi-lingual (see below), given the fact that he initially lived in predominantly Gentile surroundings¹⁶ and later in a place steeped in the renewed Jewish faith and nationalism (Capernaum).¹⁷ His father's name was John (or Jonah), and his younger brother was Andrew, initially a follower of John the Baptist (Mark 1:29; John 1:40-42).

Sometime after his early childhood and a considerable time before his marriage (Mark 1:30; 1 Cor 9:5; cf. John 2:12), Peter moved to Capernaum (Mark 1:21, 29), perhaps for religious reasons,¹⁸ and worked from there, together with his brother, as a 'middle-class' fisherman at the Sea of Galilee (=Lake Gennesaret; Mark 1:16; cf. Matt 4:18; Luke 5:2-3; John 21:3). Jesus's disciple Philip was also a resident of Bethsaida (John 1:44). Peter and his brother Andrew were, likewise, formally associated (μετόχοις, Luke 5:7; κοινωνοί, Luke 5:10), perhaps as business partners,¹⁹ with the fishermen James and John, the sons of Zebedee (Mark 1:29).

¹² Bethsaida, upon which Jesus pronounces his woes (Matt 11:21/Luke 10:13), will be the site of the two-stage healing of the blind man, a pericope particular to Mark (Mark 8:22-26). Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 167, notes the symbolic connection between the blind man and Peter: both are from Bethsaida; both are coming to 'sight' in two stages; neither of them are permitted to return to the place of their birth.

¹³ Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 168. Bethsaida lies technically in the tetrarchy of Trachonitis and not in Herod Antipas' Galilee. The phrase 'Bethsaida of Galilee' (John 12:21), as is the case with the 'Sea of Galilee', does not reflect strict political-geographic boundaries but rather the fact of Jewish settlements in the region adjacent to Galilee proper (Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 170).

¹⁴ Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 22-23; 171-73; Helyer, *Life*, 21-24. For further detail on Bethsaida-Julias, see H.-W. Kuhn, *Betsaida/Bethsaida-Julias (et-Tell): Die ersten 25 Jahre der Ausgrabung (1987-2011) — The First Twenty-Five Years of Excavation (1987-2011)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014).

¹⁵ Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 169.

¹⁶ Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 175. See also Cullmann, *Peter*, 24.

¹⁷ Bockmuehl, *Remembered Peter*, 186.

¹⁸ Bockmuehl, *Simon*, 175.

¹⁹ See details in Helyer, *Life*, 25 and n. 22, regarding the likelihood that we are dealing here with technical terms of financial partnerships.

Peter's Socio-Political Setting²⁰

In order to understand the world in which Peter grew up and in which his convictions and perspectives on life developed, we briefly purvey the history of Israel (especially of Judea and Galilee) from approximately 164 BC onward.

It is highly probable that Peter was taught orally in both formal and informal ways to remember the recent Jewish history, especially spanning the preceding two hundred years prior to his adult life. Chief among these recollections was the Maccabean uprising against Syrian oppression (from 164 BC onward), subsequently commemorated in the annual Feast of Hanukkah (=dedication, cf. John 10:22).²¹ Such commemoration was particularly significant on account of the renewed oppression by a foreign power (Rome) and due to strong messianic expectations (see the works of Josephus) during Peter's life. The Galilee in which Peter grew up and lived had also undergone a process of repopulation by Jews, especially in the wake of the Maccabean uprising (again, see below).²²

Palestine During the Maccabean (Hasmonean) Period (164–63 BC)

Early Maccabean period (164–134 BC)

The highly offensive actions of the Seleucid (Syrian) ruler Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) against the Jewish people (cf. 1 Macc 2:4, 66; 2 Macc 6:1-5; 8:5, 16; 10:1, 16), as well as the increasing accommodation by Jewish leaders (especially Jason [2 Macc 4:7, 13, 22] and Menelaus [2 Macc 4:23-24, 26]) toward Antiochus IV, set the stage for the rise of a guerilla-type Jewish resistance movement.²³ The straw that broke the camel's back was Antiochus IV's order to desecrate the temple in Jerusalem in 167 BC.²⁴ This public provocation occurred after the attempt of inner-Jewish forces in Judea to reinstate the Zadokite Jason as high priest and to depose the first non-Zadokite high priest Menelaus, whose appointment in 171 BC had been sanctioned by Antiochus IV. In retaliation to such insubordination, Antiochus IV demolished the walls of the temple and looted the temple treasury.²⁵ The temple was partially destroyed, thus rendering

²⁰ For the following section on Peter's historical background, I thank my esteemed colleague, Prof. David Calhoun, who gave me his 1994 CTS lecture-notes on *New Testament Backgrounds*; some of his material is partially incorporated here. See E.M. Meyers and M.A. Chancey, *Alexander to Constantine: Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014).

²¹ See 1 Macc 4:36-59 and Josephus, *Ant.* 12.7.7. Significantly, John 10:22 refers to the 'Feast of Dedication' (τὰ ἐγκαίνια).

²² See M.F. Bird, *Jesus and the Origins of the Gentile Mission* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2007).

²³ See 1 Macc 13:43; 2 Macc 5:11.

²⁴ See also 2 Macc 6:1-5; 14:33.

²⁵ Cf. 1 Macc 1:16, 24.

temple worship impossible. Antiochus IV subsequently pursued the hellenization of Jerusalem as a means of controlling Judea. Between 167 and 164 BC, the temple became a center for Zeus worship and Dionysian observances as a substitute to the now forbidden Torah obedience.²⁶ Antiochus IV even had a pig slaughtered in the temple.²⁷ First Maccabees 1:54 calls this the 'appalling sacrilege' or the 'abomination of desolation'.²⁸ In the wake of this, many faithful and resisting Jews were martyred.²⁹

These events spawned the Maccabean Revolt, characterized by loyalty to the Torah, martyrdom,³⁰ and military action based on the belief that God was with his people. In 167 BC, the rural priest Mattathias (1 Macc 5:62) led this Jewish Revolt with his five sons John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. They were known as 'Hasmoneans', named after their family patriarch, Hashman. Surprisingly, the Revolt resulted in the renewed purification of the temple in 164 BC (1 Macc 4:36-59; 2 Macc 10:1-8). Since Antiochus IV had greater plans of expansion eastward toward the Euphrates, he chose not to continue to do battle in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, further serious conflicts erupted between the Seleucid successors of Antiochus IV (from 164 to 143 BC) and subsequent Maccabean leaders, notably Jonathan, who became, with Syrian consent, high priest, governor, and military commander in 150 BC (1 Macc 9:28-31). Eventually, the Maccabeans attained independence for Judea in 142 BC,³¹ thus ending a long and arduous struggle against Seleucid control.³² Around 140 BC, Simon Maccabeus, the last surviving son of Mattathias, became governor (ethnarch) and, like his brother Jonathan, a *non-Zadokite* high priest (1 Macc 13:1-10; 14:35).³³

Later Maccabean Period (134–63 BC)

The Hasmonean period lasted a little under one hundred years, extending from the Maccabean victory in 164 BC (with their rule commencing in 142 BC) to the

²⁶ During that time, Sabbath observances, circumcisions, sacrifices, and festivals were forbidden. C.J. Roetzel (*The World that Shaped the New Testament* [London: SCM, 1987], 12) notes that Antiochus IV makes the 'possession of a Torah scroll a capital offense'. See 2 Macc 6:10-11 (cf. 1 Macc 1:59-64) regarding reprisals for those disobeying Antiochus's orders.

²⁷ 1 Macc 1:41-59; cf. 2 Macc 6:3-9.

²⁸ See already Dan 9:27; 11:31; cf. Mark 13:14.

²⁹ See especially the mother's account concerning the martyrdom of her seven sons (2 Macc 7:1-41).

³⁰ Cf. 2 Macc 7; Heb 11:35b-38.

³¹ Cf. 1 Macc 15:5-6; cf. also 1 Macc 13:43: 'The yoke of the Gentiles was removed from Israel'.

³² 1 Macc 14:4-15.

³³ The hereditary, non-Zadokite priesthood (cf. 1 Macc 14:41) was justified 'until a true prophet arises'.

rise and direct rule of Palestine by Rome in 63 BC. While a great theocratic victory had been won in the second half of the second century BC for Jews in Palestine, dedicated leaders in the early Maccabean period were gradually replaced by weaker successors, sharing little concern for the initial Maccabean cause and displaying much greater interest in personal gain and power. Among them were John Hyrcanus, son of Simon (134–105 BC), and especially Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BC). These latter Maccabean leaders attempted to limit aspects of Hellenistic influence and culture only for the sake of gaining power and access to the office of high priest, not in order to preserve the Jewish faith (and then ended up perpetuating Hellenistic practices nevertheless). In fact, Hellenistic life in aristocratic Jerusalem returned, at least partially, to the state it had been in during the pre-Maccabean compromise. The latter leaders also pursued an aggressive foreign policy.³⁴

Eerily parallel to the earlier inner-Jewish strife over the high priestly appointment of the non-Zadokite priest Menelaus, which had been exploited by Antiochus IV, the ‘civil war’ between the last Hasmoneans Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II led to Roman ‘intervention’.³⁵ In 63 BC, the Roman commander Pompey occupied Syria. As part of the Roman province of Syria, Palestine’s arduous subjection to Rome began in earnest, continuing the at times severe tax burden which had been levied against Palestine since the days of Seleucid dominance. Dodd aptly characterizes the time from 164 to 63 BC in this way: ‘It began in the heroic resistance of the Maccabees, flourished for a time under their successors, the Hasmonean princes, and fizzled out in sordid squabbles among their last heirs, when a Roman takeover became inevitable.’³⁶ Nevertheless, the *memory* of Hasmonean resistance against foreign oppressors, believed to have been successful on account of God’s intervention (cf. 2 Macc 3:22-34), continued to inspire tried Jewry for two hundred—and indeed for more than two thousand—years: the Feast of Hanukkah, commemorating the cleansing and rededication of the temple in 164 BC must have served as a telling testimony to this. The not-so-distant memory of the Maccabean uprising against Seleucid dominance would be crucial in forming Peter’s view of Israel’s past, marked by suppression, liberation, future hope (see Acts 1:6, ‘restoration of the kingdom to Israel’; cf. Judg 6:13; Dan 2:44), and especially his expectation of a messianic liberator along the lines of a Maccabean leader (Mark 8:32b; Acts 1:6; cf. 2 Sam 7:14-16).

³⁴ Alexander Jannaeus, e.g., expands his realm of influence nearly to the extent of that of David (cf. Roetzel, *World*, 14).

³⁵ It is important to remember that the early Maccabean leaders had forged alliances with Rome (cf. 1 Macc 8:1-32; 12:1-4; 14:16-19, 24).

³⁶ C.H. Dodd, *The Founder of Christianity* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1970), 6.