



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Apocalyptic Spatiality in 1 Peter and Selected 1 Enoch Literature

A Comparative Analysis

Sofanit Tamene Abebe

A Thesis Submitted to

The University of Edinburgh

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in New Testament and Christian Origins

2021

DECLARATION

I confirm that this thesis has been composed entirely by myself and that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification in this or any other institution.

ABSTRACT

The present work is an exegetical analysis that outlines the spatio-temporal aspects of the Jewish apocalyptic framework that has shaped the later 1 Enoch texts (1 Enoch 91–108) on the one hand, and as will be demonstrated, the First Epistle of Peter on the other.

Using critical spatial theory to analyse spatial categories in these traditions, I will consider how reality is portrayed in these traditions and in what ways the Jewish apocalyptic framework shapes the authors' perspectives, emphases and moral visions. Towards this end, I will analyse the later 1 Enoch traditions (the Exhortation, the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Epistle of Enoch and the Eschatological Admonition) and their respective constructions of symbolic space. I will argue that their respective visions of reality is constructed on the basis of an axis linking heaven and earth through the disclosure of divine revelation by the Enochic authors. The revelatory basis on which the Enochic authors' form their text serves to identify their readers as those who are divinely constituted through election and given access to a new spatial reality.

Through a programmatic recalling of cultic spatial practices and significant events from Israel's sacred past, 1 Peter depicts the Christ-elect addressees as constituting the space where the divine dwells. Behind this disclosure lies the basis for his call of allegiance and orientation towards serving God and imitating Christ as well as his concern with maintaining divine presence. Such a spatial construal provides the means to reconstitute the addressees as the mobile axis linking heaven and earth and bring the notion of moral purity to the centre of 1 Peter's lived space. In doing so, 1 Peter construes the readers' corporate and corporeal existence in

Roman Asia Minor within the Jewish matrix of exile as a mode of existence on an apocalyptic stage newly configured by Christ.

Without resorting to a genealogical or literary dependence of one tradition on the other, such a comparative reading provides a fresh understanding of the comparanda that is grounded in the ancient authors' construction of lived space within a Jewish theological matrix. This will serve to ground my engagement with recent scholarly evaluations of the ancient authors' socio-historical and political stance such as the response to hostile others including imperial realities and institutions. Taking the conversation beyond the confines of counter-imperial readings, the present work examines the respective authors' critical engagement with hostile others and evaluation of persecution from a wider angle that takes into account the texts' theocentric—and Christocentric, in the case of 1 Peter—understanding of reality along a temporal and spatial axis.

LAY SUMMARY

This thesis is a comparison between the view of reality in the First Epistle of Peter and selected literature from the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. The comparative analysis takes insight from recent theories about space that view geographical locations in terms of the effect they have on people and their openness to be changed and reshaped as arenas of human activity, perception and ideological expression. Taking into account the claim of divinely revealed knowledge about hidden aspects of reality that is found in these texts, the present study looks at the spatial self-expression of each respective author. The comparison will thus engage underlying presumptions and the overall aim the author hopes to accomplish. I will also compare aspects of each author's symbolic world and the ideas and perspectives used to construct such a world. I will show that each author's view of reality relativizes and resists the status quo. At its core, the symbolic world that emerges from these texts is concerned with maintaining a relationship with God in radical new ways that speak to and inform the readers about the identity that the authors' view of reality confers to them.

To

Paulos

for making everything possible

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to God for his loving kindness and for the wonderful people he has placed in my life and the institutions he has used. First and foremost, I would like to express my profound gratitude to my loving husband Paulos without whom none of this would have been possible, it is to him that I dedicate this work. I also wish to thank my beautiful daughters Salem and Zoe whose unconditional love warms my heart every single day. I am also thankful to my mother Senait for her love and her endless sacrifices to see me happy. I am grateful to my brother Zelalem whose love and encouragement I feel despite the continents between us.

My supervisor Dr. Matthew V. Novenson is the embodiment of scholarly excellence and kindness. I am grateful for his insightful feedback on my work and the countless hours he has put into this project. His encouragement and support has been indispensable to me during pandemic scares, lockdowns and home-schooling disasters during this past year.

I would also like to express my gratitude to staff, faculty and librarians at New College. From the day I arrived, it had felt like home, and I am grateful for the supportive and stimulating environment. I am also grateful to Dr. Emma Wild-Wood and Dr. Susan Hardman Moore for the practical support I received when I damaged my laptop or needed out-of-hours access to study space. The PhD journey was made enjoyable by my fellow travellers at New College. I am especially grateful to Cam Clausing, Sydney Tooth, Hannah Clardy, Matt Sharp, Heather Pillette, Ryan Collman, Alex Muir, Dingjian Xie, George Walters-Sleyon, Josef Linhoff, Eric Beck, Jaime Wright and Andrew Ong for their friendship and the many hours of stimulating conversation and laughter.

I am also thankful for the community of postgraduate students and their families at Blacket Avenue. My family and I are especially grateful for Judit Kuti and Rachel Lacourtablaise for their love and support. I am grateful for all the fun they made sure my girls had! Another inspiring group of women whose strength of character and depth of love blesses and enriches my life deserve a special thank you: Misgana Elias, Kelly Aschalew and Feven Hailu. Words cannot adequately express the gratitude I also feel for my friends Binyam Yakob and Melat Kassu. From proof reading my drafts and patiently listening to my long winded monologues on all things Enoch, Peter and apocalyptic to supplying a steady source of caffeine, music and cake, Binyam and Melat have been a constant source of joy and blessing.

I am also grateful to Wayne Sutton who kindly gave me access to office space at Carrubbers Christian Centre towards the end of the first lockdown. I am thankful for his generosity and prayers. I would also like to thank Langham Partnership and ScholarLeaders International for giving me a generous scholarship without which this PhD would not have been possible.

I also want to thank the Ethiopian Graduate School of Theology (EGST) for the financial support I have received over the years. I am especially grateful to Dr. Desta Heliso who is a fierce advocate for the advancement of women, it is a privilege to have him in my life as a friend and mentor. I am also grateful to Rev. Dr. Misgana Mathewos for his encouragement.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----------|
| Acknowledgment | i |
| Chapter 1: Introductory Matters..... | 1 |
| 1.1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1.1 The Book of Enoch | 1 |
| 1.1.2 Justification for the Choice of Comparanda | 9 |
| 1.2 History of Research..... | 16 |
| 1.2.1 The Response to Suffering | 18 |
| 1.2.2 Spatial Perspectives | 21 |
| 1.2.3 Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and Early Jewish Apocalyptic Literature | 27 |
| 1.3 Methodological Considerations | 34 |
| 1.3.1 The Apocalyptic Worldview..... | 34 |
| 1.3.2 Critical Spatiality | 39 |
| 1.3.3 The Comparative Approach of the Present Study..... | 41 |

PART I

APOCALYPTIC SPATIALITY IN 1 ENOCH 91-108

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Chapter 2: The Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10; 91:11–17)..... | 45 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 45 |
| 2.2 Literary Context..... | 47 |
| 2.2.1 The Pattern of History..... | 47 |
| 2.2.2 The Revelation of Wisdom, Election and Salvation | 49 |
| 2.2.3 Final Judgment | 52 |
| 2.3 Spatiality in the Apocalypse of Weeks..... | 55 |
| 2.3.1 The Temple..... | 55 |
| 2.3.2 Revelation as Spatial Production | 56 |
| 2.3.3 The Hostile Other in the Apocalypse of Weeks..... | 58 |
| 2.3.4 Righteousness as a Spatial Practice | 62 |
| 2.4 Conclusion | 67 |
| Chapter 3: The Exhortation (91:1–10, 18–19)..... | 68 |
| 3.1 Introduction | 68 |

| | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------|
| 3.2 | Temporality and eschatology | 68 |
| 3.3 | Spatiality and Revealed Wisdom..... | 70 |
| 3.4 | Conclusion | 72 |
| Chapter 4: | The Epistle of Enoch (92:1–5; 93:11–105:2) | 74 |
| 4.1 | Introduction | 74 |
| 4.2 | Literary Context..... | 75 |
| 4.3 | The Hostile Other in the Epistle of Enoch..... | 76 |
| 4.4 | Human Responsibility for Sin | 81 |
| 4.5 | Conclusion | 84 |
| Chapter 5: | Apocalyptic Space in the Eschatological Admonition..... | 86 |
| 5.1 | Introduction | 86 |
| 5.2 | Literary Context..... | 86 |
| 5.3 | The Production of Space in 1 Enoch 108..... | 90 |
| 5.3.1 | Eschatological Blessing: A Thirdspace Vision | 90 |
| 5.3.2 | The Spatial Practice of Perseverance and Righteousness | 92 |
| 5.4 | Conclusion | 94 |

PART II

APOCALYPTIC SPATIALITY IN 1 PETER

| | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------|
| Chapter 6: | Apocalyptic Space in 1 Peter: the Heavens | 97 |
| 6.1 | Introduction | 97 |
| 6.2 | Remembered Space | 98 |
| 6.2.1 | Elected, Consecrated and Sprinkled with Blood (1:1-2)..... | 98 |
| 6.2.2 | Consecration as Priestly Ordination..... | 100 |
| 6.2.3 | God's Presence and οἶκος πνευματικὸς (2:5)..... | 109 |
| 6.3 | Apocalyptic Spatiality | 115 |
| 6.3.1 | Spatial Order and Disorder | 115 |
| 6.3.2 | Revealed Knowledge..... | 121 |
| 6.3.3 | The Significance of temple Space | 123 |
| 6.3.4 | Re-Configured Social Relations and Spatial Identity | 127 |
| 6.4 | The Spatial Practice of Imitating Christ and God..... | 129 |
| 6.5 | Conclusion | 133 |

Chapter 7: Apocalyptic Space in 1 Peter: Diaspora and Babylon..... 135

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 7.1 | Introduction | 135 |
| 7.2 | “Diaspora” (1:1), “Babylon” (5:13) & Related Marks of Otherness... 138 | |
| 7.2.1 | To the Diaspora...From Babylon | 138 |
| 7.2.2 | Diaspora-Babylon as the Space of Cosmic Evil..... | 141 |
| 7.2.3 | Diaspora-Babylon as the Space of Obedience | 143 |
| 7.3 | Suffering and the Hostile Other in 1 Peter..... | 160 |
| 7.3.1 | Reward and Suffering..... | 160 |
| 7.3.2 | Suffering and the Imitation of Christ..... | 161 |
| 7.3.3 | The Hostile Other..... | 163 |
| 7.4 | Conclusion | 166 |

Chapter 8: Apocalyptic Space in 1 Peter: Baptism 170

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 8.1 | Introduction | 170 |
| 8.2 | Baptism as the Removal of Moral Impurity..... | 171 |
| 8.2.1 | Sinfulness as Moral Defilement | 172 |
| 8.2.2 | Atonement and Moral Defilement | 173 |
| 8.2.3 | “Baptism ... now saves you” (3:21)..... | 176 |
| 8.3 | Baptism as the Defeat of Cosmic Evil | 180 |
| 8.4 | Baptism as Entrance to the Space of God | 184 |
| 8.5 | Conclusion | 187 |

PART III

APOCALYPTIC SPATIALITY IN 1 ENOCH 91 - 108 AND 1 PETER: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Chapter 9: Apocalyptic Spatiality in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter 191

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 9.1 | Introduction | 191 |
| | Revelation in 1 Peter and the later Enochic traditions..... | 194 |
| 9.1.1 | Mediators of Revelation | 195 |
| 9.1.2 | The Aim of Revelation | 203 |
| 9.2 | Determinism and Human Responsibility..... | 206 |
| 9.2.1 | Election in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter..... | 207 |
| 9.2.2 | Judgment in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter..... | 220 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 9.2.3 The Moral Self | 234 |
| 9.3 Apocalyptic Spatiality in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter | 242 |
| 9.4 Conclusion | 250 |
| Chapter 10: Conclusion..... | 252 |
| Bibliography | 259 |

Chapter 1: Introductory Matters

1.1 Introduction

The present work is an exegetical analysis that outlines the spatio-temporal aspects of the Jewish apocalyptic framework that has shaped the later 1 Enoch traditions (i.e., 1 Enoch 91–108) on the one hand, and as will be demonstrated, the First Epistle of Peter on the other. The Book of Enoch or the Ethiopic Enoch, is a composite work written in the name of Enoch from Genesis 5:21–24. The corpus exists in its most complete form in Ethiopic (Ge'ez) as a translation from Greek probably in the 4th–6th century CE. Before justifying my choice of comparanda and presenting the history of scholarship and methodological considerations that pertain to the present study, I will present below a brief introduction to 1 Enoch.

1.1.1 The Book of Enoch

There are nearly 150 copies of 1 Enoch in the Ge'ez tradition.¹ These are found among collections in Europe, the Middle East, North America and Ethiopia. Out of these, around 110 copies, in various states of preservation, are currently analysed as a basis for a critical edition being prepared by Loren T. Stuckenbruck. The Ge'ez manuscripts date from ca. 1400 until the late 20th century and constitute a tradition rooted in a translation from Greek composed in Ethiopia between the 4th

¹ Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Ted M. Erho, "The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses for the Text Tradition of 1 Enoch: Problems and Prospects," in *XVII Congress of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Aberdeen, 2019* (Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming). As Stuckenbruck and Erho note, despite the overlaps with the Ge'ez, the Aramaic fragments indicate the existence "of a longer or substantially disparate text not preserved in any of the later versions." While 4Q201 contains a different text than the Ethiopic tradition after 12:6, 4Q212 points to a longer text for 91:10; 91:15–16; 91:19 and 93:11–14. The manuscript fragments among 4Q207–211 also constitute a different tradition than the Ethiopic. See further, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, CEJL (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 147, 173–74, 182, 594–95; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 206–8, 266–67.

and 6th centuries CE.² The Greek version, which constitutes approximately 28 percent of 1 Enoch is a translation from an Aramaic original.³ Below is a brief discussion of the extant 1 Enoch manuscript tradition, the relationship between these and challenges that surround the construction of a critical text. I will also explain which critical texts I will draw upon in this study and on what basis that choice was made.

1.1.1.1 The Aramaic Version of 1 Enoch

The Aramaic Enoch fragments are found in 4Q201–4Q212 and preserve less than 5 percent of the early Enochic corpus.⁴ Seven manuscripts preserve parts of 1 En. 1–36 and 1 En. 85–107. Milik dates 4QEn^a (=4Q201) to the first half of the 2nd century BCE⁵, 4QEn^b (=4Q202) to the middle of the second century B.C.E⁶ and 4QEn^d (4Q205) to the last third of the 1st century BCE⁷. For my comparative study, I am only concerned with chapters 91–108 which are preserved in very fragmentary Aramaic texts (see 1.1. 2 for a justification of a focus on the later 1 Enoch traditions).

² Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 2:21–22.

³ George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapter 1-36; 81-108*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, HCHCB (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 12; Knibb provides a higher estimate, putting the Greek version at around 35 percent (366 out of 1,062 verses in the Ge'ez text), cf. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2:20. For a discussion of whether the Ge'ez version derives from an Aramaic or a Hebrew original, see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 214–16; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2:6–7; see also, R. H Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch: Edited from Twenty-Three MSS. Together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions*, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* 11 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), lvii-lxx.

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 12; Knibb provides a higher estimate, putting the Greek version at around 35 percent (366 out of 1,062 verses in the Ge'ez text), cf. Knibb, *Enoch*, 20. For a discussion of whether the Ge'ez version derives from an Aramaic or a Hebrew original, see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 214-16; Knibb, *Enoch*, 6-7; see also, Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, lvii-lxx.

⁴ Cf. Ted M. Erho and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "A Manuscript History of Ethiopic Enoch," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 23.2 (2013): 87; for a discussion of the Dead Sea materials see, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Early Traditions Related to 1 Enoch from the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment," in *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, SJSJ (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 41–63.

⁵ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 140.

⁶ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 164.

⁷ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 217.

Pertaining to the Apocalypse of Weeks, 4QEn^g (=4Q212⁸, mid-1st century BCE⁹) contains text from 1 En. 93:1–4, 9–10 and 91:11–17. For the Epistle of Enoch, 4QEn^c (=4Q204, last third of 1st century BCE¹⁰) and 4QEn^g preserve fragments of the text which belongs to 1 Enoch 92:1–5 and 94:1–2, 5.¹¹ Since 4QEn^g preserves only portions of the Exhortation, the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Epistle of Enoch, there is no evidence that it contained any of the other Enochic texts except chapters 91–105.¹² Unlike the Ethiopic tradition, 4QEn^g contains the proper order of the ten-week sequence of the Apocalypse of Weeks (i.e., 93:3 – 10 followed by 91:11–17).¹³

1.1.1.2 The Greek Version of 1 Enoch

The Greek version is a reworking of older traditions preserved among the Aramaic and a few Hebrew fragments among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Greek Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus (4th cent. CE) contains a running text of most of the Epistle of Enoch (97:6–104:13) and in another section the story of Noah’s birth (106:1–107:3). It parallels the Ethiopic at 97:6–107:3.¹⁴ However, as Stuckenbruck notes, the text “seems to have been hastily copied, is riddled with errors and can only be used with caution.”¹⁵

⁸ Milik assigned it to columns i through v; cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 245-72; see also Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 50.

⁹ So Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 246.

¹⁰ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 178–79.

¹¹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 7.

¹² On which, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 50 and n. 85.

¹³ See further Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 50.

¹⁴ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 14.

¹⁵ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, CEJL (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 186. He provides a list of missing portions and errors in the text (cf. p.186):

(a) [missing text] where the bottom of the papyrus sheets are torn – 98:3b–4a; 98:11b–12a; 99:5b–6; most of 100:1; 100:10; 101:7b; 103:1; 103:13b; 104:9b; (b) the manuscript did not contain 105:1–2 (see below); and (c) a number of (mostly) smaller omissions through homoioteleuton – 98:15; 99:4, 8, 9, 16; 100:11, 13; 102:7, 8; 103:3–4, 5–6, 12, 15; 104:1, 12. In addition, in numerous instances the text requires some emendation in order to make sense. Good examples of this may be found in 97:8, 10; 98:3, 13, 14; 99:13, 16; 100:3, 5, 9; 101:2; 102:1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9; 103:2; 103:7, 9, 11, 12, 15; 104:1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13.

1.1.1.3 The Ge'ez Version of 1 Enoch

The most complete running text of 1 Enoch is extant only in a Ge'ez (Ethiopic) version.¹⁶ The Greek version which provides a textual basis for the Ethiopic lacks texts or fragments for the Book of Parables (1 En. 37–71) as well as the Eschatological Admonition (1 En. 108). There are two recensions of the Ethiopic Enoch, 'Ethiopic I' (Eth I) and 'Ethiopic II' (Eth II).¹⁷ The latter represents a standardising text that emerged during the 17th century and reflects the attempt of Ethiopian copyists to turn the Ethiopic text into a version usable in the church.¹⁸ Eth I, the earlier recension, reflects a variegated textual tradition that is represented by a growing number of manuscripts. While Johannes Flemming¹⁹ and R. H. Charles²⁰ have identified six Eth I manuscripts, Michael Knibb²¹ has collated seven. Nine manuscripts were collated and used by Siegbert Uhlig²² and Nickelsburg²³. Reflecting a much wider number of manuscripts, the critical edition currently being prepared by Stuckenbruck represents around thirty manuscripts in addition to formal citations of the Ethiopic Enoch from approximately "fifteen indigenous works composed before and during the 17th century."²⁴

Although Eth I reflect the oldest witnesses to the Ethiopic tradition, there is still about a thousand years that separate the earliest extant manuscripts from the fourth-

¹⁶ As Nickelsburg correctly notes, the translation of 1 Enoch to Ge'ez occurred as part of translating the Bible from Greek, which in the Ethiopic canon included Jubilees and 1 Enoch, cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 15.

¹⁷ Charles calls these the α and β recension, respectively, cf. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version*, xvii–xxiv; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 16.

¹⁸ For a detailed description of the Eth II recension see, Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 23–26.

¹⁹ Johannes Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902).

²⁰ Charles, *The Ethiopic Version*, xvii–xxiv.

²¹ Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, vol. 2.

²² Siegbert Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1984), 489.

²³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 15–17.

²⁴ Stuckenbruck and Erho, "The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses."

to sixth-century translation of 1 Enoch. The greatest challenge that surrounds the construction of a critical text arises out of the fact that the Eth I witnesses derive from a relatively late period.²⁵ It is only Tana 9 and EMML 7584 that can be confidently dated to the 15th century and Abb 55 and EMML 2080 to the 15th–16th centuries. While the other seven are dated to from the 16th–18th centuries: BM 485a, BM 485, Berl, EMML 1768 to the 16th century, Abb 35 and EMML 6281 to the 17th century and BM 491 to the 18th. As Stuckenbruck and Erho note, it is no more than half a dozen codices and fragments that antedate the second millennium. Furthermore is “at most 30 or 40 items in various states of condition which are available for study precede the 14th century. However, as Stuckenbruck and Erho note, the Ethiopic tradition was extremely conservative in the transmission of texts.²⁶ Scribes aimed for precise reproduction and deliberate rewriting or editing of received tradition was extremely rare. They note the significance of the Ethiopic tradition writing that:

[i]n antiquity, as well as the medieval period, Ethiopic texts seem to have changed almost exclusively through accidental corruption, i.e., mistakes in the transmission of the text in one manuscript into another [...] (as holds for all Jewish literature preserved in Ethiopic); hence the continuing importance of the tradition for its reception of very ancient material, whereas some parts of the Greek tradition are more susceptible to, e.g., Christianizing, interference.²⁷

Thus, corruptions of text occur by leaving material out than being added e.g., through homoioteleuton. Stuckenbruck and Erho also write that major corruptions

²⁵ Stuckenbruck and Erho, “The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses.”

²⁶ Stuckenbruck and Erho, “The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses.”

²⁷ Stuckenbruck and Erho, “The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses”. Stuckenbruck addresses the question of whether and to what degree scribal interference can be detected in the Greek and Ethiopic versions of 1 Enoch in a recent essay, cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Has Christian Tradition Influenced the Ge’ez and Greek Versions of 1 Enoch?,” in *Beyond Canon: Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition*, ed. Meron T. Gebreananaye, Logan Williams, and Francis Watson (London: T&T Clark, 2021), 55–66.

commonly occur in miscopying through codicological displacement. Furthermore, translators' proficiency in Greek is a factor to consider in the construction of a critical text where mistranslations and other changes in language transfer are to be expected.²⁸

Reflecting an additional difficulty associated with the construction of a critical text, there is wide variation within the Ethiopic I recension. Following Uhlig, Nickelsburg places the nine manuscripts of this recension he uses (i.e., BM485, BM491, Berl, Abb 35, Abb 55, Tana 9, EMMML 1768, EMMML 2080, EMMML 6281) into four subgroups which reflect products of a 15th century recension and share readings not followed by other manuscripts. These subgroups are sometimes overlapping with Abb 35 and Abb 55 each sharing characteristics with two sub-groups.²⁹ Given the growing number of Eth I manuscripts that are being identified since the publication of Nickelsburg commentary, the clusters of manuscripts reflect an even more complex textual history.³⁰ As Erho and Stuckenbruck rightly note,

Clusters or families of manuscripts have emerged which share major conjunctive errors, especially common omissions and duplications of passages, suggesting affiliations along different lines than those previously suggested. However, the relationships between individual manuscripts within families derived from conjunctive errors and the relationships of these groups or branches to each other have yet to be properly established.³¹

²⁸ Stuckenbruck and Erho, "The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses."

²⁹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 16 and nn. 67-68.

³⁰ See for e.g., Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Ted M. Erho, "The Book of Enoch and the Ethiopian Manuscript Tradition: New Data," in *'Go Out and Study the Land' (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical, and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel*, ed. Aren M. Maeir, Jodi Magness, and Lawrence H. Schiffman, vol. 148 of *Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 257–67; Ted Erho, "New Ethiopic Witnesses to Some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," *Bulletin of SOAS* 76.1 (2013): 75–97; Erho and Stuckenbruck, "Ethiopic Enoch."

³¹ Stuckenbruck and Erho, "The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses."

Further complicating the construction of a critical text is the problem with accessing manuscripts given the current political situation in the country. This pertains to not only the manuscripts preserved by most, if not all, of the 800 monastic and 20,000 church libraries thought to exist in Ethiopia but also those in the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) stored at the National Archives and Library Agency in Addis Ababa.

1.1.1.4 Critical Text Used in this Study

My study is based specifically on the critical study of 1 Enoch 91–108 by Stuckenbruck which takes its point of departure in the Ethiopic text tradition due to the running text it preserves for chapters 91–108. In establishing an Ethiopic textual basis, Stuckenbruck takes into account the older, though more varied, Eth I recension while offering a text-critical negotiation of inner-Ethiopic variants that does not disregard the Eth II.³² He also consults the more fragmentary evidence preserved in the Aramaic, Greek, Coptic and Latin textual witnesses. In contrast to Nickelsburg who provides a single translation of a composite text that he bases on a critical comparison of all versions, Stuckenbruck offers a parallel presentation of these versions (Greek, Latin, Coptic) whenever they have a running text and lists differences with the Ethiopic manuscripts or the reconstructed Ethiopic text. This is due to the complexity and wide variation within each version, especially the Ethiopic, to establish the text. Thus, as Stuckenbruck notes, “by making the process transparent in this way, the reader has the possibility of observing and participating

³² Cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 26–27.

in at least some of the comparative and text-critical procedures being followed at any given point.”³³

Another strength of Stuckenbruck’s edition is the provision of a putative Greek text that departs from the Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus where a different Greek *Vorlage* has given rise to the Ethiopic tradition.³⁴ He also lists in full the fragmentary Aramaic and Coptic sources. I have thus drawn upon the text provided in Stuckenbruck’s commentary on 1 Enoch 91–108 on the basis of the rich and exhaustive exposition of these traditions as well as the general preference for the Ethiopic I recension over the Ethiopic II.³⁵ The Ethiopic I evidence that underlies Stuckenbruck’s edition is listed below along with dates, location and content for the manuscripts.³⁶

| Siglum | Date | Place | Content |
|----------------------|------------|--|--------------|
| BM 485 | 16th c. | London (British Library) | 1-108 |
| BM 485a | 16th c. | London (British Library) | 97:6b–108:10 |
| BM 491 | 18th c. | London (British Library) | 1-108 |
| Berl | 16th c. | Tübingen (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz) | 1-108 |
| Abb 35 | 17th c. | Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France) | 1-108 |
| Abb 55 | 15-16th c. | Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France) | 1-108 |
| Tana 9 ³⁷ | 15th c. | Kibran (Kibran Gebriel Monastery) | 1-108 |

³³ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 18.

³⁴ For the text-critical principles that lie behind Stuckenbruck’s edition, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 27–28.

³⁵ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 27.

³⁶ The list of Eth I manuscripts above is adapted from Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 20–21. For a list containing details of the growing number of manuscripts in the standardised Eth II recension, cf. pp. 23-25.

³⁷ As Erho notes, Tana 9 is filmed as EMMML 8292 in a more legible copy than than the catalogued copy in Ernest Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tänäsee 1* (VOHDXX, 1. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973), 107–8; cf. Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses,” 89.

| | | | |
|-----------|------------|------------------------------|-------|
| EMML 2080 | 15-16th c. | Hayq Estifanos | 1-108 |
| EMML 1768 | 16th c. | Hayq Estifanos | 1-108 |
| | | Collegetville (Hill Monastic | |
| EMML 6281 | 17th c. | Manuscript Library) | 1-108 |
| | | Collegetville (Hill Monastic | |
| EMML 7584 | 15th c. | Manuscript Library) | 1-108 |

1.1.2 Justification for the Choice of Comparanda

The similarities between 1 Peter and the Enochic traditions have been noted as early as 1890 when Friedrich Spitta engaged Jewish literature as a background to 1 Peter 3:18–22.³⁸ Spitta offered an interpretation of 1 Peter 3:18–22 within the context of Israelite flood traditions as well as 1 Enoch’s myth of fallen angels. Other interpreters likewise consider 1 Enoch traditions when interpreting 1 Peter 3:18–22.³⁹ While a number of such studies engage this particular passage, others have adduced perceived conceptual or linguistic parallels with respect to other aspects of the epistle. With the exception of Chad T. Pierce who offers a brief look at the apocalyptic motif of revelation and “glory” in 1 Peter,⁴⁰ the comments and views which Petrine scholars offer in relation to 1 Enoch are often confined to brief paragraphs and footnotes. George Nickelsburg, for instance, writes without further elaboration that,

³⁸ Friedrich Spitta, *Christi Predigt an Die Geister (1 Petr. 3, 19ff.): Ein Beitrag Zur Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1890).

³⁹ Cf. Bo Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of 1 Peter III. 19 and Its Context*, ASNU 13 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1946); William J. Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 Peter 3:18–4:6*, 2nd ed., *Analecta Biblica* 23 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1989).

⁴⁰ Cf. his brief analysis of the Jewish apocalyptic thought world in 1 Peter which I have earlier noted in Chapter 1: Chad T. Pierce, “Apocalypse and the Epistles of 1, 2 Peter and Jude,” in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2017), 307–25.

[t]he author of 1 Peter works from an apocalyptic worldview similar to that of 1 Enoch. The eschaton and the final judgment are imminent, and the reader can take comfort in the knowledge that, in spite of present tribulation, heaven holds a reward, as yet unseen, for the righteous (1:3–12).⁴¹

Additionally, before listing specific linguistic and conceptual parallels, Nickelsburg further adds that “striking parallels between 1 Peter and 1 Enoch 108 may indicate the Petrine author’s knowledge of Enochic traditions.”⁴² He provides the following list.⁴³

| | 1 Enoch 108 | 1 Peter |
|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| do evil | 2, 6, 10 | 3:12 |
| seed will perish | 3b | 1:23 (perishable seed) |
| prophetic books, angels | 6-7 | 1:10-12 |
| love God, heaven | 8, 10 | 1:8 (love Christ) |
| disdain silver, gold | 8 | 1:7, 18 |
| do not desire food | 8 | 2:2 (desire milk) |
| breath that passes | 9 | 1:24 (flesh as grass) |
| spirits tested, found pure | 9 | 1:7 (found praiseworthy) |
| bles, blessing | 9-10 | 3:9 |
| reproach, insult, abuse | 7, 10 | 3:16; 4:4, 16 |
| blessing by contrast | 10 | 2:9 |
| summoned from darkness to light | 11 | 2:9 |
| exaltation | 12 | 5:4, 6 |
| righteous judgment | 13 | 1:17; 2:23 |

In explicating 1 Peter’s apocalyptic worldview along spatial axis and comparing it to the larger literary context within which 1 Enoch 108 appears (i.e., 1 Enoch 91–108), my study can be considered as an attempt to build on and further Nickelsburg’s

⁴¹ George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapter 1-36; 81-108*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, HCHCB (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 86.

⁴² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 86.

⁴³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 560.

brief study. It is also an attempt to respond to his suggestion that 1 Peter reflects an apocalyptic worldview comparable to Jewish apocalyptic writings concerned with the theme of divine revelation, final judgment and ultimate vindication for righteous sufferers in the after-life.

Similarly, John H. Elliott draws attention to the need for a more substantive engagement of 1 Peter vis-à-vis 1 Enoch.⁴⁴ The verbal and conceptual similarities he identifies, while focussed on the earlier Enochic traditions and 1 Peter 3:19–20, still include material concerning the later 1 Enoch texts as listed below.⁴⁵

| | 1 Enoch | 1 Peter |
|---|-------------------|-------------|
| fate of deceased humans | 102-104; 108:6 | 4:6 |
| joy and exultation | 104:14 | 1:6-9; 4:13 |
| the end of all things ("history's final phase") | 93:1-10; 91:12-17 | 4:7 |
| suffering of the just and ultimate divine vindication | 92-105 | 2:21-25 |
| house as a reference to Temple | 91:13 | |
| obedient children [of God] | 91:3 | 1:13 |

Both Nickelsburg and Elliott are correct that these present interesting parallels worth investigating further especially given the combination of themes appearing in both traditions. However, neither Nickelsburg nor Elliott explore the overall context in which these similarities and differences appear or what the organising principles lie behind 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter’s view of reality and exhortational content. Nickelsburg invites a closer comparative reading of 1 Enoch and 1 Peter than that offered in his *Hermeneia* commentary on 1 Enoch chapters 1–36 and 81–108. He notes that such a comparative study “may reveal new insights into a common

⁴⁴ John H. Elliott, “1 Enoch, 1 Peter, and Social-Scientific Criticism: A Review Article on a Major 1 Enoch Commentary,” *BTB* 39.1 (2009): 39–43.

⁴⁵ John H. Elliott, *1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 37B of *AB* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 357, 415, 544, 702, 745, 777.

religious mentality that proliferated itself in a variety of groups and sects in early Judaism and primitive Christianity.”⁴⁶ Acknowledging Nickelsburg’s list of parallels which I have provided above, Elliott also notes the need for further study of “these and other affinities” between 1 Enoch and 1 Peter. Towards this end, I will explore in greater depth the apocalyptic worldview in 1 Enoch 108 (the Eschatological Admonition) and 1 Peter in Sect. 9.2 below without arguing for a genealogical relationship (contra Nickelsburg who seems inclined towards it⁴⁷) to explain parallel ideas in 1 Peter and the Eschatological Admonition (cf. 1.3.3 below).

Furthermore, the focus of my study is an exploration of space, a theme recognised as an important aspect of the early Jewish apocalyptic thought. The choice of this topic is justified by the relative scarcity of scholarly focus on the spatial aspect of apocalyptic literature that extends beyond those concerned with otherworldly journeys in general, and in particular the early Enoch tradition.⁴⁸ In other words, while there is a growing number of studies that explore spatiality in literature that depict heavenly journeys, attention has not been paid to the production of space that encapsulate space not only as conceived, experienced and imagined but also as constructed through the text itself. In this regard my choice of topic is justified given the recognised importance of space and time in the study of the later 1 Enoch traditions (i.e., chaps. 91–108) on the one hand, and, on the other the

⁴⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 554.

⁴⁷ Nickelsburg suggests that suggests that the text of 1 Enoch 108 could be part of “Peter’s theological repertoire,” cf. *1 Enoch 1*, 560.

⁴⁸ Kelley Coblentz Bautch rightly notes that the notion of space is critical to understanding of the apocalyptic imagination, cf. “Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature,” *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 5.3 (2016): 273–88. For other explorations of apocalyptic spatiality in the Book of Watchers, see P. M. (Pieter Michiel) Venter, “Allotted Place and Cursed Space in 1 Enoch 12-36,” *Old Testament Essays* 27.2 (2014): 666–83, and Daniel Assefa Kassaye, “Space and Time in 1 Enoch 1-36: A Narrative Critical Analysis,” 2018, <https://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/26267>.

overrepresentation of the study of temporality at the expense of spatiality in studies that engage 1 Enoch 91–108.

To the best of my knowledge and as a survey of the history of research will demonstrate in Sect. 1.2 below, there is so far no monograph length study dedicated to (i) the question of whether and to what degree 1 Peter can be read as reflecting the early Jewish apocalyptic thought, (ii) the similarity and differences between 1 Peter's presentation of reality and that of 1 Enoch. In relation to the latter, the comparative task undertaken in this study is justified by the presence of common themes and conceptual categories between 1 Peter and the 1 Enoch traditions analysed in this study.

The present study is thus a more in-depth analysis than was provided by Elliott and Nickelsburg, and one that engages the noted conceptual parallels between 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter from a perspective that assesses the traditions in light of their respective participation in and representation of the Jewish apocalyptic thought world and view of reality. Going beyond verbal and conceptual similarities between 1 Peter and 1 Enoch 91–108 at the level of words and pericope, my comparative analysis takes into account the wider literary context in which such similarities (and differences occur). Thus, after exploring the apocalyptic reality in terms of the spatial perspective present in each literary tradition, I will analyse my comparanda in terms of the themes of revelation, election, judgment and moral agency. More specifically, using critical spatial theory to analyse spatial categories, I will consider how reality is presented in the 1 Enoch traditions as well as in 1 Peter in its spatio-temporal dimension. In relation to this, and within the Jewish apocalyptic framework, my study will explore how each text responds to suffering and/or persecution and those perceived to be opponents. Towards this end, I consider the later 1 Enoch traditions

(the Exhortation, the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Epistle of Enoch and the Eschatological Admonition) and their respective constructions of symbolic space. I argue that their respective visions of reality is constructed based on an axis linking heaven and earth through the disclosure of divine revelation by the Enochic author(s). This reality serves to identify the recipients of revelation as embodying a heavenly lived space and as those who are divinely constituted through election and are given access to the divine.

In this view, suffering and/or persecution is closely aligned with the rise of sin and mythical evil. To the pious, suffering at the hands of the wicked presents an occasion to demonstrate allegiance and fidelity to God, receive divine approval and the revelation of hidden wisdom. Thus the 1 Enoch texts under consideration here do not offer a critical engagement through resistance discourse directed at perceived political or social enemies, such as imperial overlords or the rich and powerful. Instead, the primary and most salient emphasis is on offering a religious critique through re-drawing a map with spatial divisions between the hostile other awaiting imminent destruction on the one hand, and the elect community who are spatially located in the realm of God with the assured prospect of eschatological reward and vindication. This general spatial schema receives varying levels of expression and nuance in line with the particular outlook and specific aims in each text.

Similarly, but also in stark contrast and towards his own rhetorical ends, 1 Peter envisions reality on a cosmic scale. Through a programmatic recalling of cultic spatial practices and significant events from Israel's sacred past, 1 Peter depicts his Christ-elect addressees as establishing the space where the divine dwells. Forming a prominent aspect of the letter, 1 Peter's exhortations feature Christ as a model for the readers to imitate. In all the three sections of the epistle's body, 1 Peter depicts

the characteristics of Christ's suffering as features that need to be emulated by the addressees as they too suffer like Christ.⁴⁹ Christ was blameless and pure (1:19; 2:22), righteous (3:18), he did not retaliate (2:22, 23) but rather entrusted himself to God who judges justly (2:23) and who foreknew his suffering (1:11). The readers are thus reminded that their suffering is akin to that of Christ. It is in fact a sharing in the sufferings of the Christ (4:13). They are thus to imitate Christ "by their behaviour [2:21], thinking [4:1], and the reason for suffering [2:20–21; 3:7–18]."⁵⁰

Scholarship on 1 Peter has often identified this link between the author's ethical exhortations and his focus on the readers' newfound identity in Christ on the one hand and the call to imitate Christ on the other. But the precise nature of what the author is doing in these instructions and how that fits the letter's outlook needs to be adduced from a wider angle, looking into 1 Peter's worldview or vision of reality. Can one take the exhortations in 1 Peter as signifying something more than the call to maintain godly living as the readers suffer like Christ and in Christ? If so, how does a fuller consideration of the epistle's apocalyptic framework and its alternative construal of space provide a fuller picture of the letter's understanding of the world and the role of the readers in that world?

In what follows, I will argue that the apocalyptic spatiality of 1 Peter is organised around the principles of imitating God and Christ as well as maintaining divine presence. Such a spatial construal brings the notion of moral purity to the centre of 1 Peter's lived space and provides the means to reconstitute the addressees as the interface between heaven and earth. In doing so, 1 Peter

⁴⁹ Mark Dubis, *Messianic Woes in First Peter: Suffering and Eschatology in 1 Peter 4:12-19*, SBL 33 (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc, 2002), 103.

⁵⁰ Dubis, *Messianic Woes*, 97; Katherine M. Hockey, *The Role of Emotion in 1 Peter*, SNTSMS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 149.

construes the readers' corporate and corporeal existence in Asia Minor within the Jewish matrix of exile as the mode of existence they have entered into by election. However, the readers' location in diasporic space should not be taken as an anti-imperial rhetoric opposed to the Roman spatial ideology which depicted the Empire and its territories as the centre of the world.⁵¹ First Peter's efforts are rather extended to inviting the readers to consider life in light of the new spatial reality they have entered through election and which has conferred a new identity to them. As such, their spatial location and thus their identity and actions are on an apocalyptic arena newly configured by Christ and in which Rome and categories of ethnic identification lose significance.

Without resorting to a genealogical or analogical relationship between the 1 Enoch traditions and 1 Peter, the present study offers a comparative analysis that explores the depiction of social space in these traditions along with the ideas and themes that contribute towards the construction of symbolic space. Taking the conversation beyond the confines of counter-imperial readings, the present work examines the respective authors' critical engagement with the hostile other. In this regard, the evaluation of persecution occurs from a wider angle that takes into account the texts' theocentric (and in the case of 1 Peter, Christocentric) understanding of apocalyptic reality along a spatio-temporal axis.

1.2 History of Research

Throughout the First Epistle of Peter and the Enochic traditions under consideration in the present study, the author's implied readers are presented as having opponents—in some more than in others, the *Other* is a human enemy or an

⁵¹ Wei Hsien Wan, *The Contest for Time and Space in the Roman Imperial Cults and 1 Peter: Reconfiguring the Universe* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019), 131–55.

evil cosmic being or both. In these traditions and throughout the NT, the notion of the hostile “other” is construed by various writers using metaphoric language, imageries and code words.

In the world of 1 Peter, categories of otherness abound. Addressing his letter to communities that are being socially maligned and alienated for their faith, 1 Peter tells them that they are *παρεπιδήμους* and *πάροικους* living in the Diaspora (1:1; 2:11). He concludes his letter telling them it is from Babylon that he writes (5:13). He also cites a host of malevolent otherworldly beings (3:19, 22) and one identified as the Devil (5:8) which belongs to the hostile non-human “other” they need to watch out for.

This depiction of 1 Peter’s response to suffering and his take on the hostile other is an important aspect that has been studied in Petrine scholarship. In recognition of the fact that the hostilities arose on the basis of the readers’ faith, interpreters try to situate 1 Peter’s response to the readers’ persecution in terms of the attitude he wants to encourage in his readers. Another recent approach has been to frame the issue from a wider angle in terms of 1 Peter’s views of reality itself by way of addressing his ideological push-back against the hostilities the readers are facing. This is often formulated in terms of 1 Peter’s socio-political setting and articulated through an analysis of the author’s perceived compliance or resistance against Rome.⁵² In what follows, I will contextualise the present study in terms of previous studies and wider issues. To do so I will discuss previous scholarship on 1 Peter’s response to hostilities or the hostile “other” as well as studies that do so

⁵² R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Exploring Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: History, Method, Practice* (John Wiley & Sons, 2011); Fernando F. Segovia and R. S. Sugirtharajah, *A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Writings*, Bible and Postcolonialism ; 13 (London ; New York: T & T Clark, 2007); On the use of postcolonial approaches as hermeneutical tools in biblical studies, see Stephen D. Moore, *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*, The Bible in the Modern World 12 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006).

through spatial analysis. Furthermore, I will give overviews of studies that self-consciously engage 1 Peter through what is stated as an “apocalyptic” lens.

1.2.1 The Response to Suffering

Scholarly interpretations of 1 Peter’s response to the readers’ suffering range from a thoroughly conformist attitude to Roman values (David L. Balch)⁵³ to full resistance against Greco-Roman social norms (John H. Elliott).⁵⁴ Beyond the famous ‘Balch-Elliott debate’, there lies a middle ground occupied by, for instance, Warren Carter and David G. Horrell which sees 1 Peter as condoning *both* conformity *and* resistance.

According to Carter the author of 1 Peter encourages an outward conformity even to the extent of participating in the imperial cult but an inner resistance through revering Christ in the heart.⁵⁵ Carter argues that the Petrine epistle exhibits efforts to negotiate pressure from the Roman Empire by urging the readers “to go all the way” in honouring the Emperor. He writes that 1 Peter displays a strategy that “urges on its hearers external actions at odds with inner commitments to effect accommodation with the prevailing culture.”⁵⁶ Despite Carter’s emphasis on the repertoire of practices to honour the Emperor, there is no evidence in 1 Peter that the Emperor is due any special honour other than what the author urges the readers do for everyone: “honour everyone, love the brotherhood, fear God, honour the Emperor” (πάντας τιμήσατε, τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε, τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε,

⁵³ David L. Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter*, SBLMS 26 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1981); David L. Balch, “Hellenization/Acculturation in 1 Peter,” in *Perspectives on First Peter*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986), 79–101.

⁵⁴ John H. Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981); Elliott, *1 Peter*, 504–10.

⁵⁵ Warren Carter, “Going All the Way? Honoring the Emperor and Sacrificing Wives and Slaves in 1 Peter 2:13-3:6,” in *A Feminist Companion to the Catholic Epistles*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine and Maria Mayo Robbins (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 28, 14–33.

⁵⁶ Carter, “1 Peter 2:13-3:6,” 29.

2:17). Although Horrell similarly sees 1 Peter in terms of resistance against imperial hegemony, his reading of how the author does that is starkly different from Carter's.

According to Horrell, the author of 1 Peter condones "measured but conscious resistance to imperial demands."⁵⁷ His more convincing proposal of "polite resistance" explores the author's subtle subversion of Roman norms which has previously gone largely undetected in scholarship on 1 Peter.⁵⁸ Citing 2:11–3:12 where the author draws the addressees' identity in contrast to the wider society's acclamation of Augustus as *pater patriae* ("father of the fatherland"), Horrell rightly notes that the author of 1 Peter treads carefully between conformity and resistance.⁵⁹ Thus, both Balch and Elliott are correct.⁶⁰ In a similar vein, Joyce Wai-Lan Sun argues that 1 Peter models the Jewish Diaspora strategy of "differentiated resistance" which formulates Jewish social engagement on the basis of an ultimate allegiance to God.⁶¹ Other scholarly discussions of 1 Peter's response to suffering offer some variations of these three streams which, taken together, attempt to address the question through analysing the letter's stance towards the emperor, imperial cults or household structures.

Wei H. Wan and, recently, Horrell have taken the discussion of 1 Peter's engagement with Rome beyond these confines to consider 1 Peter's motif of

⁵⁷ David G. Horrell, "Between Conformity and Resistance: Beyond the Balch-Elliott Debate Towards a Postcolonial Reading of First Peter," in *Reading First Peter With New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of First Peter*, ed. Robert L. Webb and Betsy Bauman-Martin (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 41.

⁵⁸ Horrell, "Between Conformity and Resistance," (ed. Webb and Bauman-Martin).

⁵⁹ David G. Horrell, *1 Peter*, NTG (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 86.

⁶⁰ Horrell, *1 Peter*, 88; Horrell, "Between Conformity and Resistance," (ed. Webb and Bauman-Martin); David G Horrell, *Becoming Christian: Essays on 1 Peter and the Making of Christian Identity*, 2015.

⁶¹ Joyce Wai-Lan Sun, *This Is True Grace: The Shaping of Social Behavioural Instructions by Theology in 1 Peter* (Langham Monographs, 2016).

response to persecution from a wider angle.⁶² This comes in the form of engaging 1 Peter's ideological framework and overall presentation of reality in comparison to that of Rome, as it is represented in the imperial cult. However, in order to critically engage the ideological context of both 1 Peter and the Roman imperial cult, both Wan and Horrell apply the works of James C. Scott.⁶³ He describes "hidden transcript" in terms of the off-stage (i.e., hidden) discourse or clandestine actions subordinate groups take: "domination and exploitation typically generate the insults and slights to human dignity that in turn foster a hidden transcript of indignation."⁶⁴ It is a form of resistance from below, that remains evasive in public discourse: "This is a politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in public view but is designed to have a double meaning or to shield the identity of the actors."⁶⁵ In applying it to 1 Peter, Wan needs to make a number of assumptions that are difficult to justify, for instance, for Scott's theory of "hidden transcript" to be applicable to 1 Peter, the letter would need to be conceived of as a public address, i.e., an "on-stage" conversation with the danger of being overheard.⁶⁶ If so, then more problems arise, how does one go about identifying double-meanings that are accessible only to insiders and how will it be possible to prevent a subjective reader-response type of analysis?

Throughout Part II of the thesis, I will interact with Wan's reading of 1 Peter and

⁶² Wan, *Contest for Time and Space*; see also, Wei Hsien Wan, "Repairing Social Vertigo: Spatial Production and Belonging in 1 Peter," in *The Urban World and the First Christians*, ed. Steve Walton, Paul R. Trebilco, and David W. J. Gill (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2017), 287–303; David Horrell, "Re-Placing 1 Peter: From Place of Origin to Constructions of Space," in *The Urban World and the First Christians*, ed. Steve Walton, Paul R. Trebilco, and David W. J. Gill (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2017), 271–86.

⁶³ James M. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University, 1990) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

⁶⁴ Scott, *Arts of Resistance*, 7.

⁶⁵ Scott, *Arts of Resistance*, 19.

⁶⁶ So, John M. G. Barclay, *Pauline Churches and Diaspora Jews* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 380–81; cf. 363–87.

detail my reservations about his application of Scott's political theory to his reading of 1 Peter.⁶⁷

1.2.2 Spatial Perspectives

Wan's analysis of 1 Peter along a spatial axis is based on his central thesis that takes the letter as an ideological pushback against Roman hegemony by contesting the imperial cult's presentation of time and space. While bringing a much-needed spatial perspective to 1 Peter and offering a fresh take on the old Balch-Elliott debate, I find Wan's anti-imperial reading largely unconvincing for reasons I will state throughout the thesis. It suffices to note here that, firstly, there is not sufficient evidence in 1 Peter to demonstrate that the author was specifically concerned with the imperial cult as opposed to the general avoidance of idolatry and pagan praxis he sought the readers to avoid. Also, the spatial designation of "diaspora" and "Babylon" if taken within the frame of reference 1 Peter places them in, what emerges is a richer and more coherent symbolic depiction of election, otherness and belongingness in the space of God—motifs, I contend, are central to 1 Peter's apocalyptic thought world. Secondly, there *is* a demonstrable concern with the social and civic life of the believers in Asia Minor in light of the new spatial reality that has occurred through their faith in Christ.

Other studies on 1 Peter acknowledge the author's complex use of traditions that have contributed to the construction of his symbolic world. Leonhard Goppelt for instance notes the complex use of traditional material in 1 Peter and states generally that the epistle reflects "points of view from Jewish wisdom and apocalypticism"

⁶⁷ For a critic of the application of Scott's "hidden transcript" to assess the Paul's attitude towards the Roman empire, see Barclay, *Pauline Churches*, 382–83.

overlaid “with material from the Jesus tradition and from scriptural theology.”⁶⁸ Building on Goppelt’s insight that Jewish wisdom and apocalypticism, among others, contributed to the shaping of 1 Peter’s theology, Robert L. Cavin has convincingly argued that shared tradition can account for the literary and conceptual similarity and difference between 1 Peter and the Pauline tradition.⁶⁹ He identifies two early Jewish texts, *4QInstruction* and the *Hodayot*, which use similar terminology as 1 Peter and Colossians for his comparison. After analysing the use of “in Christ” language in 1 Peter and Colossians, Cavin rightly notes that the noted differences reflect “different cognitive milieus in Palestinian Judaism ...demonstrating ways in which the cross-fertilization of Judaisms impacted Christian origins.”⁷⁰ According to Cavin, “behaviour is inextricably linked to believers’ new existence ἐν χριστῷ.”⁷¹ For this reason he focuses on the moral and social function of life in Christ and insightfully links 1 Peter’s “in Christ theology” to the epistle’s paraenesis. Cavin also seeks to investigate the spatial axis of life in Christ. He notes that in 1 Peter there is no spatial reorientation of believers in the eschatological era inaugurated by the Christ event. He notes further:

the *spatial* imagery of the new existence is decidedly “earthy.” [...]. Instead, and due to God’s unmerited mercy, believers are members in God’s eschatological temple-community. Believers are God’s people on “earth” awaiting Christ to come to them from heaven. Thus, language of Christ indwelling the elect is absent.⁷²

⁶⁸ Leonhard Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter*, ed. Ferdinand Hahn, trans. John E. Alsup (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 36.

⁶⁹ Robert L. Cavin, *New Existence and Righteous Living, New Existence and Righteous Living* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

⁷⁰ Cavin, *New Existence*, 8.

⁷¹ Cavin, *New Existence*, 26.

⁷² Emphasis original, Cavin, *New Existence*, 84.

In arguing that 1 Peter's presentation of life in Christ is only in terms of a new temporal reality and not a spatial re-orientation, Cavin makes crucial assumptions about space. Firstly, spatiality for him is equated with the narrower sense of a cosmic location in a space marked as "heaven". This functional definition of space as a confined place is not argued for but simply assumed. Thus, he says, because 1 Peter's believers are not said to dwell in heaven (by which he means, the confined space that contrasts with earth), salvation in 1 Peter is not depicted along a spatial axis but a temporal one. While it is true that believers inhabit the earthly realm as Cavin notes, this does not necessarily mean that the heavenly realm is precluded from their new existence in Christ. Space is not confined to place but includes the ideological, the social and the imaginary which indicates that the space of heaven penetrates the lived space of the readers through its representation in 1 Peter's text. Heaven is also brought into the readers' embodied existence in Asia Minor through the ideological association the author makes between the readers and Christ, who links the heavenly space with the ideological orientation upon which 1 Peter's Thirdspace is founded.

Secondly, for Cavin, in order for the Petrine readers to be spatially reoriented, they would need to be indwelt by Christ or the Spirit (see quote above). He says, "[w]hile the Spirit rests upon the community, the author only hints at the Spirit at work within or indwelling individual believers."⁷³ Cavin's presupposition here is that "indwelling" and "interiorization" are prerequisites if the Christ event is said to result in the spatial reorientation of believers.⁷⁴ While this indicates the limited definition he ascribes to space, it also indicates an understanding of the presence of God in terms

⁷³ Cavin, *New Existence*, 84.

⁷⁴ Cavin, *New Existence*, 69–72.

of God's interior (internal) dwelling in the believer. In 4:14, 1 Peter states τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται. Cavin also acknowledges the significance of this verse for 1 Peter but states that it does not indicate an "emphasis on interiorization" since the rest of the letter does not characterise the Spirit as an enabler to live rightly. In so doing, he equates God's presence (i.e., the presence of the Spirit) with the theological category of interiorization and mystical union with Christ. Although Cavin is right in noting that the notion of mystical union is not a Petrine concern, the Spirit's role in 1 Peter is more pervasive than Cavin allows. It is also unclear why 4:14 needs to be taken in terms of the Spirit's "interiorization." Put differently, the mode of God's presence need not be necessarily associated with the Spirit indwelling the individual believer. Taking the temple metaphor into account, 1 Peter may simply be stating God's presence in terms of his resting upon believers – given the precedence of such an occurrence when God rests on the seventy elders in the wilderness narrative of Numbers 11:25 (δὲ ἐπανεπαύσατο τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπ' αὐτούς).⁷⁵

Moreover, given the case that 1 Peter is the only NT writing to combine a metaphoric use of the temple, priesthood and sacrificial offering in association with believers, the Spirit's presence "upon" the readers can be understood in traditional terms to indicate the presence of God in the midst of the community. Cavin does not sufficiently engage this background. Instead, he opts for the mode of God's presence (i.e., interiorization or indwelling of the Spirit) up on the prophets according to the HB. This is given 1 Pet. 1:11 where 1 Peter states that prophets who prophesied concerning Christ do so through the Spirit "in" them.

⁷⁵ Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 324; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 782–83.

However, regardless of the mode through which God's presence is experienced, it is still the case that the readers' space on earth is marked in a new way through the presence of God that does not necessarily indicate his indwelling of the believer. In 1 Peter, as I will demonstrate, the underlying principle behind the extensive use of temple and cultic imagery is the concern with maintaining the presence of God. This in turn explicates the spatial aspect of 1 Peter's thought world. Also, a consideration of the apocalyptic framework of 3:19, 22 and 5:8-11 lends further support to the idea that in the symbolic world of 1 Peter the readers exist in a spatial realm that is marked with cosmic realities even in the midst of their earthly dwelling as the eschatological people of God.⁷⁶

Affirming Cavin's central thesis that the new existence is associated with righteous living in 1 Peter, Bonnie Howe takes a spatial approach that engages 1 Peter's metaphors and symbolism in a theoretically well-grounded study.⁷⁷ She takes 1 Peter's language of ἐν χριστῷ in general and ἐν in particular as an "image scheme" which evokes a "metaphorical spatial sphere."⁷⁸ Howe posits that 1 Peter associates this scheme which is "the container/sphere/realm of the Holy Spirit" with the ability to obey God that believers receive.⁷⁹ Put differently, Howe recognises the ethical and social function that results from the Christ event. If the pattern of moral teaching in 1 Peter is said to find coherence in the Christ event as Howe correctly notes, then an aspect of Christ's death and resurrection namely, Christ's proclamation

⁷⁶ The interpretative difficulty 3:19 poses is discussed in detail in Chad T. Pierce, *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ: 1 Peter 3:18-22 in Light of Sin and Punishment Traditions in Early Jewish and Christian Literature* (Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

⁷⁷ Bonnie Howe, *Because You Bear This Name: Conceptual Metaphor and the Moral Meaning of 1 Peter*, vol. 81 of *BIS* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

⁷⁸ Howe, *You Bear This Name*, 241.

⁷⁹ Howe, *You Bear This Name*, 241, cf. 248.

τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν (3:19) and its implication for our understanding of some of the letter's exhortations is left unexplored.

Also, and in connection with this, the discussion of to what extent this otherworldly feature of 1 Peter relates to the author's structuring of the moral realm or its apocalyptic characterisation of the devil as the cosmic enemy of the readers in 5:8-9 is lacking in Howe's discussion. However, Howe rightly connects the addressees' new identity in Christ with space when noting that,

the notion that the Christians' new set of relationships with one another and with God—their group identity—is like that of a distinctive people group [...] a legitimate Nation, even a nation located in an imaginary geo-political region.⁸⁰

Whether that geo-political region is Rome or the otherworldly realm is not explored further. Howe recognises the association between space and identity. For her the space where the believer's distinct identity gets expressed is "in Christ" – which she takes to be a spatial realm. However, in connecting the readers' "locatedness" to a specific space, she takes language itself to be the means through which 1 Peter is producing space. Although such a formulation may have its own merits, it runs the risk of being too general. In contrast, while similarly engaging 1 Peter's spatial dimension, a less general approach would be to specify *how* 1 Peter ascribes the readers' new location through language. In the present study one way I will argue for is revelation, i.e., 1 Peter's disclosure of hidden but divinely revealed knowledge as the means through which the author produces space.⁸¹ Another way 1 Peter uses

⁸⁰ Howe, *You Bear This Name*, 267.

⁸¹ This aspect of 1 Peter's spatial imaginary which involves the production of space through revelation is overlooked in readings with a spatial perspective on 1 Peter, cf. Howe, *You Bear This Name*, 81; Horrell, "Re-Placing 1 Peter"; Halvor Moxnes, "Because of 'The Name of Christ'. Baptism and the Location of Identity in 1 Peter," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early*

language to construct a spatial realm or lived space is through recalling past events or spaces from Israel's sacred past. However, Howe's study is still insightful and serves to illuminate aspects of 1 Peter's metaphors and imagery in relation to the spatial location inaugurated through Christ.

1.2.3 Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and Early Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

The prevalence of traditional material is a recognised feature of 1 Peter. Eyal Regev's recent book which traces the temple and explicit cultic imagery in the NT does not include 1 Peter in its analysis.⁸² However, in another recent article Regev considers the similarity of the community-as-temple motif in the NT (1-2 Corinthians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter) with the symbolism of temple as community in the Community Rule (1QS) and 4QFlorilegium.⁸³ In doing so, Regev expands on and nuances Bertil Gärtner's earlier study that shows the connection between 1 Peter's temple imagery and the identity of the addressees as the new covenant people of God.⁸⁴ Regev questions earlier assumptions that the temple and ritual metaphors in Paul are directly related to the Scrolls, instead arguing that Paul developed these

Judaism, and Early Christianity, ed. Øyvind Norderval et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 605–28; Wan, *Contest for Time and Space*; Wan, "Repairing Social Vertigo."

⁸² Eyal Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity: Experiencing the Sacred*, AYBRL (Yale University Press, 2019), the monograph discusses the portrayal of the temple in Jesus' cleansing of the temple and in Pauline literature where Regev considers temple imagery as a depiction of a religious identity. He also includes Mark, Matthew, Luke-Acts, John and Revelation in his analysis. On temple and cultic rituals in Paul, see also, for e.g., Albert L. A. Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple: A Historical Interpretation of Cultic Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence*, Biblical Tools and Studies 2 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2006); John R. Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth: Rhetorical and Archaeological Approaches to Pauline Imagery*, Studies in Biblical Literature (Bern: Peter Lang Publishing Inc, 1997). See also, Paula Fredriksen, "Judaizing the Nations: The Ritual Demands of Paul's Gospel," *New Testam. Stud.* 56.2 (2010): 232–52.

⁸³ Eyal Regev, "Community as Temple: Revisiting Cultic Metaphors in Qumran and the New Testament," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 28.4 (2018): 604–31.

⁸⁴ Bertil Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series ; No. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1965).

motifs based on the creative use of his cultural and traditional roots.⁸⁵ In relation to 1 Peter, Regev recognises the link between the temple motif at 2:5–9 and moral behaviour. He correctly notes the exhortational framework of 1 Peter’s depiction of the readers as a temple-community. He states that this reflects “an attempt to preach morality (2:1, 11–12) and to call for the elimination of evil, deceit, jealousy, and lust. Prior to this (1:14–15), the author creates a conflict of values between lust and being counted among the holy believers.”⁸⁶ Regev’s study does not engage the implications of the temple metaphor on the identity of the recipients or their social location. For him 1 Peter represents a moral teaching but he does not explore 1 Peter’s overall moral vision or the organising principle that lies behind the temple imagery on the one hand and 1 Peter’s exhortations on the other.

Andrew Mbuvi also expands Gärtner’s thesis that drew attention to 1 Peter’s association of temple imagery with the identity ascribed to the readers throughout the epistle.⁸⁷ Mbuvi places 1 Peter’s language of temple and priesthood within the exilic framework. He notes that in early Jewish literature restoration from exile is closely linked to the re-establishment of the temple.⁸⁸ In this regard, 1 Peter’s temple imagery is to be seen as the established eschatological temple heralding the return of exile and the establishment of Christ-believers as God’s new covenant people.

Commenting on the ambiguity and lack of consistency with which “apocalyptic” has been understood and used in New Testament studies, Robert L. Webb notes that eschatology forms just one set of motifs that appear in the Jewish

⁸⁵ Regev, “Community as Temple,” 630–31.

⁸⁶ He adds further, “[t]his indicates that the intention of the temple-priests-sacrifice imagery is to reinforce and increase the value of holiness and closeness to God to the readers so they will be scrupulous in their interpersonal relationships and instilled with a consciousness of holy community similar to the sanctity of the people of Israel to God.” Regev, “Community as Temple,” 619–20.

⁸⁷ Andrew Mūtūa Mbuvi, *Temple, Exile, and Identity in 1 Peter*, LNTS 345 (London: T&T Clark, 2007).

⁸⁸ Mbuvi, *Temple, Exile, and Identity*, 44.

apocalypses.⁸⁹ In a later essay, Webb reflects in detail on the shared motifs between the worldview of 1 Peter and Early Jewish apocalypses and argues that “an apocalyptic perspective pervades and penetrates to the very heart of this letter.”⁹⁰ Through this, he locates the suffering of the righteous within the framework of God’s cosmic battle against evil.⁹¹ This reflection takes the form of a sociorhetorical reading (following Vernon K. Robbins) that considers Early Jewish apocalypses as the socio-rhetorical context that help understand the persuasive aims of 1 Peter.

Webb argues that early Christian literature should be considered as a distinct “rhetorical dialect” that is, a “rhetorolect” as the texts exhibit a mode of discourse that has a “distinctive configuration of themes, topics, reasonings, and argumentations.”⁹² He states that his essay is aimed at exploring the use of the “apocalyptic rhetorolect” as a mode of discourse in 1 Peter.⁹³ In order to identify this distinct “apocalyptic rhetorical dialect” in 1 Peter, Webb identifies a list of apocalyptic motifs which he then uses to categorise passages under six *topoi*: (i) Protology, i.e., sections that deal with pre-history, (ii) Eschatological crisis (iii) Eschatological judgment, (iv) Eschatological salvation, (v) otherworldly regions, and (vi) otherworldly beings. However, it is not clear on what basis these *topoi* are selected.

Webb finds his point of departure in the literary markers of “apocalyptic rhetorolect” noting that previous studies have failed to engage fully with the question of what actually constitutes “apocalyptic rhetorolect” or how it can be recognised in a given text. Of the passages Webb categorises under the six *topoi*, 1 Peter 1:3-12;

⁸⁹ Robert L. Webb, “‘Apocalyptic’: Observations on a Slippery Term,” *JNES* 49.2 (1990): 119.

⁹⁰ Robert L. Webb, “Intertexture and Rhetorical Strategy in First Peter’s Apocalyptic Discourse: A Study in Sociorhetorical Interpretation,” in *Reading First Peter with New Eyes*, ed. Robert L. Webb and Betsy Bauman-Martin, LNTS 364 (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 79.

⁹¹ Webb locates 1 Peter’s apocalyptic *topoi* in 1:3-12; 3:18-22; 4:12-19; 5:6-11. Webb, “Intertexture,” 77–83.

⁹² Webb, “Intertexture,” 73.

⁹³ Webb, “Intertexture,” 74.

3:18-22; 4:12-19 and, 5:6-11 are cited as containing “significant clusters of apocalyptic *topoi*.”⁹⁴ Webb then focuses on the first two (i.e., 1:3-12 and 3:18-22) in order to exemplify how apocalyptic rhetoric functions in 1 Peter.

Focusing on 1:3–12 and 3:18–22, Webb concludes that apocalyptic discourse in the letter provides reasons for the readers to re-define their present circumstances and live in accordance with their identity in Christ. He notes that the author accomplishes this by situating the readers in an eschatological framework. Despite the lacuna Webb’s focus on 1 Peter’s apocalyptic features has filled, his analysis is limited by the emphasis he places on identifying the sources behind 1 Peter’s rhetoric. For instance, in discussing 1 Pet. 1:3 and its language of “new birth”, Webb notes firstly that the reference to Christ’s resurrection as the means through which new birth occurs indicates an oral-scribal as well as historical intertexture since the author of 1 Peter is not “dependent on any particular text but rather on formulations of early Christian oral tradition. [...] It is also historical intertexture, for the reference to Jesus’ resurrection is understood by the early Christian community as a reference to a past event.”⁹⁵ His concern here and throughout his analysis of 1:3-12 and 3:18-22 is on identifying sources for 1 Peter’s apocalyptic rhetoric. The identification of background sources and the classification of apocalyptic *topoi* brings a subjectivity to Webb’s approach while at the same time closing down avenues of inquiry due to the lack of flexibility associated with his categories.

In other studies that focus that take into account the perspective of early Jewish apocalyptic literature, the apocalyptic features of 1 Peter are often taken to indicate the future oriented hope of vindication evident in Jewish apocalyptic

⁹⁴ Webb, “Intertexture,” 72.

⁹⁵ Webb, “Intertexture,” 86.

literature. While such a reading needlessly relegates the function of Jewish apocalyptic literature to a future orientated response to present adversity, it assumes that temporality or, more specifically, the transcendence of death sums up the apocalyptic outlook of 1 Peter. However, few have explored in detail the apocalyptic discourse that shapes the 1 Peter's literary and theological logic and its persuasive aims for the present era that ties together the tension in the response to suffering the Balch-Elliott debate has highlighted. For instance, Paul J. Achtemeier notes that "the form and content of [1 Peter] make it appropriate to speak of elements of an apocalyptic eschatology rather than a full-blown apocalyptic system."⁹⁶ In other words, rather than embodying a coherent apocalyptic outlook, Achtemeier limits 1 Peter's apocalyptic elements to a temporal framework.

Such oversight is also present in studies that are concerned with 1 Peter's response to suffering. James Moffatt for example places 1 Peter's non-retaliatory response to suffering in an antagonistic relationship to what he calls "apocalyptic hopes" so that the author's concerns lies in the danger that

[a] Christian, especially under the influence of apocalyptic hopes, might incur the suspicion of treason by encouraging disobedience among slaves, for example, or by sympathizing with revolutionary movements, in exasperation against the persecuting authorities.⁹⁷

Moffatt's reading of 1 Peter betrays the sort of terminological ambiguity evident in earlier scholarship in relation to the apocalyptic genre. It suffices to note here his lack of a nuanced reading of 1 Peter's response to suffering that has suffered from a

⁹⁶ Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter: A Commentary on First Peter*, HCHCB (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 105.

⁹⁷ James Moffatt, *The General Epistles: James, Peter, and Judas*, The Moffatt New Testament Commentary (New York: Harper & Bros Pub., 1928), 158.

lack of engagement with the specifics of what he calls “apocalyptic hope”. In addition to the problematic anachronism in this particular reading, the use of “apocalyptic” betrays the kind of “mere” classification which Newsom rightly warns against since it “obscures the way in which every text—however it relates to similar texts—whether ‘by conformity, variation innovation, or antagonism’ will change the nature of the genre and indeed give rise to new genres.”⁹⁸

In such studies, 1 Peter is seen to base its message of encouragement and comfort in “apocalyptic hope” centred on future vindication for the persecuted addressees.⁹⁹ As Webb notes, such a focus privileges eschatology and ignores revelatory, “mystic or existential-anthropological elements.”¹⁰⁰ In response to a common oversight in New Testament studies that equates apocalyptic with the eschatological, Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Benjamin E. Reynolds suggest a consideration of ‘apocalyptic’, in terms of the temporal *and* spatial revelation of transcendence, that is, apocalyptic as revealed cosmology, revealed wisdom and revealed consummation of time.¹⁰¹

Overall, the exploration of the HB and traditions from the Second temple Jewish literature provide a necessary context in which to place 1 Peter’s spatial imaginary and the central place the temple holds therein. Focusing on the metaphoric use of the author’s characterisations of the readers, Troy W. Martin, argues that διασπορά serves as the controlling metaphor and dominant paradigm for

⁹⁸ Carol A. Newsom, “Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology,” in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Troxel, Ronald L., Friebel, Kelvin G., and Magary, Dennis R. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 438–39.

⁹⁹ Goppelt, *1 Peter*.

¹⁰⁰ Webb, “Apocalyptic,” 119.

¹⁰¹ Benjamin E. Reynolds and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought* (Fortress Press, 2017), 8–9.

interpretation.¹⁰² Contra Martin, Wan notes that diaspora is primarily a geographical location that needs to be understood in 1 Peter 1:1 as physical location instead of a metaphoric designation for the readers who are living here on earth as the diaspora away from their heavenly home. He writes correctly that 1 Peter scholarship has highlighted the socio-political effects or implications associated with diaspora at the expense of a spatial understanding of the term.

Arguing against Martin, he writes that movement and a journey across space should not be the primary definitions of diaspora. Instead he sees the author of 1 Peter as engaging in re-drawing of maps so that Roman Anatolia is the diaspora, that is, the place of alienation and homelessness in contrast to the ideological depiction of Roman spaces as a home for everyone. Similarly, for Horrell, the author of 1 Peter is essentially performing a Thirdspace critique of imperial ideology by construing the Anatolian peninsula along the poles of Babylon and diaspora.

While Wan and Horrell are correct in arguing that “diaspora” is a geographic term for space situated outside of Jerusalem, Israel or Judah, it is also the case that “diaspora” is as much a lived space associated with renewal, divine visitation and restoration as much as it is a space of longing for the homeland (cf. Chapter 7 below). Furthermore, in light of 1 Peter’s portrayal of the readers as members in the household of God and their spatial location in the realm of God, exilic life is not portrayed in terms of homelessness.

In my analysis of 1 Peter, the cultural milieu of Second Temple Judaism in general and the portrayal of diasporic identity, evaluations of the exile and the

¹⁰² Troy W. Martin, *Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter*, SBLDS 131 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

portrayal of Babylon will serve a heuristic function that will help to illuminate the construal of 1 Peter's social space within a Jewish theological matrix.

1.3 Methodological Considerations

1.3.1 The Apocalyptic Worldview

Based on the definition for apocalypse proposed by members of the Society of Biblical Literature Apocalypse Group, John J. Collins defines the apocalypse genre as "revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisions eschatological speculation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."¹⁰³ Collins notes that the *Semeia* 14 Genre project did not consider the nature of apocalyptic language and the question of function in its examination of the generic framework of apocalypses.¹⁰⁴ Given its specific goal, rhetorical analysis of apocalyptic language or a study of mode and tone in apocalyptic discourse is of course beyond the scope of such a project which specifically set out to quantify generic markers in the 'prototypical core' of early Jewish apocalypses.¹⁰⁵ He nevertheless acknowledges the importance of such a study saying "the literary function [of Jewish apocalypses] must be seen to be integrally related to form and content in what may be called the 'apocalyptic technique.'" ¹⁰⁶

In light of this understandable omission, Greg Carey proposes a heuristic category that helps nuance the literary analysis of apocalypses and other genres that

¹⁰³ John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 46.

¹⁰⁴ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 14.

¹⁰⁵ Newsom, "Spying out the Land."

¹⁰⁶ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 41–42.

feature Jewish apocalyptic thought.¹⁰⁷ While acknowledging the utility of the *Semeia* 14 categories, the approach engages the literary world of apocalyptic writings by focusing on their rhetorical dimensions and thus has affinities with what Collins calls the “apocalyptic technique”.¹⁰⁸

Carey defines apocalyptic discourse as the “the constellation of apocalyptic topics as they function in larger early Jewish and Christian literary and social contexts.”¹⁰⁹ Topics for Carey entail “recurring themes in discourse and patterns of reasoning.”¹¹⁰ He cites the literary critic Steven Mailloux who describes, “historical sets of topics, arguments, tropes, ideologies, and so forth [that] determine how texts are established as meaningful through rhetorical exchanges.”¹¹¹ Carey emphasises that apocalyptic discourse is a “flexible set of resources” used by early Jews and Christians to construct a variety of persuasive arguments.¹¹² As Collins also notes, “the functions of the apocalyptic literature is to shape one’s imaginative perception of a situation and so lay the basis for whatever course of action it exhorts.”¹¹³ Carey’s list of motifs, literary devices or conventions in the apocalypses includes *topoi* such as a temporal or spatial transcendent reality; a focus on visual or auditory revelation

¹⁰⁷ Carey’s approach acknowledges the distinctive nature of apocalypses and is not mutually exclusive with the SBL categories. As he notes, there is “a firm foundation for assessing what counts as apocalyptic literature and what doesn’t, how to characterize an apocalyptic worldview, [...]”, Greg Carey, “Introduction: Apocalyptic Discourse, Apocalyptic Rhetoric,” in *Vision and Persuasion: Rhetorical Dimensions of Apocalyptic Discourse*, ed. L. Gregory Bloomquist and Greg Carey (Chalice Press, 1999), 2.

¹⁰⁸ Carey, “Apocalyptic Discourse,” 2.

¹⁰⁹ Greg Carey, *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2005), 5.

¹¹⁰ Carey goes on to list some of these topics that are distinctive to apocalypses noting this should not be taken merely as a list of subjects that appear in apocalyptic discourse but also literary conventions: alternative worlds (temporal and spatial), visions and/or auditions, heavenly intermediaries, symbolism, pseudonymity, cosmic catastrophe, dualism, determinism, judgment and the afterlife, *ex eventu* prophecy, and cosmic speculation Greg Carey, *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2005), 5, 6–10.

¹¹¹ Carey, “Apocalyptic Discourse,” 15.

¹¹² Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 5.

¹¹³ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 42.

and its heavenly mediation, a stress on devices such as pseudonymity, *ex eventu* prophecy, and symbolism; and an interest in themes of cosmic catastrophe, dualism, cosmologic speculation, the final judgment, and the afterlife.¹¹⁴

Although Carey's category lacks the specificity to distinguish between apocalyptic texts like Daniel 12, 1 Enoch and the War Scroll as Bennie Reynolds has noted,¹¹⁵ it still offers a useful heuristic tool for understanding a given writing that does not belong to the genre of apocalypse but nevertheless exhibits an apocalyptic thought-world that is construed by means of the disclosure of hidden knowledge.¹¹⁶ As Carey correctly notes, apocalyptic studies have not adequately explored the rhetorical dimension of apocalypses and such a category offers a welcome emphasis on function or persuasive aims and strategies that is a feature of apocalyptic language.

It should also be noted that my use of the adjective "apocalyptic" to describe 1 Peter does not presuppose a "Petrine Group" that participated in a broad social movement marked by socio-religious or political crisis. It is rather used here to broadly describe a worldview that emanates from the literary-historical context of Early Jewish apocalypses in 1 Peter. Furthermore, following Stuckenbruck, I will use "apocalyptic" in relation to the verb ἀποκαλύπτω from which it originated and therefore as signifying an outlook or worldview shaped by divinely revealed

¹¹⁴ Carey notes that not every apocalyptic text contains these topoi and that their totality does not represent a complete list, cf. *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Bennie H. Reynolds, *Between Symbolism and Realism: The Use of Symbolic and Non-Symbolic Language in Ancient Jewish Apocalypses 333-63 B.C.E.* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 60.

¹¹⁶ My study is not grounded in a particular theory of genre nor aimed at explaining the relationship between 1 Enoch and 1 Peter in terms of "influence", "dependence" or genesis. Therefore, Reynolds's legitimate critique that there is a "danger in creating a kind of super-genre that contains texts unconnected by any formal features, but rather themes or ideas" will not be applicable in my case. As Reynolds also acknowledges, Carey's category of "apocalyptic discourse" as a "theme-based method is precisely the right direction to pursue" if the task is to assess a theme or topic across a spectrum of texts. Reynolds, *Between Symbolism and Realism*, 60.

knowledge of a hidden reality.¹¹⁷ Such a broad use of ‘apocalyptic’ signifies my hesitation with the use of the term in the majority of 1 Peter studies as an exclusive reference for eschatology or future-oriented expectation of judgment and cataclysmic events in the end-time. However, differently from Christopher Rowland, I will not make a claim that eschatology is not a “constitutive feature” of apocalyptic literature.¹¹⁸ As Stuckenbruck rightly notes, “the expression [apocalyptic outlook] serves to address the lack of parity between circumstances and piety, between what is seen and unseen, with a view to explaining *why things are in fact not as they might seem or even should be.*”¹¹⁹

Furthermore, in relation to the notion of “apocalyptic” as a descriptor of literary phenomenon, Carol Newsom follows Jacques Derrida in thinking of a genre “in relation to a text’s rhetorical orientation so that rather than referring to texts as belonging to genres, one might think of texts as participating in them, invoking them, gesturing to them, playing in and out of them, and in so doing, continually changing them.”¹²⁰ In speaking of the “apocalyptic” in relation to 1 Peter, Newsom’s remarks bear further significance for the present work. She writes that apocalyptic rhetoric,

construct[s] a symbolic world that makes claims about the nature of reality, constructs highly desirable symbolic objects, invites readers to identify with its

¹¹⁷ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Some Reflections on Apocalyptic Thought and Time in Literature from the Second Temple Period,” in *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016), 140; As Rowland notes, “to speak of apocalyptic, therefore, is to concentrate on the theme of the direct communication of the heavenly mysteries in all their diversity,” Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982), 14.

¹¹⁸ As Reynolds and Stuckenbruck note, Rowland’s claim (quoted above) has its origins in his emphasis on form in contrast to Lorenzo DiTommaso whose analytical focus is on the content. Thus DiTommaso states that “eschatology matters are frequently the primary but by no means the exclusive subject of apocalypses.” *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition*, 5. Cf. Lorenzo DiTommaso, “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part I),” *Currents in Biblical Research* 5.2 (2007): 241.

¹¹⁹ Emphasis original, Stuckenbruck, “Apocalyptic Thought and Time,” 140–41.

¹²⁰ Newsom, “Spying out the Land,” 438–39.

representative figures and values, and oftentimes envisions a social world in which identification and division are sharply figured.¹²¹

In describing apocalyptic rhetoric in terms of social space, Newsom brings a welcome emphasis on the functions of apocalyptic thought in terms of *present* realities such as social relationships and moral order which are helpful analytical categories I will use in this study. In relation to the moral order presented in each of the texts I will consider, I will use Newsom's analytical categories for the conceptualisation of the moral self. In assessing the notion of morality and human agency in Second temple Jewish literature, Newsom identifies three heuristic models that will prove pertinent to the context of 1 Enoch 91–108 as well as that of 1 Peter. She categorises the variety of ways moral agency was conceptualised in Second Temple Judaism as follows:

1. Moral agency is affirmed. [...]There is nothing wrong with the human moral 'equipment.' Each person is capable of and responsible for his or her own moral choices. *2. Moral agency is internally impaired, but the impairment can be overcome.* The impairment maybe due to an internal force inherent in persons, or the impairment may come from the outside in the form of demonic spirits. Individuals are still envisioned as active moral agents and held responsible for their actions. *3. Moral agency is denied—with certain exceptions.* The texts that broach this [...] conclude that the majority of humanity, as created, is simply not capable of moral agency.¹²²

¹²¹ Carol A. Newsom, "Rhetoric of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 204.

¹²² Emphasis original, see Carol A. Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self: Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism," *JBL* 131.1 (2012): 15.

These categories will inform Chapter 9's comparative analysis of the notions of election and judgment as well as the roles ascribed to determinism and human agency in the apocalyptic thought worlds represented in the later 1 Enoch traditions and 1 Peter.

1.3.2 Critical Spatiality

It is often the case that space is thought of too narrowly as geographical location. Since the pioneering work of Henri Lefebvre and more recently Edward Soja as well as other thinkers like Michel Foucault, Doreen Massey, and David Harvey, space has been recognised in the dynamic sense where it impacts and is impacted by social life.¹²³ It is where actions take place and identity is formed. Moreover, human practice and identity construct symbolic space. Space is where life unfolds for humanity. To live at a given location does not only mean being placed at a physical location that can easily be mapped, it also entails inhabiting an ideological and social realm associated with that place. The social and ideological aspects of space thus exist in a symbolic world. Also, far from being a given, space is constructed. Thus, to study space or the spatial aspect of the view of reality is to engage space as it is experienced, conceived and imagined through human action and the interaction between people.

According to Soja, any space or place should be studied in terms of (1) its geographical/physical sense to which belongs the realm of physical human experiences (he calls physical space "Firstspace"), (2) its theoretical conception as it exists in mental space (i.e., "Secondspace"), and (3) its social aspect, i.e., the lived

¹²³ Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, Mass: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991).

reality that incorporates (1) and (2) as well as the imaginary. Soja calls this Thirdspace. As Matthew Sleeman notes, “thirdspace resides in visionary vistas that imagine new meanings or possibilities for shaping spatial practice.”¹²⁴ Critical Spatiality is thus an approach in biblical scholarship that adapts and extends the works of Lefebvre, Soja or related theoreticians.¹²⁵ In this approach space is seen as consisting of “the physical world in which people exist, the ideological underpinnings of understanding places, and the lived practices of people within those places” that challenge or reaffirm existing conceptions and experiences associated with that space.

Throughout this thesis, I call this third category through the interchangeable terms of “social space”, “lived space” and rarely “Thirdspace” to avoid using a rather cumbersome term. A spatial understanding of the temple theme requires a broader framework than the dualistic interpretation of space as either geographical (firstspace) or the conceptual (secondspace). This is necessary primarily because a firstspace perspective on the temple would reduce the richness of 1 Peter’s temple imagery to the physical given-ness of the Jerusalem temple and the associated material practices.

¹²⁴ Matthew Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 45 see also Sleeman’s helpful summary of categories used in critical spatiality (p. 43).

¹²⁵ For an overview of the different ways theories of space have been applied in NT studies, cf. Eric C. Stewart, “New Testament Space/Spatiality,” *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 42.3 (2012): 139–50. Examples of important works that engage Critical Spatial Theory include:; Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts*; Anthea Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011); Harry O. Maier, “Soja’s Thirdspace, Foucault’s Heterotopia and de Certeau’s Practice: Time-Space and Social Geography in Emergent Christianity,” *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 38.3 (145) (2013): 76–92; Gert T. M. Prinsloo and Christl M. Maier, *Constructions of Space V: Place, Space and Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013); P. M. (Pieter Michiel) Venter, “Allotted Place and Cursed Space in 1 Enoch 12-36,” *Old Testament Essays* 27.2 (2014): 666–83; Patrick Schreiner, *The Body of Jesus: A Spatial Analysis of the Kingdom in Matthew: 555* (London ; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016).

A secondspace reading is similarly reductive in that the text's temple imagery is conceived of only in terms of the cultic systems of thought divorced from the materiality of the temple and the corporeality of those who partake in its sphere. Such a conventional understanding of the temple space in terms of firstspace (as a physical, geographical entity) has led to the under-appreciation of the pervasive use of the cultic imagery and its significance for understanding multiple aspects of 1 Peter. A secondspace perspective where the conceptual is privileged similarly leads to an under-reading that results in taking 1 Peter's temple language as nothing more than a way of expressing the new life in Christ. Such an under-reading will also result in taking Babylon as a mere cypher for Rome, instead of a Thirdspatial category that incorporates both Rome and, given the significance of cultic imagery, as a mode of exilic existence for the readers.

1.3.3 The Comparative Approach of the Present Study

My comparative analysis is aimed at an analogical comparison. Since my approach is not genealogical, that is, since my purpose is not to trace the origin of ideas in 1 Peter from the Enochic corpus, there is no need to demonstrate historical points of contact or general historical plausibility associated with such tasks.¹²⁶ Instead, the purpose of my comparison is analogical. For this reason, it is unbounded by a historical criterion in its selection of a comparanda. Analogical comparisons take account of both similarities and differences while approaching the comparanda by taking their respective thought worlds as parallel. This parallelism on which analogical comparisons find their basis, does not presuppose or is not

¹²⁶ Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 50–53; John M. G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White, *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*, LNTS 600 (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 3.

dependent on the supposition that there is a historical or literary connection between the traditions being compared. Instead, parallelism is stipulated in recognition of the similarities and differences between the traditions. As Jonathan Z. Smith notes,

Similarity and difference are not 'given'. They are the result of mental operations. In this sense, all comparisons are properly analogical. [...] comparison, in its strongest form, brings differences together within the space of the scholar's mind for the scholar's own intellectual reasons. It is the scholar who makes their cohabitation – their 'sameness' – possible, not 'natural affinities or processes of history.'¹²⁷

Analogical comparison is thus "a methodical manipulation of difference."¹²⁸

Furthermore, as John M. G. Barclay and Benjamin G. White also affirm, an analogical comparison is a valid approach to comparing two or more traditions that have no genealogical relation, "provided that these texts have enough in common to justify their comparison."¹²⁹

In what follows then, the spatial expression of the apocalyptic framework of each text will be kept in view while following a close reading of the text. Part I is a literary analysis of the theme in 1 Enoch traditions, beginning with the Apocalypse of Weeks (Chapter 2) and proceeding to the Exhortation (Chapter 3), the Epistle of Enoch (Chapter 4) and the Eschatological Admonition (Chapter 5).¹³⁰ In addition to the salient motifs of revelation, righteousness and judgment that emerge in these

¹²⁷ Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 51.

¹²⁸ Jonathan Z. Smith, "In Comparison a Magic Dwells," in *A Magic Still Dwells: Comparative Religion in the Postmodern Age*, ed. Kimberley Christine Patton and Benjamin C. Ray (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 40.

¹²⁹ Barclay and White, *The New Testament in Comparison*, 3.

¹³⁰ The literary analysis offered in Part I of this thesis is a heavily revised and expanded version of an earlier publication, cf. Sofanit T. Abebe, "Peter and the Patriarch: Eschatological Perspectives from 1 Peter and 1 Enoch," in *Beyond Canon*, ed. Meron T. Gebreanayye, Logan Williams, and Francis Watson (London: T&T Clark, 2021), 39–54.

texts, the analysis will include a consideration of the authors' construction of apocalyptic space and the specific spatial practices pertinent to each context. As will be shown in these chapters, in the 1 Enoch traditions we will consider, the rationale behind the authors' particular view of reality revolves around the maintenance of fidelity to God and the avoidance of sin. This general trend is expressed to varying degrees of emphasis depending on the specific context of each text.

Part II is concerned with an exegetical analysis of 1 Peter. The analysis of 1 Peter's apocalyptic Thirdspace will begin with a consideration of the Jewish categories of identity and space that the author uses to depict a view of reality associated with the space of God's dwelling (Chapter 6). This is followed by a discussion of spatial terms we find in 1 Peter and their significance for elucidating the space the readers and their opponents occupy in the author's thought world (Chapter 7). This will be followed by an analysis of a key spatial practice the author communicates through the notion of baptism (Chapter 8). I will also discuss the significant role baptism plays in delineating the readers' spatial identity and means of access to the space of God. Through these chapters I will demonstrate that the organising principle behind 1 Peter's apocalyptic spatiality is the imitation of God and Christ and the maintenance of God's presence which dictates the author's spatial construction and exhortational agenda on a paradigm set by the temple-space from the biblical tradition.

In Part III of the thesis, I will compare parallel views and principles of organising and constructing space in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter (Chapter 9). I will also use the conceptual categories of "determinism" and "moral agency" to comparatively analyse the notion of election, judgment and morality in these traditions before concluding my thoughts in Chapter 10.

PART I

APOCALYPTIC SPATIALITY IN 1 ENOCH 91–108

Chapter 2: The Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10; 91:11–17)

2.1 Introduction

The Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:1–10; 91:11–17)¹³¹ is an independent literary unit that was composed during the early part of the second century BCE.¹³² Its combination with the Epistle of Enoch and the Exhortation came early and likely reflects the same Enochic community behind these traditions.¹³³

According to Nickelsburg, righteousness is a central concept in the Apocalypse of Weeks (AW hereafter).¹³⁴ Building on this Klaus Koch contends that AW depicts a cosmic battle between righteousness or truth (קושתא), which he calls a “fundamental power” and the opposing force that is associated with violence (אחא) and deceit (שקרא).¹³⁵ He views AW’s apocalyptic historiography to be a story of the struggle between the cosmic powers he associates with righteousness on the one hand and with violence and deceit on the other. According to Koch, the battlefield of this cosmic struggle impacts both individuals and the turn of events on earth. Thus, when prediluvian wickedness is said to arise in week two, Koch takes that to indicate the rise of the opposing powers of deceit and violence which contaminate everyone except Noah.¹³⁶ In week seven, he posits that the “witnesses of *qushṭa*” would uproot

¹³¹ The displaced order in the Ethiopic is self-evident. The Aramaic text of 4QEng 1 demonstrates the sequence followed week 1 to 10, thus the correct order is 93:1–10 followed by 91:11–17. For a discussion on the original order of chs. 91–93, cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 414–15.

¹³² So James C. VanderKam, “Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1–10; 91:11–17),” *CBQ* 46.3 (1984): 511–23; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS 16 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 142–49; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 440–41; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 61–62.

¹³³ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 10–11.

¹³⁴ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 441–42.

¹³⁵ Klaus Koch, “History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the Community,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005), 187.

¹³⁶ Koch, “History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the Community,” 192.

the destructive powers of violence and deceit.¹³⁷ While Koch's proposal produces a fascinating read, the role he ascribes to *κτρωιγ* as well as to "violence" and "deceit" does not cohere with their use in AW. In this text the author uses *κτρωιγ* in association with the elect.

The author depicts Enoch as speaking from the books at 93:1 *ወእምድኅረዝ ወሀበኒ ሄኖክ ወአኅዘኒ ይትናገር እመጻሕፍት* (And after this, Enoch began to speak from the books). He states that his vision concerns "the sons of righteousness and concerning the eternally chosen ones and concerning the plant of uprightness," (*በእንተ ውሉደ ጽድቅ*¹³⁸ *ወበእንተ ኅሩያነ ዓለም ወበእንተ ተክለ ርትዕ እሎንተ እብለከሙ ወአየድወከሙ ደቂቅየ*, 93:2). This indicates the AW's notion of *κτρωιγ* is associated with the righteous addressees as a characteristic feature of their elect identity.¹³⁹ This is evidenced by the appearance of the term in week three which describes the choosing of Abraham who is called the plant of righteousness (*κτρωιγ* *κβχ*[*γ*], 4QEn^c 1 v 4). Righteousness thus appears as part of a general designation for the addressees. Similarly, the readers in the Book of Watchers are called "plant of truth and righteousness" (*ተክለ ጽድቅ ወርትዕ*, 1 En. 10:16; cf. 1 En. 10:3; Isa. 5:7; 60:21; 61:3).¹⁴⁰ Thus, the term forms part of a general description of the addressees and does not bear the weight Koch's reading places on the term.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Koch, "History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the Community," 193–94.

¹³⁸ Compare this designation with 1 En. 105:2's *ውሉደ ርትዕ* ("sons of uprightness") which provides the Epistle's only occurrence of the designation.

¹³⁹ Patrick A. Tiller, "The 'Eternal Planting' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4.3 (1997): 322.

¹⁴⁰ As Stuckenbruck rightly notes, the plant metaphor symbolises hope and is used to denote restored Israel (cf. Isa. 60:21; 61:13; Jub. 1:16; 16:26; 21:24 and 36:6). Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Plant Metaphor in Its Inner-Enochic and Early Jewish Context," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005), 210–11.

¹⁴¹ See also Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 65–68.

In stark contrast to Koch, Anatheia Portier-Young sees violence and deceit in connection to the persecution Jews endured during the reign of Antioch IV Epiphanes in the pivotal period of the seventh week. In so doing, she sees AW as reflective of an anti-Antiochean and anti-Seleucid discourse advocating for active (i.e., action oriented) resistance against oppressors.¹⁴² By way of substantiating her claims, Portier-Young proposes a reading of AW that is informed by postcolonial theories of resistance and a thorough historical background of Seleucid domination in Judea.

However, for reasons I will outline below, I do not find evidence to warrant an anti-imperial perspective in AW. On the contrary, and taking AW's spatio-temporal reality as a point of departure, I will argue that the AW constructs a symbolic world through revelation that invites the readers to embody the space of God which is expressed in terms of righteousness. Through a spatial imagination that uses revealed wisdom to construct reality, the writer of AW comforts those against whom rampant sin and wickedness militate without having to encourage active resistance. In a sense then, the spatial practice of the new space is not only the avoidance of sin and wickedness but also comfort and hope in knowing that one's enemies will be decisively dealt with in the eschatological future through divine judgment.

2.2 Literary Context

2.2.1 The Pattern of History

Like in the Exhortation, the author of AW uses primordial sin and subsequent judgment through the Flood as a type for the pattern of wickedness in his time and for the coming judgment (cf. 91:5–9). Weeks one through six recount past events,

¹⁴² Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 313–45.

while the seventh week covers the present and the future, with the remaining weeks focussing on eschatological events. The events increase with intensity and scope so that week ten represents a cosmic wide event that extends to the heavenly sphere (91:11–15). The writer’s present time in the seventh week featuring “a wicked generation (ትውልድ ስለት, 93:9)”¹⁴³ and “the chosen righteous (ጎሩዖን ጸድቃን, 93:10)” is the longest section that also incorporates future events at its later stage.¹⁴⁴

The events that unfold are also patterned following a parallel. For instance, as James C. VanderKam notes, week ten corresponds to week one where the creation of a new heaven recalls the creation of humanity implicit in week one.¹⁴⁵ Both also contain an element associated with the number seven. Similarly, week nine and two are parallel where judgment features. This non-linear model of history where the parallels appear in pairs is not apparent in some instances and for this reason Nickelsburg proposes a simpler parallel that depicts the first set of weeks (weeks one to seven) on which another set, namely, weeks eight to ten depend.¹⁴⁶

Alongside such a linear and parallel depiction of time, there is also a depiction of history in terms of an alternating time of righteousness and sin.¹⁴⁷ As Matthias Henze acknowledges, the alteration between righteousness and deceit/violence

¹⁴³ Cf. EMMML 2080, Berl, Abb 35, EMMML 6281, Ryl, Eth. II mss.

¹⁴⁴ As James C. VanderKam notes, “it is abundantly clear that the writer was much taken with the number seven and multiples of it. He selected weeks as his primary chronological units, placed the ApW on the lips of Enoch, the seventh man, referred to the patriarch’s teachings or writings that are to be given to the eschatological community of the righteous as sevenfold instruction (93: 10), repeatedly stressed the last (i.e., the seventh) parts of the weeks that he described, and concluded his account of the last week with a reference to sevenfold light (91:16). Given the prominence that he accords to the number seven, one would not be surprised if the seventh of the ten weeks also bore some special meaning for him” *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 376.

¹⁴⁵ VanderKam, “Apocalypse of Weeks,” 518–19; idem *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 65.

¹⁴⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 438.

¹⁴⁷ Matthias Henze, “The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Architecture of the End Time,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 207–9; See also George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92-105,” *CBQ* 39.3 (1977): 314–15.

coincides with the succession of weeks only to a point: it works up to week seven where the time of deceit and violence in week two is preceded by a time of righteousness in week one and succeeded by the election of a chosen man, i.e., Abraham, in week three.¹⁴⁸

Whatever level of complexity in the scholarly analysis of such parallelism in AW, it is widely accepted that there are several thematic overlaps between the first seven weeks and the future events recounted from week seven and onwards.¹⁴⁹ History is thus presented as both linear and parallel. There is a clear beginning and an orderly unfolding of events towards a predetermined future. Even the final week, infinite in its lack of periodization and the unceasing succession of ‘weeks’, is entirely predetermined.¹⁵⁰

2.2.2 The Revelation of Wisdom, Election and Salvation

AW presents history in terms of the revelation Enoch received through a heavenly vision, the words of angels and “heavenly tablets” (ἄγγελος ἰσχυρὸς, 93:2).¹⁵¹ The divine origin of the content to follow appeals to authorial access to God from whom Enoch’s prophecy comes and is therefore authoritative.¹⁵² Moreover, “the mention of the heavenly tablets emphasises that the ‘past’ from the actual readers’ point of view will be recognisable in a way which, already fixed in the heavenly tablets, guarantees the certitude of what is said about events in the readers’ future, which likewise is

¹⁴⁸ Henze, “Apocalypse of Weeks,” 208–9.

¹⁴⁹ VanderKam, *Enoch*, 65; Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 107–8; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 438–39; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 57–58.

¹⁵⁰ See the synopsis table that summarises the contents of the AW in Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 57–58.

¹⁵¹ On Enoch’s angelic associations, see for e.g., Maxwell Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36; 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran*, JSPSup 11 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

¹⁵² Such an appeal to a divine source is a feature of Enochic and related literature. It cues readers to the text’s authoritative knowledge which subordinates all other perspectives. See VanderKam, *The Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 150–53; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 83–86.

fixed in these tablets.”¹⁵³ The “prophecy” is thus fixed and predetermined by God which serves to console the readers in the present context.

Using a disclosure formula (“I will say to you, make known to you”) and a testamentary setting, the author addresses what is to follow to “to the sons of righteousness”. The text follows a pattern of ten ‘weeks’ within a sevenfold periodization and a final week “without numbers” (91.17). One of the characteristic features of the AW is the innovative way it merges early Enoch traditions to arrive at a presentation of history that represents one of the earliest uses of *vaticinia ex eventu* among historical Jewish apocalypses.¹⁵⁴ Its retelling of Israel’s history begins with the genealogy from Genesis 5 at 93:3 where Enoch is depicted as saying “I was born the seventh in the first week, while justice and righteousness still lasted.” Then history culminates in the wake of justice and judgement, in cosmic renewal and the turning of all humanity towards righteousness. Following this and the appearance of a new heaven at week ten (91:16), the author writes that there will be “weeks without number” in goodness and righteousness for eternity (“ሰንበታት ብዙኃት እለ አልቦን ጎሳፎ ለዓለም,” 91:17). The author places himself and the readers in the seventh week.

The notions of election and judgment against evil feature prominently within AW. Enoch describes the wisdom he is about to disclose as being concerned with “the eternally chosen ones (בחדי עולמין)” (93:2). Having no precise parallel in the Enochic corpus, the designation indicates election unto eternity (93:2).¹⁵ However, according to 93:10, a further election takes place from among the elect, called “the

¹⁵³ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 86.

¹⁵⁴ VanderKam, “Apocalypse of Weeks,” 511–23.

plant of uprightness,” at 93:2 which indicates the separation of a further group from among all Israel.¹⁵⁵

Although it is not clear on what basis election is done, it is clear that the emphasis lies in the giving of wisdom which is shown to have salvific significance. This means that it is not as Israel (i.e., the plant of righteousness, v. 2) that Israel is saved; rather, salvation is envisaged in terms of divine choosing.¹⁶ At 93:10, if the chosen ones from among the “plant of righteousness” is read as a deliberate antithesis to the “wicked generation” from 93:9, then it is possible that the chosen are chosen for avoiding wickedness.

In his comparative reading of the AW and Galatians, Logan Williams takes 93:10 to indicate the basis of election. He argues that it is because of their righteousness that the author’s group are chosen. Put differently, instead of the act of divine election bestowing the status of righteousness upon them, the act of further election occurs because some among “the plant of righteousness” were found to be righteous. But this would prove difficult in light of 93:8 which states that everyone is affected by an all-pervasive sin and apostasy (“all those who live in [the sixth week] will become blind”). Furthermore, if we are to read 93:10 against the backdrop of the selection of Israel as “the plant of righteousness” in week three (93:5), then the means by which election occurs is through divine choice alone, i.e., irrespective of one’s status. This is because we have hints in AW that the author considers human sinfulness to be partly fuelled by demonic activity or the continued effect of events in Israel’s sacred past. This interpretation would fit well in light of the Exhortation which places an emphasis on human responsibility while at the same time recognising the

¹⁵⁵ So Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 108. See also, Stuckenbruck, “The Plant Metaphor,” 210–12.

continued effect of events in the *Urzeit*. Like in the Exhortation, the author of AW uses primordial sin and subsequent judgment through the Flood as a type for the pattern of wickedness in his time and for the coming judgment (cf. 91:5–9). Although the giants were weakened through the judgment of the Flood, they still await complete eradication in the eschatological future. Although Williams may be correct in questioning Klaus Koch’s proposal that AW is about the clash between cosmic forces, evil and demonic forces are still within the purview of the Apocalypse of Weeks. This is evidenced at 91:15 which imagines the eschatological future as bringing the destruction of the watchers before sin and evil is to be completely removed (91:17).

Given the analogy drawn between the primordial past and the eschatological future in AW, it makes sense to see the author as attributing the continued presence of sin and evil in part to demonic forces. In this regard then, divine election occurs on the basis of divine determinism and confers a status of righteousness. Thus, an elect group gets constituted from within “the plant of righteousness” and to this group is given salvific wisdom. Perhaps, the author’s intention here may be seen as a construction of a distinct “righteous” identity to those who accept as correct Enochic wisdom.

2.2.3 Final Judgment

In recounting of history, the author begins with humanity as a whole and proceeds to the election of Israel called the “plant of righteousness” (†hλ x:ϕ, 93:5). After the rise of sin and apostasy, there will be a further act of divine election where those who are righteous will be chosen from the plant of righteousness. 1 Enoch 93:10 reads:

And at its end, there will be chosen the chosen righteous ones from the eternal plant of righteousness, to whom will be given the sevenfold instruction with respect to the whole of his creation (ወበተፍጻሜታ ይትገረዩ ጎሩያን ጻድቃን እምተክለ ጽድቅ ዘለዓለም እለ ይትወሀብ ሎሙ ሰብዐቱ ምክዕቢታተ ትምህርት ለኩሉ ፍጥረተ ዚአሁ).¹⁵⁶

Despite belonging to the plant of righteousness (i.e., the whole of Israel), election depends on individual accountability before God. Those that engage in wickedness receive judgment even in the here and now (93:8). Following the rise of sinfulness, the righteous are given salvific wisdom and are empowered to execute judgement. Rising wickedness thus seems to inaugurate the first phase of the final judgement much in the same way that the “violence and deceit” in primordial times resulted in the Flood. Language pertaining to divine judgement first appears in the description for week two where reference is made to the “first end” (93:4). This reference indicates the parallel the author saw between the Flood and the final judgement in the eschatological future (cf. 91:5–9; 106–107). Events in this week are described using the key terms of ‘deceit’ and ‘violence’, which reappears at 91:11, indicating the eschatological events anticipated by the description of week two.¹⁵⁷ The Flood thus provides a typology for the final judgment (see also, 1 En. 10:16–11:2).¹⁵⁸

The end comes with a final judgement that is expected to occur in stages. In recalling the sacred past, it can be said that for the author, the Flood and the defeat of evil it implies is in a way the first phase of the final judgement. The use of *Urzeit*

¹⁵⁶ Stuckenbruck reconstructs the Aramaic to 93:10 as “c[hosen one]s [w]ill be chosen as witnesses of truth from the etern[al] pl[ant of] truth, to whom sevenf[ol]d wisdom and knowledge will be giv[e]n” (4QEng 1 iv 12–13).

¹⁵⁷ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 130.

¹⁵⁸ Randal A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation, and Judgment*, *Early Judaism and Its Literature* 8 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 240.

language to imagine events in the eschatological future suggests that the Flood was not simply a past event – in recollecting it and employing it as a model, the author is indicating its lasting effect and significance for the present and the future.¹⁵⁹ Thus, the transient nature of evil is highlighted in the use of *Urzeit* language to describe events in the author’s own time as well as in the eschatological future.

If the flood can thus be understood as the first phase of final judgement, then the second phase is depicted as involving the agency of the righteous to execute judgement against the wicked in the eschatological future (91:11–12). The third stage is a cosmic scale judgement over the whole world (91:14) and the fourth and final stage of eschatological judgement is the judgement of demonic beings (91:14–15). There may be a distinction between the wicked in weeks seven and eight on the one hand (91:11–12), and on the other, the “wicked” of week nine whose deeds will be destroyed (91:14).¹⁶⁰ Given the influence of the Book of Watchers on AW and thematic links within its wider literary context, it is likely that week nine’s “doers of wickedness” include cosmic evil beings. Thus, final judgment includes demonic beings as perpetrators of wicked deeds that mark the end-time (cf. 1 Enoch 10:16, 100:6 and 105:1).¹⁶¹

After the vindication of the righteous and the destruction of cosmic evil beings and their human agents, the heavenly space gets transformed: “And the first heaven shall vanish and pass away, and a new heaven shall appear, and all the powers of

¹⁵⁹ See also: the Book of Watchers (1 En. 1–36), the Book of Dreams (1 En. 83–84 and 85–90), Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:1–10 and 91:11–17), Exhortation (1 En. 91:1–10, 18–19), Birth of Noah (1 En. 106–107), Book of Parables (1 En. 37–71), Book of Giants and Jubilees; cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 213–14.

¹⁶⁰ So Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 141.

¹⁶¹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 141; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “A Place for Socio-Political Oppressors at the End of History? Eschatological Perspectives from 1 Enoch,” in *Reactions to Empire: Sacred Texts in Their Socio-Political Contexts*, ed. John Anthony Dunne and Dan Batovici, WUNT 372 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 11, 14–18.

heaven shall shine sevenfold for ever” (91:16). After the appearance of a new heaven in the tenth week, in the period that follows (in the “many weeks without number”), “no further possibility exists that evil will ever recur again.”¹⁶²

2.3 Spatiality in the Apocalypse of Weeks

2.3.1 The Temple

For Boccaccini, the Temple’s appearance in week five is significant and indicates not only “the chiasmic structure of the Apocalypse” but also provides an indication that the author may have priestly roots.¹⁶³ An important aspect of AW’s spatial imagination does indeed emerge from the references to temple which appear in association with a royal imagery for God.¹⁶⁴ Featuring in AW’s interpretation of history from before the time of composition up to the imminent future, the temple is associated with God and his kingdom.¹⁶⁵ In the fifth week, the temple “of the glorious kingdom” is said to be built for eternity (93:7).¹⁶⁶ However, as a result of the prevalence of sin, “the house [i.e., temple] of the kingdom” will be burnt in the sixth week (93:8; cf. 91:10).¹⁶⁷ The author then skips over the Second temple and goes on to state, “the temple of the Great King shall be built in glory for ever” (91:13).¹⁶⁸ What emerges from the author’s association of the temple with God using royal imagery is

¹⁶² Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 152.

¹⁶³ Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 107–8; Nickelsburg also notes the importance of the temple in AW, cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 446, 449.

¹⁶⁴ Nickelsburg notes the importance of the Temple for AW Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 446, 449.

¹⁶⁵ David W. Suter, “Temples and the Temple in the Early Enoch Tradition: Memory, Vision, and Expectation,” in *The Early Enoch Literature*, JSJSup 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 195–218; Martha Himmelfarb, “Temple and Priests in the Book Of The Watchers, the Animal Apocalypse and the Apocalypse Of Weeks,” in *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, JSJSup 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 219–35.

¹⁶⁶ As Nickelsburg also notes, “reference to ‘glory,’ mentioned also in 91:13, is an allusion to the presence of the divine *kabôd* in the Solomonic Temple (1 Kgs 8:11) George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapter 1-36; 81-108*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, HCHCB (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 446.

¹⁶⁷ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 138.

¹⁶⁸ 4QEng 1 iv 17-18: “and with its end they shall acquire riches in righteousness, and there shall be built the royal Temple of the Great One in His glorious splendour for all generations forever,” Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 267.

an emphasis on the aspect of the temple as a space that “houses” the mighty and powerful God. This also indicates a point of correspondence between the First temple and the eschatological temple which are further linked in terms of their architectural aspects.

In highlighting the aspect of the temple as the dwelling place for the divine, the AW’s failure to mention the Second temple becomes all the more prominent. The Animal Apocalypse’s explicit rejection of the Second temple is on the basis of its pollution (cf. 1 En. 89:73). But for AW, given the implicit comparison with the First temple which corresponds to the eschatological temple both architecturally and in its ability to serve as dwelling place of God, the second temple is spatially unfit to belong to the space where God dwells.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, God’s presence in the temple of the past and the hope of his coming reign in the eschatological temple presumably built by the divine have a consolatory effect for the readers. As Michael Knibb notes for the early Enoch authors, Israel is still in exile entailing the necessity of dealing with the perceived absence of the divine.¹⁷⁰ In the case of the AW this takes shape in the certainty of the future and the impermanence of the present “temple-less” period.

2.3.2 Revelation as Spatial Production

In disclosing received information about the eschatological temple to come (through a vision he sees, the word of angels that was spoken to him, and a heavenly tablet he was able to read and understand) the author depicts himself and by extension the readers as having an access to the realm of God. Despite the gap

¹⁶⁹ Without exploring the spatial significance of the author’s revelation or the implications of the AW’s temple depiction, David Suter also notes that according to the AW, the Second Temple is “structurally inadequate as a dwelling-place for the Diety,” see Suter, “Temples and the Temple,” 209.

¹⁷⁰ Michael A. Knibb, “The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period,” in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 189–212.

left between the destruction of the First temple and the eschatological temple that has not yet been built, divine revelation forges a connection with the divine in the present period. Put differently, the spatio-temporal location and therefore identity of the author's community in the here and now gets transformed through revelation.¹⁷¹ This transformation renders the here and now as a newly constituted social space which is privy to divine perspective and heavenly events. In a sense, this heavenly space is made newly accessible through revelation.

The idea of revelation is also highlighted at 93:6 when the author cites the giving of the Torah in week four in connection with the "visions of the holy and righteous ones" seen during the Sinai theophany. The law, said to be "for every generation" is cited along with the tabernacle (σκηνή). This expression is rightly taken as a reference to angels and highlights the significance of the giving of the law and the divine theophany at Mt. Sinai.¹⁷² In citing angelic presence, the author of the AW also highlights the revelatory character of his writing and his own association with "visionary pietism" which cues his readers to his authority and the weight of what is being communicated.

Furthermore, the giving of the law is in a sense also presented as taking place within a space where heaven and earth meet. This mode of interpreting past events further underscores the cosmological dimension to the author's thought world in line with 93:1–3. A cosmologically focussed presentation of history, made all the more authoritative through visionary pietism, associates the people of God with the

¹⁷¹ Commenting on the significance of revelation and its claims of divine origin for the author's community, Nickelsburg writes, "the Enochic corpus, then, is the sacred Scripture that constitutes the eschatological community of the chosen," George W. E Nickelsburg, "The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and Some Qumranic Documents," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Michael E Stone, and with the collaboration of Avital Pinnick, STDJ 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 98.

¹⁷² Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 106.

presence of angels thereby marking the wilderness as a space where heaven and earth meet. Given the AW's assertion of continuity between the past, present and future, this can also be understood as the author's invitation to the Enochic community to think of their space in connection with the revelatory aspect of the past he discloses. This forms the spatial aspect of a new reality (or rather, a new perception of reality) that begins with the revelation of wisdom. The author then places them in a new spatio-temporal reality that is transformative to group. Through revelation, the community of the chosen gets constituted in a new space. This space is depicted in terms of a continual transformation with increasing intensity, ultimately resulting in a new heaven.

2.3.3 The Hostile Other in the Apocalypse of Weeks

Another spatial element comes through in the descriptions of week seven which constitutes the longest section. At 91:10, which Nickelsburg calls "the heart of the Apocalypse" where we find the longest section in AW. Before stating the further act of choosing from the "chosen plant of righteousness" that takes place in week seven (93:10), the author mentions the rise of a "wicked generation (*tewled 'elut*)"¹⁷³ (93:9). These sinners are said to commit wicked deeds against the righteous (cf. 93:9–10; 91:11). Although it is difficult to establish with certainty the historical circumstances, it is important to note that the description of sinners is generic, that is, those who are considered opponents of the writer and his group are not well described. Their profile simply indicates their status of piety: they are sinners and blasphemers. Similarly, the designations ascribed to the author's group is equally generalised. This suggests that the group is not a closed sectarian group. As Stuckenbruck rightly notes, although the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks depicts

¹⁷³ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 447.

his group as the “eternally chosen ones” (which has no parallel in the Enochic corpus),

the community of the Apocalypse is an ‘open’ movement that the writer believes will be the centre through which Israel comes to see the eschatological salvation of the righteous. This eschatological horizon thus prevents the language from reflecting a sectarian self-understanding.¹⁷⁴

Furthermore, if Nickelsburg is correct in positing that 93:9 recalls Deuteronomy 32:5’s “perverse generation” (דֹר עֲקָשׁ), then the sinners are Jewish opponents of the righteous that have apostatised from the perspective of the writer. Although AW’s brief presentation of history does not include more information about the sort of conflict between the righteous and sinners, it is clear from 93:8 (week six) that the rising of the wicked generation in week seven is a continuation of the sinfulness that lead to exile. The conflict is thus of a religious kind, one between the faithful and the unfaithful.

Building on AW’s association with Deut. 32:5, Portier-Young takes the original setting for the phrase which refers to Israelites who were engaged in the worship of foreign gods in Deut. 32:16–17, as relevant for the interpretation of the conflict in AW. She writes,

¹⁷⁴ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 75–76. See also, Stuckenbruck, “The Plant Metaphor,” 212 where Stuckenbruck convincingly argues against the presumption of a correspondence between the social location of the authors’ respective communities in 4QInstruction and the Apocalypse of Weeks based on the probable reference to “eternal planting” in 4Q418 81:13 (as suggested by Torleif Elgvin). He concludes that “[w]hereas the Enochic texts seem to derive conceptually from Isaiah 5:7, in which God’s ‘pleasant planting’ is broadly identified with ‘the men of Judah,’ the sapiential work’s narrowed usage seems more likely to have developed out of reflection on the passages from Trito-Isaiah [i.e., Isa. 60:21; 61:3] The Apocalypse of Weeks, like 4QInstruction, may have been composed within a community whose adherents understood themselves as a chosen group living penultimate to the eschatological transformation of the cosmos, but the ‘plant(ing)’ imagery is being applied in very different ways.” See also, Torleif Elgvin, “The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation.,” ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson, Copenhagen International Seminar 6 and JSOTSup 290 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 113–50.

[b]y borrowing the unique phrase “perverse generation” to describe the writer’s own time, the writer invites the reader to identify deeds of the present generation with those described in Deuteronomy 32:15–21, specifically the worship of foreign gods.¹⁷⁵

Furthermore, on the basis that Deut. 32:16–17’s context of full-scale idolatry is in view and that the Hellenising reforms at the beginning of Antioch IV Epiphanes’ reign did not “directly translate to religious apostasy”, Portier-Young rejects that reference is made at 93:9 to “Hellenising reforms in Jerusalem.”¹⁷⁶ For this reason she also rejects AW’s dating to earlier in Antiochus’s reign before his edict (i.e. ca. 175–167 BCE).¹⁷⁷ This is however problematic. Events of week seven (93:10 and 91:11) are described as:

“c[hosen one]s [w]ill be chosen as witnesses of truth from the etern[al] pl[ant of] truth, to whom sevenf[ol]d wisdom and knowledge will be giv[e]n”;

“and they (will) uproot the foundations of violence and the work of deceit in it in order to execute [judgement]” (4QEng 1 iv 12–13).¹⁷⁸

AW does not mention Antiochus’s edict in this description. Portier-Young’s claim to the contrary relies too strongly on an architectonic understanding of “foundation” at 91:11 on the one hand, and on the other, a reliance on the assumption that the terminology of “violence and deceit” is a well-developed profile

¹⁷⁵ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 316.

¹⁷⁶ Portier-Young here cites Stuckenbruck, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 62; She also rejects VanderKam’s proposal that AW refers to “the rise of a strong hellenizing part in Jewish society at the beginning of Antiochus IV’s reign, cf. James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, Catholic Biblical Quarterly. Monograph Series ; 16 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 147; Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 316; However, as Esler notes, “the earlier and voluntary abandonment of Judean identity recorded in 1 Macc 1:11–15” is likely in view here. Philip F. Esler, “Social-Scientific Approaches to Apocalyptic Literature,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 139.

¹⁷⁷ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 317.

¹⁷⁸ Translation from Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 121.

for the oppressors of the righteous. Thus, rendering 91:11's "foundation of violence and structure of deceit," she takes the words foundation and structure as "metonym for social structure of governance" whose "dimensions were physical, social, religious and epistemological."¹⁷⁹ For this reason 93:10 and 91:11 are taken as probable references to "the edict and persecution and the entire apparatus of imperial and local rule by which they were enacted."¹⁸⁰

Portier-Young's intent to unearth anti-imperial resistance discourse here forces her to take an expression from an invested religious critic too literally as an indication of a socio-political and religious opponent. However, the uprooting of the "foundation of violence" might simply indicate the author's conviction of the thoroughness with which wickedness will be dealt with. This is the sense that comes across from the corresponding text we have in the Exhortation: "In those days wrongdoing will be cut off from its roots – and the roots of iniquity together with deceit – and they will be destroyed from under heaven," (91:8).

More significantly, the terminology of "violence" and "deceit", are the same terms used to indicate antediluvian violence for week two at 93:4. In both cases it is preserved in the Aramaic as *המסא* and *שקרא*. As Stuckenbruck notes,

The terminology [of "violence" and "deceit"] in week seven functions as an *inclusio* that reflects the author's conviction that eschatological events are anticipated by "the first end" (93:4), that is, the time during which the great wickedness committed during the time of Noah was punished through the flood. Therefore, the events behind the terms "violence" and "deceit",

¹⁷⁹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 317; cf. Anthea Portier-Young, "Jewish Apocalyptic Literature as Resistance Literature," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 145–62.

¹⁸⁰ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 316.

whatever they may have been, mark the resumption of a mythical evil which, even more than as happened through the deluge, will be utterly destroyed.¹⁸¹

Given this indication, the description of the judgment and the uprooting of violence and deceit at 91:11 anticipates events in the eschatological future. The transition from past to future occurs in week seven and the uprooting of violence and deceit refer to the future. For this reason, AW can be assigned a pre-Maccabean date.¹⁸² Whichever historical group might be in view, the author's focus here is not on the foreignness of the enemies or imperial subjugation. While presenting opposition between two loosely defined groups, the transient nature of evil is what is stressed repeatedly. There is thus nothing in the text to suggest that AW's transmission of revelatory knowledge was a strategy of active resistance that is particularly anti-Antiochean and anti-Seleucid as Portier-Young posits.¹⁸³

2.3.4 Righteousness as a Spatial Practice

In the AW's "symbolic world-making"¹⁸⁴ the present is the time of inaugurated eschatology.¹⁸⁵ In common with other Enochic writings, the Enochic revelation the readers receive through this text functions to constitute them as the eschatological community of the righteous. AW further nuances the Enochic emphasis on the eschatological aspect of revelation by placing the inaugural event in the giving of

¹⁸¹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 130.

¹⁸² Cf. F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "The 'Books of Enoch (1 Enoch)' and the Aramaic Fragments from Qumran," *Revue de Qumrân* 14.1 (53) (1989): 143.

¹⁸³ See also, Anthea E. Portier-Young and John J. Collins, "Jewish Apocalyptic Literature as Resistance Literature," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 150–52 where Portier-Young suggests that AW goes a step beyond discursive resistance to praxis oriented resistance against hegemony in the description of the righteous taking up a sword to execute judgment according to the Ethiopic tradition. But the Aramaic text to 91:11 does not contain "sword". Also, this discussion is for week eight where the eschatological future (and not the present) is in view.

¹⁸⁴ Newsom, "Rhetoric," 205.

¹⁸⁵ For the idea that the revelation of wisdom entails the inauguration of eschatology in the 1 Enoch traditions, see Grant Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, JSJSup 115 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007).

wisdom. The readers are those who are given salvific wisdom. For this reason their present temporal reality is a time when the future has ‘broken in’. This notion is further reinforced through depicting the present as the initial phase of eschatological judgement which functions to provide comfort and encouragement, as Lars Hartman has noted.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, an inaugurated eschatology serves to provide a profound theological framework for understanding readers’ identity as the elect and navigating through the present time of apostasy and sin.

Additionally, AW’s consolatory agenda finds expression in the temporal duality the author presents. As Portier-Young notes, “the transience and finitude of temporal powers affirms God’s governance of time and the outworking of God’s plan in history and gives hope for a transformed future.”¹⁸⁷ Through structuring its eschatological anticipation on the template of the past, the author constructs a lived space where readers can be sure of God’s control over the ordering of both time and space. Within this framework of historical salvation, the righteous, who witness and lament the ‘violence’ and ‘deceit’ of the apostate, can take comfort in knowing that they will soon be delivered (91.11–12). However, this message of hope is not entirely futuristic.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Lars Hartman, “The Functions of Some So-Called Apocalyptic Timetables,” *NTS* 22.1 (1975): 11–12.

¹⁸⁷ Anthea E. Portier-Young sees the Apocalypse as a resistance discourse against hegemony, cf. for e.g., Anthea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2014), 27. But given the Apocalypse’s eschatological horizon, I am not convinced that designations for the righteous are technical terms reflecting a sectarian self-understanding on the part of the author and his group. Moreover, 1 Enoch 5:9, which lies in the background of this text, affirms such a reading. As Stuckenbruck notes, the Apocalypse “does not suggest that the writer is concerned with a group that is categorically closed,”; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 75 see also, idem, “Socio-Political Oppressors,” 11–18.

¹⁸⁸ As Stuckenbruck notes, the scholarly construal of temporality in Jewish apocalyptic outlook often comes at the expense a nuanced reflection on the present. In contrast, he argues that in ancient Jewish apocalyptic writing, the past and the future are connected through the present, so that God’s defeat of evil and the definitive outworking of his will in the past (such as through the Great Flood, or the exodus events) “can be manifested in the present through measures for curbing evil given to God’s people, [and] guarantees its annihilation in the future.” (1 En 10:16-22; 15:3-16:4; 91:5-

As is the case in ancient Jewish apocalyptic writing, in AW as well, the past and the future are connected through the present, so that God's defeat of evil and the definitive outworking of his will *in the past* "can be manifested in the present through measures for curbing evil given to God's people, [and] guarantees its annihilation *in the future*" (cf. 93:4–6).¹⁸⁹ The author's thus emphasises the transformation of the present through a convergence of *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*, which signifies the remarkable claim that the mythical evil that marks the period the addressees find themselves in is an already defeated force.¹⁹⁰

Spatially as well, the lived space of the readers is transformed in the here and now. Through a construal based on what Enoch receives through vision, angelic words and heavenly tablets, the author shares an apocalyptic vision where the earthly is penetrated by the heavenly. Thus, the AW can be seen as the attempt to transform the spatio-temporal reality of a people through Enochic tradition. This provides a window into one form of pietistic expression. While such a view is comforting and provides assurance that evil can be confidently managed in the here and now, there might also be a rhetorical aim attached to the text.

The readers' description as the chosen and the righteous, as well as the presentation of history through alternating periods of righteousness and wickedness, also functions as implicit paraenesis that can be understood as an admonition against emulating the wicked and the apostate. Such an ethical purpose may also be served by the notion of election, perhaps with a view to highlighting human

10; 106:13-107:1; Jub 5:1-10:11), cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 156; idem, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 275; idem, "Apocalyptic Thought and Time," 147–49.

¹⁸⁹ Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 135.

¹⁹⁰ Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 240–56.

responsibility through the negative example of “the plant of righteousness” whose divine election has nevertheless resulted in their ‘scattering’ (93.8).¹⁹¹

Furthermore, the seer’s identification with Enoch on the one hand, and the readers’ location within the setting of AW as the fictive audience to Enoch on the other, functions to invite readers “to a special and intimate relationship” with Enoch.¹⁹² Enoch’s explicit identification as “righteous” in the Book of Watchers is significant to his portrayal across 1 Enoch traditions including AW (1 En. 1:2; 12:4; 15:1; cf. Gen. 5:22, 24; Heb. 11:3–5). Righteousness in connection with the seer is associated with AW’s generative effect. Writing of 1 Enoch 1–5, Hartman hints at how the Enochic text has a reproductive effect on the audience’s configuration of time (i.e., “the future”) when he says:

access to divine secrets cannot be accorded to anyone without qualifications, and so Enoch is explicitly called ‘righteous’, and probably this righteousness, in the eyes of our author as in those of other Jews, made Enoch capable of a unique closeness to the Holy One in heaven. When a man of such qualities stands behind a blessing of this kind, the truth and trustworthiness of the oracle are ascertained in two ways [...] on the one hand, he is trustworthy as a stalwart witness to the divine secrets which God has revealed to him; on the other, the ‘blessing’ of such a powerful personality is so loaded that it, so to speak, shapes the future.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ As James VanderKam notes, “the entire chosen race is scattered, not just a part of it” James C. VanderKam and James M. Scott, “The Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, JSJSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 95.

¹⁹² Newsom, “Rhetoric,” 207.

¹⁹³ Lars Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1-5* (LiberLäromedel/Gleerup, 1979), 126.

By associating the text with the figure of Enoch and in turn with Enoch's righteousness which is linked both to his blessing and his scribal activity, AW appeals to legitimacy. Notably the notion of righteousness ascribes socially significant meaning to the lived space of the audience. This means that, through the notion of righteousness, the author constructs an apocalyptic imagination that shapes not only the future but also the audience's located-ness in the here and now (i.e., space and time). Such a view about reality in general and the future in particular shapes the present spatially through social praxis re-organised in light of that future. This is the spatial re-orientation that is set in motion through revelation.

This aspect of AW's apocalyptic imagination serves a rhetorical function. As Newsom notes, the rhetorical strategy of constructing a symbolic world through a revered figure – in our case Enoch – serves “to index a paradigmatic time that is hermeneutically normative for the symbolic world of the apocalypse, so that the audience identifies its own time as like that of the seer's.”¹⁹⁴ In the same manner, the text serves to catalogue a hermeneutically normative space that seeks to invite the audience to identify their embodied world with the seer's. In such a manner the text becomes generative, functioning as the prism through which reality is viewed and space occupied and relationships assessed. This occurs through the normative conceptual categories that is generated from the text's space-time configurations thus forming the audience's Secondspace, to use Soja's term.

The text thus mediates the lived experience of a group of Jews living at a particular time and place. In this way, without emphasising ethical duality or explicitly stating specific exhortations, the AW can be seen as an invitation to the readers to interpret reality and think of space in a new way.

¹⁹⁴ Newsom, “Rhetoric,” 207–8.

2.4 Conclusion

The author's portrayal of events leading up to and including judgement through the flood as the first of many to come indicates a basic understanding of history as following a predetermined pattern. The first end occurs following a period of rampant "deceit" and "violence", just as the second would follow the rise of a climactic evil generation and the resumption of mythical evil on an even greater scale (93:9). Significantly, whatever historical events might be alluded to, the prevalence of sin, which is expressed as the resurgence of mythical evil in week seven inaugurates the final judgement which results in its complete eradication. Thus depicted, the radical Thirdspace that emerges from AW invites the readers to imagine the dawn of a new heaven and a sin and demon free eternity for all humanity. In so doing, the author places his readers in a new Thirdspace in the present time.

Chapter 3: The Exhortation (91:1–10, 18–19)

3.1 Introduction

The Exhortation was likely composed by an Enochic editor sometime during the mid-to late second century BCE. It begins in a formal testamentary setting where Enoch summons his progeny to disclose the revelation he has received regarding future events (1 Enoch 91:1–3). The divine source of this revelation is identified in terms that portray Enoch as a prophet on whom ‘a spirit is being poured out’ (v. 1b). Employing *vaticinium ex eventu*, the Exhortation gives a description of the upsurge of evil followed by the instance of judgement that will rid the earth of all evil. This will again be followed by a proliferation of evil that will once again be quenched through another judgement, which is depicted as being greater in scope and efficacy.¹⁹⁵

3.2 Temporality and eschatology

Within 1 Enoch, the Exhortation contains the first instance of a transparent use of the flood imagery as model for eschatological judgement. In this sense, perhaps the final judgement in the Exhortation can be thought of as unfolding through stages, with the Great Flood being the first phase. At any rate, the author’s dependence on the “great judgment” of the past (መቅደሳት ወይ, 1 En. 91:5) to describe the ‘great judgment’ of the eschatological future (v. 7) indicates an *Urzeit–Endzeit* analogy between these two events. At 1 En. 91:7, the author states that when “iniquity and sin and blasphemy and wrongdoing in all deeds increase, and

¹⁹⁵ The close parallels between verse 5 and the primordial sins of the second week of the Apocalypse of Weeks, as well as linguistic links between the rest of the Exhortation and the punishment outlined in the seventh week, lend support to taking the verse as referring to primordial events. Furthermore, that the second period of judgement is a reference to eschatological events is evidenced, for example, by the formulaic opening ‘in those days’ in verse 8 as well as the widely attested eschatological theme of the destruction of idols in verse 9 (cf. T. Mos. 10:7; Tob. 14.6; Wis. 14.11). See also, Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 15, 178–79.

(when) apostasy and wickedness and uncleanness increase, there will be a great punishment will come from heaven upon all these and the holy Lord will come in anger and in wrath to execute judgment on the earth (ወእመኒ ትልህቅ ዐመፃ ወኅጢአት ወፅርፈት ወግፍዕ በኩሉ ተግባር ወትልህቅ ዕልወት ወአባሳ ወርኩስ መቅሥፍት ዐቢይ ይከውን እምሰማይ ዲበ እሉ ኩሎሙ ወይወፅእ እግዚእ ቅዱስ በመዐት ወበመቅሥፍት ከመ ይግባር ኩነኔ ዲበ ምድር)”. In addition to the flood imagery, there is also an analogous relationship between events leading up to the first judgement and eschatological events leading up to end-time judgement.

This temporal dimension of the Exhortation’s eschatology has provided the author with a framework to imagine what the eschatological future will look like. Stuckenbruck highlights a further dimension to this framework of temporality. He notes that besides reinforcing eschatology, apocalyptic writings that depict a correspondence between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit* employ language about the *Urzeit* “to provide a basis for being confident about such an outcome: God’s definitive activity is not only a matter for the future; rather, it is God’s invasive presence to defeat evil in the past (at the time of the Great Flood) that guarantees its annihilation in the future.”¹⁹⁶ The allusion to divine victory in the sacred past thus functions in the Exhortation to encourage readers to face adverse circumstances, knowing that evil and demonic forces are but defeated agents that await complete destruction (cf. 91.9).¹⁹⁷ The author of the Exhortation thus places his readers in the eschatological tension between the ‘already’ of evil’s defeat and the ‘not yet’ of its manifest destruction.

¹⁹⁶ Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 275.

¹⁹⁷ Judgement resulting in the destruction of idols rather than the punishment of those who commit idolatry is without precise parallel in the Enochic corpus, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 156.

3.3 Spatiality and Revealed Wisdom

In addition to providing an outline of the eschatological future based on the template of the sacred past, Enoch's revelation further incorporates ethical elements in the form of a two-ways instruction. In a testamentary setting, Enoch addresses his children: "Listen, children of Enoch, to every word of your father, and pay close attention to my mouth, for I am testifying and speaking concerning you, beloved ones: Love uprightness and walk in it (ወተናገሮሙ ለተሉሙ ውሉደ ጽድቅ ወይቤ ስምዑ ደቂቀ ሄኖክ ተሉኖ ነገረ አቡኩሙ ወአዕምኡ በርትዕ ቃለ አፉየ እስመ አሰምዕ ዲቤከሙ ወእነግረከሙ ፍቁራን አፍቅርዋ ለርትዕ ወባቲ ሐፋ, 1 En. 91:3)".¹⁹⁸

Before reiterating the revelation he has received, Enoch exhorts his progeny to pursue uprightness and to do so without "a double heart" (ክልኤ ልብ, 91:4). The fictive addressees are also warned against associating with those who have a 'double heart'. Such a description usually denotes sinners in the scriptural tradition (Prov. 16:31; 17:23; Job 24.13; Ps. 119.30; cf. Wis. 5.6) but is used in 1 Enoch for the first time in 91:4. Nickelsburg also argues that revealed wisdom in 1 Enoch constitutes the eschatological community of the elect by providing instructions through which the righteous are to remain on the right path even in the midst of persecution.¹⁹⁹

Grant Macaskill further elaborates the notion of revealed wisdom as an element of 1 Enoch's eschatology, arguing that possession of Enochic writings takes on eschatological significance so that the readers of these texts are the eschatological community of the elect who have been given salvific wisdom.²⁰⁰ By virtue of the giving of wisdom and the constitution of a community it entails, a new

¹⁹⁸ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 162.

¹⁹⁹ Nickelsburg, "The Nature and Function of Revelation," 98–99.

²⁰⁰ Macaskill, *Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology*.

space comes into being. This social space or Thirdspace is an aspect of Exhortation's apocalyptic imaginary that is lived out by the ethical ideals the writer communicates. It is thus a lived space where conceptual space is informed by Enoch's revealed wisdom about time, the afterlife, eschatological salvation and aspects of the heavenly realm. It is also a lived space where negative examples and implicit exhortations form a normative aspect of the readers' "here and now."

Despite the difficult text-critical problems associated with 1 Enoch 91:10, it is clear that wisdom plays a pivotal role in the eschatology of the Exhortation from the author's statement that "the righteous one will arise from his sleep, and wisdom will arise (*ወ ይገነሳ ጥበብ*) and be given to them," (for close parallels see 92:3 and 93:10).²⁰¹ This is further clarified in 91:18 and 91:19, which provide closing exhortations for Enoch's progeny to choose the way of righteousness over the way of violence and unrighteousness. This two-ways instruction also includes an emphatic description of the punishment that awaits sinners in verses 6–9.²⁰² In addition to verses 1–9, the final two verses contain further two-ways instruction in the form of traditional wisdom such as that found in Proverbs 1–8 (cf. 1 Enoch 91:18–19).²⁰³ The key difference lies in the fact that wisdom here can only be gleaned by revelation and therefore takes on eschatological significance, unlike the sapiential tradition which depicts wisdom as being immanent in creation.

²⁰¹ Cf. Nickelsburg, "The Nature and Function of Revelation," 181.

²⁰² George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapter 1-36; 81-108*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, HCHCB (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 415.

²⁰³ On the relationship between wisdom and apocalyptic, see for instance, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 335–37; Daniel K. Falk, Florentino Garcia Martinez, and Eileen M. Schuller, eds., *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, STDJ 35 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, BETL 159 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002); John J. Collins, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism and Generic Compatibility," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie*, ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993), 165–85.

In the Exhortation, salvation rests squarely on possession of Enochic instruction regarding the ways of righteousness and sin. The salvific significance of the wisdom Enoch reveals is further evidenced by the emphasis in 1 Enoch 91:18 that it is Enoch who is disclosing the contents of the revelation he received. If the temple is in view in 91.9, then the description of its destruction by fire in the eschatological future suggests that as far as the Exhortation is concerned, eschatological salvation—that is, inclusion in the eschatological community of the elect—is now associated with Enochic revelation instead of the Jerusalem temple.²⁰⁴

3.4 Conclusion

Taken together, the temporal framework of the Exhortation's eschatology and the role ascribed to revealed wisdom indicate that salvation or institution as the exclusive community of the righteous has been inaugurated. As Nickelsburg notes, in 1 Enoch revelations take the form of fictive prophecy, which "although allegedly received in primordial antiquity, are promulgated in a present that stands on the threshold of the end time. Functionally, they are eschatological revelation [...] Definitive deliverance will take place soon."²⁰⁵ This further constitutes 'inaugurated eschatology' with both realized (here the disclosing of salvific revelation) and future elements (such as events in vv. 8–9). Moreover, in depicting a symbolic world where judgment against sin has already begun, the writer places the readers in a new spatial reality where the present and the future overlap and where the earthly and the heavenly interpenetrate. The Exhortation is thus an invitation to think of space—and a spatio-temporal aspect of faith—in a radically new way. This explains the author's emphasis on human responsibility: they are to radically dissociate with sinful

²⁰⁴ For a discussion of the negative evaluation of the second Temple in verse 9, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 179.

²⁰⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 42.

ways and pursue a life of obedience and faithfulness with God since the realm of God has newly been made accessible. This spatial re-orientation calls forth realigned relationships with one another, with God and with space.

Chapter 4: The Epistle of Enoch (92:1–5; 93:11–105:2)

4.1 Introduction

The author of the Epistle of Enoch presents his work as revealed wisdom that forms the basis for righteousness and salvation, which he associates with Enochic wisdom. The author depicts his community as experiencing oppression and persecution at the hands of the rich and powerful whom he associates with wickedness, sin, falsehood and a general lack of understanding. The depiction of the sinners as oppressors of the poor and the lengthy woe-oracles he directs at them indicate that the author is in conflict with a group of people whose socio-historical location is difficult to identify.

This difficulty on the one hand and the author's focus with the eschatological vindication of his oppressed readers and the reprisal the sinners will receive on the other, poses questions about the nature of the conflict he has with his opponents. It also necessitates a closer look at the lived space he constructs for the readers by way of revealing wisdom in light of the real or perceived persecution the readers undergo and the conflict he has with the opponents. In connection with the disclosure of wisdom, an aspect of the text's spatial imagination is the post-mortem judgment against persecutors and the notion of eschatological reward for the righteousness. In what follows, I will discuss these issues in the attempt to delineate the author's spatial construction in general and the space the readers and the ideological other occupy in particular.

4.2 Literary Context

The Epistle of Enoch is an independent tradition, likely composed in the second century BCE.²⁰⁶ It forms a collection with the AW and the Exhortation. It is only fully preserved in the Ethiopic with the Greek Chester Beatty Papyrus being both shorter (97:6–104:13) and marred by errors. The limits and unity of the Epistle of Enoch has been disputed.²⁰⁷ Here I follow Stuckenbruck in considering the Epistle to be comprised of an opening frame (92:1–5 + 93:11–94:5), three major “discourses” (in 94:6–100:6, 100:7–102:3 and 102:4–104:8) and a closing frame (104:9–105:2).²⁰⁸ The sections encompassed within can be structured following headings, themes and other markers in the text.²⁰⁹ For example, in Discourse One where the fictive author addresses the wicked and the righteous alternatively, there are six woe oracles against sinners and words of encouragement (94:6–100:6).²¹⁰

The opening and closing frames are set within a narrative framework that depicts Enoch, the fictive author, addressing his children (92:1; 94:1). The content of his address is exhortational and provides motivation to choose righteousness through the promise of future reward and vindication against sinners. At 105:1–2, Enoch concludes his speech in a consolatory note, encouraging “the children of truth” to rejoice: እስመ አነ ወወልድየ ንጌመር ምስሌሆሙ ለዓለም በፍናዋተ ርትዕ በሕይወቶሙ ወሰላም ይከውን ለከሙ ተፈሥሐው ውሉደ ርትዕ አሜን (105:2).

²⁰⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 416–29.

²⁰⁷ On the development of the Enochic corpus, see for e.g., Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 25–26, 426.

²⁰⁸ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 188–89.

²⁰⁹ See also Michael A. Knibb, “The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Epistle of Enoch,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005), 213–14 n. 1.

²¹⁰ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 189–90.

In 104:9–105:2, the author states that Enoch’s writings are wisdom that lead to truth and righteousness. The community of the righteous will experience joy since wisdom that leads to righteousness will be theirs. This constitutes the first of two disclosures (i.e., *ḥḥm*; a “mystery” cf. 104:12) he relays. The other one is about the sinners who are said to alter and copy the writings of Enoch, distorting truth and writing in their own names (104:10).

The main body, the three discourses that appear in 94:6–104:8, are more polemical and use a variety of traditional material to express a passionate disapproval of opponents. These serve to give a more detailed profile of those who oppose the writer(s) and his community of the righteous.²¹¹ In what follows, I will discuss the question of how, what the author(s) considered as the hostile “other” is dealt with in the Epistle. In light of the forgoing, the question pertains to the more general question of how opponents are handled in some of the texts that make up the later Enoch traditions – and whether an anti-hegemony resistance discourse is an option these texts take in addressing hostilities from the “Other.”

4.3 The Hostile Other in the Epistle of Enoch

In a brief essay that explores the portrayal of outsiders in early Jewish literature, Nickelsburg notes that “the We and the Other” worldview revolves around a polarised contrast that depicts one group as the negative representation of the other.²¹² His study includes 1 Enoch traditions (the Book of Watchers, the Animal

²¹¹ Stuckenbruck considers the detailed profile for the opponents and finds evidence to identify the nature of the conflict in the Epistle as theological conflict that involves a dispute between written traditions. The dispute is convincingly shown to be about “the correct interpretation of the Mosaic Torah.” This is an important aspect Stuckenbruck explores in relation to the Epistle’s authorial presentation and its connection both to the Epistle’s distinct features and the Epistle’s association with the Enochic tradition including implications for understanding genre. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The ‘Epistle of Enoch’: Genre and Authorial Presentation,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 17.3 (2010): 381.

²¹² George W. E Nickelsburg, “The We and the Other in the Worldview of 1 Enoch , the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Other Early Jewish Texts | Orion-Editor.Dev,” in *The “Other” in Second Temple*

Vision, the Parables of Enoch and the Epistle of Enoch) along with texts from the DSS. His analysis is the portrayal of the “Other” in the more wider sense of the word, that includes depictions of human and demonic opponents as well as non-hostile others, such as humanity in general or Gentiles. Another caveat that emerges is his primary focus on the *portrayal* of others and not on how the real or perceived threat they are understood to pose gets a mitigating response.

He notes that the various authors behind these tradition find it necessary to construe their perception of reality “in terms of the counter-position and interaction of the We and the Other.”²¹³ Indeed, in the Epistle of Enoch, the “Other” constitutes opponents that are variously described as “sinners,”²¹⁴ “rich ones,”²¹⁵ socio-economic oppressors and as those who subvert the truth and lead others astray (98:9–99:2).²¹⁶ In contrast, the readers are the righteous, those who are oppressed and those who love truth and wisdom. The sinners also consist of rich oppressors who engage in physical violence (103:15²¹⁷), burden the peasants (103:11–13²¹⁸), gain riches through unjust means (97:8²¹⁹), lie and refuse to listen (95:6;²²⁰ 98:14²²¹) and take bribes (94:7²²²).

Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins, ed. Daniel C. Harlow et al. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011), 262–78.

²¹³ Nickelsburg, “The We and the Other,” (ed. Harlow et al.), 263.

²¹⁴ See 95:2, 7; 96:4; 97:3, 7; 98:4, 6, 10; 99:6; 100:7, 9; 101:7; 102:3, 5, 9; 103:5; 104:7.

²¹⁵ 94:8; cf. 96:4; 97:8, 10; 100:6.

²¹⁶ Stuckenbruck notes that in the fifth woe-oracle, the author’s indictment against the sinners is because of their “theological distortion and subversion of what he regards as true,” Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The ‘Epistle of Enoch’: Genre and Authorial Presentation,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 17.3 (2010): 359.

²¹⁷ 103:15 ወይረድኦም ለእለ የሀይዳን ወይበልዑን ወለእለ አውነዳን ወየነብኡ ግፍዖም ወኢደወዕኡ እምነን አርዑቶም ለእለ ይበልዑን ወይዘረዘሩን ወይቀትሉን ወየነብኡ ቀትለን ወኢተዘከሩ ከመ አንሥኡ እደዊሆም ላዕሌን።

²¹⁸ 103:11–12 ንሴፎ ንኩን ርእሰ ወኮነ ዘነበ፤ ጻመውን እንዘ ንትጌበር ወኢሠለጥነ ዲበ ጻማነ ወኮነ መባልዕተ ለኃጥአን ወዐማፅያን አክበዱ ላዕሌን አርዑተ ዘአሆም ተሠልጡ ዲቤን እለ ይጸልኡን ወእለ ይደጉጹን ወለእለ ይጸልኡን አትሐትን ክሳደን ወኢመሐሩን

²¹⁹ 97:8 አሌ ለከም እለ ታጠርዩ ብሩረ ወወርቀ ዚአኮነ በጽድቕ ወትብሉ ብዕልነ ብዕል ወኮነ ለን ንዋይ ወአጥረይነ ኮሎ ዘፈቀድነ።

²²⁰ 95:6 አሌ ለከም ለሰማዕተ ሐሰት ወለእለ ይደልውዋ ለዐመፃ እስመ ፍጡን ትትሀገሱ።

²²¹ 98:14 አሌ ለከም እለ ታብጥሉ ነገረ ጻድቃን እስመ ኢይከውን ለከም ተስፋ ሕይወት።

²²² 94:7 አሌ ሎም ለእለ የሐንጹ አብያቶም በነጠሊት እስመ እምኮሎ መሠረቶም ይትነሡቱ ወበሰይፍ ይወድቁ ወእለ ያጠርይዎ ለወርቅ ወለብሩር በኩን፤ ፍጡን ይትሀገሱ።

For Horsley and Tiller, the Epistle depicts a “three-way political-economic-religious relationship” where one group of scribes addresses another group of scribes pronouncing woes against the rich for oppressing the righteous. But it remains unclear why general descriptions like “the lowly” and “the poor” are taken as technical terms that indicate a pious group with recognisable and detailed identity. Admittedly, Horsley and Tiller concede that their reading “deduced largely from the near-contemporary wisdom of Jesus ben Sira, [in light of which] the intense sets of woes pronounced against the rich in the Epistle of Enoch appear to emerge from just such a conflict, between rulers in Jerusalem and the scribal circle that produced the Enochic literature.”²²³

In contrast, both Nickelsburg and Stuckenbruck provide a close reading of the text to arrive at the convincing conclusion that the conflict is between two groups and that it is theological in nature. Although the writer is clearly concerned with what the rich are doing to the poor, the distinction between sinners and the pious is not primarily sociological. Although Boccaccini notes that the author of the Epistle is concerned with establishing a distinction between the chosen and the sinner, he sees the distinction as primarily sociological.²²⁴

However, the numerous accusations connected to the sinners indicates that the socio-economic basis on which the author criticizes the sinners is brought under a religious concern as demonstrated by the overall content of 94:9–104:6.²²⁵ The socio-economic aspect of the author’s critique where the rich are oppressors of the poor and responsible for their mistreatment and various other social ills, can be seen

²²³ Richard A. Horsley and Patrick A. Tiller, *After Apocalyptic and Wisdom: Rethinking Texts in Context* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2012), 126.

²²⁴ Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 136–37.

²²⁵ Knibb, “The Apocalypse of Weeks,” 218.

as an outworking of their failure to abide by the law of God. As Argall also notes, there is enough indication to deduce that the author's opponents are sages whose interpretation of the law contradicts with that of the Enochic authors. For this reason, they are considered as idolatrous and blasphemous who write words of lies while the author and those who accept his instruction are righteous.²²⁶

More specifically, as Stuckenbruck demonstrates, the Epistle reflects two groups who were engaged in "a debate regarding the correct interpretation of the Mosaic Torah."²²⁷ This view finds justification in the charge brought against the opponents where it is said that they departed from the "unalterable law" of God which Enoch has read in "the tablets of heaven" (103:2). They are also "fools" who altered "the words of truth and the eternal law" (ለነገራተ ርትዕ ወሥርዐተ እንተ ለዓለም; 99:2). They are also charged with leading others astray (98:15).²²⁸

In light of the conflictual circumstances described in the text, the fictive author of the Epistle seems to take relief in the pronouncement of woes. The judgment he pronounces against sinners is from the prophetic tradition (94:7; 96:5-6; 97:3; 97:8; 98:9; cf. 101:4, 6, and 7). Such an appeal to the authority of the prophetic tradition, likely indicates an attempt to link the sinners with sinners in the biblical tradition – whose destruction through divine judgment was assured. This seems to be the case at 98:2 where the author addresses the readers in the second person assuring them and their children of safety and deliverance "on the day of the tribulation of sinners," but says of the sinners that they will groan and weep.²²⁹ In the present as well, there

²²⁶ Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 46–47, 172.

²²⁷ Nickelsburg, "The We and the Other," (ed. Harlow et al.), 267; Stuckenbruck, "The 'Epistle of Enoch.'"

²²⁸ Cf. 1 En. 98:15 አሌ ለከሙ እለ ትጽሕፉ ነገረ ሐሰት ወነገረ ረሲዓን እስመ ውእቶሙ ይጽሕፉ ሐሰቶሙ ከመ ይስምዑ ወይርስዕዎ ለባዕድ ወኢይከውን ሎሙ ሰላም አለ ሞተ ይመውቱ ፍጡነ።

²²⁹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 286, 289–92.

is “no rest” for the lawless sinners since they are being pursued by the “spirit of error” (99:14; they will lack “peace,” 98:11; 101:3; 103:8; “fear” will grip them, 103:15).²³⁰

As Stuckenbruck notes, according to 99:11–16, judgment is “both reversal and retribution.”²³¹ The evil the sinners did will be done to them, and the righteous are imagined to be agents through which the divine punishment will occur (cf. 95:1; 96:3).

At 99:12–13, the writer accuses the sinners of rejecting the foundation of the knowledge revealed by Enoch, instead choosing sin and deceit. He uses a building imagery we saw in the AW:²³²

አሌ ለክሙ አለ ትገብርዋ ለመስፈርተ ኅጢአት ወጉሐሉት ወአለ ያመርኙ ዲበ ምድር እስመ ቦቱ ይትወድኡ።
አሌ ለክሙ አለ ትነድቁ አብያቲክሙ በጻማ ባዕድ ወኩሉ መንድቆሙ ግንፋል ወእብነ ኅጢአት አብለክሙ ከመ
አልብክሙ ሰላሙ።

Woe to you who lay the foundations of sin and deceit, and cause bitterness on earth; for because of it they will be brought to an end. Woe to those who build their houses not with their own labour, and make the whole house of the stones and bricks of sin. Woe to you; you will have no peace.

This is contrasted with v. 14 where the metaphoric sense of the phrase “foundation of sin” (መስፈርተ ኅጢአት) is made apparent:

አሌ ሎሙ ለእለ ይማንኑ መስፈርተ ወርስተ አበዊሆሙ እንተ ለዓለም ወይተልዉ ነፍሱሙ ድኅረ ጣዖት እስመ
ኢይከውን ሎሙ ዕረፍት።

Woe to those who reject the foundation and eternal inheritance of their fathers; and a spirit of error pursues you; you will have no rest.

²³⁰ Cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 416.
²³¹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 418.
²³² See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 421–22; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 495–97.

In mitigating the threat these sinners pose, the author thus consoles the readers that the rich and powerful are those who are condemned to divine retribution in the future and in the present, they are restless and lacking peace. In addition to appealing to the ill-fate that awaits the sinners and their present state of condemnation, the author writes that sin itself will be destroyed (92:5).

4.4 Human Responsibility for Sin

The Epistle of Enoch addresses the question of otherness through the anticipation of judgment against the hostile other. Another category of otherness finds a response through the universalising motif that is also found in AW 91:14. At 105:1–2, the author expresses his hope for the ultimate conversion of Gentiles who would understand and abide by Enochic wisdom having survived the judgment (cf. 10:21).²³³ Thus, humanity as a whole is expected to find salvation through Enoch's revealed wisdom which will be brought to them by the righteous.²³⁴

The motif of revealed wisdom functions to highlight an important aspect of the Epistle of Enoch. By using disclosure formula, the author signifies his exhortation concerning the coming judgment (94:10; 98:8, 10, 12; 100:10; 103:7).²³⁵ As Argall notes, the content of these statements, i.e., “the revelatory formula ‘know’” indicates an exhortation addressed specifically to sinners. His claim to privileged knowledge and the commission he receives to mediate that knowledge give his exhortations an authoritative significance. If the sinners, i.e., the teachers who advocated a different teaching, do not abandon their lies and idolatry, they will face judgment. The

²³³ George W. E Nickelsburg, “The We and the Other in the Worldview of 1 Enoch, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Other Early Jewish Texts,” in *The “Other” in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins*, ed. Daniel C. Harlow et al. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011), 268.

²³⁴ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 191.

²³⁵ Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 44–49.

language of judgment follows “a threefold reference to the day of divine punishment.”²³⁶ The first expression is “the day of bloodshed” or “the day of unceasing bloodshed” (cf. 100:3; 99:6). This language reflects the Epistle of Enoch’s view of reality that those who do evil and oppress the righteous will be avenged by God in the afterlife (cf. for e.g., 95:7; 96:8; 99:11; 100:9; 102:9; and 103:9–15).²³⁷ The other expression is “the day of darkness” which stands for the place of punishment.

In the concluding section of the Epistle of Enoch, the elect community receives a commission to transmit Enochic wisdom to all humanity (“children of the earth,” cf. 1 En. 105:1–2). Again Enochic wisdom is depicted as the way of establishing cosmic order through the ways of righteousness (1 En. 104:13; cf. 92:3; 94:1–2). In both the exhortation to sinners and the righteous community, the author demonstrates a concern for what constitutes from his standpoint true wisdom and obedience to God. His exhortations are thus ethical calls to abandon sin and idolatry.²³⁸

While his revealed wisdom about the final judgment functions to assure the righteous that their enemies will be punished, it also serves as a way of marking their identity in antithetical terms to that of the sinners. The symbolic world that emerges is a form of normative instruction on how life “ought” to be conducted.²³⁹ It is a form of spatial construction whereby the author communicates a view of reality – the way things are and ought to be. The Thirdspace reality that emerges from each text then

²³⁶ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 265.

²³⁷ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 265–66.

²³⁸ The contrast that is evident between the fate of the righteous and the sinners on the one hand and the ethical dualism between the two groups of people on the other does not come in a deterministic framework. This means that God does not predetermine the existence of good and evil as is the case in *Sirach* or the *Hodayot* (cf. *Sirach* 37:7–15; 1QH^a V 30–36; VI 22–23).

²³⁹ Newsom, “Rhetoric,” 204.

becomes a normative ideology in accordance to which the righteous are to evaluate their life. At the same time, the religious desire to live in accordance with God's desire is central to the appeal made by the Enochic authors.²⁴⁰

The normative aspect of a social space constructed on the basis of exhortations and the notion of the judgment of sinners and the reward of the righteous portray a view of reality that gives God active agency and involvement in earthly affairs. Moreover, the tension with which divine (pre)determination and human agency are held together finds its sharpest expression in the construction of such space. Although this spatial reality is accessible only to those who have been divinely elected or to whom divine disclosure is mediated, it is still the obedient, the wise, and those who otherwise demonstrate an appropriate response to the author's revealed wisdom that end up occupying it.

Furthermore, the view of reality the author reaffirms to his readers involves a particular view of the post-mortem life and the principle that divine justice is not to be sought in the present order of things but in the future. Thus, while the readers are at present people who are privileged with Enochic wisdom and are on the path of righteousness, their fate still awaits the final judgment in the eschatological future when sinners will be "destroyed" (ἀπόλλυμι, 1 En. 99:9) and the righteous "saved" from divine destruction (σώσω, 1 En. 99:10).²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Newsom discusses the persuasive aims associated with apocalyptic writings by tracing the significance of vivid descriptions, narrations and other detailed ways through which an author constructs a symbolic world where the seer and the audience become virtually contemporaneous. This serves to invite readers to an intimate relationship with the revered figure "so that the audience identifies its own time as like that of the seer's." Newsom, "Rhetoric," 208.

²⁴¹ Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 179–84.

While the author does take the readers to already be on the path of righteousness (cf. 92:1), his message is exhortational.²⁴² In the author's view of reality, humans are responsible for sin (98:4). Sin is not presented as an external agent (i.e., cosmic power) or a predetermined state that is divinely allotted for some. Put differently, the Epistle espouses the view that human beings are able to make moral choices and are held responsible for wrong choices (cf. 94:7,8; 96:4–8; 97:8–10; 98:1–2, 11–14; 99:13; 103:9–15).

4.5 Conclusion

As we have so far seen, it is not otherness *per se* that is not tolerated in the Epistle of Enoch but rather the hostility and theologically and ethically unacceptable position of the other that is consistently decried. This is evident in the distinction the author draws between the hostile other whose imminent destruction is guaranteed, and the non-hostile other who are willing to accept his revealed wisdom and are thus assured of a future salvation (102:1–3).

Furthermore, by mitigating the theological threat of the hostile other through a symbolic world-making that is aimed at transforming the readers' space to a new and open Thirdspace, the author of the Epistle shows his tolerance for ethnic otherness. The implication for the Epistle's apocalyptic imaginary is the hope for the removal of categories of otherness so that all humanity ("the children of the earth," 105:1), without distinction will receive wisdom at the eschaton. In this regard, while the apocalyptic outlook of the Epistle is not intolerant of ethnic or religious otherness, disregard for divine revelation and the perversion of wisdom leads to death. The author thus urges his readers to choose righteousness under the presumption that

²⁴² Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 250.

they have moral agency and are responsible for sin (more on this in Chapter 9 below).²⁴³

²⁴³ For Lorenzo DiTommaso, the apocalyptic outlook generally denotes toxic intolerance towards otherness. However, despite the graphic language the author of the Epistle of Enoch uses, what he rails against is the oppression of the poor and their ill treatment by those who abuse their wealth and social standing. Thus, rather than being escapist as DiTommaso maintains, in this case, the author empowers his readers by encouraging them to consider their social location in light of the Enochic wisdom revealed to them and through which they have been re-placed in the spatial zone of the Enochic revelation he discloses. “The Apocalyptic Other,” in *The “Other” in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins*, ed. Daniel C. Harlow et al. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011), 240–42.

Chapter 5: Apocalyptic Space in the Eschatological Admonition (108:1–15)

5.1 Introduction

1 Enoch 108, known as “Eschatological Admonition” is an independent literary unit forming an appendix to 1 Enoch. It appears in the Enochic corpus as a further disclosure of hidden wisdom by Enoch to his son Methuselah. The Eschatological Admonition (hereafter EA) is extant only in the Ethiopic tradition with no attestation in the Aramaic or Greek manuscripts.²⁴⁴ It was probably appended to the Enochic collection during the latter part of the first century CE.²⁴⁵

The content of revelation presented in the EA comprises ethical instructions and descriptions of the eschatological future. The author is concerned about the suffering of the righteous. Within the framework of sin and righteousness, the author writes about violence and oppression as well as wealth and poverty. Differently from the Epistle of Enoch, poverty is not merely a socio-economic status for those who are oppressed and persecuted by the rich. It is rather a religious category and mode of existence for the pious.

Before turning to this aspect of EA’s particular symbolic world and other features that reflect the text’s points of departure from the earlier Enochic traditions, I will briefly outline its contents.

5.2 Literary Context

This editorial appendix describes itself as “another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah” (ካልእ መጽሐፍ ዘጸሐፈ ሄኖክ ለወልዱ ማቲሳላ; 108:1). Given the reference

²⁴⁴ 4QEng (4Q212) and 4QEnc (4Q204) end at 94:2 and 107:2 respectively; the Greek Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus extends only to 107:2 while the Coptic Antinoë fragment ends at 93:8; similarly, the Latin Royal Ms. 5 does not include chapter 108 and ends at 106:18, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 17.

²⁴⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 554; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 693–94.

to a heavenly inscription concerning the fate of sinners and the righteous at 108:7 to which Enoch is apparently privy, it is reasonable to take the text as a disclosure of revelation within a testamentary setting.

A chosen Enochic community receives hidden wisdom regarding future events (vv. 6–15). This is expressed by employing language and motifs from the sacred past. The author adopts Urzeit language to describe the fate that awaits his community's human persecutors with a unique appropriation for such punishment in the immediate afterlife. In the opposition between the readers and their oppressors, the author's emphasis remains on revelation regarding eschatological judgement and ensuing punishment and reward. In essence, then, the author employs revelation as a response to his addressees' real or perceived persecution.²⁴⁶ He also employs the motif of Enochic revelation to constitute and inform their identity as the eschatological community of the chosen.²⁴⁷ Containing implicit exhortation, such characterizations serve a theological purpose: the readers are to recognize their identity in them and strive to uphold their faith commitment in hope of vindication.

More importantly, these designations indicate the status of the addressees as members of an eschatological community of the righteous. By evoking the 'prophets' (the word's first and only appearance in 1 Enoch) and casting his addresses in remnant language, the author takes a radical stance to suffering and states that it is

²⁴⁶ This is in line with Nickelsburg's observations regarding the nature and function of revelation in the Book of Luminaries (1 Enoch 72–82), the Animal Vision (1 Enoch 85–90) and the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 92–105) and its importance for constituting and shaping an Enochic community. Nickelsburg's study of the theme in 1 Enoch, Jubilees and some texts from DSS (the Damascus Document, the Community Rule, the Hodayot, and Habakkuk Peshar) hints at but does not fully explore the possibility that revelation also functions as a response to suffering by distinguishing the community of the chosen from out-groups; cf. Nickelsburg, "The Nature and Function of Revelation," 91–119.

²⁴⁷ John J. Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2015).

a necessary ‘testing’ by God to ascertain purity and fidelity, as well as an assurance of salvation and reward for those who will persevere (108:9).

Who their persecutors are is difficult to establish. But the description of the righteous might provide a hint. The addressees are identified as those who keep the law (እለ...ወየዐቅቡ ሥርዐተ; 108:1). At 108:7b, they are further characterized as “the lowly” and those “who deprive their bodies and were rewarded by the Lord” even though they were “put to shame by evil men.”²⁴⁸ As a depiction of their piety, they abase their bodies in ways that recall Levitical ordinances about afflicting oneself which is described there as the pious act of fasting on a feast day or Sabbath (Lev. 16:29, 31; 23:27, 32 and Num. 29:7).²⁴⁹ Furthermore, the readers are characterized as the righteous “who love God” more than the world and “still bless [his] name” despite being oppressed by “evil men” (108:9, 11, 13). The nature of their suffering is thus religious persecution.²⁵⁰

While the addressees are thus Jewish groups associated with the Enochic tradition and concerned with the keeping of the law and what they deem to be the faithful interpretation of the prophets, their opponents are their mirror images: Jewish groups for whom the Torah and the prophets are expressions of fidelity to God. Nevertheless the author regards them as lacking in obedience and devotion to God.

The opponents’ persecution of the righteous may be linked to socio-economic oppression given the reference to their lowliness and humiliation by the unrighteous.

²⁴⁸ Cf. 108:9–10 ወእለ እምአም ኮኑ ኢፈተወ. መባልዕተ ዘውስተ ምድር አላ ረሰዩ ርእሶም. ከመ መንፈስ እንተ ተጎልፍ ወዘንተ ዐቀቡ ውብዙጎ አመከሮም እግዚእ ወተረከቡ መንፈሳተሆም ንጽሕተ ከመ ይባርከዎ ለሰም። ወተሎ በረከቶም ነገርኩ በመጻሕፍት ወዐሰዮም ለአርእስተሆም እሰም እሉ ተረከቡ ያፈቅርዎ ለሰማይ እምእስትንፋሶም ዘበዓለም ወእንዘ ይትከዩዱ እምእኩያን ሰብእ ወሰምዑ እምነቢሆም ትዕይርተ ወፅርፈተ ወጎስሩ እንዘ ይባርኩኒ።

²⁴⁹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 714.

²⁵⁰ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 554.

Such a depiction would fit the context of the Epistle of Enoch where similar charges are levied against religious opponents.

The religious nature of the conflict between them and their opponents can be further corroborated by the specific charge the author brings against the oppressors (108:6). Upon Enoch's request for an explanation about the vision he just saw, the angel says to him, "This place which you see, there the spirits of the sinners and godless will be led, and (the spirits of) those who do evil and of those who alter everything that the Lord has done through the mouth of the prophets (about) all the things which will happen."²⁵¹ Not only do the persecutors fail to observe the law, they also fail to interpret the prophets correctly. Also, to "alter everything that the Lord has done through the mouth of the prophets" can be taken as indication that the opposing group is not merely sinful or disobedient, but has an alternative claims "about all the things which will happen," possibly indicating a competing eschatological prophecy or perhaps a claim that they possess the correct Enochic revelation. If that is the case, the author's description of the work as "another book" written by Enoch may be seen as a counter-claim to the opponents' assertion.

The hostility from opponents is addressed through the author's recourse to the themes of sin, punishment and rewards from the earlier Enochic literature and the prophetic tradition to establish the claim that God's saving acts are consistent across history. The readers are to take heart in hope of future vindication but also in the knowledge that their enemies who are excluded from the community of God's chosen await punishments that are like that of the fallen angels. Thus, rather than active resistance, the author's approach to dealing with persecution is through hope in eschatological vindication. In this response to the hostile other, the author of EA

²⁵¹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 709.

resembles other Enochic authors. The transformation of sinners, conceivably through repentance, is also within the purview of 1 Enoch 108.²⁵² According to 108:9, those who are “born in darkness” escape their fate and end up being rewarded for their faithfulness. In expressing this thought, the author alludes to divine agency with regard to the transformation those who are “born in darkness” will undergo (cf. Chapter 9, Sect. 9:3).

5.3 The Production of Space in 1 Enoch 108

The symbolic space the author constructs through the text depicts a central concern that is theological in nature. The theological dilemma the author addresses is one which the notion of “righteous suffering” poses. In light of the dominant theology that finds expression in the Deuteronomic view of covenant blessing and curse (Deut. 28:3–11), the author’s association of piety and covenant faithfulness with poverty and suffering is a radical stance. As we will see below, in order to address this particular concern, the author offers an ideological critique of the status quo that is represented by Deuteronomic theology by foregrounding an eschatological vision of reward and punishment in the post mortem.

5.3.1 Eschatological Blessing: A Thirdspace Vision

In the Eschatological Admonition (1 Enoch 108), the author writes to console and exhort his readers whom he describes as those who have been “put to shame” (108:7)²⁵³ as well as “abused and insulted” by opponents (108:10).²⁵⁴ At 108:8 as

²⁵² Rightly, Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 732, 730–32; contra Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 552 who argues that the fate of both sinners and the righteous is associated with divine predetermination. However, as Stuckenbruck notes, the divine speech is focused on the fate of the righteous and the eschatological reward that awaits them. In 108:11b as well, the author holds out the possibility that the sinners can abandon their sinful path and become transformed.

²⁵³ 1 En. 108:7 For writings and inscriptions about them were found to be in heaven, so that angels may read them and know what will befall sinners and the spirits of the lowly and those who afflicted their bodies and were compensated by God and those who were humiliated by evil men.

well, the author states that the righteous love God. Despite their oppression by the rich, they have disavowed riches and the good things of this world, instead choosing to “give their body to torment” (108:8). He further describes them at 108:9 as those who have, from birth, chosen to please God despite their suffering.²⁵⁵

In describing the readers’ piety in relation to their oppression, the author associates fidelity to God with perseverance in the face of innocent suffering. In attributing their piety to the moment their existence began, the author is depicting the readers as innocent and righteous. Their response is lauded because they continued to “love God.” It appears that the cause of their suffering and persecution is their faithfulness. Faithfulness, in turn, is equated with disavowing wealth. This is stated in 108:8 where the author describes the readers as “those who love God and have not loved gold or silver, or any beauty inside the world; those who gave their body to torment.” This indicates that loving God entails the abhorrence of riches or any earthly gains. As Mathews also affirms, in the Eschatological Admonition, “suffering and a lifestyle of poverty are a determined status, being indicative of one’s relationship to God and the covenant.”²⁵⁶

This elucidates an aspect of 1 Enoch 108’s Thirdspace. By redefining a prominent theological stance articulated in Deuteronomy, the author validates the readers’ piety and expresses an eschatological Thirdspace vision that impacts the readers’ self-understanding and thus their social space. In offering a theological

²⁵⁴ 1 En. 108:10 And all their blessings I have told in books and he has named for them their compensation for they were found as those who had love for heaven than their life in the world when they were crushed by evil men and when they heard from them challenges and abuse and were humiliated, they blessed me.

²⁵⁵ As will be discussed in greater detail below, the author’s deterministic perspective becomes evident in tracing the readers’ piety and fidelity to God to the moment their birth (cf. Sect. 9.3 below).

²⁵⁶ Mark D. Mathews, “Eschatological Admonition and Mark 10:13—31: Riches, Poverty, and the Faithful,” in *Reading Mark in Context: Jesus and Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2018), 160.

perspective that is in stark with a dominant teaching that associates material blessing with piety, the author transforms the spatial location of his readers. As Soja notes, such a socially constructed “Thirdspace” is a mentally invented and also a living space that brings together the real and the imagined and is created in order to open up new forms of social practice and express alternative worldviews.²⁵⁷

5.3.2 The Spatial Practice of Perseverance and Righteousness

Associated with the author’s counter-Deuteronomy vision is the call to persevere in testing which can be understood as a spatial practice—a way of embodying the alternate view of reality the author creates.

Seen in light of the EA’s framework of exhortation, the implicit message behind the motif of eschatological blessing is that of perseverance. The author urges the readers to persevere and not get discouraged in light of their adversity by re-interpreting the Deuteronomic view that covenant faithfulness yields material blessing and measurable success in the socio-political realm (Deut. 28:3–11). The author’s reformulation is such that covenant faithfulness is measured by one’s detachment from what is considered a mark of faithfulness in Deuteronomy. Much like the author of the Epistle of Enoch,²⁵⁸ our author rejects this theological claim. Instead, he relates faithfulness and piety with the eschatological future using the language of reward: those who were not shown honour will be shown honour “as is fitting to their faithfulness” (እለ በሥጋሆሙ ኢተፈድዩ ከብረ ከመ ይደሉ ለሃይማኖቶሙ; 108:11).

Thus, instead of the promise of material blessing on earth, the readers have the promise of eschatological reward. This is further affirmed through the divine

²⁵⁷ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 60–81.

²⁵⁸ On which see, Stuckenbruck, “The ‘Epistle of Enoch.’”

speech at 108:12: “I will bring out those who have loved my holy name into the bright light, and I will let each one sit on his throne of honour.”²⁵⁹

While the way of embodying the author’s Thirdspace is through persevering in their faithfulness, this clearly applies to the righteous only. With regards to sinners, the author implicitly urges covenant faithfulness and Torah obedience—this call for righteousness can be understood as a means of entering the Thirdspace. The author employs the motif of light and darkness to designate two groups (108:11; cf. 108:14). The “generation of light” represents the righteous who adhere to the ways of God. For this reason they are assured of eschatological honour and rewards, as we have seen above.

Two of the designations applied to the faithful, “generation of light” and “spirits of the good” do not appear elsewhere in 1 Enoch (i.e., *እምትውልድ እንተ ብርሃን* and *መንፈሳተሆሙ ንጽሕተ*).²⁶⁰ The apparent contrast is with “those who were born in darkness” (*እለ ተወልዱ በጽልመት*; v. 14). However, a closer look at the text reveals that the contrast is more about the fate that awaits the righteous and the wicked in the eschatological future than marking sectarian differences. The righteous, who are said to belong to the realm of light because of their fidelity to God and upright behaviour are assured of eschatological reward. As Stuckenbruck notes, the author’s concern is not establishing the fate of the righteous and the wicked to divine determinism, in contrast, even the wicked seem to be given agency.

²⁵⁹ Translation by Stuckenbruck. For textual notes, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 729–30.

²⁶⁰ “Spirits of the righteous” appear in the Book of Parables at 1 En. 41:8. As Stuckenbruck notes, the designation “generation of light” comes close to the “generation of truth” (1QS iii 19) or “sons of light,” a term “which is commonly applied in the Dead Sea documents to those who are God’s elect,” Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 732.

According to 108:11b, those who are born in darkness can be transformed and are thus depicted as moral agents with the ability to embark on the right path in the present order of things. The author does not seal the fate of the righteous before death by claiming, for instance, that they are guaranteed to continue in uprightness.²⁶¹ For this reason, he urges them to choose the right path, albeit implicitly. Through the motif of transformation, the sinners are also assured that if they turn from their ways and practice righteousness, they will be rewarded. Righteousness or showing fidelity to God is thus a spatial practice associated with the Thirdspace the author depicts.²⁶²

5.4 Conclusion

Kelley Coblenz Bautch writes that in early Jewish apocalyptic works the revelation of hidden truth often occurs along with social critique and theological discussions.²⁶³ The revelation the seer discloses also serves to interpret tragedy or confer meaning to lived realities through an imagined world constituted by the seer's revelation. Such a symbolic world is the arena for the author's resolution of oppressive views or persecution by the rich and the powerful. Here in the EA, the social aspect of space (i.e., the collective lived realities and activities of the readers) is impacted, reordered and given new significance through a view of reality that contrasts with the dominant Deuteronomic perspective. The author's association of covenant faithfulness with persecution and suffering functions to comfort and exhort the readers while conferring an authoritative view of reality that provides an ideological (i.e., theological) pushback against modes of biblical interpretation that tie

²⁶¹ See the discussion by Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 732–33.

²⁶² I will discuss aspects of the Eschatological Admonition associated with determinism and moral agency in Chapter 9 below.

²⁶³ Kelley Coblenz Bautch, "Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 5.3 (2016): 273–88.

poverty with the lack of covenantal fidelity. In so doing, the author justifies his claim that his text is an authentic Enochic revelation. Perhaps this indicates an inner-scribal debate about authentic and inauthentic 'Enochic' revelation.

PART II

APOCALYPTIC SPATIALITY IN 1 PETER

Chapter 6: Apocalyptic Space in 1 Peter: the Heavens

6.1 Introduction

The author of 1 Peter identifies his readers as the ἐκλεκτοῖς and employs three prepositional phrases at 1:2 to show the basis for and purpose of their election: (i) they are chosen according to the foreknowledge of the Father (κατὰ πρόγνωσιν θεοῦ πατρὸς), (ii) their election is through the sanctification of the Spirit (ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος), and (iii) they are chosen for obedience and being sprinkled with the blood of Jesus Christ (εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ). The difficulty associated with the third phrase has led some interpreters to construe the genitive Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ as subjective while taking εἰς as causal. Elliott for instance takes the verse as a reference to the readers' elect status that occurred because of Christ's obedience and his sacrifice on the cross.²⁶⁴ However, the majority view is that the preposition εἰς has a telic sense in line with its use in vv. 3–5.²⁶⁵ Indeed, 1 Peter's point is that the addressees (the Christ-elect) have been chosen for obedience and sprinkling. His emphasis is in identifying them as the Christ-elect who are chosen in accordance with the foreknowledge of God the Father.

Since the epistle's overall temple and cultic imagery is not at the forefront in Elliott's socio-historical interpretation of 1 Peter, a telic sense which renders the sense of the genitive Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ as subjective with respect to εἰς on the one hand, and ὑπακοὴν and ῥαντισμὸν on the other is not important for his analysis. However, given 1 Peter's construction of symbolic space, there is more reason to support the majority view that takes the recipients of the letter as being chosen for

²⁶⁴ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 319.

²⁶⁵ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 87; Peter H. Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 48; Karen H. Jobes, *1 Peter*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 68, 71; Mark Dubis, *1 Peter: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 3–4.

“obedience and sprinkling”. This support comes from the routinely underappreciated Jewish context of 1 Peter and involves the theme of holiness, purity and spatial practices concerned with the Israel’s privileged spaces of the tabernacle and the temple.

In what follows I will explore several features of 1 Peter’s symbolic space that marks the readers’ lived reality in Roman Asia Minor with the presence of God by highlighting 1 Peter’s “templisation” of the addressees. After exploring key passages by way of examining the evidence, I will discuss the implications of placing the readers in the social location of the space of God on the one hand and role election plays in 1 Peter’s symbolic world on the other.

6.2 Remembered Space

6.2.1 Elected, Consecrated and Sprinkled with Blood (1:1-2)

1 Peter begins delineating the space of God at 1:2 where he recalls spatial notions and practices associated with the tabernacle/temple space from Israel’s sacred past. One such idea is expressed through the notion of sanctification (ἁγιασμός) cited in the second prepositional phrase of v. 2. The rare term ἁγιασμός (NRSV: “sanctification”) indicates separation or consecration *for* a specifically cultic purpose. In the LXX, the term appears most often within the temple/holiness motif or in relation to the priesthood as it does, for instance, in the case of Ezekiel 45:4–5 which discusses land set apart for the priesthood (see also 2 Macc. 2:17; Sirach 7:31; T. Levi 18.7; T. Benj. 11.2–5). In its 10 occurrences in the NT, ἁγιασμός also appears within the context of temple purity to denote being separated or consecrated for participation in the worship of God.²⁶⁶ In 1 Thessalonians for example, the

²⁶⁶ Rom. 6:19, 22; 1 Cor. 1:30; 1 Thess. 4:3, 4, 7; 2 Thess. 2:13; 1 Tim. 2:15; Heb. 12:14; 1 Pet. 1:2

readers have attained ἁγιασμός and are distinguished from unbelievers (1 Thess. 4:4–5).²⁶⁷ In 2 Thess. 2:13 God is praised for sanctifying (i.e., separating, consecrating) the addressees “for salvation” (εἴλατο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος).²⁶⁸ Put simply, ἁγιασμός is “a technical term of the cult, connoting both cleansing and consecration” for cultic purpose.²⁶⁹

The addressees are set apart/consecrated “for obedience and the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ” (v. 2). Expressing the same idea differently at 2:5, the author states that the purpose for which the addressees have been consecrated is to offer “spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God” (πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους θεῷ) through Jesus Christ. Again, this purpose is stated in more concrete terms at 2:9 which states: “that you may proclaim the glories of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light,” (ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς). Their consecration is to enable worshiping God through obedience (1:2, 14, 22), by offering spiritual sacrifices (2:5), and “proclaiming” God’s glories (2:9, 12; 3:16; 4:11).

Not only does the author list tasks for which the readers are set apart in cultic terms thus linking them to the presence of God in the temple, he states at 4:14 that the spirit of glory and of God is on them (τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται). 1 Peter thus identifies the community of believers in Christ in the spatial domain of the presence of God. Put differently, their election in accordance

²⁶⁷ Fredriksen, “Judaizing the Nations,” 247.

²⁶⁸ The phrase ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος appears in both 1 Pet. 1:2 and 2 Thess. 2:13 indicating the means through which the consecration or separateness of believers occurs. The similarity between 1 Peter and 2 Thessalonians has long been noted following the work of Wilhelm Bornemann, “Der Erste Petrusbrief: Eine Taufrede Des Silvanus?,” *ZNW* 19 (1919): 143–65; cf. Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 86; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 318–19; Benjamin Sargent, “Chosen through Sanctification (1 Pet 1:2 and 2 Thess 2:13): The Theology or Diction of Silvanus?,” *Biblica* 94.1 (2013): 117–20.

²⁶⁹ David Peterson, *Possessed by God: A New Testament Theology of Sanctification and Holiness*, vol. 1 of *NSBT* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1995), 24.

with the foreknowledge of the Father is expressed in priestly terms as being for their sprinkling with blood which in turn associates their election and their life as the Christ-elect with the presence of God.

Being sprinkled with the blood of Christ entails in 1 Peter access to God's dwelling presence on the one hand and the status of holiness such access is predicated upon on the other. This is clear from the biblical context 1 Peter is using to identify his readers.

6.2.2 Consecration as Priestly Ordination

Such an idea of people being sprinkled with blood recalls two possible referents. One is the making of the covenant at Sinai. According to Exodus 24:7–8, the people commit themselves to obedience and are then sprinkled with “the blood of the covenant.”²⁷⁰ Another instance of the sprinkling of people with blood (instead of the more common altar or utensils in the temple) is found in Leviticus 8:14 (which describes the sprinkling of blood on Aaron and his sons to consecrate them as priests (cf. Ex. 29:10–21). In light of 1 Peter's characterisation of the readers as the priesthood and other factors I will discuss below, both referents seem to be in view in 1 Peter.

At Exodus 19:6 LXX, Moses is shown to ascend Mt. Sinai to receive from God a message he is to pass on to “the people of Israel” (v. 3): “you shall be to me a royal priesthood and a holy nation (ὁμεῖς δὲ ἔσεσθέ μοι βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον).” The rare expression “βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον” that occurs here also appears at Exodus 23:22, again in relation to the whole community (i.e., “the people of Israel”). If the people keep the stipulations of the covenant, they will be

²⁷⁰ Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 74–75.

constituted as a kingdom of priests (i.e., a royal priesthood) and a holy nation. Their sprinkling with blood thus signifies covenant ratification and the granting of access to God in a zone of holiness at some distance from the Aaronite priests (cf. Exodus 24:1–2). This installation rite that included having blood put on the priests' selected body parts has an "expiatory and purificatory" role to render priestly personnel fit for service within the tabernacle.²⁷¹ In the newly instituted "tent of meeting" or tabernacle, where God will "dwell among" the people, Aaron and his sons are chosen to serve as priests following their consecration with blood (cf. Exodus 25:8; 29:45).

There are several reasons to suggest that 1 Peter is conflating both instances of being sprinkled with blood. Firstly, the communal scenario of being sprinkled with blood is suggested through the use of the LXX's "βασιλειον ιεράτευμα" at 2:9. This phrase appears in 1 Peter within a set of related ideas that express election in terms of being "called out (of darkness)," made "holy" and thus becoming God's own "possession". At Exodus 19:5 and 23:22 LXX the same cluster of words appear (cf. Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18). At the start of the "Covenant Code" in Exodus the people of Israel are addressed as those whom God "brought out (ἐξήγαγόν)" from Egypt, "the house of slavery" (Ex. 20:1–2). The sprinkling of blood serves a similar role in 1 Peter as in the Exodus narrative. In both contexts, it signifies the consecration of people who are now made fit to come before the presence of God.

Secondly, both referents find an inherent link through the theme of holiness which is an important concern for 1 Peter. Writing of the various sacrifices stipulated in the Pentateuch, John A. Davies notes that the rationale behind any sacrifice offered to God, including the offerings of oxen from which "the blood of the covenant"

²⁷¹ Carol Meyers, *Exodus*, NCBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 247.

came in Exodus 24:5–6, is to render the worshipper “acceptable to YHWH” thus leading to the “establishment of a communion” (cf. Lev. 1:3–4).²⁷² The establishment of a communion is exactly what is anticipated in Exodus 24 which narrates the community’s agreement to obey (cf. 24:3) and their consequent consecration through sprinkling with blood (v. 8), which culminated in their access to God.²⁷³

This theme of consecration or being made holy to gain access to God can be understood in chs. 24 and 29 spatially with God at the epicentre and the community at the outer circles of holiness. As Carol Meyers notes, although select priestly and civic leaders come before the presence of God, Moses is the one who enters the cloud of God’s dwelling presence suggesting a conception of access to God through differing zones of holiness accessible to different people (cf. vv. 1 – 2).²⁷⁴

In 1 Peter’s idea of sprinkling with blood, we can see on the one hand something akin the Exodus community’s consecration that has enabled the people to be acceptable to God, culminating in the establishment of a relationship with him as the collective “βασιλειον ιεράτευμα.” On the other hand, the notion of believers’ sprinkling with Christ’s blood allows 1 Peter to identify his addressees spatially as those that have gained access to God’s presence through a zone of holiness that is spatially located at the centre. For 1 Peter, the immediacy of God’s dwelling presence is communicated through the special revelation they receive – through the author’s disclosure - on a level previously unparalleled in the divine self-disclosure to prophets or angelic access to hidden knowledge. This special disclosure constitutes the conceptual or Secondspace aspect of their new reality. Spatially speaking then,

²⁷² John A. Davies, *A Royal Priesthood: Literary and Intertextual Perspectives on an Image of Israel in Exodus 19.6* (London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 120–21.

²⁷³ Ex. 24:10 LXX: “and they saw the place where the God of Israel stood”, which is an expansion of the MT tradition’s “and they saw the God of Israel.”

²⁷⁴ Meyers, *Exodus*, 225.

their positioning within the space of God surpasses angelic proximity to the divine (cf. 1:10–12).²⁷⁵ Thus, 1 Peter's language of the sprinkling of blood recalls *both* the redemption of Israel from Egypt and its consequent establishment in a covenantal relationship with God *and* the instalment of the priestly order to serve in the holy of holies at the tabernacle.

Linked by the holiness motif, both contexts come together to highlight 1 Peter's spatial aim. In both the Petrine setting and the Pentateuch background 1 Peter draws the imagery from, the sprinkling results in a new holy status for the ones sprinkled with blood. In Exodus, the objective of consecration is to prepare for an encounter with God. This is certainly in view in Exodus 24:10 where such an encounter is described: "and they saw the God of Israel." The LXX translator expands this to "and they saw the place where the God of Israel stood." This suggests that 1 Peter might have intended to infuse his use of the Pentateuch's language of being sprinkled with blood with aspects of space/place encountering God entailed in Ex. 24:10 LXX which is a continuity and a culmination of other texts that likewise linked theophanies with earthly spatial locations (Gen. 22:3, 9, 14; 28:11, 16, 17, 19; 31:13; 32:30; 35:1, 7, 14, 15; Ex. 3:5; 33:21).

Furthermore, if such a spatialized location for God's presence is within 1 Peter's repertoire of Scriptural and cultural assumptions that shaped his use of Exodus 24 and Leviticus 8, then it can be said that "sprinkling with blood" is invested with cultic signification.²⁷⁶ This means that the one who is sprinkled with blood and is thus given access to God's presence is spatially located at the same place where

²⁷⁵ This aspect of 1 Peter's spatial imaginary which involves the production of space through revelation is overlooked in readings with a spatial perspective on 1 Peter, cf. Howe, *You Bear This Name*, vol. 81; Horrell, "Re-Placing 1 Peter"; Moxnes, "Because of the Name"; Wan, "Repairing Social Vertigo"; Wan, *Contest for Time and Space*.

²⁷⁶ As Achtemeier notes, "such is the abundance of references to and motifs from the OT that virtually all of the imagery of 1 Peter is drawn from its writings," Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 12.

God is, rendering such location as God’s dwelling place. This is in line with the clear tabernacle/temple resonances of Exodus 24:10 LXX in later traditions (e.g., Ps. 131:7 LXX “Let us enter into his tabernacles: let us worship at the place where his feet stood”). As Hywel Clifford notes, “understandings of the tabernacle and the Jerusalem temple, where God was later encountered, came to influence how the vision at Mt. Sinai was understood retrospectively.”²⁷⁷

The description of the readers’ identity as those consecrated in Christ also mirrors scriptural language used for the priestly order. First Peter calls the addressees a “βασιλειον ιεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον” who have met the conditions in and through Christ to come before God. First Peter later calls the readers themselves the “house of God (τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ),” at 4:17. Not only do they have access to the “place” where God’s presence is found, they are the very edifice where He dwells. Put differently: the author states that in accordance with divine foreknowledge, through Christ and by the work of the Spirit, the readers have been made to meet the conditions for access to God’s presence *in space* as opposed to an ethereal location they access mystically.

This is made especially clear in light of the context cue the use of the rare term ἁγιασμός at 1:2 indicates. The term ἁγιασμός is closely linked to the idea of holiness and to purity.²⁷⁸ The intrinsic link between holiness and purification in 1 Peter is evident in 1:13–23. At 1:22, the author calls on the believers (τοὺς πιστεύοντας, 1:21) to love one another with brotherly love, earnestly and from a pure

²⁷⁷ Hywel C. Clifford, “‘And They Saw the Place Where the God of Israel Stood’: Exodus 24:10 LXX in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria,” in *Holy Places in Biblical and Extrabiblical Traditions: Proceedings of the Bonn-Leiden-Oxford Colloquium on Biblical Studies*, ed. Jochen Flebbe, vol. 179 of *Bonner Biblische Beiträge* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 127.

²⁷⁸ For the link between purification and holiness in Paul, see Kathy Ehrensperger, *Searching Paul: Conversations with the Jewish Apostle to the Nations. Collected Essays* (Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 114–19; Fredriksen, “Judaizing the Nations.”

heart. The motivational ground to do so is articulated in terms of the “purification of the soul” they have received as a result of their obedience to the truth (ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες, 1:22). Such an ethical admonition still coheres with a cultic setting as exemplified by the second half of Leviticus. Collins rightly notes that the ethical admonition of the Levitical Holiness Code should still be considered as part of the cultic framework. Although it moves away from the narrower cultic focus of the first half of the book, it still highlights

the importance of ritual and purity regulations [and] puts them in perspective by alternating them with ethical commandments. Holiness is not only a matter of being separated from the nations. It also requires ethical behaviour toward one’s fellow human beings.²⁷⁹

Likewise, the series of commands in 1 Peter 1:13–2:3 appears within the framework of holiness, separation and consecration for priestly service, and in light of the spatial location of God’s presence. This is reinforced by a cultic setting for the rest of the chapter. For example, at 1:18 Christ is depicted as the blameless and spotless lamb whose blood has ransomed (λυτρόω) the believers from “the futile ways of their forefathers.”²⁸⁰ Alluding to 2 Chronicles 30:15–19 where the Passover lamb is slaughtered in order to make the assembly “holy (ἀγνισθῆναι/הלשידק) in the Lord” (2 Chr. 30:17), 1 Peter indicates at v. 18 that the blood of Christ has ransomed the addressees and set them free from impurity and unholiness. In other words, they are ransomed for holiness (more on this below). Just as consecration through the Spirit and sprinkling with the blood of Christ in the epistle’s opening verses, here too,

²⁷⁹ John J. Collins, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible: Second Edition*, 2nd ed. (Fortress Press, 2014), 155; Esias E. Meyer, “From Cult to Community: The Two Halves of Leviticus,” *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34.2 (2013): 1–7.

²⁸⁰ For the exile/exodus motif λυτρόω carries, see Andrew M. Mbuvi, *temple, Exile, and Identity in 1 Peter* (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 88–89; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 127–29.

1 Peter is concerned with the notion of accessing divine presence. The passage's background in 2 Chr. 30 that shows a concern with conditions that govern access to God because of his attribute as holy is also in view in 1 Pet. 1:15–16. In these verses, our author states, “as he who called you is holy, be holy in all your conduct, since it is written, ‘you shall be holy, for I am holy’.”

Various scholars have suggested an interpretation of 1:15–16 as an ethical admonition grounded on a theological motivation formulated using scriptural language. Achtemeier takes this as one reason to suggest an exodus background for 1 Peter's ransom language in v. 18. Others see a new exodus motif based on Isaiah. While these insights merit consideration and clarify 1 Peter's general concern with ethics, a further layer of the epistle's complexity and richness remains under-appreciated. In addition to stating the ethical implication of the readers' consecration, 1 Peter is stating here the ethical inferences that God's *presence* anticipates. This becomes more evident when we consider 1 Peter's language of consecration for service (1:2). Thus, the readers are depicted there as being consecrated for service before the divine presence. Such access to God through purification and separation is necessary not only because God is attributively holy, but also because the holy God is present in their midst. The association of God's holiness with his dwelling presence is a routine occurrence in the Scriptural traditions that play a prominent role in 1 Peter and gives credence to reading vv. 15–16 as evocative of the holiness Israel was expected to demonstrate before God's presence (cf. Exod. 22:30; Lev. 11:44–45; 19:2; 20:7, 26; Num. 16.3).²⁸¹

²⁸¹ See also Nijay K. Gupta, “A Spiritual House of Royal Priests, Chosen and Honored: The Presence and Function of Cultic Imagery in 1 Peter,” *PRSt* 36.1 (2009): 67; Mbuvi, *Temple, Exile, and Identity*, 75–80.

First Peter's series of commands in 1:14–16, supported by a quotation of Lev. 19:2 LXX, is similarly grounded in the status of holiness and the intertwined notion of the readers' sanctification (1:2; 2:5, 9; 3:5–7) and purification (1:19, 22) which is a characteristic trait of God's people who have been given access to the divine presence in their midst. In Leviticus 11:44–45, holiness is a quality shared by the congregation of Israel and God (cf. Lev. 19:2; 20:7–8; 27:8).²⁸² The command to be holy was directed at all the people of Israel, who are addressed in priestly terms (cf. Lev. 17–26). This means that by evoking the language of the Levitical Holiness Code, 1 Peter brings into 1:13–19 the idea of God's dwelling presence amongst what Selwyn calls "the neo-Levitical community."²⁸³

Michaels also notes that 1 Peter addresses the recipients at 1:16 in "distinctly priestly terms."²⁸⁴ God's holiness and the associated notion of his dwelling presence in 1 Peter is thus an aspect of the readers' identification with Israel: both as the covenantal people of God and as the priesthood. The latter communicates the notion of God's dwelling presence which finds its starkest expression in relation to the priesthood that mediate divine presence to the people of God.

The author again evokes language used to describe Israel to refer to the new life his addressees have received in 1:3–5.²⁸⁵ It begins with a benediction to God who, "according to his great mercy," has caused them to be born again into a living

²⁸² For a discussion of the priestly conceptualization of God, see Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2002), 205–6; for the spatial aspects of representing God through the space of temples and other "human spaces", see Mark S. Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World*, The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

²⁸³ Edward G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Essays* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981), 459–60.

²⁸⁴ J. Ramsey Michaels, *1 Peter*, vol. 49 of *WBC* (Waco: Zondervan, 1988), 363–64.

²⁸⁵ For a detailed analysis of the continuity between Israel and the Primopetrine addressees. Joseph suggests that 1 Peter invites his readers to understand their identity and circumstances in light of Christ's and Israel's story, see Abson P. Joseph, *A Narratological Reading of 1 Peter* (London: T&T Clark, 2012).

hope (ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐλπίδα ζῶσαν δι’ ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν, v. 3b). Using the language of “rebirth” the author states that God has created a new people and describes the outcomes of the new life using three prepositional phrases: a living hope (v. 3), an imperishable, undefiled, and unfading inheritance in heaven (v. 4) and a salvation ready to be revealed (v. 5).²⁸⁶

The second prepositional phrase that modifies v. 3’s ἀναγεννήσας recalls what Feldmeier describes as an “eschatologized” version of “the Jewish people of God tradition.”²⁸⁷ Just as Israel, the addressees are constituted as the people of God, the offspring of God, in possession of an inheritance from their father.²⁸⁸ Their inheritance is imperishable, undefiled, unfading and kept in heaven (κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀμόραντον τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς).²⁸⁹ The motif of the elect’s inheritance finds expression in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition in terms of a future reward.²⁹⁰ Interpreters have understood 1 Peter’s notion of inheritance against the backdrop of Israel’s land inheritance. The author is seen as participating in a reinterpretation of the land as an eschatological gift already evident in early Jewish apocalyptic literature. Achtemeier, for instance, sees the adjectives that modify κληρονομίαν at 1:4 as being construed in terms of an intentional contrast from the land. He also sees it as being used in congruence with a spiritualized

²⁸⁶ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 92.

²⁸⁷ Reinhard Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, trans. Peter H. Davids (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2008), 71.

²⁸⁸ For the connection between Israel’s sonship and the promise of land, cf. Christopher J. H. Wright, *God’s People in God’s Land: Family, Land, and Property in the Old Testament* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1990), 18–20.

²⁸⁹ Kelly does not find evidence for an intentional contrast with Israel’s promise of land and instead argues that the author’s emphasis lies in showing the newness of the believers’ inheritance in comparison to any human possession, J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*, BNTC (London: Black, 1969); Feldmeier views the adjectives “imperishable, undefiled, unfading” not as an implied contrast between the addressees’ inheritance and the land promised to Israel but rather as descriptions of divine attribute, Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter*, 70–77.

²⁹⁰ *Pss. Sol.* 14:10; 15:10-11; 1 *QS* 11.7; 4 *Ezra* 7:17; 2 *Bar.* 44:13

interpretation of Israel's inheritance as currently preserved in heaven (see for e.g., 1 En. 11:1).²⁹¹ Besides indicating the familial relationship between God and believers, the language of inheritance also indicates that the author associates imperishability or permanence with the heavenly space.²⁹² In that regard, the idea of imperishability and permanence is a spatial marker that identifies the nature of heaven. Their inheritance, which they acquired "through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead" (v. 3) is imperishable and unfading because it is kept in God's heavenly dwelling. The association 1 Peter makes between permanence or durability and the aftermath of the resurrection at 1:3 is also evident at 1:23 which states that believers are born of imperishable seed (ἐκ σπορᾶς ἀφθάρτου), immediately identified as being the outcome of "the living and abiding word of God (διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος)." This imperishable seed which is here contrasted to perishable (i.e., human) seed is described at 1:25 as enduring (μένοντος) in contrast to withering grass and flowers (v. 24). In the language of heavenly inheritance and the repeated use of imperishability and abiding permanence as a feature of the community's past, present and future, the author's key point is an identification of the readers as those who are associated with and have access to the divine.

6.2.3 God's Presence and οἶκος πνευματικὸς (2:5)

The author further articulates the divine presence among the addressees through an identification of the readers as οἶκος πνευματικὸς. The wide semantic range of this term has resulted in proposals that highlight various aspects of 1

²⁹¹ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 95–97.

²⁹² See also the language of rebirth (1:3) and the description of the readers as new-borns or children (2:2–3; 1:14) and the depiction of God as a father (1:17–21).

Peter.²⁹³ I find most convincing an architectural (“house”) as opposed to a communal (“household”) meaning for οἶκος.

Although οἶκος can refer to both “house” and “household”, an interpretation of the term as “household”²⁹⁴ is problematic given the following. Firstly, the language of holiness, the priesthood (ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον) and spiritual sacrifice that is to be offered (πνευματικᾶς θυσίας) at 2:5 indicates a temple like edifice as the primary imagery at work behind the οἶκος πνευματικῶς. Secondly, οἶκος terminology in the LXX is a reference for the temple. Thirdly, in support of a temple-edifice, 1 Peter employs stone imagery that depicts Christ and the addressees as “living” stone (more on this below). Taken together, these considerations support the forgoing discussion where I have stated that 1 Peter is concerned with identifying the readers’ geographical location as God’s locus of spatial belonging. That the term οἶκος πνευματικῶς appears within the wider context of 1:1–2:10 which is an extended explanation of the readers’ new birth in Christ is illuminating. Being in Christ is expressed in terms of being built up (οἰκοδομέω) as an edifice made of chosen and consecrated humans where sacrifices are offered to God through Christ (2:4).

I would additionally argue that the temple imagery such an interpretation entails points to a startling aspect of 1 Peter’s apocalyptic imaginary that elaborates his understanding of God’s locus of belonging on earth, in Asia Minor, in the corporate and corporeal location of the readers. Before exploring this aspect of 1 Peter’s spatial focus, it is important to establish the architectural—and thus spatial—imagery the author uses to reformulate concepts surrounding the temple.

²⁹³ For various interpretations of this term cf. Francis Wright Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*, 3rd edition. (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1970), 122; Kelly, *Peter and Jude*, 89–90; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 139–41; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 99–101; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 414–18; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 154–59; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 150.

²⁹⁴ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 414–18.

The use of the οἶκος metaphor begins in verse 4 where Christ is identified as a living stone (λίθον ζῶντα) who is chosen (ἐκλεκτὸν) and precious (ἔντιμον) before God but rejected by “men” (see also 2:6). What applies to Christ is made to apply to the readers: they are chosen (cf. “ἐκλεκτός”, 1:1; 2:9) “living stones” (λίθοι ζῶντες, 2:4). They are being built (οἰκοδομεῖσθε, 2:5) into a spiritual house (οἶκος πνευματικὸς, 2:5). By identifying what is being built as οἶκος πνευματικὸς made of living stones, 2:4–5 signifies what can only be a structural edifice or building expressed through an idealized form. Instead of stones, the house of God is being built with “living stones”, i.e., human beings. A similar, though more ordinary, discussion of such a house of God and the stones used to construct it appears at Ezra 5:8 LXX where “the house of the great God (οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου)” is likewise presented as being built with “choice stones (λίθοις ἐκλεκτοῖς)”:

Be it known to the king, that we went into the land of Judea, to the house of the great God. It is being built with choice stones (γνωστὸν ἔστω τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι ἐπορεύθημεν εἰς τὴν Ιουδαίαν χώραν εἰς οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ αὐτὸς οἰκοδομεῖται λίθοις ἐκλεκτοῖς)

Further credence to an architectural interpretation for 1 Pet. 2:5 appears at Ezra 6:3. The temple that is to be rebuilt with “three layers of mighty stones (λίθινοι κραταιοί, 6:4)” is also called the house of God (οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ). Taking οἶκος πνευματικὸς as temple imagery thus makes good sense (see also for e.g., Ezra 1:7; 1 Kgs. 9:1). This is even more so when we consider the purpose our author states for the edifice that is being built. The house of living stones and a messianic cornerstone is being constructed to offer sacrifices to God as the priesthood:

You yourselves as living stones are being built into a spiritual house for a holy priesthood to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ

(καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς εἰς ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, 2:5)

Furthermore, in 4:12–19 the author discusses the readers' suffering in terms of a fiery ordeal that has come to test them and admonishes the readers not to suffer for wrongdoing. He states eschatological judgment as the motivational ground for uprightness stating that the judgment will begin from "the house of God" (τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ, 4:17). The majority of 1 Peter interpreters rightly identify the statement "begin from my sanctuary" (ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μου ἄρξασθε) in Ezekiel 9:6 LXX as background for 1 Pet. 4:17's metaphoric reference to the temple.²⁹⁵ The author thus uses "οἶκος," terminology to refer to his addressees at 4:17. The Petrine readers are thus construed to be the "house (i.e., temple) of God" indicating that "οἶκος" is being used to identify the readers as God's idealized temple that is made of living stones with Christ as its cornerstone.²⁹⁶

Thus, through Christ, the addressees are characterised as the sanctified and holy ἐκλεκτοῖς who meet the conditions stated in biblical traditions for gaining access to God. First Peter articulates the addressees' rebirth into a new life in terms of a sanctification and the related notions of purification and separateness. Separated from the unbelieving ἔθνος and ransomed from their former way of life (2:12; 4:3) and made holy through divine election for re-birth, the readers are instituted as a community of priests who participate in the offering of spiritual sacrifices acceptable

²⁹⁵ Contra Elliott who argues that τῶν ἁγίων in Ezek. 9:6 is a reference to the elders and thus functions as a communal image; cf. Elliott, *Home for the Homeless*, 243. The majority of interpreters identify 2:5 and 4:17 as an allusion to the temple since οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ is well recognized as a typical reference to the temple in the LXX; see for e.g., Judg. 18:31; Ezra 5:8; 6:3; Neh. 13:11; Isa. 2:2; 1 Chron. 22:1; Zech. 8:9; Ezek. 44:4; *Tob.* 14:4, 5; *Bar.* 3:24. So also J. Ramsey Michaels, *1 Peter*, vol. 49 of *WBC* (Waco: Zondervan, 1988), 271; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 315–16; Mbuvi, *Temple, Exile, and Identity*, 119; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 329.

²⁹⁶ Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter*, 135–36; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 156–59; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 140–41.

to God through Christ. Such a process illumines a holiness code which directs their way of life in line with the divine presence while at the same time continually setting them apart from the people among whom they live.

The author also claims that corporately, they make up the temple of God since they have now been made “living stones” that meet the necessary condition to access God. This passage provides the only instance in the NT where reference to temple, sacrifice, and priests occurs in tandem with the adjective “spiritual” and in connection to a community of Christ believers. Put differently, in addition to the association of believers with the temple as is the case in 1 and 2 Corinthians and Ephesians, here 1 Peter brings in the symbolism of the priesthood and sacrifices. First Peter’s startling claim here is that, corporately and corporeally the readers are the spatial locus of belonging for God. Moreover, their consecration and sprinkling with the blood of Christ marks their living space as the place where God is and where God is worshipped in ways comparable to the temple cult.

To access 1 Peter’s Thirdspace approach and gain a fuller understanding of the diaspora motif and the readers’ belonging in the household of God, we need to look beyond the territorial dichotomy placed between heaven and earth in association with the readers’ new existence in Christ. Such a Thirdspace interpretation of the readers’ locus of belonging entails taking into account the author’s Secondspace (i.e., the conceptualisation of space from the biblical tradition) associated with the exile, the exodus narratives and the temple. These spatial paradigms are used in the author’s project of Thirthing Asia-Minor (i.e., transforming it through an alternative vision). This results in its reconfiguration as the space where

God dwells and is present in the readers' here and now.²⁹⁷ This view of reality is what informs 1 Peter's central concerns: the imitation of God and Christ and the maintenance of God's presence among the temple-community.

Tapping into Israel's sacred tradition and recalling narratives about God's dwelling among the elect is one of the ways the author of 1 Peter constructs space. By bending the boundary between the temple and temple-community and blurring the distinction between the Christ-community and the traditional space of God's presence, the author depicts a liveable space that is both imagined and real for the believers as they await Christ's return. A sense of home emerges within the community of believers through everyday spatial practices that emanate from the understanding that the temple-community parallels the Jerusalem temple and the associated systems of thought and cultic practice.

By using the tradition associated with the temple and the Tabernacle in the description of the readers' identity and their new existence as believers in Christ, the author depicts their social space as a tangible locus of God's presence. This indicates that despite their diasporic existence, they have a locus of belonging in the temple-community where God dwells. In other words, by recalling narratives from Israel's sacred past, the author revises the space of the nations ("the space of no God) so that the readers are made to dwell in the space of God's presence. Their "here and now" is envisioned as home, i.e., where God's presence dwells among the temple-community. Put differently, 1 Peter's depiction of reality serves the purpose of transforming the experience of living in a geographical location, wherever that may

²⁹⁷ For a discussion of the production of space through an alternating envisioning of reality, see Soja, *Thirdspace*, 61; Maier, "Soja's Thirdspace, Foucault's Heterotopia and de Certeau's Practice."

be. Thus, instead of a place of persecution and othering, it becomes the space of God's Presence which the readers access through divine election. This re-mapping of the Anatolian Peninsula or Rome is what Soja calls "Thirling as othering".²⁹⁸

6.3 Apocalyptic Spatiality

In 1 Peter and its apocalyptic expression of the lived realities of the addressees and the ἀδελφότης across the world, the disclosure of hidden space (1:10–12), spatial categories such as diaspora (1:1) and Babylon (5:13) as well as spatially linked status become the Petrine equivalent of authority-conferring revelation about life and one's place in it. In what follows, I will explore the contours of 1 Peter's Thirdspace and its significance for understanding the author's portrayal of the 'hostile other' be that the Roman empire as has been suggested in postcolonial readings of 1 Peter, the human persecutors of the addressees or cosmic evil beings.

6.3.1 Spatial Order and Disorder

In 2:9, the readers' entrance to the family of God is explained in terms of a "calling out" of darkness and an entrance into "light" (... ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς). Many commentators note the Jewish background behind the association of the elect with light and the readers' old life with darkness noting that darkness here symbolises sin and ignorance (e.g. 1 En. 58:3; 1 QS 1.9–11). Indeed, if we situate this symbolism of darkness under the same category as the passages that describe the addressees' former way of life, then a non-geographical map of the space outside of the household of God emerges. Used antithetically, descriptions of the old existence and characterisations of unbelievers will enable us to see that the apocalyptic framework

²⁹⁸ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 61.

of order/disorder is a fitting analytical tool for understanding what the author is doing in his construction of the space of God.

The living space outside of the household of God from which the addressees needed to be ransomed (1:18) is symbolically depicted as “darkness” (2:9) and as a realm that runs in accordance with τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἔθνῶν (4:3, cf. vv 1, 2). Its categoric disorder is also indicated by the “stumbling” of the sinners who dwell in such a space and who show disorderly conduct (4:3-4) and disobedience to the gospel of God (2:8; 4:17). Moreover, in describing the readers’ former way of life in 2:25, the author compares the addressees to sheep that have no shepherd or overseer and for that reason wander about and are led astray. In Enochic literature, sheep that are led astray are characterised as being blind and having “closed eyes”. Due to sin and ignorance, they resist God’s order.

In contrast, the space of God’s household is ordered. It runs on the directive activity of God (1:3–12), even with regards to their suffering (2:15; 3:17; 4:19) and is an ordered existence under a shepherd who has cleansed the sin that caused their former straying (2:24, 25). This spatial imagery of an orderly space also finds expression in 2:23 where παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικάίως, a reference to Jesus’ giving himself up (cf. Gal. 1:3–4; 2:20; Eph. 5:2), is used to depict Jesus’ obedience and willing submission to God’s plan. Jesus, the pattern after which the author seeks to model his readers is seen here as accepting his sufferings as God’s plan. The focus in this verse is thus the obedient disposition of Jesus to the will of God.

Furthermore, in 1 Peter, the space of order (i.e., the realm where God’s will is exercised) and the space of disorder (i.e., the dwelling place of the disobedient) are spaces that are distinct and opposing. This can be glimpsed firstly, in the use of the verb λυτρώω describing the mode of the readers’ entrance to the household of God

in 1:18. The author indicates that believers were “ransomed” (ἐλυτρώθητε) from the space of disorder which he describes as ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ἀναστροφή.²⁹⁹ Achtemeier notes that ματαίας is used in the LXX for the gods of the nations (e.g., Lev. 17:7; Jer. 8:19; 10:15) and understands the passage as a reference to the addressees’ emergence out of paganism.³⁰⁰ Goppelt argues that there is an implicit comparison here between the redemption of the addressees from slavery to a sinful way of life and the redemption of Israel from Egypt.³⁰¹ William L. Schutter on the other hand sees an implicit allusion to Isa. 52:3 which indicates that it is not silver but the exercise of divine will that sets God’s people free.³⁰² Thus whatever they are redeemed from the main thrust of the passage is an elaboration of God’s redemption of the addressees’ *in accordance with his will* (cf. Gen 48:16).

This description of the readers’ separation from their old existence in accordance to God’s will also describes their mode of entrance in terms of a divinely appointed time: “He was foreknown before the foundation of the world, but was revealed at the last times for your sake” (προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ’ ἐσχάτουτων χρόνων δι’ ὑμᾶς, 1:20). This indicates that the author also engages in an ordering of time (see also for e.g., 1:10–12). The context for the description of the addressees’ entrance to the household of God through the exercise of God’s will appears within an apocalyptic framework that gives a glimpse of the author’s ordering of time in relation to the revelation of Christ (1:20). Christ is depicted as having accomplished their ransom through his “precious blood” (1:18–19) and is now raised from the dead and given glory (1:21).

²⁹⁹ See also Titus 2:14.

³⁰⁰ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 127.

³⁰¹ Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 252–56.

³⁰² William L. Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, WUNT 2/30 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 38.

Interest in ordering the cosmic and social world is a well-documented feature of apocalyptic literature. Adela Yarbro Collins has demonstrated that a number of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic texts exhibit an ordering of the cosmos in terms of its space, time and human activity using numerological systems of structure.³⁰³ She notes that such orderings influence behaviour and, on a deeper level, “organize the environment in conformity with an idea” a feature she notes expresses the general human tendency to create order in experience and environment.³⁰⁴ The main focus in her analysis is the use of numerical symbolism and she identifies its role in ordering the lived realities of apocalyptic writers.

Numbers are by no means the only way of ordering space. As Mary Douglas notes, systems of purity are mechanisms through which religious communities order space.³⁰⁵ Another system of orienting human existence within the cosmos emerges in the use of divine revelation to construct “symbolic universes” as “bodies of theoretical tradition that integrate different provinces of meaning and encompass the

³⁰³ Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*, JSJSup 50 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 60–138, see esp. 90, Collins writes that: “[s]ome [apocalyptic texts] deal with space, with physical reality viewed as an orderly whole, a macrocosmos. Other passages treat heavenly beings who are associated with order in physical reality and among people. Another group of texts reflect the idea of the human being as a microcosmos. Some of these texts deal with the human body, but others treat the stages of human life [i.e. ‘regular human activities’], human perception and knowledge.” It is apparent from here and elsewhere in the chapter that Collins uses space/place to designate the mental representation of the apocalyptic writer’s imagination as constructed through apocalyptic space. My use of space in this chapter goes further than this understanding of space (i.e., interpretation of the material world or conceived space) to incorporate the space of representation which is embodied by 1 Peter and includes the lived realities that are constructed by the community of Christians the letter represents. Such space also includes the creative world of experiences. In so doing I follow, Wan, Horrell and Coblenz Bautch who have shown the profitability of critical spatiality as I have noted in Chapter 1 for reading apocalyptic texts. Cf. Wan, *Contest for Time and Space*; Horrell, “Re-Placing 1 Peter”; Bautch, “Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature.”

³⁰⁴ Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 56.

³⁰⁵ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, New York: Routledge, 1966), 2–3, cited in Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 56 n. 6.

institutional order in a symbolic totality” that place “all collective events in a cohesive unity that includes past, present and future.”³⁰⁶

Attesting to the myriad ways apocalyptic writers provide a framework to understand the world, one other mechanism of orientation emerges from tours of hidden regions of the cosmos revealed to a particular seer.³⁰⁷ Such a tool, as found in Enoch’s journeys to the heavens in the Book of Watchers for instance, functions to communicate the message that “[w]hatever crisis pollutes the earth, the foundations of the cosmos, its outer regions and the places of judgment remain intact, as of course does the heavenly court.”³⁰⁸

The Book of Enoch and other Jewish apocalyptic literature exhibit another structuring tool to construct social and cosmic space that is akin to 1 Peter’s spatial ordering. In the Book of Watchers chapters 2–5, cosmic order and obedience to paths set out by God are contrasted with the wicked who fail to “observe the law of the Lord”. Nickelsburg affirms that the association of cosmic order with obedience and salvific wisdom is commonplace in Ancient Near Eastern wisdom. Conversely, failing to observe the law of God implies resistance against God’s order. This indicates that there was already a tradition in Jewish apocalyptic thought that conceived of sin and ignorance (i.e., lack of wisdom) as disorder by virtue of going against the cosmic orderliness God instituted.

Matthew Goff cites dualism as one of the most ubiquitous frameworks of thought in apocalyptic literature used by ancient authors to structure the world in the

³⁰⁶ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Penguin UK, 1991), 113, 120, cited in Matthew Goff, “A Blessed Rage for Order: Apocalypticism, Esoteric Revelation, and the Cultural Politics of Knowledge in the Hellenistic Age,” *HeBAI* 5.3 (2016): 194.

³⁰⁷ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 58.

³⁰⁸ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 58.

binary pairs of light/darkness, good/evil, etc.³⁰⁹ Such clear orientation of moral order between two contrasting and opposing categories can also be seen in 1 Peter, as we have seen above. Achtemeier also sees a contrast in a larger temporal framework between the present and the future as well as between present and past throughout the epistle. He rightly notes that such a temporal contrast “points to the broad apocalyptic point of view that underlies 1 Peter”.³¹⁰ It is thus conceivable that our New Testament author would participate in the apocalyptic tradition of what Goff has called “a blessed rage for order”.³¹¹

In sum, given (i) the language 1 Peter uses to describe the recipients’ new dwelling in the household of God, and (ii) designations that mark their former life in particular and life in the realm outside of the household of God (depicted through the characterisation of the readers’ persecutors), it can be said that an apocalyptic outlook underlies the author’s construction of space. This outlook is expressed in terms of a cosmology that re-configures the map of the human κόσμος into the space of order and disorder which are presented as distinct and opposing social spaces.

³⁰⁹ Goff, “Rage for Order,” 195.

³¹⁰ Achtemeier’s observations on 1 Peter’s apocalyptic outlook provide much insight on a neglected aspect of the epistle even though his exploration of the spatial axis of the apocalyptic framework betrays an older perspective of space as a receptacle that is fixed and absolute rather than as a product of relations that is dynamic and constructed, cf. *First Peter*, 107, 234. On the theoretical aspects of space as dynamic and constructed, see especially, Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (Verso, 1989), 80, 120–22; Sleeman, *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts*.

³¹¹ My attempt here is not to argue that 1 Peter exhibits a dualistic framework of thought or that its author is influenced by a specific apocalyptic literature. My aim is merely to show the plausibility of my argument that the author structures the cosmos into ordered and disordered space along the axis of the will of God. A consideration of both Greco-Roman and ancient Jewish cosmology would undoubtedly offer a better understanding of 1 Peter’s re-mapping of space but the present study is concerned only with the epistle’s Jewish context and more specifically apocalyptic traditions associated with the figure of Enoch in terms of a comparative analysis of the construction of spatio-temporal realities via revealed knowledge and the implications of the spatial imaginary on the texts’ attitudes towards wider socio-religious realities.

As I will argue below, the spatial strategy the author uses towards this end finds its basis on his implicit claim to access hidden knowledge.

6.3.2 Revealed Knowledge

Early Jewish apocalyptic literature is concerned with communicating hidden knowledge. In its spatial dimension, the revelation of hidden knowledge functions to mediate what is otherwise perceived as inaccessible. Examples of hidden spaces that are repositories of hidden knowledge and events include the “realm of God, the ends of the earth, heavenly storehouses and recesses for astronomical phenomena, water at the boundaries of the earth disk or the netherworld, the realm of the dead, or places reserved for divine retribution and reward.”³¹² In 1 Peter, we find an abundance of hidden spaces that are only accessible through the mediation of Christ, i.e., the spirit of Christ (1:10–12) or the very disclosure 1 Peter is making about the death and resurrection of Christ and events connected to Christ’s resurrection through his writing.³¹³

The realm of God itself is perceived inaccessible except through Christ. Those who have access are depicted as those enabled by the Spirit of Christ/the Holy Spirit (1:2, 11, 12) to perceive this hidden realm (1:10–12) and to learn about and from the space of God they now occupy (cf. 1 Pet 2:1–3). The author of 1 Peter also cites the transcendent or otherworldly region of heaven at 3:22 and 1:4. Heaven is where Christ now is. It is also the place where salvation is preserved. The epistle also cites the place of the dead (4:5–6) and the place where “spirits in prison” are found and to

³¹² Bautch, “Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature,” 278.

³¹³ For a consideration of 1 Peter’s role as mediator of hidden knowledge or as one commissioned to disclose revealed truth in comparison to the fictive author identified as Enoch, see Part III below.

which Christ went (3:19–20).³¹⁴ In apocalyptic literature access to such space is usually provided by a seer’s journeys to transcendent places or through visions of heavenly realms. Without resorting to such apocalyptic techniques, the author of 1 Peter nevertheless imparts authoritative information otherwise not immediately accessible.

The significance of such a motif in writings that provide a framework to understand the social and cosmic world lies in the “scale of knowledge” such writers appeal to.³¹⁵ Goff writes that despite the general Jewish outlook that there is a limit to what humanity can know in texts like Deuteronomy 29:29, Job 28 and Sirach 24:28, writings associated with the Enoch tradition present Enoch as being privy to all knowledge (1 En. 1:2; 106–107; Jub. 4:19; 4Q530 7 ii).³¹⁶ He also notes that “the radical nature of the extent of Enoch’s knowledge becomes even more extreme in later Enochic literature, according to which he obtains knowledge that even angels do not know (2 Enoch 21–22; 3 Enoch 14).”³¹⁷ In the final clause of 1 Peter 1:12, reference is made of angels who long for (ἐπιθυμέω) a glimpse (παρακύπτω) of the revelation imparted to the readers. Achtemeier writes that, “[w]hile there was a tradition that angelic knowledge about redemption was superior to that of human beings, the thrust of this clause seems rather to reflect an equally widespread tradition of the angels’ lack of knowledge and of their resultant inferiority to human beings.”³¹⁸

The import of 1:10–12 and construal of parts of the letter on the basis of the divine scale of knowledge as a whole serve to indicate the author’s comprehensive

³¹⁴ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 107.

³¹⁵ Goff, “Rage for Order,” 195.

³¹⁶ Goff, “Rage for Order,” 195–96.

³¹⁷ Goff, “Rage for Order,” 196.

³¹⁸ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 112.

access to reality. In adducing the source of such knowledge to the divine, 1 Peter positions the readers in the exclusive locality of a space where God dwells and so “complete” knowledge is revealed. Besides the temporal aspects of the apocalyptic thought world of 1 Peter reflected in this passage, there is a spatial strategy of constructing an apocalyptic symbolic world. Such spatial reality discloses knowledge about what is otherwise hidden or inaccessible about the realm of God and other space that is not immediately available.

By presenting his letter as divine disclosure, 1 Peter highlights the significance of the contents of the letter on the one hand and adds the authority of the divine to the ethical exhortations of his letter. This endows the letter with divine authority. It also allows the author to authoritatively inform the addressees’ new spatialized identity. They are presented as God’s exclusive kin with an imperishable heavenly inheritance and access to divine revelation. The message of 1 Peter “distinguishes believers from all non-believers, Israelites and Gentiles alike”³¹⁹ and enables the author to reinforce his vision of reality in terms of both the social and cosmic world as one that is truer and more complete than the pagan version.

6.3.3 The Significance of temple Space

Martha Himmelfarb notes that apocalyptic texts present the boundary between the human and the divine as permeable.³²⁰ Put in spatial terms, the apocalyptic imagination of such texts indicates a belief that the earthly lived spaces of humanity are not fenced off from otherworldly space. What we find in 1 Peter is comparable and constitutes a reconfigured map where the addressees’ lived space incorporates and is permeable to otherworldly space. Put differently, the author’s Thirdspace is

³¹⁹ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 353.

³²⁰ Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford University Press, 1993).

construed to represent the permeable boundary between earth and heavenly places Himmelfarb observes in ascent traditions.

Geographical spaces from the past function in 1 Peter as the loci for eschatologically pivotal events centred around Christ. Doing so invests the readers' Thirdspace in Asia Minor with renewed significance even as it reshapes cosmologically significant spaces from the past. By far the most important of such spaces to 1 Peter's construction of space is the temple. A consideration of the temple's Secondspace in the HB and early Jewish literature (i.e., the conceptual frameworks associated with the temple) reveals the fact that it held an important place in the Jewish spatial imagination and continues to do so to 1 Peter's community whom the author identifies using Jewish categories of identity (more on this in Chapter 7 below).

The temple is presented not only as a firstspace around which cultic activities took place but more importantly as a Thirdspace that extends to encompass expressions of lived realities including the otherworldly. One way of expressing this was to conceive of the temple as the meeting point of heaven and earth where God's presence and glory dwells (cf. Isa. 6). However, this meeting-place of heaven and earth is rendered inaccessible through exile and desecration and God's presence and glory is seen as departing from the temple.³²¹ As Himmelfarb notes, the vision of the chariot-throne in Ezekiel 1 shows "the beginning of a trend to dissociate God's heavenly abode from the temple in Jerusalem" (cf. Ezek. 8–11).³²² The final chapters of Ezekiel envision a rebuilt temple and the *Shekinah's* ultimate return after restoration (chapters 40–48; cf. 43:1–5; 44:4).

³²¹ Knibb, "The Exile," 253–72; Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 85 n.10.

³²² Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 11.

In ascent traditions, access to the glory and presence of God is imagined in terms of a seer's heavenly journey to God's throne. The meeting-place of heaven and earth is thus reconfigured within the celestial counterpart to the earthly temple which is deemed as the true dwelling-place of God's presence.³²³ According to 1 En. 14:20, Enoch ascends to the heavens where he sees "the Great Glory" seated on a throne. Himmelfarb writes,

[in] the period of the Second temple, under the influence of Ezekiel, those who are unhappy with the behaviour of the people and especially its priests come to see the temple not as God's proper dwelling, the place where heaven and earth meet, but rather as a mere copy of the true temple located in heaven. It is this desacralization of the earthly temple in favour of the heavenly that opens the way for Enoch's ascent in the *Book of the Watchers*. The first ascent in Jewish literature is thus a journey to the true temple.³²⁴

In taking up the temple motif, 1 Peter engages in a cosmological conversation about God's dwelling-place and the hope of gaining access to the presence of God. He tells the readers, "if you are reviled for the name of Christ, you are blessed, for the Glory, the Spirit of God rests upon you" (εἰ ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι χριστοῦ, μακάριοι· ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται, 4:14). This indicates that the spatial aspect of the worldview reflected through the temple-motif codifies the readers' Thirdspace in an apocalyptic spatiality that does not see heaven and earth as sharply divided.

In 4:12–18 1 Peter frames his encouragement to the persecuted addressees within an eschatological framework that points to the vindication that awaits the

³²³ Cf. Christopher Rowland and C. R. a Morray-Jones, *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament: 12* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009), 304.

³²⁴ Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 11.

suffering righteous in comparable ways to our Enochic authors. In the present, the readers are said to share in the sufferings of Christ (κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ χριστοῦ παθήμασιν, 4:13). They should not therefore think of their sufferings as something strange, for it occurs as necessary feature of God’s eschatological purposes (4:12). The end is at hand (4:7) and the present time of lawlessness and evil (4:15–16) will be brought to an end now that the time of judgment has arrived (4:17). At 4:14, the author’s encouragement takes on a more striking turn: the readers should take heart in their suffering since τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται (the Divine Glory and the Spirit of God is upon you).³²⁵

As Dubis has demonstrated, the notions of glory, suffering and judgment are integrally linked to notions of exile and restoration.³²⁶ Contemplations on the end-time have traditionally provided the platform to express views about exile and restoration, and expectations concerning the temple and God’s dwelling presence.³²⁷ For instance, when the author uses the temple motif in order to render the readers’ lived space as God’s dwelling place, the temple in 1 Peter is made to take on added end-time significance. It is the place where the divine can be encountered in a God-made structure of living stones (i.e., the corporal reality of human beings) which functions in analogous ways to the Jerusalem temple. Recalling the temple space also invests 1 Peter’s elect-community that now make up God’s dwelling place and

³²⁵ I follow Selwyn’s translation here. The awkwardness of the construction τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα has given rise to various interpretations as well as a number of textual variants that arose to provide a better reading of the original, see the discussion in, for e.g., Selwyn, *The First Epistle*, 222–24; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 256; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 776.

³²⁶ Dubis, *Messianic Woes*.

³²⁷ On restoration and the notion of “exile and return” in early Jewish literature, see for e.g., Michael E. Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel: Israel’s Re-Gathering and the Fate of the Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke-Acts* (De Gruyter, 2012).

their lived space in Asia Minor with renewed, cosmic scale significance as the site of the idealized and reconfigured temple.³²⁸

6.3.4 Re-Configured Social Relations and Spatial Identity

Despite the political implications of the Babylon designation, 1 Peter is not primarily a resistance literature composed to combat the dangers of the addressees' othering by the people of Anatolia or the Roman empire. Its apocalyptic discourse rather functions to combat alienation from the space of Christ and the living space of God's family into which the readers' have entered through a new begetting/rebirth in accordance with the will of God (1:1–3, 23; 2:2, 4, 6, 9).

Once "in" the readers are expected to continue to do God's will. In 1:15–16 for instance, the practice of the members of God's household constitutes practicing holy conduct (ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν καλέσανταὑμᾶς ἅγιον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅγιοι ἐν πάσῃ ἀναστροφῇ γενήθητε, cf. 2:11). When taken together with the background texts of Leviticus 11:44 and Hosea 1:6 and the author's well-recognized use of Scripture throughout the epistle, it becomes clear that the practice and identity of the readers is built on the foundation of the traditions of Israel. Achtemeier also notes how the language that appropriates tradition exclusively reserved for Israel in the past is "more than simply illustrative—it is foundational and constitutive for the Christian community in a way that has not always been recognized by those who have studied this epistle".³²⁹

³²⁸ In choosing a past to preserve through his text, the author of 1 Peter deploys biblical tradition to recreate the present through his recollection thus investing the present time with renewed significance. This practice known as "anamnesis" Harry O. Maier, *Apocalypse Recalled: The Book of Revelation After Christendom* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 19–22.

³²⁹ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 69.

The practice associated with the household of God finds further elaboration in 3:18–4:11 where the author juxtaposes the believers’ freedom³³⁰ to live in accordance to the will of God in the new existence with the old way of life which run contrary to it at 4:1–3:

4:1 Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος σαρκὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν ὀπλίσασθε, ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας 2 εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις ἀλλὰ θελήματι θεοῦ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον ἐν σαρκὶ βιώσαι χρόνον. 3 ἄρκετὸς γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν κατεργάσθαι πεπορευμένους ἐν ἀσελγείαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, οἴνοφλυγίαις, κώμοις, πότοις καὶ ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρίαις.

4:1 Therefore, since Christ suffered in the flesh, arm yourselves with the same thought, since the one who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin, 2 so as to live for the rest of the time in the flesh no longer for human desires but for the will of God. 3 For the time that is past suffices to have carried out the desire of the Gentiles, having engaged in sensuality, passions, drunkenness, orgies, drinking bashes and detestable idolatry.

Living in pursuit of the will of God is here contrasted with illicit “human desires” (ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις), while the will of God (θελήματι θεοῦ) is juxtaposed with the desires of the Gentiles (τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν) in v. 3. This further clarifies the author’s use of ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις. As Achtemeier rightly notes, the phrase characterises the readers’ former “life in conformity with Hellenistic culture as vv. 3–4 make clear.”³³¹ Having now been aligned with God through their election in Christ,

³³⁰ The idea of “freedom to live in accordance with the will of God” finds justification in the continuity between 3:18-22 and 4:1-11 as Achtemeier rightly notes, cf. Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 280–82.

³³¹ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 280.

they are no longer to be considered as “the nations” (2:12; 4:3). For this reason, the author urges them to not imitate the Gentiles and live in pursuit of the illicit desire according to which those that do not belong to the space of God live.

In a real and tangible way, the readers have become a member of God’s family and other identities have become obsolete. Earlier, the author similarly intertwined identity with practice and described the old existence in 1:18 as the “futile way of life inherited from [their] forefathers” (ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου) and from which they were “ransomed”.

6.4 The Spatial Practice of Imitating Christ and God

Imitating God and Christ has implications for the spatial location of 1 Peter’s addressees. After articulating the readers’ call to proclamation at 2:9, 1 Peter begins a new section with the exhortation to abstain from fleshly desire (2:11–25). This restates his earlier call to be holy as God is holy at 1:15–16 and identifies a major setback that would need to be overcome if the readers are to uphold their priestly consecration. What threatens the readers’ allegiance to God is inherent. It is identified as fleshly desires (τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν) which wage war against the soul (στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, 2:11). After employing priestly vocabulary at 2:5–9, he states at 2:10 that the readers have now become the people of God (οἱ ποτὲ οὐ λαός, νῦν δὲ λαὸς θεοῦ, οἱ οὐκ ἠλεημένοι, νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες). In allusion to Hosea 2:23, 1 Peter expresses the new life the Christ-elect have received as a prophetic fulfilment whereby the status of peoplehood and holiness is conferred on those whose origins are outside that of elect Israel (see also 1:10–12). Having established their new identity as God’s people in terms that were used for Israel, the author continues construing the readers’ identity using vocabulary and notions from Israel’s scriptures.

At 2:11, 1 Peter uses language of sojourning and foreignness from 1:1 and 1:17 to frame his call of abstinence (ἀπέχω) from fleshly desire. Because the readers are now strangers and aliens, they are to abstain from fleshly desires, which is a feature of their former lives according to 4:2.³³² The motivation provided is found in 2:12 where 1 Peter exhorts them to keep their conduct “among Gentiles” honourable. The instruction to honour Christ at 3:15–17 is also made in reference to making a defence to Gentiles. This could be the language of Greek moral philosophy given the corresponding use of middle voice ἀπέχεσθαι in classical Greek ethical rules.³³³ However, as Doering notes, 1 Peter’s motivations draw on “a communal context that are prefigured in the Jewish but absent from the Greco-Roman paraenetical tradition.”³³⁴ Moreover, 1 Peter’s exhortations build on his view of the addressees as the Christ-elect priestly community consecrated by the blood of Jesus to maintain holiness (1:3–5, 14–15) and both appear in connection with the readers’ in-Christ identity as strangers and foreigners which is an identity acquired through re-birth. As Achtemeier also notes, the addressees status as “exile and alien [...] describes the condition within which Christians must continue to pursue their good conduct.”³³⁵

Furthermore, this exilic identity appears within the larger framework of their sanctification through the Spirit and in connection to their election in Christ as

³³² On 1 Peter’s paraenetical character, see Martin, *Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter*, 85–133; J. De Waal Dryden, *Theology and Ethics in 1 Peter*, WUNT 209 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 15–53.

³³³ So Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 156. For a discussion of moral responsibility in the Platonic tradition and Plutarch’s thoughts on the abstinence of the passions in relation to character, cf. Max J. Lee, *Moral Transformation in Greco-Roman Philosophy of Mind: Mapping the Moral Milieu of the Apostle Paul and His Diaspora Jewish Contemporaries* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 77, 49–102.

³³⁴ Lutz Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginnings of Christian Epistolography*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament*; 298 (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 442; cf. Dryden, *Theology and Ethics*, 118–19.

³³⁵ Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1996), 175.

evident from the letter's opening (1:2).³³⁶ It is because they have been called to holiness and conscribed to serving God that they must exhibit "good conduct" before pagans to whom they are to bear witness (τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσι τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς, 2:12).³³⁷ In light of this and combined with the holiness and priesthood language of 2:4–10,³³⁸ it makes sense to engage 1 Peter's admonition to abstain from fleshly desires primarily in light of the cultic concern for holiness we find in the HB (cf. Chapter 8 below).

According to Jonathan Klawans, impurity regulations in the HB signify symbolic systems that provide a coherent view of how individual elements of impurity and sacrifice interrelate.³³⁹ The two systems of defilement he identifies are ritual impurity (i.e., impurities contracted through defiling natural processes, cf. Lev. 11–15; Num. 19) and moral impurity (the "defiling force"³⁴⁰ of sexual sin, murder and idolatry). Two organising principles lie behind such a concern with purity in the biblical tradition: the imitation of God and the concern to maintain divine presence in the

³³⁶ See also 1 Thess. 4:3, 22; 1 Tim 4:3 where abstinence is an expression of the experience of sanctification. See also Selwyn, *The First Epistle*, 370–71.

³³⁷ In light of Matthew 5:16's ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ κατὰ ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν, it is best to take this verse as indicative of 1 Peter's hope for the persecutors' conversion. So also, Selwyn, *The First Epistle*, 170; the same thought (i.e., the potential to win over non-believers through good conduct) is also evident in 3:1–2, cf. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 468–69.

³³⁸ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter*, 188 correctly notes the continuity of the "aliens and exiles" metaphor in 2:11–3:12 with the preceding "οἶκος-cluster" in 2:4–10.

³³⁹ Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism, Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (OUP, 2000).

³⁴⁰ Klawans argues that sin (i.e., what he calls moral impurity) has "its own distinct and non-metaphorical defiling force" by which he means a sort of permanent debasement that is distinct from impurity incurred through permissible but impure processes that incur "ritual impurity". He also makes the important point that not all ancient Jews agreed on the defiling force of moral impurity. Klawans further adds that "the idea of the defiling force of sin in the Hebrew Bible appears in Hosea (5:3 and 6:10), Jeremiah (2 and 3), Deuteronomy (21:23 and 24:1–4), the Deuteronomistic history (1 Kings 14:24; 2 Kings 16:3), and possibly Amos (7:17), in addition to the Holiness Code and Ezekiel." *Impurity and Sin*, 153, 34–35. Following David Zvi Hoffmann, Klawans maintains that the defilement of sin may be on both body and soul, causing the sinner to be "seen as morally impure" and thus leading to the sinner's rejection by God. He also notes that moral impurity and especially the particularly grave sins of sexual immorality, murder and idolatry cannot be removed by ritual purification and were thought to defile the sanctuary and the land, leading to the exile of the people (cf. Lev. 19:31; Num. 5:11–31; Ps. 106:34–41), *ibid*, 11, 21–31.

sanctuary or earthly temple.³⁴¹ Klawans notes that “by separating from substances associated with death and sex, priests and pure laypeople attempt to emulate divine attributes, in order to encounter God’s presence in the temple.”³⁴² These elements are clearly present in 1 Peter where the symbolism of temple, priesthood and sacrifices are transferred to the community of believers in Christ at 2:4–9. After providing the cultic setting throughout the first chapter as we have seen earlier, at 1:15–16, we find 1 Peter’s explicit call to holiness described in terms of the call to imitate God: “but like he who called you is holy, be holy yourselves in all your conduct, since it is written, ‘You shall be holy for I am holy.’” After opening the section by identifying a threat to a life of fidelity to God, 1 Peter reiterates the call to imitate God in terms of following the example of Christ in his innocent (i.e. guiltless) suffering (2:22) and also in his non-retaliatory response to persecutors (2:21, 23). He then states another dimension of Christ’s suffering on the basis of which the readers’ suffering is evaluated.

According to 2:24, the suffering of Christ is identified with his suffering on the cross. First Peter further states that Christ’s suffering was for the readers and is thus vicarious (see also 1:18–19; 2:21; 3:18). As stated earlier, Christ’s innocent suffering provides the basis for evaluating the readers’ own suffering as allegiance to Christ expressed in terms of the commitment “to adopt and align themselves with the cosmic truth that Christ reveals.”³⁴³

³⁴¹ Cf. Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 48.

³⁴² Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 114.

³⁴³ Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 154.

6.5 Conclusion

The author of 1 Peter uses apocalyptic categories to re-configure reality. What emerges is not a utopian vision projected onto a distant future, which is often the way biblical scholars understand the apocalyptic imagination, but instead a space of belonging that is located and ordered in the “here and now”.³⁴⁴ As we have seen, belonging in a divinely ordained and Christologically ordered space does not mean an otherworldly existence for the believers but rather one that is located and provides a sense of rootedness in the cosmic wide space of God.

The author cues the addressees to remember God’s redemptive actions of being present among his sojourning elect who were sanctified, purified and made holy to gain access to the divine’s presence. In doing so, the author of 1 Peter provides a foundation through a disclosure of hidden knowledge for the readers to carry forth the production of this space in distinctly apocalyptic terms. The biblical spaces of God’s dwelling also provide the groundwork for the readers to fully embody the Thirdspace they have entered not only corporately but also corporeally.

Furthermore, in addition to providing a positive evaluation of his readers’ suffering as aligning with God and Christ, what 1 Peter does is identify a spatial practice of obedience and allegiance to God through abstaining from all that hinders one’s imitation of God and of Christ. What hinders and is consistently in conflict with imitating God and Christ (and in light of 4:14 contravenes with the presence of God) is variously described as inappropriate suffering (for wrongdoing, cf. 2:14, 16, 18–20; 3:17), fleshly desire (2:11), sinful behaviour (e.g. 2:1–3; cf. 1:17) and the ancestral way of life (1:18–21).

³⁴⁴ Cf. Matthias Henze, *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*, TSAJ 142 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011); Reynolds and Stuckenbruck, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition*, 1–4; DiTommaso, “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part I),” 244.

In the concern with purity we see in this, and consequently the threat against the addressees' new life in Christ, it becomes clear that for 1 Peter, the community of believers dwell in a spatial reality marked by the presence of God. For this reason his primary goal is to exhort them to imitate God and Christ and engage in behaviour that maintains God's presence in their midst. Therefore, what is antithetical to "the obedience of truth" and their new identity in Christ is at the same time threatening, as it has the potential to cause the presence of God to depart.³⁴⁵

Language used to describe the contrast between the will of God and that which is opposed to God is variously described as κακοποιός (doing evil, cf. 3:17), βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν (the will of Gentiles, 4:2-3; cf. 4:7), and τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν (desires of the flesh which 1 Peter says "wage war against your soul," στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, 2:11). The Thirdspace of God's realm is also expressed using language of imperishability (cf. ἄφθαρτος, 1:4, 23; 3:4).³⁴⁶ It can thus be said that 1 Peter's focus on the addressees takes several converging lines that militate against underlying evil in order to maintain a life of obedience. What is notably absent is any attempt to equate the hostile other with an enemy to be othered.

³⁴⁵ Achtemeier also notes 1 Peter's concern that disobedience threatens the departure of God, cf. Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 174.

³⁴⁶ The term occurs seven times in the NT, three of which are in 1 Peter and the others at Rom. 1:23; 1 Cor. 9:25, 15:52; 1 Tim. 1:17; Titus 2:7.

Chapter 7: Apocalyptic Space in 1 Peter: Diaspora and Babylon

7.1 Introduction

The author of 1 Peter describes his addressees in terms that recall the designations and experiences of Israel from the HB. Reflecting a Jewish perspective of reality, he also uses categories and imageries from Israel's sacred tradition to describe events related to Christ and their significance to his addressees. By constructing his letter in this manner, 1 Peter establishes an implicit argument that Christ believers, the former pagans whom he is addressing, are no longer Gentiles. As ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς (“elect exiles of the Dispersion”, 1:1), they are now the people of God and to them he applies categories of Jewish identity: ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον, γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς θεοῦ, (2:5, 9, 10).³⁴⁷

For John H. Elliott, these descriptions, including διασπορά indicate the addressees' actual socio-political status under Roman rule as opposed to a metaphorical characterisation of life in Christ. He thus profiles the addressees as “resident aliens” (πάροικος, 1:1; 2:11) and “strangers temporarily visiting or passing through” (παρεπίδημος, 2:11) the provinces of Asia Minor named in 1:1.³⁴⁸ In taking these terms literally, Elliott argues for the legal and socio-political dislocation of at least some of the addressees even before their conversion to Christianity. Upon conversion, he notes that their estrangement became more intensified.³⁴⁹ He thus

³⁴⁷ Cf. David G. Horrell, *Becoming Christian: Essays on 1 Peter and the Making of Christian Identity*, LNTS (New York: T&T Clark, 2013), 133–63.

³⁴⁸ Elliott, *Home for the Homeless*, 48.

³⁴⁹ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 101–2.

sees 1 Peter as having been written to console the disenfranchised believers by situating them as secure residents and members of the household of God.³⁵⁰

In contrast, David Horrell has rightly noted the interchangeability with which πάροικος and παρεπίδημος are used to address *all* the recipients at 1:1, 1:17 and 2:11 instead of two distinct groups. Instead of being technical terms then, they indicate a broader usage along the lines of LXX Genesis 23:4 which identifies Abraham's residence among the Hittites as both πάροικος and παρεπίδημος.³⁵¹

Reading these designations from a postcolonial perspective, Horrell further argues that 1 Peter places the addressees in a position occupied by the subjugated and the alienated relative to the Roman Empire.³⁵² He thus sees 1 Peter's use of tradition and Jewish categories of identity as the means through which the author deconstructs Rome's truth claims and exposes its "hegemonic embodiment of political and social power."³⁵³ While correctly rejecting the binary anti- or pro-Empire category in favour of more nuance, Horrell nevertheless describes 1 Peter's attitude towards Rome as "polite resistance."³⁵⁴ He takes 1 Peter as engaging in a subtle resistance by writing "a kind of alternative (or 'hidden') transcript, one forged in the fire of Jewish experience, and one that reflects the experience of the underside of

³⁵⁰ In his commentary on 1 Peter, Elliott writes that the author of 1 Peter has generalized the socio-political reality of some of the readers to indicate the situation of all the addressees. Put differently, Elliott sees these terms as literal descriptors for some and a metaphoric (i.e., extrapolated) characterisation for others, cf. *1 Peter*, 102; however, some ambiguity still remains with this thesis, see for e.g., *1 Peter*, 313 where Elliott states that there is no reason to assume that the description of "strangers" and "exiles" is a theological metaphor. Some ambiguity remains with this thesis, see for e.g., Michaels, *1 Peter*, 7, 116; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 174–75; Torrey Seland, *Strangers in the Light: Philonic Perspectives on Christian Identity in 1 Peter* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 39–78; Stephen R. Bechtler, *Following in His Steps: Suffering, Community and Christology in 1 Peter*, SBLDS 162 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 71–73.

³⁵¹ Horrell, *Becoming Christian*, 117.

³⁵² Horrell, *Becoming Christian*, 220–29.

³⁵³ Horrell, "Re-Placing 1 Peter," 281.

³⁵⁴ Horrell, *Becoming Christian*, 5, 236.

empire: being deported and exiled, dislocated from one's home."³⁵⁵ In seeing 1 Peter as "a story which reflects the experience of the colonized and enslaved," Horrell confines the Petrine view of reality within the same imperial system he sees it resisting, a position that is not too far removed from the confined binary perspective he critiques.³⁵⁶

On the contrary and as I will show in this section and the next, 1 Peter's view of reality is more radical. The symbolic world 1 Peter constructs is a re-drawing of the map of the world that does not elevate Rome to the status of a threatening (and therefore significant) other.³⁵⁷ It is rather a spatial construction of the space of God: a lived space of embodied existence for the addressees.

By way of exploring this lived space and 1 Peter's radical view of reality that goes beyond a resistance discourse against Rome, I will explore 1 Peter's portrayal of diaspora and Babylon in relation to the readers' designation at 1:1 as ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις with a view towards understanding the association 1 Peter encourages his readers to make between Babylon and Rome. Towards this end, I will also analyse 1 Peter's passage on submission to Roman authorities at 2:13–17 after briefly considering the portrayal of Rome as Babylon in Revelation and Paul's thoughts in Romans 13:1–7. It will emerge from the discussions that follow that 1 Peter's Thirdspace (i.e., the embodied, idealized and unified social and ideological space he depicts) uses the symbolism of Babylon to promote an exilic mode of existence that counters and disrupts—not Roman ideology or imperial hegemony *per se*—but rather the Gentile way of life marked by futility and darkness.

³⁵⁵ Horrell, *Becoming Christian*, 225.

³⁵⁶ David G. Horrell, "Between Conformity and Resistance: Beyond the Balch-Elliott Debate Towards a Postcolonial Reading of First Peter," in *Reading First Peter With New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of First Peter*, ed. Robert L. Webb and Betsy Bauman-Martin, LNTS (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 126.

³⁵⁷ Barclay, *Pauline Churches*, 363–87.

7.2 “Diaspora” (1:1), “Babylon” (5:13) & Related Marks of Otherness

7.2.1 To the Diaspora...From Babylon

1 Peter is addressed to the ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς Πόντου, Γαλατίας, Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίας, καὶ Βιθυνίας (1:1). Elliott notes that the geographical location of 1 Peter’s addressees (Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, 1:1) is a territory administered under four Roman provinces north of the Taurus Mountains, extending across southern Asia Minor East and Westward.³⁵⁸ These four Roman provinces had populations that were made up of several ethnic groups, slaves, a few Romans on administrative or military commissions and a vast number of Jews and travellers.³⁵⁹ There is thus sufficient reason to regard the letter’s recipients as ethnically mixed, perhaps with a Gentile majority.³⁶⁰

1 Peter regards Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia as the diaspora thus alluding to Jewish tradition of the exile. The term “diaspora” has been used to refer to both the region outside of Palestine (e.g., Jdt. 5:19) and Jewish people living outside of Palestine (e.g., 2 Macc. 1:27). For Troy W. Martin, διασπορά is a reference to Jews living in exile and serves as the controlling metaphor and dominant paradigm for understanding 1 Peter’s addressees in terms of a Jewish diaspora identity. He thus sees 1 Peter applying this notion to portray the addressees as the wondering people of God on “an eschatological journey that takes

³⁵⁸ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 91; Elliott proposes that 1 Peter’s separate mention of Pontus and Bithynia (despite Bithynia-Pontus being a single province), indicates the circular route taken by Sylvanus who most likely commenced the journey from somewhere in Pontus (such as Sinope), proceeding south to Galatia and Cappadocia, then turning westward toward Asia and then finally northward to Bithynia (Sardis to Nicomedia). He thus takes 1 Peter as an “encyclical or ‘circular’” letter, cf. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 317.

³⁵⁹ John H. Elliott, *1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, vol. 37B of *AB* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 317 the presence of Jewish communities in Asia Minor is attested in 1 *Macc.* 15:16-23; Philo, *Leg.* 80-81, 214; Acts 2:9; Josephus, *Ant.* 12:148-153; 14:115, 223-30, 234-55, 259-64, cf. Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, SNTSMS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1–12, 38–51.

³⁶⁰ A mixed audience is the majority view, cf. for e.g., Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 6; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 95–97; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 51; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 23–24.

them from their new birth to the eschaton.”³⁶¹ Although the term διασπορά primarily indicates a genitive of place that is physically located outside of Judea,³⁶² the metaphoric use of diaspora is still in view since the readers are ascribed a diasporic identity by virtue of their faith in Christ (1:3–7). They are not a people who have actually experienced a historic exile but are described as those who are given the identity of otherness in the exilic space of the Diaspora. However, their homeland is not in heaven.³⁶³ As is made clear in 1:4, what is kept for believers in heaven is not a home but an inheritance (κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀμάραντον τηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς).³⁶⁴ As Goppelt also notes, their exilic identity and diaspora existence is not described in terms of a future ingathering “as a reuniting around Jerusalem or a return to the heavenly commonwealth (Phil. 3:20), but as a future gathering around the Lord, whenever faith becomes vision (1 Pet. 1:8).”³⁶⁵ Until the unfolding of that spatio-temporal reality, the readers are to be alert and attentive to their life in the present (cf. νήψατε in 1:13; 4:7; 5:8).³⁶⁶

Questions regarding 1 Peter’s “this-worldly” space of belonging have sparked an interest in 1 Peter’s perception of Rome. Contra Elliott and most recently Jobes who view the addressees as literal “foreigners and resident aliens,” the majority of

³⁶¹ Martin, *Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter*, 153.

³⁶² So Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 83; Horrell, *Becoming Christian*, 223; John H. Elliott, “1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy: A Discussion with David Balch,” in *Perspectives on First Peter*, ed. C. H. Talbert (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986), 217; Elliott, *1 Peter*, vol. 37B. The author’s emphasis is not on the readers’ heavenly home. Commenting on the anthropology of 1 Peter, Cavin correctly notes that the epistle gives no indication of the readers’ heavenly existence or participation in the heavenly realm in the present time, Cavin, *New Existence*, 71–72.

³⁶³ For the view that the believers true home lies in heaven, see for e.g., Kelly, *Peter and Jude*, 47, 103; Davids, *First Peter*, 46–47.

³⁶⁴ Regarding inheritance as a reference to the Jewish expectation of a new creation, cf. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 107; Dubis, *Messianic Woes*, 41.

³⁶⁵ Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 66.

³⁶⁶ As Elliott notes νήψατε is used with σωφρονήσατε at 4:7 and highlights “the need for a disciplined life focused on the urgencies of the moment.” Elliott, *1 Peter*, 748.

scholars rightly note that the categories are metaphorically applied to the recipients who are experiencing social alienation.³⁶⁷

The letter also states where it was written. In ending his letter, 1 Peter writes, Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτῇ (5:13). The majority of scholars rightly take Babylon as a reference to Rome.³⁶⁸ 1 Peter associates the notion of divine election with the terms διασπορά and παρεπίδημος on the one hand, and Babylon on the other. Put differently, the opening and closing greetings of the letter identify both the recipient community and those who are in the author's locale as the elect people of God. Babylon is thus depicted as a counterpart to Diaspora.³⁶⁹ Their mark of otherness, i.e., their exilic setting along with their purported location in the Dispersion, is an implication of their election and rebirth. Just as this was an exilic identity that became theirs through their faith in Christ, existence in Babylon is a feature of the co-elect community's identity associated with Christ. In other words the metaphoric sense that emerges from "Babylon" can be seen to correspond to the metaphoric sense with which diaspora is being depicted at 1:1. Thus, when 1 Peter alludes to Babylon in his closing greeting, he is describing his location in Rome and at the same time, forming an *inclusio* that fits and further stresses his construal of the recipients' otherness through the imagery of exile and Diaspora.

As Doering has demonstrated, 1 Peter draws from Jewish Diaspora Letter traditions that pair the idea of "election" and "otherness," creatively re-working them

³⁶⁷ Jobes's literal interpretation of the addressees' identity is slightly different from Elliott's in that for her, "the Christians to whom Peter writes had become Christians elsewhere, had some association with Peter prior to his writing to them, and now found themselves foreigners and resident aliens scattered throughout Asia Minor," cf. Jobes, *1 Peter*, 26. Elliott's proposal has not gained track, see for e.g., Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter*; Bechtler, *Suffering in 1 Peter*, 70–82; Dryden, *Theology and Ethics*; Horrell, *1 Peter*, 64.

³⁶⁸ See for. e.g. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 131–34; Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter*, 40–42; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 7–15; Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter: A Commentary on First Peter*, HCHCB (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 63–64.

³⁶⁹ Michaels, *1 Peter*, 311.

so that election is the basis for the diaspora and stranger metaphors.³⁷⁰ This indicates that the pair of spatial categories (i.e., diaspora and Babylon) are reflections of the in-Christ status of the addressees and their co-elect fellow believers in Rome. The intention behind emphasizing the readers' identity as the elect of God who reside in the diaspora is the same logic behind the use of Babylon and other designations that highlight the readers' otherness. The Diaspora-Babylon metaphor is a description of the community of believers that serves the dual purpose of comforting the socially alienated addressees by stating their status as divinely elected people of God. It also serves a paraenetic agenda through its depiction of their otherness as strangers and foreigners of the diaspora.

The corresponding notions of election and otherness might be easily overlooked if Babylon is too quickly taken as a negative cypher for Rome. Thus, Otto Zwierlein suggests a metaphoric reading of Babylon where he takes the word as a *Wechselwort* for diaspora.³⁷¹ While I find his suggestion that Babylon in 1 Peter is an inference to an exilic mode of existence convincing, his rejection of Babylon as a physical location is not convincing. As 5:13 indicates, Babylon is *both* a social space that describes an exilic identity for both the addressees and those who are sending them greetings, *and* a geographical location from where the letter is sent.³⁷²

7.2.2 Diaspora-Babylon as the Space of Cosmic Evil

If 1 Peter is read in light of Daniel's and Revelation's portrayal of Babylon as the seat of cosmic evil beings, 1 Peter can be seen as alluding to the hostilities of evil beings who oppose the righteous. Such a reading finds support in 1 Pet. 3:19–22

³⁷⁰ Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 434 nn. 22–23, 440.

³⁷¹ Otto Zwierlein, *Petrus in Rom: Die Literarischen Zeugnisse. Mit Einer Kritischen Edition Der Martyrien Des Petrus Und Paulus Auf Neuer Handschriftlicher Grundlage* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 8.

³⁷² Cf. Doering's critique, Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 446, n. 77.

and 5:8–9. At 3:19–22 there is an important feature of 1 Peter’s spatial imagination which I will discuss in some length in connection with 1 Peter’s portrayal of baptism.³⁷³ At this point, it suffices to note that although the suffering of Christ is at the hand of human oppressors as implied by 2:21–24, his victory and vindication is over cosmic evil beings (cf. 3:19, 22). Such a conflation of human enemies with cosmic evil beings is a feature of the Jewish apocalyptic tradition. But significantly, and in line with the missional aim he associates with the readers’ otherness and the call to live in accordance with their exilic identity (cf. for e.g., 2:10–12), 1 Peter’s stress is not on depicting Jesus’ human oppressors as the irredeemably wicked who will receive the punishment due to evil cosmic beings. Thus instead of identifying human oppressors as agents of cosmic evil beings, the emphasis is on the identification of evil beings as the weightier enemies and from whose threat the readers are protected by the power of God (1:5).

If we take into account the parallel 1 Peter repeatedly draws between Christ and Christians (cf. 2:21; 3:15–16; 4:1), then it is likely that the recipients’ human oppressors (like Jesus’ oppressors) are made to recede to the background while their cosmic opponent is brought to the forefront as is the case at 5:8–9. Thus, instead of associating their social alienation and suffering with Rome or formulating a Rome-centric response to their persecution, it is significant that 1 Peter frames his response to the readers’ persecution by constructing an exilic identity associated with Babylon, which is identified as the “dwelling place” of demons in Revelation (κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων καὶ φυλακὴ παντὸς πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου, Rev. 18:2). Babylon is also called a “dwelling place of demons” according to *4QPseudo-Ezekiel*^b

³⁷³ Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation to the Spirits*, 105. As Dalton helpfully suggests, this passage “gives the theological basis for the victory of Christians in the stress of persecution.” Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 105.

at 4Q386 1 iii.³⁷⁴ In Isa. 13–14 as well, Babylon is depicted as the realm of cosmic evil beings that are opposed to God’s rule.³⁷⁵

In accordance with the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, 1 Peter casts the suffering of the righteous in the context of cosmic warfare involving malevolent otherworldly beings.³⁷⁶ Christ, the Chosen one of God has emerged triumphant and so will God’s elect sojourners against otherworldly beings and their human agents who are persecuting them.³⁷⁷ By emphasizing Christ’s victory over cosmic evil powers, 1 Peter renders the addressees’ here and now as spatially momentous. The elect sojourners are placed in space marked by the presence of God’s cosmic enemies. External threat is thus identified as coming from evil and, given the circumstance of their social alienation, from those who persecute them. Despite the use of the Babylon designation then, Roman rulers or the emperor are not described in terms of a hostile ‘other’. Thus, even what Wan calls a “decentring” of Rome is a sort of by-product of the Petrine depiction of the community as God’s temple, i.e., divine space which stands in contrast to all other spaces. Since an engagement with the imperial form of pagan worship cannot be established as a Petrine interest, even the implications of 3:19–22 and Christ’s cosmic victory over agents of evil cannot be seen as an intentional and specific condemnation of Rome.

7.2.3 Diaspora-Babylon as the Space of Obedience

According to Horrell the author’s intentional placement of his readers in the “diaspora” is significant because the designation “makes sense of the readers’

³⁷⁴ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Demonic World of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Evil and the Devil*, ed. Ida Fröhlich and Erkki Koskenniemi, vol. 481 of *LNTS* (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013), 56; for comments and discussion on 4Q386 1 iii cf. Devorah Dimant, “‘4Q386’ li-iii A Prophecy on Hellenistic Kingdoms?,” *Revue de Qumrân* 18.4 (72) (1998): 520–29.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Antti Laato, “The Devil in the Old Testament,” in *Evil and the Devil*, ed. Ida Fröhlich and Erkki Koskenniemi, *LNTS* 481 (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013), 9–12.

³⁷⁶ Pierce, “Apocalypse.”

³⁷⁷ Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 105.

geographical location in terms of a Jewish history of imperial subjugation and consequent exile.”³⁷⁸ He posits that in combination with their depiction as “strangers and aliens” (2:11; cf. 1:17), the designation of their geographical location as “Diaspora” gives the Petrine audience “an identity marked by estrangement and marginality.”³⁷⁹ However, Horrell’s assessment of the Jewish diaspora neglects a core aspect of Jewish traditions that provide negative valuations of life in the diaspora.

In *Tobit*, *2 Maccabees* and *Sirach* in particular, we find a negative assessment of diasporic existence. This assessment arises out of these texts’ emphasis on the integral relation between the people of God and the Land. The notion of land is infused with significance through its portrayal as divine inheritance to the people as well as the spatial locus of God’s presence and eschatological activity. For this reason, existence in the Diaspora is perceived as a form of waiting for a rescue and a restoration. *Tobit* and *2 Maccabees* portray life outside of Palestine as a form of subjugation and enslavement. Even in *Sirach* where the appraisal is less negative, living in Palestine is deemed far superior as compared to living among Gentiles because of the threat of idolatry and impurity. In these texts, Israel’s eschatological regathering is interpreted as a return from Diaspora.³⁸⁰ Fuller argues that this theme of re-gathering and eschatological return is

a subordinate emphasis to the writer's main intention to call the Diaspora into faithfulness and obedience to their religious heritage, even as they live their lives outside Palestine. By maintaining the code of righteousness, Jews can

³⁷⁸ Horrell, “Re-Placing 1 Peter,” 282.

³⁷⁹ Horrell, “Re-Placing 1 Peter,” 282.

³⁸⁰ Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel*, 48.

live in hopeful anticipation of their eschatological re-gathering, both a promise and reward that lies in the future.³⁸¹

It is significant that even while assessing diaspora existence negatively and articulating the eschatological hope that God would defeat Gentile rulers to regather the faithful to the Promised Land, the primary emphasis and main thrust of the tradition is still theological. It is a call to motivate readers to maintain fidelity to God through obedience. As Shaye Cohen argues, “the basic political stance of Jews of both the land of Israel and the diaspora was not rebellion but accommodation. The Jews must support the state until God sees fit to redeem them.”³⁸² In other words, the perception of estrangement and marginality and the articulation of an anticipation for the eschatological defeat of Gentiles is primarily a mode of theological discourse that is aimed at ‘quickenning’ the return to homeland by maintaining righteousness. This is starkly different from the resistance discourse in James Scott’s notion of ‘hidden transcript’ that attunes Horrell’s reading of Jewish traditions that embody a negative assessment of the diaspora.

The majority of texts do not assess Diaspora life negatively. Instead of harbouring hopes for future victory over Gentiles, many Jews accepted the fact of recurrent Gentile rulers and adapted to Diaspora existence out of the conviction that God is the ultimate ruler of the world.³⁸³ In the apocalyptic text of Daniel for instance, the enemy is not defeated through resistance or rebellion but through the righteous maintaining their otherness thereby cooperating with the angelic host even to the

³⁸¹ Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel*, 48.

³⁸² Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1988), 34.

³⁸³ John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander To Trajan (323 BCE To 117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 104–6, 125–80; John J. Collins, “The Sense of an Ending in Pre-Christian Judaism,” in *Fearful Hope: Approaching the New Millennium*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz and Fannie LeMoine (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 35–37.

point of death.³⁸⁴ According to Daniel 10:13, Collins rightly notes that “conflicts between peoples on earth are understood as reflections of struggles between their patron angels.”³⁸⁵ Allegiance to Gentile kings does not stand in tension with fidelity to God as shown in Daniel. The basis for this lies in the belief that it is “the God of heaven” (Dan. 2:37) who appoints kings, gives sovereignty to Gentile kings and removes them in due course (Dan. 2:21; 2 Chr. 20:6; 36:3; cf. 2 Bar. 39). Like Collins notes, “on earth there is a universal dominion, called simply ‘the kingdom,’ which passes from Babylon to Media to Persia.”³⁸⁶

7.2.3.1 Revelation and the Roman Empire

First Peter’s apparent relegation of Rome to the background stands in striking similarity to Paul but in stark contrast to Revelation. For all three authors Roman authority is subsumed under divine rule. However, in Revelation, John presents a radical call to bear witness to Christ encapsulated in a complex theological critique about his readers’ lived realities whether that is the larger social world or conflicts within church communities.³⁸⁷ This critique certainly demonizes Rome and portrays the Empire as the earthly embodiment of otherworldly forces of evil.³⁸⁸ As Mark Mathews points out, it is best to situate Revelation within its author’s theological worldview given the uncertainty around what we can know about the circumstances that prompted his writing or the extent to which imperial realities influenced the shaping of Revelation’s apocalyptic worldview. There is indeed much to be gained

³⁸⁴ John J. Collins, “Nebuchadnezzar and the Kingdom of God. Deferred Eschatology in the Jewish Diaspora,” in *Loyalitätskonflikte in Der Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift Für Carsten Colpe*, ed. Christoph Elsas and Hans G. Kippenberg (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1990), 136.

³⁸⁵ Idem, “The Sense of an Ending,” 36. Collins, “The Sense of an Ending,” 36.

³⁸⁶ Collins, “Deferred Eschatology,” 131.

³⁸⁷ For an analysis of studies that focus on the larger social world of the Roman Empire, see the helpful discussion in Mark D. Mathews, *Riches, Poverty, and the Faithful: Perspectives on Wealth in the Second Temple Period and the Apocalypse of John*, SNTSMS 154 (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 10–21.

³⁸⁸ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 269–79.

from situating John's radically negative portrayal of Rome within his *theological* world view since the destruction of Babylon (i.e., Rome) he anticipates appears as the climax of his critique of wealth and Christian participation in it.³⁸⁹

The portrayal of Rome as the embodiment of evil appears within a world view that is centred on the interpretation of Christ's death as a timeless reality. In Revelation, the Christ event redefines the past, present and future aspects of lived realities in all cosmic spaces so that to be a Christian meant to participate in the collision between God's rule and that of Rome (cf. 11:8). Thus, John's passionate demonization of Rome should not be read so much as a critique of Rome on the basis of a political or social crisis perpetuated by Rome but rather as a theological treatise against the materialism and economic persecution which stands in sharp opposition to the reign of God. To be loyal to God is to side with Christ, who is victorious in the coming eschatological battle with Rome/Satan. Thus, given the reality of Christ's victory over death, John writes a theological treatise "on how to be a Christian, not only in first-century Asia Minor, but also in the cosmos" as it exists in cosmic conflict.³⁹⁰ It is this corrupted, oppressive and contra-God system and way of life that lies at the heart of Revelation (cf. chapter 18). Thus as Mathews notes, the Roman Empire is "the object of John's critique and not the subject."³⁹¹

In essence then, "Caesar and Roma are merely the obscene figureheads for an underlying and incurable corruption, one that remains as hostile to Christian life

³⁸⁹ Mathews, *Riches*, 146, 185–218.

³⁹⁰ Loren Stuckenbruck, "Revelation: Historical Setting and John's Call to Discipleship," *Leaven* 8.1 (2012): 4. Similarly, recent interpreters have questioned the extent to which the book of Revelation may be understood as an anti-imperial treatise which presupposes a real or systemic persecution of Christians during the time of Domitian: Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Westminster John Knox Press, 1984); Leonard L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

³⁹¹ Mathews, *Riches*, 21.

and faith whether or not it demands formal cultic homage.”³⁹² Thus Revelation’s primary concern is the Christian’s response of non-violent active resistance against a corrupting system even to the point of death.³⁹³ The way to conquer is portrayed as being through “the word of witness” (Rev. 7:13–14). The object of Christian resistance is injustice and systems of oppression Rome symbolises.³⁹⁴ Furthermore, the anticipated death of Christians (for e.g., at 2:10; 12:10; 13:7; 14:13) is linked to bearing witness to the victory of Christ and is radically interpreted as a potent symbol of victory against Satan.³⁹⁵ Thus, despite the absence of imperial persecution, John thus focuses his attention on the underlying evil behind Rome whom he sees as Satan’s agent and writes to amplify the agency of his readers in attaining victory against economic and social evil through witness.³⁹⁶ As Middleton also notes Revelation “encourages the Christian communities to which it was written to take control of their own deaths” which he anticipates will occur.

Furthermore death finds re-interpretation in Revelation as “the most effective method of not only participation in but also contributing to the final victory of the Lamb.”³⁹⁷ Thus, Revelation’s antagonism towards Rome is a nuanced theological response to the danger of accommodating cultic, social and economic practices that

³⁹² F. Gerald Downing, “Pliny’s Persecutions of Christians: Revelation and 1 Peter,” *JSNT* 34 (1988): 119.

³⁹³ Cynthia Long Westfall, “Running the Gamut: The Varied Responses to Empire in Jewish Christianity,” in *Empire in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 256.

³⁹⁴ Cf. Brian K. Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary* (Louisville: Presbyterian Publishing Corp., 2013). Cf. Brian K. Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary* (Louisville: Presbyterian Publishing Corporation, 2013).

³⁹⁵ Paul Middleton, *Radical Martyrdom and Cosmic Conflict in Early Christianity* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2006), 158–71, see also, 103-134.

³⁹⁶ Blount, *Revelation*, 35; 37. Blount writes that John’s opening verses “convey his entire work as the witness—that is, revelation—proclaimed by Jesus” and highlights the centrality of “witness” language in Revelation. He notes that John invites his readers to emulate Christ by portraying him as a faithful witness even to the point of death. As Blount rightly notes, the significance of this is that “Christ-believers [can be] faithful witnesses to the testimony that Jesus himself proclaimed: God is the Almighty One, and Jesus Christ is God’s coming king,” Blount, *Revelation*, 35, 37.

³⁹⁷ Middleton, *Radical Martyrdom and Cosmic Conflict in Early Christianity*, 159.

recognize and acknowledge the contradicting claims of Rome. For John, Rome is demonized for countering the claims of Christ's testimony (1:4–8). But Christ's victory over death is a cosmic victory over Satan. It redefines the categories of death and life, suffering and glorification for the faithful who likewise are cosmic victors with agency even over death. This agency finds expression through nonviolent resistance, that is, witness to the lordship of God and the victory of the Lamb.

7.2.3.1.1 Revelation and 1 Peter

This however is not a uniformly held belief in early Christianity. First Peter, for instance, is in favour of a more active subservience since deference to authority does not entail accommodating cultic praxis in 1 Peter. It is also notable that death at the hands of persecutors is not within the realm of possibilities 1 Peter anticipates for the future. Diverse socio-historical realities, theological motivations and the rhetorical aim of each text simply preclude other NT authors, 1 Peter included, from reaching the same conclusions about Rome as John did (cf. Rom. 13:1–7; 1 Pet. 2:13–17; 1 Tim. 2:2; Mark 12:17; cf. 1 Clement 61:1–2).

Interpreters often allude to widespread social alienation of Christians in Asia Minor who, as Pliny and Trajan indicate,³⁹⁸ were seen as a suspect and potentially seditious group that were persecuted for failing to adhere to social norms (as Rev 13:15; 20:4 might also indicate).³⁹⁹ Persecution in 1 Peter, however, entails sporadic

³⁹⁸ Pliny, *Ep.* X 96. Trajan also wrote to Pliny, saying "If people are accused [that is, as Christians] and convicted, they must be punished-yet on this condition, that whoever denies being a Christian, and makes the fact plain by his action, that is, by worshipping our gods, shall obtain pardon on his repentance." Pliny, *Ep.* X 97

³⁹⁹ Due to the lack of space I will not provide here an interpretation of Revelation 13, it suffices to note a few points that support what I have noted above. Firstly, chapters 12–14 contain the explicit call for faithfulness unto death using cosmic conflict as a prism through which Christians are encouraged to see themselves as engaged in battle against the followers of the Beast (Chs. 12; 13:7). Secondly, the 'beast from the sea' in 13: 1-8, which is also called 'the first beast' (13:12), symbolises both "great evil and great power" (cf. Middleton, *Radical Martyrdom*, 165). It can be said that the beast indicates the Roman Empire, and the emperor who is worshipped (v. 8; cf. 13:11). Thirdly, in all this,

and localised aggression presented as (1) social/cultural estrangement (1:1; 2:11); (2) verbal and physical abuse (2:12, 16; 3:12-17; 4:14, 16); and (3) unjust treatment and accusation (2:20-21; 3:14, 16; 4:1, 13, 16, 19). This sporadic and localized social alienation, coupled with official action against Christians in the courts was not enough to convince 1 Peter to adopt as critical a stance against Rome as we see in John.⁴⁰⁰ First Peter, perhaps naïvely approved Roman ideals and trusted the divinely authorized civic authorities to do what is right. It is perhaps for this reason that his letter takes a step back from the specific context of official judicial action the readers are facing to reveal his analysis of the new existence in Christ on a more general basis.⁴⁰¹ Also, in contrast to the Apocalypse of John, the demonstration of the believers' fidelity to God is primarily based on the template of Christ's response to his own suffering and persecution rather than Christ's "faithful witness" (Rev. 1:2; cf. LXX Ps. 88:38).⁴⁰² Rather than gaining victory through death as is the case in Revelation, for 1 Peter, as we will explore below, the appropriate response to persecution at the hands of those who oppose God is abiding by the will of God

whether the Beast personifies Rome or the forces of evil in the eschatological battle, it bears noting that John's focus is the community of the faithful. These central chapters of the Apocalypse focus on the call for endurance (at 13:10 and again at 14:12). There can be no compromise when facing the temptation to worship the Beast and receive his mark. As Middleton notes, John displays a total dualism in his presentation of a cosmos "engaged in all-out war" and in his demand "that the reader take sides" (cf. *Radical Martyrdom*, 166). As the earthly seat of great evil and great power, Rome is the antithesis of heaven where God reigns: Rome is under the cosmic power of the Beast and will be destroyed for spilling the blood of Christians (16:6–7; cf. 17:6). It is through their spilled blood that Christians would conquer the Beast and death itself since "paradoxically, the call to death is in reality the call to life," Middleton, *Radical Martyrdom*, 168. John's announcement for the destruction of Babylon/Rome is thus a facet of a cosmic war between God and Satan where believers' endurance to the point of death contributes to God's eschatological victory over Satan which is a perspective that is unique to Revelation.

⁴⁰⁰ The majority of Petrine scholars disagree (rightly so) with a hypothesis of an official-persecution, see for example, Balch, *Wives*, 109, 119; Elliott, *Home for the Homeless*, 62–63; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 38–39. For a more comprehensive list, see: Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition*, 13 n.56.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. Downing who argues that though 1 Peter and Revelation were occasioned by Pliny's efforts to maintain order and bring prosperity to the regions he is newly appointed over, 1 Peter and Revelation nevertheless took exhibit attitudes that are "much less "occasional", and are based on mature though divergent analyses of human society in the light of early Christian life and faith, Downing, "Pliny's Persecutions of Christians: Revelation and 1 Peter," 105.

⁴⁰² See Blount, *Revelation*, 35–36.

(expressed at 2:15 as “doing good” i.e., submitting to the governing authorities according to 2:13, 14):

2:13 Ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον· 14 εἴτε βασιλεῖ ὡς ὑπερέχοντι εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν ὡς δι’ αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν κακοποιῶν, ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν 15 ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ φιμοῦν τὴν τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνωσίαν.

2:13 Submit to every human ordinance for the sake of the Lord, whether to the emperor as one who is supreme, 14 or to governors as ones sent by him for the punishment of evildoers and for the praise of those who do good, since this is the will of God, that you silence the ignorance of foolish people by doing good.

1 Peter thus has a starkly different take on suffering and persecution even while working within a cluster of apocalyptic ideas and framing his thoughts within an apocalyptic worldview. Despite their common Jewish understanding that all authority is subsumed under divine will, the Apocalypse of John is orientated towards a different set of rhetorical aims that come from the conviction that all human systems, cultures and lifestyles have an underlying evil that has now been revealed through Christ. It is within this abhorrence for underlying evil that John’s attitude towards Rome must be understood. For other NT authors though, notably for Paul and 1 Peter, subservience to Rome was less cataclysmic.⁴⁰³ After briefly considering why

⁴⁰³ In discussing how the Roman Empire is portrayed in a given NT text, it is also important to consider the scriptural traditions used by the particular author(s) and the tradition of understanding within which the author encourages the readers to interpret socio-political realities and all aspects of life. The social reality of readers, either real or perceived, is often expressed by the author through categories and patterns of judgment that emanate from earlier traditions and are refracted through a Christocentric lens. For more on this, cf. David I. Starling, ““She Who Is in Babylon”: 1 Peter and the Hermeneutics of Empire,” in *Reactions to Empire: Sacred Texts in Their Socio-Political Contexts*, ed. J. A. Dunne and D. Batovici (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 112–13.

Rome did not seem to bother Paul as much as it did John, I will turn my attention to 1 Pet. 2:13–17. The brief consideration of Romans 13: 1–7 will highlight another reason why a concern with Rome and an anti-imperialistic attitude are foreign notions for 1 Peter.

7.2.3.2 Romans 13:1–7 and the Roman Empire

In Romans 13:1–7 we find the NT’s first occurrence of a discourse of authority which evokes the divine will in order to exhort believers’ obedience towards Roman governing authorities.⁴⁰⁴ In this passage Paul commends Roman civic authorities without indicating any discomfort by Rome or its purported “imperialism”. As Harrill convincingly argues, Paul’s use of Roman rhetoric and ideologies to craft his discourse of authority shows Paul’s embeddedness in his own culture of the ancient Roman world while maintaining his identity as a Jewish apocalyptic thinker.⁴⁰⁵

In what follows, I would like to propose that, rather than engage in anti-Roman resistance discourse, 1 Peter demonstrates a degree of cultural embeddedness in the Roman world as we see for example in the household code or his understanding of authority thus resembling Pauline thought in Romans 13:1–7. First Peter’s theological repertoire includes the traditions that influenced Paul’s thoughts in Romans 13 as well as the oral and written traditions that were influential to the church in Rome.⁴⁰⁶ For this reason, Romans 13:1–7 is instructive to the main

⁴⁰⁴ J. Albert Harrill, *Paul the Apostle: His Life and Legacy in Their Roman Context* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. Harrill, *Paul the Apostle*, 91–95.

⁴⁰⁶ For a discussion of 1 Peter’s relation to Romans in particular and the Pauline tradition in general in terms of “intertextual influence,” see, David G. Horrell, “The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter,” *JSNT* 86 (2002): 7–44. Affirming the modern consensus that arose out of Selwyn’s comparative analysis of 1 Peter with other early Christian writings, recent scholars rightly question the presumption that states 1 Peter’s relationship with Romans in particular and the Pauline tradition in general in terms of a literary dependence, cf., Selwyn, *The First Epistle*, 363–466. Instead of influence or dependence, the majority of 1 Peter scholars argue for a shared common tradition that has influenced both authors, see for e.g., Michaels,

subject of our discussion: the question of why 1 Peter chose to construct a lived space that was neither anti-Rome nor simply loyalist to Rome. It is to be noted that our forgoing discussion on 1 Peter's cultic imagery and his construction of the space of God has focused on how the larger social setting of the Roman empire served as a vehicle to express the new life in Christ in terms of an exilic mode of existence.

Romans 13 begins with Paul's straightforward admonition for everyone to be obedient to governing authorities (πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασθήτω, 13:1). This is because for Paul whoever happens to be in power is instituted by God to promote good deeds and punish evil (13:1, 3). He even goes as far as stating that those who resist (i.e., those who are disobedient and hostile to) the governing authorities are resisting God himself – an offence that incurs divine judgment (ὥστε ὁ ἀντιπασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ τοῦ διαταγῆ ἀνθέστηκεν· οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήμψονται, 13:2). This unqualified requirement to obey those in authority has often posed a challenge for anti-imperial readers of Paul. Neil Elliott for instance calls Romans 13:1–7 “a theological offence” and expresses concern that Paul's exhortation “threatens to capsize every Christian liberative

1 Peter, xliii–xlv; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 23; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 38, 130–34. However, Horrell argues that their notion of literary dependence is too restrictive and requires 1 Peter's precise and explicit borrowing. He instead proposes that 1 Peter's dependence on Romans (and other Pauline letters including Ephesians) is through a series of “creative forms of intertextual relationship” that shows clear signs of his influence by and distinctive use of Romans and Ephesians while at the same time having in his letter much “that is not at all Pauline,” cf. Horrell, “a Petrine Circle?,” 19, 20. On the other side of the debate is Elliott who correctly sees no evidence of a direct literary dependence of 1 Peter on Romans or Ephesians. Elliott instead argues that 1 Peter is a product of a community in Rome that shared, preserved and developed the thoughts and teachings of the apostle Peter along with diverse Christian traditions including that of Paul's. In the lack of evidence for a direct literary, i.e., genealogical, dependence on Romans or Ephesians, Elliott's explanation that 1 Peter 2:13–17's similarity to Romans 13:1–7 arose out of 1 Peter's use of shared oral and written traditions that were influential in the Roman church and from which he and other authors drew ideas is highly probable, cf. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 130–34. For the task at hand, the specific nature of the relationship between Romans 13:1–7 and 1 Peter 2:13–17 has no bearing on my argument since scholars on different sides of the debate do acknowledge the striking similarities between the texts which warrants my reading of 1 Peter along with Romans 13. For the equally noteworthy differences between Rom. 13:1–7 and 1 Pet. 2:13–17 and a convincing argument against 1 Peter's literary borrowing from Romans, see Kazuhito Shimada, “Is 1 Peter Dependent on Romans?,” *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 19 (1993): 87–137.

project”.⁴⁰⁷ However, if we are to limit our concern to the text of Romans 13 and set aside its implication for our present times, then it becomes evident that Paul’s attitude towards Rome is not simple quietism or conformity as Elliott concludes.

In contrast to Elliott, N. T. Wright understands Paul to be primarily opposing Rome. He writes that in claiming that civic authorities are God’s appointees, Paul is posing an implicit challenge against the arrogant assertion of divine status by Roman emperors. What is significant in this passage for Wright is Paul’s demotion of the Roman emperor to the status of a mere servant of God.⁴⁰⁸ Wright also notes that Paul needed to emphasise the divine appointment of authorities in order to avoid the wrong deduction his readers might reach given his “counter-imperial hints” throughout Romans.⁴⁰⁹ However, even if such hints can be proven to exist in the epistle, it is still problematic to frame Paul’s stance towards Rome in terms of for or against Rome as John Barclay notes. This binary political framework is problematic because it fails to explain the nuanced *theological* approach Paul takes in his letters as demonstrated, for instance, at Rom. 8:31–39. Seen in juxtaposition with 8:31–39, 13:1–7 indicates that “Paul can simultaneously offer highly differentiated evaluations of Roman power according to its context and expression.”⁴¹⁰ Indeed, as Barclay rightly notes,

[w]hat unifies these evaluations is not a political stance for or against Rome, but a perspective which reads political history according to a different script.

⁴⁰⁷ Neil Elliott, “Romans 13:1-7 in the Context of Imperial Propaganda,” in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society*, ed. Richard A. Horsley (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1997), 187.

⁴⁰⁸ N. T. Wright, “Paul and Caesar: A New Reading of Romans,” in *A Royal Priesthood? The Use of the Bible Ethically and Politically: A Dialogue with Oliver O’Donovan*, ed. Craig Bartholemew (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002), 190–91.

⁴⁰⁹ N. T. Wright, *Paul: Fresh Perspectives* (London: SPCK Publishing, 2005), 78.

⁴¹⁰ Barclay, *Pauline Churches*, 373. On the subjugation of powers, authorities and principalities in Paul, see Emma Wasserman, *Apocalypse as Holy War: Divine Politics and Polemics in the Letters of Paul*, AYBRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

Just as Paul can be under the Torah or outside the Torah according to the demands of the gospel (1 Cor 9.20–21), so his stance towards the Roman empire is neither simple opposition nor obedience: it is a field of human reality criss-crossed and contested (like all others) by the opposing forces of Flesh and Spirit, and is subject to powers far greater than itself in the battle created by the gospel.⁴¹¹

Put differently, Paul's Christocentric world-view cannot be shown to be particularly interested in promoting political conformity or resistance towards the Roman Empire. What Paul promotes as the believers' appropriate responsibility in Romans 13:1–7 thus needs to be framed in light of allegiance to Christ and a realm that is beyond their present lived space in the Roman Empire.⁴¹²

Secondly, the assumption that Paul's emphasis in Rom. 13:1–7 lies on denigrating Roman authority fails to appreciate Paul's thoroughgoing theological assessment of earthly authority in light of his Christology on the one hand and the broader flow of his thought in the rest of chapter 13. Jacob Taubes rightly argues that the point of the passage is lost if interpreters are preoccupied with the topic of authority instead of situating the passage within Paul's apocalyptic logic.⁴¹³

Taubes begins his interpretation of Rom. 13:1–7 by noting that Paul's flow of thought proceeds in three parts beginning with 12:21 and ending at 13:14.⁴¹⁴ Thus, in order to interpret 13:1–7, he begins with the view expressed in the second part,

⁴¹¹ Barclay, *Pauline Churches*, 373. On the subjugation of powers, authorities and principalities in Pauline literature, see Wasserman, *Apocalypse as Holy War*.

⁴¹²For an in-depth summary of how interpreters have dealt with the question of Paul's engagement with the Roman Empire, see for example, Davina C. Lopez and Todd Penner, "Paul and Politics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Pauline Studies*, ed. Matthew V. Novenson and Matlock, R. Barry, 2017.

⁴¹³ Jacob Taubes, *The Political Theology of Paul*, ed. Aleida Assmann and Jan Assmann, trans. Dana Hollander (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

⁴¹⁴ Taubes, *Political Theology*, 52.

i.e., 13: 8–10 where Paul states his commandment of love of neighbour. Noting the contrast between the gospels' dual commandment of love of neighbour and love of God and Paul's exhortation here, Taubes writes that the passage is designed to ask "in what epoch are we living, what sort of a present time is this?"⁴¹⁵ To this, Paul replies, ὥρα ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι at 13:11 ("the moment has come for you to awaken from sleep").⁴¹⁶ Taubes rightly notes that constitutes Paul's "apocalyptic-eschatological profession of faith" that results in the theological de-legitimation of all earthly social and political order out of the belief that the present time is the end of time.

Therefore, when Paul promotes obedience to Roman civic authorities, he is articulating an attitude towards Rome that is shaped by his world view in which Rome is relativized because of Christ's impending return. This constitutes for Taubes Paul's "nihilistic view of the world, and concretely of the Roman Empire."⁴¹⁷ Paul's radical apocalyptic expectation thus renders the Roman Empire as transitory, a matter of no real concern. For Taubes this aligns with 1 Cor. 7:29–31 where social and familial ties are relativized.⁴¹⁸ Thus, Rome's agency and significance is relativized and Rome becomes relatively insignificant, "just one more entity in a much greater drama."⁴¹⁹

Paul's thoughts are encompassed within an apocalyptic framework that sees the present time as moving towards the passing away of the world in its totality.

Taubes puts Paul's thoughts in blunt terms:

⁴¹⁵ Taubes, *Political Theology*, 53. Taubes, *Political Theology*, 53.

⁴¹⁶ Taubes, *Political Theology*, 53. Taubes, *Political Theology*, 53.

⁴¹⁷ Taubes, *Political Theology*, 72. Taubes, *Political Theology*, 72.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid. Taubes, *Political Theology*, 72.

⁴¹⁹ Barclay, *Pauline Churches*, 386.

[...] under this time pressure, if tomorrow the whole palaver, the entire swindle were going to be over—in that case there’s no point in any revolution! [...]. Demonstrate obedience to state authority, pay taxes, don’t do anything bad, don’t get involved in conflicts, because otherwise it’ll get confused with some revolutionary movement.⁴²⁰

Therefore, there is no point to opposing Rome and obeying the authorities makes sense because they have been made obsolete and there is no time to waste. He thus does not call for anti-imperial resistance or encourage his readers to place themselves in opposition to Rome or the imperial cult. For Paul the Christ event is a totalising and radical reorientation of the cosmos that renders Rome as Rome utterly insignificant.⁴²¹

7.2.3.3 Roman Civic Authorities in 1 Peter (1 Pet. 2:13–17)

In 1 Pet. 2:13–17, the author urges his addressees to submit (ὑποτάσσω) to civic authorities “for the sake of the Lord” (v. 13). They are to do this because it is the will of God (v. 15) for the believers to submit be it to the emperor as supreme (εἴτε βασιλεῖ ὡς ὑπερέχοντι) or to governors as those sent by him to punish wrongdoers and reward those who do good (εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν ὡς δι’ αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν κακοποιῶν, ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν, v.14). Then at 2:15, he states that by doing good (i.e., obeying the will of God) in submitting to the emperor and civic authorities), the readers will silence the ignorance of foolish people.

The concern for proper conduct towards the emperor and his governors appears in relation to the society. This repeats the concern for proper conduct in 2:12 where 1 Peter urges the readers to keep their conducts “among Gentiles”

⁴²⁰ Barclay, *Pauline Churches*, 54.

⁴²¹ Barclay, *Pauline Churches*, 345–62.

honourable. The preceding verse urges abstinence from impurity by alluding to the readers' otherness based on their Jewish category of identity as sojourners and exiles (παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους, 2:11). Such a mode of existence is primarily concerned with purity, the maintenance of which characterises the elect community's existence with God (cf. Lev. 25:23; cf. 1 Chr. 29:15; Ps. 39:12.). It is in this context that 1 Peter introduces the second part of his letter (i.e., 2:11–4:11) on the implications of what it means to live as God's people in the society.⁴²² 1 Peter's exhortation to submit to Roman authorities thus appears in the context of the exhortation to maintain holiness "among Gentiles" and live in obedience to God. In 1 Peter, doing good or engaging in honourable conduct entails humility and deference to civic authorities and the wider society. It also entails a readiness to accept social alienation as the will of God.

1 Peter states at 2:17 πάντας τιμήσατε, τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε, τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε ("Honour everyone, love the brotherhood, fear God, honour the emperor"). Horrell regards 1 Peter 2:17 in terms of a contrast between 1 Peter's call to honour the emperor and his call to fear God.⁴²³ He writes that 1 Peter subtly but consciously demotes the emperor in a way that cancels out his imperial claim to exceptionalism.

However, this need not be thought of in terms of anti-imperial resistance discourse. The symbolic world 1 Peter constructs is a re-drawing of the map of the world that does not elevate the emperor to the status of a threatening—and therefore significant—other. Simply put, the passage is not about the emperor or a contrast between God and the emperor that renders the latter inferior. It is rather a spatial

⁴²² Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 182–90; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 165–73.

⁴²³ Horrell, "Between Conformity and Resistance," (ed. Webb and Bauman-Martin), 231–35.

construction that is not intended to mark Rome or signify the emperor at all.⁴²⁴ But this is not at the forefront of 1 Peter's thoughts. This is indicated by the statement's a chiasmic structure where the outer two clauses are linked through τιμάω and present commands concerning the readers' conduct to outsiders. The inner pair, presented as the more prominent set of commands, focus on relationships within the space of God.⁴²⁵ Good conduct in general and a response of deference and humility to governing authorities in particular has its basis on the believers' fear and awareness of God.⁴²⁶ As Stirling notes, in the HB the fear of God engenders a general disposition of humility and deference to all, particularly to God's servants and bearers of civic authority (cf. for e.g., Lev. 19:14, 32; Prov. 24:22, 8:13, 15:33, 22:4; Ps. 2:11–12; Sir 1:27, 30; 2:17, 7:29–31).⁴²⁷

What 1 Peter emphasises in this summary of his foregoing discussion is the theological basis for the good conduct the readers are to exhibit in the civic order as sojourners and exiles. This in turn is centred on an awareness and fear of God as creator of the world who authorises emperors and civic authorities as his agents to punish those who do evil and reward those who do good (cf. 2:13; 4:19).⁴²⁸ For this reason, the association the addressees are encouraged to make between Rome (the emperor) and their new existence in the space of God is not an association based on a political set of criteria that yields a narrative of existence under an empire that “oppresses and conquers God's people, effectively exiling them from their true

⁴²⁴ Cf. Barclay, *Pauline Churches*, 372–87.

⁴²⁵ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 497; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 102–3.

⁴²⁶ Goppelt rightly notes that in 1 Peter the fear of God functions as motivation for parenthesis—a feature that distinguishes the letter from other NT documents, Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 190; see also, Starling, ““She Who Is in Babylon””; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 188.

⁴²⁷ Starling, ““She Who Is in Babylon”,” 117.

⁴²⁸ For a brief discussion of the ideological rationale behind the claim that imperial rule by a foreigner is divinely authorized and mediates divine rule on earth in texts from the HB, cf. Carol A. Newsom, “God's Other: The Intractable Problem of the Gentile King in Judean and Early Jewish Literature,” in *The “Other” in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Daniel C. Harlow et al. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011), 45–46.

home.”⁴²⁹ It is rather a theological set of criteria concerned with the spatial practices of believers who are to continually live in light of a new reality that is subsumed by God’s will.

7.3 Suffering and the Hostile Other in 1 Peter

7.3.1 Reward and Suffering

One aspect of Jewish apocalyptic thought we find in 1 Peter is the revelation the author discloses about reward that awaits the recipients.⁴³⁰ 1 Pet. 1:4 describes this in terms of an imperishable inheritance in heaven that is kept for the readers. I have analysed this passage above in terms of the cultic language that is used in 1:3–7 to indicate the priestly community’s spatial link to the space of God. The hope of reward the readers have which is described as an imperishable inheritance in this verse and the promise of a salvation to be revealed in 1:4–5 is stated in connection with the trials the readers are suffering (1:6–7).⁴³¹

Again, future reward is anticipated at 1:7 and 1 Peter encourages the readers to persevere so that their faith, tested by suffering may result εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ (“in praise, glory and honour when Jesus Christ is revealed”). At 4:13, as well they are to take comfort in their present suffering, which is a sharing (κοινωνέω) in Christ’s suffering, since it will provide an occasion for joy when his glory will be revealed. In this verse the idea of suffering is also associated with a present reality that provides reason to rejoice and take comfort in the present.

⁴²⁹ Horrell, “Re-Placing 1 Peter,” 282, 286.

⁴³⁰ Pierce, “Apocalypse,” 311.

⁴³¹ Pierce, “Apocalypse,” 311.

The author again follows a similar line of thought at 4:14 and declares that the readers are blessed when they are persecuted for “the name of Christ” since that entails the presence of the “spirit of glory” resting upon them. The idea of glory is again linked with suffering.⁴³² In 1:7 and 4:13 the references to glory appear in the context of Christ’s future revelation (1:7, 11, 21). As Pierce notes, in these instances, “δόξα is combined with the word ἀποκαλύπτω, implying that ‘glory’ is something which will be revealed from heaven at some important future time.”⁴³³ In addition to the recipients’ participation in *Christ’s* glory that is to be revealed, the idea of glory is also stated as a reward that awaits the faithful.

At 5:4 the addressees are encouraged to persevere in doing good because they have a reward they will receive: “when the chief shepherd appears, you will receive the unfading crown of glory” (φανερωθέντος τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον). At 5:10, 1 Peter again associates glory (“God’s eternal glory in Christ”) with the readers’ suffering to comfort them (ὁ δὲ θεὸς πάσης χάριτος ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν χριστῷ, ὀλίγον παθόντας αὐτὸς καταρτίσει, στηρίξει, σθενώσει, θεμελιώσει).⁴³⁴ They can be assured in their present ordeals knowing that God will “restore, support, strengthen and establish” them to withstand their ordeals. The semantic overlap between the four terms emphasises the certainty with which “God himself” would assist the readers in their ordeals.

7.3.2 Suffering and the Imitation of Christ

The suffering 1 Peter addresses is the specific occasion of the readers’ persecution by the society. In 4:12–19 he discusses the suffering of his addressees

⁴³² Pierce, “Apocalypse,” 311.

⁴³³ Pierce, “Apocalypse,” 310.

⁴³⁴ See also Elliott, *1 Peter*, 866–67.

in terms of πειρασμός and πύρωσις and thus repeating his earlier interpretation of suffering at 1:6–7. The basis for the readers’ response is the suffering of Christ. Modelling the life of believers on the pattern of Christ is a routine occurrence in 1 Peter. It first appears at 2:18–25: being conscious of God (2:19), the readers are encouraged to endure doing good (2:20) even while suffering unjustly for it (2:19), knowing that they have been called to stand in allegiance to God in doing good (2:21). Then at 2:21, 1 Peter states that the Christ who suffered, suffered for them and they are to follow in his steps. At 4:13 then, 1 Peter states that the kind of innocent suffering which parallels the suffering of Christ is an occasion to rejoice as it is a sharing in Christ’s innocent and vicarious suffering.⁴³⁵ Put differently, this Christ-Christian parallel indicates the believers’ solidarity with Christ.⁴³⁶ The sharing in Christ’s suffering described at 4:13 is standing in conformity and allegiance with Christ which indicates a transformed spatial practice that stems from the addressees’ consciousness of the presence of God in the space they inhabit. Christ’s suffering and response to suffering becomes a benchmark for the readers’ own suffering.⁴³⁷

Moreover, as Hockey insightfully notes, the good in “sharing in Christ’s sufferings is that it points to Christ and an alternate system of reality and therefore could draw others towards salvation. This participation in God’s redemptive plan is a good worth rejoicing in.”⁴³⁸ Present joy while suffering for their faith finds its rationale in 1 Peter’s evaluation of adversity in terms of living in accordance with the will of God. Put differently, persecution is assessed in light of the primary goal of life, namely, living in awareness of God (cf. 2:19; 3:21; 4:11).⁴³⁹ Instead of a response of

⁴³⁵ Cf. Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 315–16.

⁴³⁶ Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 142–45.

⁴³⁷ Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 147, 154.

⁴³⁸ Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 166.

⁴³⁹ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 758–61.

conformity so as to ease suffering or resistance through retaliation or withdrawal, 1 Peter sets obedience to the will of God as the primary criteria by which his readers' actions are to be determined.⁴⁴⁰

7.3.3 The Hostile Other

First Peter 1:22–2:10 describes the identity the readers have attained by virtue of the new connection God had established with them as father (1:3). By using the rare word ἀναγεννάω in 1:3 and 1:23 to designate an aspect of the addressees' new lived reality, the author emphasises the newness of life they have been given. He describes this 'new begetting' as occurring through the imperishable seed of God's living and abiding word (vv. 23, 25), which he says is the gospel proclaimed to them (v. 24).

The author depicts the impact of this "rebegetting"⁴⁴¹ on the life of the readers in terms of the capacity to show φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον ("genuine brotherly love, 1:22). Just as his command in v. 22 to love one another ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας, "from a pure heart", is based on their entrance to a new existence, the call for loving social interaction in 2:1 is similarly linked to the new existence compared in v. 2 to being ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη. Since they are now the λαὸς θεοῦ who have received mercy (2:10), they are expected to abandon πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα δόλον καὶ ὑποκρίσεις καὶ φθόνους καὶ πάσας καταλαλίαις, "all malice, and all guile, insincerity, envy, and all slander" (2:1).

Following the identification of the addressees as God's chosen people who are begotten anew in 1:13–2:10, the next two sections of the epistle's body, i.e., 2:11–4:11 and 4:12–5:11, similarly begin with a description of a feature of the addressees'

⁴⁴⁰ Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 176.

⁴⁴¹ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 141.

new identity. While in 2:11 the readers are the paradigmatic alien and sojourner (πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος, LXX Gen 23:4), in 4:12 the author links their new existence to the tradition of the testing (πειρασμός, 1:6; 4:12) of God’s people (Gen. 22:1; Deut. 8:2; 13:3; Exod. 15:25 [πειράζω]; *Sir.* 2:1–5; *Jdt.* 8:25–27; *Wis.* 11:9–10). Broadly speaking, the author thus forwards his call for loving social interactions and a command for purity and holiness (2:11–4:11 and 4:12–19) on the basis of their new identity in Christ. Since they are now begotten anew, they are those who are in Christ (τοῖς ἐν χριστῷ, 5:14), the people of God (λαὸς θεοῦ, 2:10) called to offer sacrifices to him through Jesus Christ (διὰ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, 2:5). As such, they are to maintain godly living despite their persecution.

Furthermore, according to 4:14, being reviled for the name of Christ is an occasion for joy, so the author urges the readers to rejoice as they suffer since “the divine glory and the Spirit of God rests” on them (τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται).⁴⁴² 1 Peter also says that whoever is persecuted for being a Christian is blessed and should glorify God (4:16). Not only is the glory that awaits the readers an aspect of what is to come, it is also a present reality that indicates “the presence of glory” (i.e., God) in their midst. It is to be recalled that for 1 Peter, God’s presence is not associated with a fixed locale or permanent structure but rather with the community of believers whom he portrays as a cultic community associated with the presence of God. Such a rendering of the community as a temple (οἶκος πνευματικὸς, 2:5) has implications for their social location in the space of God even as they are in the midst of a hostile society. For this reason, 1 Peter states that their allegiance to God is demonstrated in their interaction with the hostile

⁴⁴² For a range of possibilities interpreters have proposed to explain the difficult construction associated with the second appearance of the article after καὶ, cf. Selwyn, *The First Epistle*, 222–24; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 323 n. 29; Kelly, *Peter and Jude*, 186–87; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 306.

other. Though they are persecuted, their world is marked as the space of God and provides reason to rejoice despite hostility. While that provides a consolation in their suffering, the paraenetic aspect of that is a call to be mindful of God's presence in responding to hostilities. What 1 Peter does is thus re-define the readers' affliction as an opportunity to maintain the divine presence in their midst and demonstrate their allegiance to Christ. Rejoicing in suffering thus becomes a spatial practice: an embodied conception of dwelling in divine space.

The underlying concern here is not only the presence of God (i.e., maintaining the presence of God as indicated by 4:14's if-clause) but also, the community's imitation of Christ. While noting the uniqueness of Christ's vicarious death, Hockey correctly posits that 1 Peter intends the readers to imitate Christ's death for the sake of others in "motivation and potential outcome."⁴⁴³ Suffering thus gains a missional significance (cf. Mark 13:9–10). Although re-defining the readers' affliction as an opportunity to demonstrate fidelity to God has the secondary outcome of disempowering the persecutors, as Hockey further notes, this must not be taken to the extreme.⁴⁴⁴ The hostile other loses significance in this schema but at the same time, the readers are participants in God's redemptive plans towards pagans, even their own persecutors, through the witness they bear (2:9, 12; 3:1–2; see also Matt. 5:11–16).⁴⁴⁵ This is carried out through the spatial practice of imitating Christ through the spatial practice of non-retaliation (2:18–25).

Within the context of persecution, the addressees are tasked with the specific aim of proclaiming (ἐξαγγέλλω) the miraculous deeds (ἄρeteria) of God who has called

⁴⁴³ Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 164; see also, Dryden, *Theology and Ethics*, 187–88.

⁴⁴⁴ Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 164.

⁴⁴⁵ Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 164; Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter*, 141; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 149–50; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 166; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 439–40.

them “out of darkness into his wondrous light” (τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς, 2:9). 1 Peter here uses categories of dualism where the darkness out of which the readers are called indicates a lack of perception and an existence under sin (cf. 2:21–25; cf. Acts 26:18; 1 Thess. 5:4–9; Eph. 5:8–11). In contrast, the light they have entered into entails a deliverance from the realm of disobedience and ignorance. Both realms of existence have their respective forms of behaviour. First Peter’s Jewish imagery of darkness and light thus signifies the recipients’ conversion to a new way of life and the consequent behaviour (i.e., social practice) that is to mark the space of God they have now entered.⁴⁴⁶ Consequently, the task of proclaiming God’s act of deliverance signifies a terminology of mission based on the principle of imitating Christ. As those who were themselves converted through the proclamation of the gospel (1:12), they are to proclaim to others God’s saving acts.⁴⁴⁷

Because of this evangelistic purpose as well as the opportunity for Christian witness in positive behaviour towards persecutors and outsiders, the demise of human enemies is not within the purview of 1 Peter.⁴⁴⁸ On the contrary what they are to do is described on the basis of a priestly principle which Klawans articulates in terms of divine imitation as discussed in Chapter 6 above.

7.4 Conclusion

The Petrine author’s Thirdspace critique is not formulated as subversive discourse against imperial ideology. His spatial construction presents a map that does not mark Rome or hostile groups and individuals as consequential or

⁴⁴⁶ Contra Bechtler, *Suffering in 1 Peter*, 114; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 150.

⁴⁴⁷ Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 156.

⁴⁴⁸ See also 1 Cor. 10:31–3; Phil 2:15; Col. 4:5–6; 1 Thess. 4:11–12; cf. Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 159 n. 89; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 469.

significant. Rather, the aim behind using διασπορά and Βαβυλών is to construe the whole world in the dual category of the space of God and ‘Gentile space’. Put differently, through election and owing to the Christ event, the addressees’ lived space in Asia Minor is now marked as the ‘space of God’ on a distinctly Jewish map. All other spaces, whatever ideology they promote and irrespective of their view of reality, are devoid of God. In becoming God’s righteous elect, the readers’ forefathers and their kin become to them Gentiles. Their estrangement is thus from the world at large and from systems of insufficient holiness and order. For this reason, depiction of the addressees’ location in a peripheral place of alienation and homelessness should not be taken as if it were a construal in contrast to Roman spatial ideology that depicted the Empire and its territories as the centre of the world.⁴⁴⁹ 1 Peter’s efforts are rather extended to inviting the readers to consider life in light of the new spatial reality they have entered through election and which has conferred a new exilic identity on them.

This new reality is a lived space of embodied existence for the addressees. Faced with the reality of their persecution, 1 Peter expounds the apocalyptic feature of his Thirdspace revealing the idea of an eschatological reward and glory that awaits the readers. As we have seen this follows the example of Christ’s suffering at the hands of persecutors and his subsequent glory which is a template for the fate that awaits those who are now suffering for their faith in Christ.⁴⁵⁰ Even in the present, they can take comfort that the “God of all grace” will bestow on them the strength to persevere. What serves as a motivator to endure times of trial is the proximity of God, which is expressed in terms of his presence “upon” them (4:14), his

⁴⁴⁹ Contra Wan, *Contest for Time and Space*, 131–55.

⁴⁵⁰ The idea of Christ’s suffering and his subsequent glory appear together at 1:11, 21; 3:22; 4:13; 5:1

power to guard them (1:5) and the strength he will give them in their present circumstances (5:10).

Moreover, Christ's suffering is also exemplary to the readers' response to 'the hostile other'. Even when trial comes in the form of alienation and marginalisation by hostile outsiders, the future destruction of the persecutors or the demise of Rome is not a thought 1 Peter articulates. Instead, the addressees are to engage outsiders in a missional sense through their otherness and non-belonging in 'Gentile spaces'. Thus, as stated above, election and otherness, signified by the diaspora-Babylon imagery, constitutes spatial practice – what one does and has become in the space of God.

Furthermore, in bringing the space of διασπορά into being, 1 Peter is not merely *not* engaging conversations about Rome as the *axis mundi*, he is rather redrawing the map of Asia Minor on the basis of the hidden wisdom that is revealed to him. His is a distinctly apocalyptic world that is constructed socially and is made to take shape in hearts and minds in contrast to the readers' former way of life on the one hand and the way of life among wider society on the other. Put differently: in rendering the readers as being "of the diaspora" the author is othering their present experience of life in Christ in contrast to their former sinful life from which they have been set free. This is evident from the author's use of καλέω at 2:9b which hints at Hosea 11:1 where the exodus narrative is in view. The idea of being called by God also indicates being chosen and set free from life in captivity (LXX: ἐλυτρώσατο, Deut. 7:8; cf. "ἐλυτρώθητε" 1 Pet. 1:18). We find this in Deut. 7:6–8 where the call for holiness appears within these motifs suggesting that the Petrine author's use of the Jewish motif of diaspora, along with the notion of Babylon, should be understood as tools of spatial production.

Let us now turn to our attention to another dimension of the space of God 1
Peter elucidates in connection to the readers' election and their identity as the 're-
birthed' people of God.

Chapter 8: Apocalyptic Space in 1 Peter: Baptism

8.1 Introduction

1 Peter 3:18–22 is a difficult passage that garners wide ranging interest from biblical scholars as well as theologians. Questions regarding the timing and content of Christ's proclamation, the identity of his recipients, the nature of his actions and its significance for Christian baptism are all centred on this text. In what follows, I will bring to the conversation a spatial perspective. In so doing my focus is on the depiction of baptism and the salvific significance attached to it. This will help assess the role baptism plays in illuminating spatial aspects of 1 Peter's thought world. The focus on spatiality brings to a sharp focus the relationship between baptism and the perception of sinfulness in 1 Peter.

Therefore, in what follows, I will argue that baptism in 1 Peter has conceptual links with the ancient Jewish notion of moral impurity and that 1 Peter's perception of sinfulness is best understood in relation to the corrupting force of sin. As we will see this is also demonstrated in 1 Peter's overall presentation of sinfulness and its defiling effect. This link and the imagery of the Noahic flood depict baptism as entrance to the space of God and a lived reality before the presence of God. In this regard, baptism is a spatial practice through which 1 Peter characterises the symbolic world he shares with the readers as the arena for cosmic conflict. However, although the readers have cosmic opponents, their Thirdspace existence in the space of God entails that through baptism they have freedom from the power of evil and protection from evil cosmic beings.

8.2 Baptism as the Removal of Moral Impurity

After setting up a parallel for baptism through the imagery of the Noahic flood (3:20), 1 Peter states at 3:21:

ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ρύπτου, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν, δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ

Corresponding to this, baptism now saves you, not as the removal of uncleanness from the body but as a pledge of good conscience to God through the resurrection of Jesus Christ

This text belongs to the broader pericope of 3:18–22 which represents the third Christological section of the epistle with 1:18–21 and 2:22–25 forming the other two.⁴⁵¹ All three cite Christ's atoning death: 1:18–21 states that the readers are ransomed with the blood of Christ (τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἄμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου χριστοῦ, v. 19), 2:22–25 likewise attributes the removal of sin from the readers to Christ's death (ὅς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν· οὗ τῷ μῶλ πι ἰάθητε, v. 24).⁴⁵²

At 3:18 as well, 1 Peter's starting point is the atoning effect of Christ's sinless suffering which gained access to God for believers (ὅτι καὶ χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγη τῷ θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί). Then at 3:21 our author states σώζει βάπτισμα ("baptism saves"). Given the further qualification of baptism "not as the removal of uncleanness" but

⁴⁵¹ Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 247; for a discussion about the significance of these sections in elucidating 1 Peter's mode of revelation, see Chapter 9 of this thesis.

⁴⁵² So Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 247–55.

something else (οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ρύπτου), it is best to start with how 1 Peter perceived sinfulness and its association with baptism.

8.2.1 Sinfulness as Moral Defilement

In 1 Peter, sinfulness is stated through the general term κακία (evil) and δόλος (deceit). The epistle's list of vices can be sub-grouped into (i) sexual sins (ἀσελγείαις and ἐπιθυμίαις, 4:3), (ii) idolatry (4:3) and (iii) various sins that fall under the general rubric of κακόν ("evil", cf. 3:9–12) which is connected through 3:9 to δόλος at 2:22 ("deceit", see also 2:1). The κακοποιοί ("evildoers", cf. 2:12; 4:15) are those who engage in immorality such as debauchery and carousing (οἰνοφλυγίαις, πότοις, cf. 4:3), possibly including sexual immorality (κώμοις), and various sins cited at 2:1 including malice, deceit, slander and hypocrisy. Furthermore, in urging humility and condemning pride through the citation of Prov. 3:34 in 5:5–6, pride is also included under the general category of evil/deceitful deeds that are abominable to God and have grave consequences for the individual (on deceit and pride as morally defiling, cf. Deut. 25:15-16 and Prov. 16:5 respectively).⁴⁵³

1 Peter's list also corresponds with the lists of vice in Mark 7:21-22 and Matt. 15:19.⁴⁵⁴ Sexual immorality, idolatry, and what fall under κακοποιοίς and δόλος also have an overlap with what is considered as morally defiling in the HB and Second temple Jewish sources.⁴⁵⁵ As Klawans has convincingly demonstrated, the lists of vice in these sources view sin as having a defiling effect that is distinctly

⁴⁵³ Sins under the rubric of "deceit" were also considered as sources of moral impurity in the temple Scroll (e.g., 11QT LI: 11-15), cf. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 48–52.

⁴⁵⁴ The list of vices in Mark 7:21–22 consists of: evils, fornication, theft, murder, adultery, avarice, wickedness, deceit, licentiousness, envy, slander, pride, folly. Matt. 15:19 lists evil thoughts, murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witness, slander.

⁴⁵⁵ Klawans notes the degree of overlap between Mark 7:20-22 and Matt. 15:19's list of vices and what ancient Jews considered as sources of moral defilement. He notes that "these verses depict Jesus as emphasizing the morally defiling force of what Jews living in the land of Israel in the first century CE commonly believed to be morally defiling sins." This observation is instructive in assessing 1 Peter's attitude towards sins and wrongdoing, cf. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 148–49.

conceptualised from ritual impurity (cf. for e.g., Lev. 18:24, 19:31; cf. Gen. 34:5; Deut. 24:1–4). As he posits, “[w]hile ritual impurity can be ameliorated by rites of purification [...] moral purity is achieved by punishment, atonement, or, best of all, by refraining from committing morally impure acts in the first place.”⁴⁵⁶ Given the categorical overlap between 1 Peter’s list of vices and the morally impure acts Klawans analyses in his extensive study⁴⁵⁷, it makes good sense to take 1 Peter’s list of vices as more significant than a litany of actions and behaviour that are merely “socially divisive”.⁴⁵⁸ Although conduct and appropriate behaviour are important aspects of 1 Peter’s thought world, evil deeds, sexual immorality and idolatry are to be avoided because they have a corrupting force (cf. 2:11b).⁴⁵⁹ It is within this context that baptism is said to effect salvation.

8.2.2 Atonement and Moral Defilement

The gravity with which 1 Peter views sinless is also evident in his Christological sections. By way of elaborating on how Christ responded to unjust suffering, 2:22 adapts LXX Isa. 53:9b (by replacing ἀνομίαν with ἀμαρτίαν) to state: ὃς ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ (“he did not sin, neither was deceit found in his mouth”).⁴⁶⁰ The author’s emphasis here is on Christ’s innocence as a basis for his atonement.⁴⁶¹ In 2:22, it is precisely Christ’s sinlessness and adherence to the will of God that is emphasized. Furthermore, at 2:23 Christ’s sinlessness receives nuance: ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδῶρει, πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως (when he was reviled, he did not revile in

⁴⁵⁶ Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the temple*, 55.

⁴⁵⁷ Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*.

⁴⁵⁸ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 397–98.

⁴⁵⁹ See also Elliott, *1 Peter*, 463–64.

⁴⁶⁰ Christ’s sinlessness is stated in John 8:46; 2 Cor. 5:21; Heb. 4:15; 7:26; 1 Jn 3:5, cf. Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 200 n. 153.

⁴⁶¹ Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 209.

return; when he suffered, he did not threaten but kept entrusting himself to him who judges rightly).

Achtemeier rejects Schlosser's suggestion that the notion of the blameless (ἄκακος) lamb from Isa. 53:7, perhaps in conjunction with Jer. 11:19, lies behind 1 Pet. 2:23.⁴⁶² He argues that what is emphasised is not Jesus' silence but rather his non-retaliation and sinless life, an aspect of Jesus' whole life not just the passion. If v. 23 is seen as an elaboration on the preceding verse, this may indeed be the case. However, even if it is the principle of non-retaliation that 1 Peter is highlighting as an aspect of Jesus' whole life, in light of 2:24, the specific scenario at the forefront is Christ's suffering on the cross. In line with the sacrificial language of 1:18–21 and the atoning significance attached to the crucifixion in 2:22–24, it is Christ's atoning sacrifice that cleanses the sins of the unrighteous at 3:18. This indicates the gravity with which sinfulness is perceived in 1 Peter.

It is also the case that the Christological passage in 2:21–25 is related to the exhortation to slaves in vv. 18–20. As Elliott notes, the scenario of accusations brought against slaves recalls scenes when Jesus stood accused of wrong doing. The gospel accounts note Jesus' silence when he stood accused (Matt. 26:63//Mark 14:61; Matt. 27:12–14//Mark 15:4–5).⁴⁶³ Moreover, in light of the thematic and linguistic correspondence between 2:2–25a and Isa. 52–53, 1 Peter's possible allusion to Isa. 53:7 to express Jesus' non-retaliation using the imagery of a silent lamb before its shearers should not come as a surprise. Already at 1:18–19 Christ's death is likened to a lamb (cf. 1:19 which states that they were ransomed τιμίω

⁴⁶² In LXX Jer. 11:20 Jeremiah calls God κρίνων δίκαια when he is persecuted by his enemies. In v. 19 he says of himself ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀρνίον ἄκακον ἀγόμενον τοῦ θύεσθαι, cf. Jacques Schlosser, "Ancien Testament et Christologie Dans La Prima Petri," in *Etudes Sur La Première Lettre de Pierre*, ed. C. Perrot (Paris: Cerf, 1980), 65–96; cited by Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 204.

⁴⁶³ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 547.

αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου χριστοῦ [“with the precious blood of Christ like that of an unblemished and spotless lamb”]). Also, at 1:18, Christ’s death is “the atoning sacrifice that ‘redeems’ from the obligation of debt and service in relation to sin.”⁴⁶⁴ The second Christological section of 2:22–25, likewise emphasises the significance of Christ’s death and is structured in correspondence to 1:18–19.⁴⁶⁵ Thus, it would make sense that lamb imagery would again feature at 2:23, albeit implicitly, in a section that corresponds thematically and structurally to the first Christological section of the letter. Thus, in depicting the significance of Christ’s death in terms of atonement, 1 Peter may be drawing inspiration from the image of a silent lamb before its shearers.⁴⁶⁶ What can be said with a greater degree of confidence is that, 1 Peter participates in traditions and motifs that depict non-retaliation in terms of remaining silent to present Christ as the sinless suffering servant whose atoning death is vicarious (2:22–23; cf. ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν at 2:21; 3:18).

In expressing Christ’s innocence in terms of the absence of sin expressed through deceitful words and evil thoughts here and in the first Christological passage, 1 Peter is associating deceit and evil with sinfulness (i.e., the moral impurity they cause). Since Christ did not engage in evil and deceit, he is sinless. This indicates that for 1 Peter, sins are actions that are morally defiling. Thus he urges his readers, to imitate Christ in his sinlessness by being “conscious bound to God” (2:19). It is also clear from 2:24; 3:18 and 4:8 that the notion of sin in 1 Peter, which is stated in the plural except at 2:22, depicts immoral acts from which believers are urged to desist. Sinful acts are features of the readers’ former life and

⁴⁶⁴ Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 209; see also, Heb. 9:12–13, 22; cf. Tit 2:14; 1 John 1:7, 9.

⁴⁶⁵ So Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 207–10.

⁴⁶⁶ John Hall Elliott, *1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Bible. English. Anchor Bible. 1964 (New Haven, Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 546–50.

ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας (“through obedience to the truth”), the readers have received purification from moral impurity: τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες (1:22).

8.2.3 “Baptism ... now saves you” (3:21)

Baptism is explicitly stated in 1 Peter 3:21 through a traditional set of imagery within a Christological setting. 1 Peter cites the Noahic tradition⁴⁶⁷ to illustrate the significance of baptism. His use of ἀντίτυπον which is modifying βάπτισμα in connection to ὤ indicates a correspondence between two events.⁴⁶⁸ The contrast is between the saving event involving Noah and his family and that of believers symbolised through baptism. This shows the author’s characteristic tendency to show continuity between God’s actions in the present and Israel’s sacred past.⁴⁶⁹ In Jewish tradition, the deluge serves as a type for the eschatological judgment against the unrighteous and the salvation of the faithful. It also represented the cleansing of the earth from unrighteousness during Noah’s day (1 En. 10:19–22).

In addition to the typological use of the Noahic tradition, the significance of baptism is further illustrated using ritual language: it is not the removal of uncleanness (οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου) but rather a rite that is associated with the inner person.⁴⁷⁰ The presence of Jewish imagery and ideas is also strong in both

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. Mark 5:1–20, Matt. 24:36–44; Luke 17:26–27. For the ways in which flood typology is used in the NT see for e.g., Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 95.

⁴⁶⁸ As Elliott notes, instead of an intentional substitution for a difficult original nominative, ὤ (attested in 69 206 216 241 630 1518) can be seen as inadvertent mistake over a term that is similar to ὀ (which is attested in the majority of manuscripts) in both sight and sound. In light of the weaknesses of other proposals he discusses, his reading which I have followed in the above, provides the more plausible option that yields a clear reading without affecting the word order and syntax of the text, *1 Peter*, 671–72. See also Pierce who follows Elliott’s proposal, *Spirits and Proclamation*, 231–32.

⁴⁶⁹ See Elliott, who notes that, “*typos* and *antitypon* were employed by the early Christians to signal some perceived correspondence between events of the sacred past and the present and some assured continuity between God’s acting in the past, present, and future,” *1 Peter*, 670.

⁴⁷⁰ While noting that baptism is an inner purification, Selwyn sees it as being contrasted with circumcision. However, there is no evidence that 1 Peter was concerned with the Pauline question of circumcision. In contrast, Lauri Thurén rejects an inner vs. outer contrast by 1 Peter (which I take to indicate a contrast between ritual purification and the more significant removal of moral impurity). He

the negative and positive qualifications 1 Peter ascribes to baptism. In emphasising the greater importance of one's inner cleansing over the removal of impurity from the body, 1 Peter compliments a strand of Jewish thought that prioritizes moral impurity over ritual impurity.⁴⁷¹ The correlative construction of 3:20–21 emphasises what baptism is by using the imagery of the removal of uncleanness from the body. It is not the removal of ῥύπος (filth/uncleanness) from the body but rather a rite that results in the believer's pledge of allegiance to God (συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν).⁴⁷² Although we cannot be certain that ritual purification is behind 1 Peter's negative qualification of baptism (οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεις ῥύπου ἀλλὰ...), it is clear that the "not...but" construction acquires a moral sense in comparing two events where the latter has greater moral significance and priority over the former.

reaches his conclusion on the basis of the assumption that 1 Peter's addition of οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεις ῥύπου is too much of an "inconsequential point to be making" (citing David Hill). But the correlative pair of οὐ ... ἀλλὰ here organises a correlative construction that is designed to give prominence to the positive clause (what baptism achieves) by comparing it to something obvious and inconsequential (what ritual purification removes, i.e., uncleanness). Also, while Thurén has convincingly demonstrated that the description of the readers' new status is one of the epistle's most important motifs, his analysis of 1 Peter's motivating expressions does not consider the significance of the HB and early Jewish literature. He also notes that, "[s]ince it is too arbitrary to separate Jewish material from Early Christian thinking, it is not studied here, Lauri Thurén, *Argument and Theology in 1 Peter: The Origins of Christian Paraenesis* (A&C Black, 1995), 204–5, 192 n.10; Selwyn, *The First Epistle*, 204–5; David Hill, "On Suffering and Baptism in i PEter," *Novum Testamentum* 18.3 (1976): 181–89; see also Dubis, *1 Peter*, 125–26.

⁴⁷¹ As stated in Chapter 6 above, Klawans convincingly argues that there were two systems of impurity in the HB with their own distinct set of consequences and remedies. One is ritual impurity which occurs due to unavoidable natural causes that are not sinful in and of themselves such as bodily discharge, sex, childbirth or contacts made during cultic procedures (cf. Lev. 16:27–28; Num. 19:8). It results in an impermanent state of impurity that is not sinful and can be remedied through rituals of purification. The other system of impurity, which Klawans calls "moral impurity," is caused by sin and results in a defilement that is distinct from ritual impurity. In the HB and a number Jewish literature of the second temple period, moral impurity is the result of the grave sins of murder, idolatry, sexual immorality and other general sins referred to as an abomination to God such as pride, wickedness, deceit, arrogance, exploitation and envy (see for e.g., Lev. 18:24–30; 19:15; Deut. 25:16; Prov. 16:5; Jer. 7:3–16; Ezra 9:1–3, 10–12; Jub. 22:16–22; 30:13–15; 11QT LI 11–15; CD IV 12 to V 12; 1QS IV:9–10; 1QpHab VIII 8–13; T. Levi 14:5-15:1). From the NT, Klawans considers Pauline literature along with Hebrews and selected passages from the Gospels. His analyses include "the perception of sinfulness and its perceived effect" in these and other texts along with the ways ritual impurity is related to moral impurity; cf. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 45, 26–31, 43–60.

⁴⁷² Achtemeier correctly takes συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς as an objective genitive which parallels the objective genitive ῥύπου, cf. Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 271–72.

It makes good sense to understand 3:20's removal of ῥύπτος in connection with the coming before God stated at 3:18. This is because when 1 Peter states that baptism saves it is in connection with Jesus' resurrection which is stated at 3:18 as having effected righteousness. Put differently, 1 Peter writes that baptism is the means through which the unrighteous, who are now made righteous through Christ, are brought to God. He then qualifies baptism negatively in relation to the notion of coming before God. In a sense, he is stating that the coming before God is not merely through the removal of uncleanness (which is comparatively insignificant) but rather through moral purification and the resulting moral reorientation which has greater priority. If that is the case, the removal of uncleanness from the flesh is a reference to ritual purification. The moral reorientation that serves as baptism's positive qualifier is stated in terms of a pledge of obedience made to God. This entails the believers' commitment to God to uphold a consciousness of his will following baptism.⁴⁷³

The presence of Jewish ideas is further evidenced by the contrast between Christians who undergo baptism and pledge obedience and the disobedient spirits of 3:19.⁴⁷⁴ Thus, in stating what baptism is through a negative qualifier, 1 Peter is conjuring the notion of ritual purity as an external removal of impurity while at the same time elevating the status of baptism as the more impactful inner cleansing of a person. I take this to be indicative of 1 Peter's greater concern not just with "the internal rather than the external location of evil" as Elliott posits, but rather as a reference to the defiling force of sin and the moral purification the baptised

⁴⁷³ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 679.

⁴⁷⁴ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 681.

experience through the resurrection of Christ.⁴⁷⁵ This coheres with the HB, where the perceived effect of sinfulness can only be removed through a process of repentance, restitution and the atoning sacrifices of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:11–22).⁴⁷⁶ As Klawans notes, the remedy for individual sinners or the land that has been morally degraded through grave sins seems lacking in efficacy, so that the emphasis in the HB remains on “God’s capacity to effect atonement.”⁴⁷⁷

According to Ezek. 36:16–25, ultimate purification from the defiling force of moral impurity is a future event when God will forgive and sanctify sinners (cf. Ps. 51:7–9; Isa. 1:16–17). The eschatological vision of Ezekiel 39:14–16 also anticipates the removal of moral defilement from the land as a divine initiative.⁴⁷⁸ If 1 Peter 3:21 is read in light of this tradition, baptism is the instrument of the divine removal of moral impurity from the individual sinner through the resurrection of Christ.

However, even if 1 Peter’s “not...but” construction is not associated with ritual purity, it still holds true that he is associating baptism with effecting a change that leads to the believer’s internal disposition towards moral uprightness and a commitment to a life of obedience. In this sense, ἐπερώτημα is the response of the baptised that comes in the form of a pledge that is probably made during baptism. The pledge is an oath of allegiance to maintain good conscience by being mindful of

⁴⁷⁵ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 679.

⁴⁷⁶ Eyal Regev, “Moral Impurity and the Temple in Early Christianity in Light of Ancient Greek Practice and Qumranic Ideology,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 97.4 (2004): 383 In addition to affirming Klawans’s two-system of ritual and moral impurity in Second Temple Jewish thought, Regev rightly argues that the prioritization of moral (im)purity in the NT does not necessarily imply the rejection of the Jewish temple cult or the ritual purity laws.

⁴⁷⁷ He notes further, “[s]uch sinners either live out their lives in a degraded state (like the guilty adulteress) or suffer capital punishment (like apprehended murderers). The land, it appears, likewise suffers a permanent degradation.” Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 30.

⁴⁷⁸ However, as Klawans notes, according to passages such as Jeremiah 2:22; 4:14; Ps. 73:12 it is the responsibility of the sinners to purify themselves. Even so, it is still the case that the remedy for moral impurity is sacrificial atonement like the one described in Leviticus 16, cf. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 31, 142–43.

the will of God even when persecuted.⁴⁷⁹ This may be comparable to the pledge to adhere to covenantal stipulations by members of the sect in the DSS (cf. 1QS v 8–10; CD xv 6–11; xvi 1–5). 1 Peter is thus describing baptism as the removal of moral impurity, leading to a pledge of obedience.

8.3 Baptism as the Defeat of Cosmic Evil

1 Peter does not explain the mode through which baptism effects the removal of moral impurity beyond drawing a correspondence (ἀντίτυπον) with the flood at 3:20 where he writes that Noah and his family were saved through water (εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τουτέστιν ὀκτώ ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος). Whether Noah and his family were saved δι' ὕδατος in the locative sense of being rescued by God as they were “passing through the water” (i.e., saved from the water)⁴⁸⁰ or in the instrumental sense of being saved by means of the water,⁴⁸¹ the emphasis still remains on the salvific outcome that saw Noah and his family overcome the threat of divine judgment on the one hand and unrighteousness and the violence of the giants on the other.

According to 1 Peter, the addressees' new identity in Christ grants them protection through God's power: τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ φρουρούμενους διὰ πίστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐτοίμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ (1:5).⁴⁸² It is clear from

⁴⁷⁹ Hill maintains that baptism and suffering are linked in 1 Peter through the voluntary self-commitment ἐπερώτημα implies. He writes that in accepting baptism, a believer accepts the consequences of becoming Christian - which in 1 Peter entails persecution, cf. David Hill, “On Suffering and Baptism in 1 Peter,” *Novum Testamentum* 18.3 (1976): 184–85.

⁴⁸⁰ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 667; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 265–66.

⁴⁸¹ Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 195.

⁴⁸² Horrell notes that, it is possible that the reference is to the readers' faith. As they place their faith and trust in God, they are being guarded by the power of God in their persecution. He also notes that the reference might be to the faithfulness of God, i.e. in assurance of his continuing protection. I agree with Horrell that, “even if the former is the case, the emphasis in this phrase in 1:5 should surely fall on the protecting power of God more than on the believers' faith,” David Horrell, “Whose Faith(Fulness) Is It in 1 Peter 1:5?,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 48.1 (1997): 115.

φρουρουμένους (“guarded” cf. 1 Macc. 6:50), which has military usage,⁴⁸³ that the readers are being protected from threats they are currently facing.⁴⁸⁴ Their protection is described as occurring ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ (“by the power of God”), another military term.⁴⁸⁵ Chad T. Pierce reads 3:18–22 in light of 1:5 given the thematic link through the resurrection of Christ as well as the salvation the readers are said to have received through baptism (3:21) and rebirth (1:5). He rightly notes that 3:18–22 indicates that what the believers who are baptised are being protected from is “cosmic forces of evil.”⁴⁸⁶ The warding off of evil spirits is a topic that features in several Jewish and Christian works (for e.g., through God’s imprisoning of the evil spirits, cf. Jub. 10:8; through obedience to God’s laws, cf. 4Q444 frg. 1 4; T. Naph. 3:1).⁴⁸⁷

This theme is also present at 1 Pet. 5:8, the author urges the readers to beware of a dangerous cosmic enemy whom he likens to a prowling lion that is on the lookout for someone to devour: νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε, ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τινὰ καταπιεῖν. In response, 1 Peter urges his addressees to resist the devil, being firm in their faith (ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει, 5:9). Despite their persecutions and the threat from

⁴⁸³ So Elliott, *1 Peter*, 337.

⁴⁸⁴ Taking into account this military vocabulary, Beare identifies the threat the addressees face in terms of a “spiritual battle,” where “dangers encompass them and they are subject to continual attack.” He does not state if what he has in mind is antagonism from malevolent otherworldly beings. But he goes on to note that believers are in need of “continual protection in the unending struggle of the soul,” perhaps alluding to 2:11 where 1 Peter states that the passions of the flesh wage war (στρατεύονται) against the soul; cf. Beare, *First Epistle of Peter*, 84; For Achtemeier, the threat is falling back to the old way of life, Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 92; for a similar understanding that takes this phrase as the assurance believers have in being “guarded for salvation”, i.e., being protected from the temptation to renounce their faith, cf. for e.g., Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 86–87; Karen H. Jobes, *1 Peter* (Baker Academic, 2005), 87–88.

⁴⁸⁵ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 97.

⁴⁸⁶ Pierce, *Spirits and Proclamation*, 233.

⁴⁸⁷ Cited in Pierce, *Spirits and Proclamation*, 234.

otherworldly beings, the readers can confidently manage evil knowing that they are protected by the power of God in the battle with cosmic evil.

Another reassuring factor for the readers is Christ's subjugation of the cosmic forces of evil identified as angels, authorities and powers (3:22; cf. 3:19).⁴⁸⁸ What is accomplished in baptism for believers through Christ's ascension and victory corresponds to God's handling of evil cosmic beings in the Noah story. According to the flood tradition, the deluge resulted in the physical destruction of the giants and an end to their cannibalistic violence against humanity (1 En. 89:6; Book of Giants 4Q530 2 ii 6-12). Although they continued to exist as evil spirits who still afflict humanity and lead people astray, their destruction put an end to their physical existence and curbed the potency of their violence on earth. Moreover, the destruction of the giants through the flood is an assurance to the righteous that evil spirits will be completely destroyed in a future eschatological judgment (1 En. 10:12–14; 16:1).⁴⁸⁹ This signifies that the righteous are able to live in the present confident that evil is managed and curtailed "because royal power in the cosmos belongs to God alone (1 En. 9:4; 84:2–6; 4Q203 9.6)."⁴⁹⁰ In 1 Peter as well God is described as creator, the only instance in the NT, in relation to his faithfulness to oversee those who suffer.

⁴⁸⁸ Christ's proclamation to the spirits in prison at 3:19 should be read in light of 3:22 which states his subjection of his enemies whom Dalton and Elliott correctly identify as cosmic evil beings. While affirming their interpretation, Pierce suggests that earthly powers are also in view. However, in light of my discussion on 1 Peter's attitudes towards the Roman empire and the use of the Babylon epithet as an indication of an idealized mode of existence for the addressees, I am not convinced that 1 Peter considered Rome as an enemy Christ subjugated. There is also no evidence to imply that he held Roman authorities responsible for Christ's suffering and death. See Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 217–18; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 687–88; Pierce, *Spirits and Proclamation*, 217–19.

⁴⁸⁹ See further Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Giant Mythology and Demonology: From the Ancient Near East to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie Der Israelitisch-Jüdischen Und Frühchristlichen Literatur Im Kontext Ihrer Umwelt = Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of Their Environment*, ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Diethard Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 318–38.

⁴⁹⁰ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *Qumran and the Bible: Studying the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Nóra Dávid and Armin Lange (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 147.

Drawing on the correspondence between 1:3–7 and 3:18–22 and the interpretative light 3:19 shades on 1:5, Pierce states that,

it is the imprisoned nature of these evil entities which allows for their warding off in the present. [...] Because of Christ's death and resurrection and their subsequent initiation into the Christian community through baptism, the righteous are free from the complete control of evil forces.⁴⁹¹

Thus through baptism, believers receive protection from cosmic evil beings and experience the removal of the defiling force of moral impurity which may be connected in some sense with evil spirits. If the corrupting effect of sin is related to evil spirits, then the warding off of evil in 1 Peter may find its expression in the life of obedience which is in turn articulated in terms of a sojourner mode of existence, the maintenance of holiness and a non-retaliatory attitude towards aggressors.

Taking into account the military vocabulary at 2:11 (i.e., στρατεύω) that associates immorality with internal conflict, F. W. Beare identifies the threat the addressees face in terms of a "spiritual battle," where "dangers encompass them and they are subject to continual attack." He does not explicitly state the antagonism as arising from evil otherworldly beings. But he goes on to note that believers are in need of God's "continual protection in the unending struggle of the soul" suggesting a connection with 1:5.⁴⁹² However, as Achtemeier also notes, the context probably points more towards the internal conflict that sinful behaviour sets off, and in relation

⁴⁹¹ Pierce, *Spirits and Proclamation*, 235.

⁴⁹² Beare, *First Epistle of Peter*, 84.

to that, the threat sin poses in causing the believer to fall back to the old way of life.⁴⁹³

A clearer case for 1 Peter's association of moral impurity (i.e., sinfulness) with cosmic evil beings is 1 Pet. 5:8–9. The response they are to have to the threat from their opponent, the devil (ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος) is stated thusly: νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε (“be self-controlled and watchful,” 5:8), ὧ ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει (“resist him, firm in your faith,” 5:9). Although the readers are being protected by the power of God from control by cosmic evil force through baptism, 1 Peter states that they still have a responsibility (and the capacity) to manage evil. By standing firm in their faith while they suffer, i.e., by submitting themselves to the will of God and by imitating God and Christ, they will resist a powerful cosmic evil being even as they are persecuted and socially alienated.⁴⁹⁴ This indicates that in addition to the protection through the power of God that is associated with rebirth and baptism, the readers have entered a lived space through baptism that involves conflict with the devil but where evil can now be managed confidently. Identifying their lived space in Asia Minor as an arena for this conflict, 1 Peter urges the addressees to “arm” themselves with the correct understanding of suffering (ὑμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν ὀπλίσασθε, 4:1).

8.4 Baptism as Entrance to the Space of God

As I have noted above, the redemption of the righteous through Christ is stated at 3:18 as having occurred through Christ's suffering and death and his

⁴⁹³ Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 92; for a similar understanding that takes this phrase as the assurance believers have in being “guarded for salvation”, i.e., being protected from the temptation to renounce their faith, cf. for e.g., Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 86–87; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 87–88.

⁴⁹⁴ For the interpretation of this verse in light of the Jewish “Holy War” motif, cf. Annang Asumang, “‘Resist Him’ (1 Pet 5:9): Holiness and Non-Retaliatory Responses to Unjust Suffering as ‘Holy War’ in 1 Peter,” *Conspectus: The Journal of the South African Theological Seminary* 11.3 (2011): 7–46.

subsequent resurrection from the dead (ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι). The passage also associates Christ's ascension with the saving of the unrighteous which results in their being brought "to God" (ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγη τῷ θεῷ, 3:18). In 3:18–22, 1 Peter associates the readers and the salvation they have received through the suffering and death of Christ, and with his ascension and sitting at the right hand of God. The access to God is expressed thus expressed in terms of Christ's victory over opposing cosmic powers (3:19, 22).

The theme of coming before God through Christ or accessing the divine presence can also be seen in relation to the rite of baptism. When baptism is deemed more important than the cleansing of the body at 3:21, it is because of its efficacy over providing access to God through the removal of moral impurity. In light of 1 Peter's temple imagery as well, what Christ achieves through his atonement can be understood as achieving accessibility to God. This is demonstrated through baptism and the purification of believers it ensures. The defiling effect of sin (i.e. moral impurity) is a grave concern precisely because "it threatens to cause God's presence to depart."⁴⁹⁵ Those who undergo the water of baptism thus enter a lived space marked by the presence of God.

This space is a place that is both imagined and real, imagined in the sense that it is composed of 1 Peter's theological conceptions and what he reveals through his writing to be reality. It is real in the sense that it is experienced in Asia Minor in and among believers through spatial praxis they engage in both individually (i.e., corporeally) and corporately. An example of this spatial praxis that believers engage in corporally is expressed through συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν (3:21). This expression has presented interpretative difficulties with the most convincing

⁴⁹⁵ Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 175.

arguments proposed for an objective genitive reading for συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς.⁴⁹⁶ Taking ἐπερώτημα as “pledge” makes a better sense of the phrase.⁴⁹⁷ Moreover, regardless of the mode of communication the baptised has with God (a pledge to maintain consciousness of God or an appeal for a good conscience), the believer is placed into a new relationship with God, occupying a position in a new spatial reality as a child of God (cf. 1:14; 2:4–10). The pledge is a spatial praxis the individual engages in *after* entering the space of God through baptism. The content of the pledge becomes the resolve to keep a good conscience in light of God’s will which the baptised articulates, probably verbally.⁴⁹⁸

Baptism is thus a spatial re-orientation for the readers where a new set of relationships (with God, with one another and with space) is made possible. This is communicated in terms of salvation from unrighteousness, i.e., the internal change baptism effects through the removal of moral impurity. Just as Noah and his family were saved from the deluge by entering the spatial structure of the Ark, baptism likewise entails a new spatial orientation for the believer through the internal change to a state of moral purity it entails through the resurrection of Christ. The general focus of 3:21 also includes a stress on the efficacy of baptism in transforming the baptised individual. It results in an internal change along moral lines, which 1 Peter links with an embodied spatial practice by the baptised within the space of God. When 1 Peter states that baptism saves, he is indicating a feature of baptism as an entrance to the space of God where the spatial praxis of a pledge to obedience takes place. The space of God, as I have noted earlier, is a new social space in that it

⁴⁹⁶ For a critique of the subjective genitive reading that understands the prayer or pledge to arise from a good conscience that the baptised believer already has, see Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 271–72.

⁴⁹⁷ See further, Elliott, *1 Peter*, 679–81.

⁴⁹⁸ So Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 271; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 258; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 680.

symbolises and marks out a new space of living for a community of believers (ἀδελφότης, 2:17; 5:9). In connection with baptism, it holds the promise of an eschatological reward and divine accessibility in the present.⁴⁹⁹ It is also a social space—a Thirdspace—that is distinguishable from other spaces metaphorically (given 1 Peter’s temple imagery in 2:4–10 for example) and physically (where spatial practices like baptism, the pledge of obedience, desisting moral impurities, etc. occur).

8.5 Conclusion

Despite the difficulty associated with the interpretation of 3:18–22, the passage coheres with the overall message of the letter. 1 Peter’s overall aim is two-fold. Firstly, it is to comfort the readers in their suffering by stating that they are saved and have gained access to God through Christ’s death and resurrection (vv. 18, 21). Christ has gained victory over the forces of evil in his resurrection and ascension and now sits enthroned having subjugated his enemies (vv. 19, 22). This is the theological basis provided for the admonition to uphold συνείδησιν ... ἀγαθὴν (“good conscience”) and bear witness to the hope in Christ when persecuted for doing good (3:16). These are distinguishing marks believers are urged to take up as a spatial practice within the space of God.

The readers can thus be comforted in knowing that the life they have entered through baptism identifies them as belonging to Christ; it is an initiation into the space of God as members of his new community. 1 Peter’s encouragement and consolation is also based on the understanding that baptism effects the removal of

⁴⁹⁹ As Pierce rightly notes, although 1 Peter does not directly associate rebirth imagery with baptism, it is still case that “the imagery of rebirth/baptism and Christ’s resurrection allow for other promises for new believers to be evaluated as a benefit of baptism as well.” It can thus be said that baptism symbolises a feature of the space of God through the promise of an eschatological reward articulated in 1:3–5, Pierce, *Spirits and Proclamation*, 233.

the defiling effect of moral impurity (i.e, “salvation from ungodly life”⁵⁰⁰) through Christ’s death and resurrection. The addressees should thus be encouraged knowing that they have access to the presence and power of God in the salvation they have received. Furthermore, baptism is associated with protection from and victory over wicked oppressors and cosmic evil forces.⁵⁰¹

Secondly, the passage serves as an exhortation to maintain the new lived reality (Thirdspace) they have entered through baptism. The production of this space – the continuous “bringing forth” of the space of God in their everyday existence is articulated in terms of the resolve they are to have to live life in obedience to God’s will (v. 21), confident in the assurance that evil cosmic beings have been defeated by Christ. This indicates that evil and the activity of evil spirits are curtailed so that the readers can manage and negotiate evil confidently. For this reason, 1 Peter exhorts them to live in obedience – in opposition and contrast to the disobedient spirits.

They are also to persevere in doing good even as they suffer, knowing that vindication awaits them (cf. 5:10). Christ who suffered even to the point of death (3:18), was vindicated (3:19, 22), leaving the readers with an example of the vindication and eschatological reward that awaits them. This echoes 1 Peter’s earlier theme of non-retaliation and perseverance in obedience to God’s will stated in 2:18–25. Baptism is used to highlight the certainty of the salvation the addressees have received and the glory that awaits them through Christ. Baptism thus provides the motivation to live in accordance with the will of God. As Thurén notes the 3:19–21

⁵⁰⁰ Thurén, *Argument and Theology*, 163.

⁵⁰¹ Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 243; Lauri Thurén, *Argument and Theology in 1 Peter: The Origins of Christian Paraenesis* (Sheffield: Sheffield academic Press, 1995), 158; Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation*, 158.

serves to intensify “the addressees’ appreciation of Christ’s suffering and death and their willingness to obey him.”⁵⁰²

In a sense then, the passage’s dual aim of consolation and exhortation coheres with the epistle’s general concern with maintaining the presence of God and imitating God and Christ (cf. 1:14–16, 22; 2:11–12, 15, 21–25; 3:17; 4:2, 19). These are the two central ideas that underpin 1 Peter’s symbolic world of the temple-community within the social space of God.

⁵⁰² Thurén, *Argument and Theology*, 163.

PART III

APOCALYPTIC SPATIALITY IN 1 ENOCH 91–108 AND 1 PETER: A COMPARISON

Chapter 9: Apocalyptic Spatiality in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter

9.1 Introduction

A number of scholars have utilised 1 Enoch traditions for a comparative analysis that seeks to engage the New Testament within the context of Second Temple Judaism or as a form of a Jewish expression in its own right.⁵⁰³ Although the motivations, methodologies and conclusions vary, the value of a comparative reading between 1 Enoch and texts from the New Testament has long been recognised. When it comes to the specific case of interpreting 1 Peter, 1 Enoch has been brought to the conversation as early as 1890 when Friedrich Spitta engaged Jewish literature as a background to 1 Peter 3:18–22.⁵⁰⁴

Another influential scholar, George E. Nickelsburg also invites a closer comparative reading of 1 Enoch and 1 Peter in his magnum opus – the *Hermeneia* commentary on 1 Enoch chapters 1–36 and 81–108. Throughout his commentary on these Enochic traditions, Nickelsburg notes parallels between the texts and the New Testament. He calls for a comparative study of the “kind of spirituality propounded in

⁵⁰³ See for example, Barnabas Lindars, “Enoch and Christology,” *The Expository Times* 92.10 (1981): 295–99; George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100.4 (1981): 575–600; George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Riches, the Rich, and God’s Judgment in 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Gospel According to Luke,” *New Testament Studies* 25.3 (1979): 324–44; See for example, Carroll D. Osburn, “The Christological Use of I Enoch i.9 in Jude 14, 15,” *New Testament Studies* 23.3 (1977): 334–41; William Adler and James C. VanderKam, eds., *Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature, Volume 4 Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity, Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature, Volume 4 Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (Brill, 1996); Cory D. Anderson, “Jude’s Use of the Pseudepigraphal Book of 1 Enoch,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 36.2 (2003): 47–64; Macaskill, *Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology*; Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*; Logan Williams, “Disjunction in Paul: Apocalyptic or Christomorphic? Comparing the Apocalypse of Weeks with Galatians,” *New Testament Studies, Disjunction in Paul* 64.1 (2018): 64–80; Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Gabriele Boccaccini, eds., *Enoch and the Synoptic Gospels: Reminiscences, Allusions, Intertextuality*, Early Judaism and Its Literature 44 (SBL Press, 2016); Philip F. Esler, ed., *The Blessing of Enoch: 1 Enoch and Contemporary Theology* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2017); Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*, 2006; Reynolds and Stuckenbruck, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition*; see also several essays in Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston, eds., *Reading Mark in Context: Jesus and Second Temple Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2018).

⁵⁰⁴ Spitta, *Christi Predigt*.

the *Magnificat*, parts of the Sermon on the Mount, and the Epistle of James” on the one hand and the Epistle of Enoch and 1 Enoch 108 on the other. He adds that this “may reveal new insights into a common religious mentality that proliferated itself in a variety of groups and sects in early Judaism and primitive Christianity.”⁵⁰⁵

Furthermore, Nickelsburg provides a list of parallels between 1 Enoch 108 and 1 Peter that provides similar “ideas and terminology.”⁵⁰⁶ He also adds that there may be “a possible common use of expressions found in Psalms 34:12–16” in 1 En. 108:7–10 and 1 Pet. 3:10–12 and “a common knowledge of tradition attested in Wisdom 3” (at 1 En. 108: 7–10 and 1 Pet. 1:7).⁵⁰⁷ In noting this literary concurrence, he suggests that 1 Enoch 108 could be part of 1 Peter’s theological repertoire.⁵⁰⁸ Nickelsburg rightly refrains from suggesting a literary dependence in either direction between these traditions.⁵⁰⁹ He also avoids using a method for analysing literary

⁵⁰⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 554.

⁵⁰⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 560.

⁵⁰⁷ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 560.

⁵⁰⁸ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 560.

⁵⁰⁹ This, however, does not mean that literary dependence should be dismissed from consideration. A careful analysis based on robust methodology can indeed help determine if there is a literary dependence between texts and the direction of that dependence thereby generating valuable exegetical insights. However, unless the approach to intertextuality engages the broader discursive space of culture, intersecting world views and theological pluralities within which authors are embedded, the method will inevitably lead to the identification of ‘false-positives’ for literary dependence as Paul Foster warns. Foster rightly states the need to appreciate the complex web of contexts by noting that in the ancient world, “there is interpenetration between the various socio-religious groups, and hence the textual and cultural narratives that shaped an author’s thinking and own literary works reflect a complex web of influences.” Thus, while Travis Williams is right in calling for a critical stance against methodological bias, his attempt to modify Hays’ approach to intertextuality in association with 1 Peter’s relationship to the Pauline corpus still fails to appreciate the complex interpenetration of ideas, common traditions and a convergence of influences that may have shaped both Paul and 1 Peter on the one hand and mediated Pauline notions to 1 Peter on the other. Regarding the latter, Foster correctly notes that “it is likely that the use of pre-existing ideas was not always due to a linear progression from background text to new literary work. Rather, it is possible on several occasions that ideas had become freed from their earliest literary context and circulated independently of that original literary context.” Paul Foster, “Echoes without Resonance: Critiquing Certain Aspects of Recent Scholarly Trends in the Study of the Jewish Scriptures in the New Testament,” *JSNT* 38.1 (2015): 99; Travis B. Williams, “Intertextuality and Methodological Bias: Prolegomena to the Evaluation of Source Materials in 1 Peter,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 39.2 (2016): 169–87 cf.

dependence, developed by Richard Hays⁵¹⁰ and is used for tracing quotations, allusions, and “echoes” which, despite its modifications⁵¹¹ and widespread usage, nevertheless shows to be incapable of self-falsification, as Paul Foster has convincingly argued.⁵¹² As a result, what follows is neither an argument for a literary “background” for 1 Peter, nor a proposal for explaining the relationship between 1 Enoch and 1 Peter in terms of citation, borrowing, influence or the like.

Additionally, as I have stated in Chapter 1, my study is not grounded in a particular theory of genre for 1 Peter that would place it as a sub-genre along with the 1 Enoch traditions in some sort of genre construct. Instead, what follows is a comparative assessment of the related themes of revelation, sin, sinners and final judgment, as well as election, salvation and the righteous people of God across a spectrum of texts as they appear in their respective literary context and within the framework of the Jewish apocalyptic thought in its spatial dimension.

Thus, without positing the nature of relationship between 1 Enoch and 1 Peter, or needing to assume that these traditions relate in any way, I will offer a comparison of the later 1 Enoch traditions and 1 Peter. The purpose for this comparison, as stated in Chapter 1 above, is analogical. Positing a parallel thought world between 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter that is informed by the Jewish apocalyptic framework, my

⁵¹⁰ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁵¹¹ Williams, “Intertextuality and Methodological Bias”; Fika J. van Rensburg and Steve Moyise, “Isaiah in 1 Peter 3:13-17: Applying Intertextuality to the Study of the Old Testament in the New,” *Scriptura* 80 (2013): 275–86; Justin Langford, *Defending Hope: Semiotics and Intertextuality in 1 Peter* (Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2013); Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, *Isaiah in the New Testament: The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005), 175–88; Steve Moyise, *The Later New Testament Writings and Scripture: The Old Testament in Acts, Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles and Revelation* (Baker Books, 2012); *Evoking Scripture: Seeing the Old Testament in the New* (A&C Black, 2008), 78–95; see also Richard T. France, “First Century Bible Study: Old Testament Motifs in 1 Peter 2:4-10,” *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 18.1 (1998): 26–48.

⁵¹² Foster, “Echoes without Resonance”. See also, Paul Foster, “Book Review: 1 Peter and Eschatology: Kelly D. Liebenhood, *The Eschatology of 1 Peter: Considering the Influence of Zechariah 9-14*,” *ExpTim* 126.8 (2015): 409.

discussion will give an account of the significant aspects of the apocalyptic spatiality we find in these texts. Following Smith, my comparative analysis is an analogous (as opposed to genealogical) comparison of the 1 Enoch traditions and 1 Peter focused on specific “set of characteristics” in these traditions. Out of necessity and in order to emphasise varied aspects of the apocalyptic thought world in the two traditions under comparison, the analysis is not exhaustive.⁵¹³ As Fitz J. P. Poole also notes,

Comparison does not deal with phenomena in *toto* or in the round, but only with an aspectual characteristic of them. Analytical control over the framework of comparison involves theoretically focused selection of significant aspects of the phenomena and a bracketing of the endeavour by strategic *ceteris paribus* assumptions.⁵¹⁴

As a result, in what follows, what I compare is the apocalyptic spatiality of these texts as expressed through the themes of revelation, election, judgment and moral agency. The analysis below follows and builds on the close reading of each text offered in Part I and II above.

Revelation in 1 Peter and the later Enochic traditions

The First Epistle of Peter is a diaspora letter that does not appear in a narrative framework.⁵¹⁵ In terms of participation in the apocalypse genre, 1 Peter is

⁵¹³ For a discussion of the need for selective approach with a focus on the aspectual characteristics of the comparanda, cf. for e.g., Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 53, cf. 36–53; see also the discussion in Barclay and White, *The New Testament in Comparison*, 3–4.

⁵¹⁴ Fitz John Porter Poole, “Metaphors and Maps: Towards Comparison in the Anthropology of Religion,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 54.3 (1986): 414; cited in Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 53.

⁵¹⁵ M. Eugene Boring argues that 1 Peter has a narrative world projected through its epistolary genre which invites its readers to take it as the real world “determined by God the creator who will bring it to a worthy conclusion at the near eschaton,” Boring, *1 Peter*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 183. The projection of a symbolic world, i.e., “the social structures in which people live, and the symbols attached to and supporting those structures” can be a feature of texts, as Luke Timothy Johnson notes, cf. Johnson, *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*, Revised Edition. (London: SCM Press, 1999), 21. However, since 1 Peter does not contain explicit

not like typical texts that belong in the core of the apocalypse genre according to the approach of the *Semeia* 14.⁵¹⁶ In light of Carol Newsom’s cogent critique of the approach’s rigidity and her call for a more flexible approach which opens up avenues of inquiry, I consider 1 Peter as participating, albeit to a lesser degree than the 1 Enoch traditions, in the Jewish apocalyptic framework.⁵¹⁷ This is expressed in terms of the letter’s revealed content and revelatory features.⁵¹⁸

9.1.1 Mediators of Revelation

What Benjamin Reynolds posits for the portrayal of Jesus in the Gospel of John is instructive for our comparative consideration of 1 Peter’s apocalyptic spatiality.⁵¹⁹ Reynolds convincingly argues that the Gospel of John is similar to apocalypses in form and content in accordance with the *Semeia* 14 definition. By way of evidence, he cites John’s cosmological *content* and the apocalyptic *form* of

narrative elements, I am not convinced by Boring’s suggestion that 1 Peter depicts a narrative dynamics or the telling of a story. See also, M. Eugene Boring, “Narrative Dynamics in First Peter: The Function of Narrative World,” in *Reading First Peter With New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of First Peter*, ed. Robert L. Webb and Bauman-Martin (New York: T&T Clark, 2007).

⁵¹⁶ John J Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, *Semeia* 14 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1979).

⁵¹⁷ Newsome points out the flexibility of the prototype approach by noting that classifications and categories are structured with “typical” members at the centre and “atypical” ones at the periphery. “Indeed membership in a category may be a matter of degree. One of the advantages of prototype theory is that it provides a way for bringing together what seems so commonsensical in classificatory approaches, while avoiding their rigidity. At the same time it gives more discipline to the family-resemblance approach, because not every resemblance or deviation is of equal significance.” Newsom, “Spying out the Land,” 442–43. Accepting the validity of such critique and seeing the value of the less rigid approach of prototype theory, Collins writes that what Newsom proposes provides a helpful improvement on *Semeia* 14’s approach. He goes on to discuss the atypical participation of Jubilees and Joseph and Aseneth in the apocalyptic genre in light of Newsom’s suggested use of prototype theory, cf. John J. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” *ZAC* 20.1 (2016): 33, 36–40. Hindy Najman also proposes a flexible approach that uses a “constellation of features or elements” found in actual texts as a classification for texts. Cf., Hindy Najman, “The Idea of Biblical Genre: From Discourse to Constellation,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, vol. 98 of *STDJ* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 316.

⁵¹⁸ Reynolds and Stuckenbruck, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition*, 1–12.

⁵¹⁹ Benjamin E. Reynolds, “The Form and Spatial Content of Jewish Apocalypses and Apocalyptic Revelation in the Gospel of John,” 26 May 2021.

presenting mediated revelation in a narrative framework.⁵²⁰ He correctly notes that the Johannine presentation of Jesus is as an otherworldly mediator who reveals God.

The author begins his letter by identifying himself as Peter the apostle of Jesus Christ (Πέτρος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, 1:1). The allusion to his apostolic status is a claim to authority. The content of this authoritative letter includes the disclosure of eschatological reward for the elect (1:5, 7, 13; 5:1; cf. 5:4), judgment for the wicked (2:12; 4:5), and the revelation of glory.⁵²¹ These ideas are expressed through the words “reveal” (ἀποκαλύπτω, 1:5, 12; 5:1) and “revelation” (ἀποκάλυψις, 1:7, 13; 4:13). These events are perceived to occur in association with the coming appearance (φανερῶ, 5:4) or revelation of Christ at the eschaton (1:7).

Although there is no account of a visionary revelation about the future, Peter still discloses privileged knowledge regarding the eschatological future. His disclosure is a revelation involving the appearance of Christ at the eschaton on the one hand and the revelation of eschatological reward for the elect addressees on the other. In this manner, 1 Peter can be considered as containing a disclosure, i.e., a revelation of hidden knowledge, associated with Christ.

While this is an anticipated aspect of 1 Peter’s outlook, the revelatory content we find in the letter encompasses the past and the present as well. This is evident in 1:10–12 where it is stated that the spirit of Christ revealed (1:12) to the prophets the

⁵²⁰ A narrative framework describes “the manner of revelation” in apocalypses. As Collins notes, the major means of revelation are “visions and otherworldly journeys, supplemented by discourse or dialogue and occasionally by a heavenly book.” He further adds that a constant feature of a seer’s receiving of revelation involves an angel that explains or interprets what the seer observes or reads and without which the revelation would remain unintelligible. Angels also function as guides on heavenly journeys. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 5–6.

⁵²¹ Pierce discusses the significance of δόξα in 1 Peter. Following Collins, he identifies “glory” as signifying an apocalyptic element in 1 Peter’s thought world. He writes 1 Peter employs the notion of glory “both in the more generic sense of a special revelation as well as more specific reference to a future consummation,” Pierce, “Apocalypse,” 310; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 12.

suffering of Christ (1:11). Our author adds that, through Christ, the prophets were also made to understand that the disclosure they had received was in relation to 1 Peter's addressees and their salvation through Christ (1:10, 12). The content of the revelation disclosed to Israel's prophets thus concerns the Christ event and its salvific significance to the addressees. Taken together with the future expectation of Christ's visible revelation, it can be said that 1 Peter is a disclosure of hidden knowledge about Christ and through Christ.

That Christ is the revealer of heavenly knowledge to 1 Peter also comes across in another way. In an exhortation to elders, the author evokes tradition associated with the apostle Peter. After "Peter" identifies himself as a fellow elder to the addressees, he describes himself as a witness (μάρτυς) to the sufferings of Christ (5:1). He adds that like the leaders he is addressing, he too is a "partaker in the glory that will be revealed" (πρεσβυτέρους οὖν τοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συνπρεσβύτερος καὶ μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ χριστοῦ παθημάτων, ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός, 5:1). Unlike the Enochic authors we have seen, 1 Peter does not use disclosure formulae or visions, dreams and angelic presence in crafting his letter.

However, despite the absence of epiphanies or visionary experiences associated with the disclosure of a visionary revelation, 1 Peter still states that he is an observer, i.e., a μάρτυς to the visible event of Christ's suffering. It is to be recalled that earlier in the letter at 1:10–12, the content of revelation the prophets received is the suffering and salvific death of Christ. What 1 Peter witnessed and attests to having observed at 5:1 is thus a visible revelation concerning Christ, which he claims to have witnessed as Peter the apostle. Taken together, the language of revelation applied to future events concerning the revelation of Christ at the eschaton as well

as to the past event of Christ's suffering and death, it can be said that the content of 1 Peter's *visible* (as opposed to visionary) revelation is Christ. The revealer of this knowledge to the author who takes on the subtle role of a seer, is also stated as Christ (i.e., the spirit of Christ). Therefore, the role the author ascribes to himself in the revelation of knowledge about Christ and from Christ is that of a mediator. As we have seen, on the one hand this involves the author's description of himself as a witness to Christ's suffering. On the other hand, 1 Peter demonstrates the access he has to knowing and understanding the hidden things about the heavenly realm when he interprets the prophets' message as being relevant to the specific spatio-temporal reality of the Christ event and the readers' present status as the people of God. His access to hidden knowledge is also demonstrated when he discusses angelic longing at 1:10–12, places of punishment and the subjugation of otherworldly beings in the non-earthly realm at 3:18–22. He is also knowledgeable about the dead as can be seen from 4:6. It thus makes sense to see 1 Peter as participating in the mediation of the revelation from Christ about Christ. This indicates that the author intends to be seen as mediating knowledge that has been disclosed to him by Christ.⁵²²

Moreover, he himself appears as a mediator of Christ's self-revelation. Since Christ is to be understood as a revealer of divine revelation as 1:10–12 explicitly

⁵²² In discussing the implication of 1 Pet. 1:10-12, Elliott takes the special status the passage expresses as pertinent to the readers. He does not consider the implication the passage has for the author's self-portrayal. He writes, "here in 1 Peter [i.e., 1:12], the thought heightens the exclusive privilege granted the addressees: not the ancient prophets, not even angels in heaven - despite their efforts or desires - have seen or heard the things proclaimed only to you!" (*1 Peter*, 350, cf. 344–50). Other interpreters, for e.g., Michaels, Achtemeier, Jobes, Feldmeier, and Sargent also maintain that the import of the verse is to reinforce the continuity of 1 Peter's message and Christ himself with the prophetic literature (and more generally the HB) and God's promises therein. As far as this goes, it is correct. However, the author is also validating himself and thus the content of his letter through his own privileged access to the heavenly space and his ability to discern events and occurrences in the otherworldly realm in comparable ways to apocalyptic authors. Michaels, *1 Peter*, 42–43; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 111–13; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 97–106; Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter*, 93–95; Benjamin Sargent, *Written To Serve: The Use of Scripture in 1 Peter* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

states, this would then mean “Peter” receives the disclosure of hidden knowledge from Christ and transmits this knowledge to the addressees. The knowledge is otherwise hidden knowledge about Christ that is disclosed in the eschatological time of the end as 1:20 states: Christ “... was revealed in the end of times for you” (φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ’ ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων δι’ ὑμᾶς).⁵²³ In his closing greetings, 1 Peter also calls the message he has communicated as “the true grace of God” further affirming his status as the mediator of divine disclosure and authenticating his message as originating from God (5:12).

As explicitly articulated in the 1 Enoch traditions we have discussed above, the mediator of hidden knowledge is “Enoch.” Both “Enoch” and “Peter” are counterparts in the mediation of revelation to divinely elect communities. In contrast to the setting of 1 Peter however, in the Enochic texts, formulaic statements are used to indicate that the text is a disclosure of heavenly (i.e., divine) knowledge through visionary revelation. This means that 1 Enoch 91–108 participates in the apocalyptic framework through a denser “constellation of features or elements” that is closer to texts that belong to the prototypical apocalypse genre than 1 Peter.⁵²⁴

This is further indicated by the mode of revelation in the 1 Enoch traditions we have seen. Enoch, the fictive author in these traditions, receives hidden knowledge through dreams, heavenly tablets, and visions. The Apocalypse of Weeks, for example, uses both a disclosure formula (such as, “I will say to you and make known to you..”) and visions, heavenly tablets and the words of the angels to mark the manner of revelation Enoch receives (cf. 1 En. 93:2). In the Exhortation, the source

⁵²³ On the temporal aspect of Christ’s revelation, see also, for e.g., Elliott, *1 Peter*, 375–78; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 132; Beare, *First Epistle of Peter*, 106; Goppelt, *1 Peter*, 124; Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter*, 119.

⁵²⁴ For the notion of constellation in the approach to genre, cf. Najman, “The Idea of Biblical Genre.”

of Enochic revelation is distinctly formulated from other 1 Enoch texts. At 91:1, Enoch receives instruction through a voice that calls to him and a spirit that is being poured out on him. This way of articulating the disclosure of divine revelation is akin the prophetic tradition (cf. Joel 2:28–29).⁵²⁵

In the Epistle of Enoch as well, disclosure formulae is in use. Stuckenbruck lists examples of these and correctly notes that it conveys the writers' identification of their writings as divine disclosure; these are: statement such as "I know/understand (that)" (94:5), 'I make known (to you)' (94:10), the imperative 'know' (98:8, 10a; 98:12 Eth.), the statement 'you know' (98:10b), or 'may it be known (to you)' (97:2; 98:12 Grk.).⁵²⁶ In the Eschatological Admonition (1 Enoch 108), the author writes to console and exhort his readers whom he describes as those who have been "put to shame" (108:7)⁵²⁷ as well as "abused and insulted" by opponents (108:10).⁵²⁸ The author expresses the content of his writing through a revelatory framework that depicts "Enoch" (108:1) as recording in writing his visionary experience to his son Methuselah "and all those who will come after him and keep the law in the last days," (108:2). The vision is expressed at 108:4–5 and describes the seer's experience of seeing a cloud. Using a common motif in Early Jewish apocalyptic literature, the author portrays the seer as unable to discern what he is seeing and thus in need of angelic interpretation which he receives as described in 108:6–10. The revealed content involves the traditional motif of eschatological punishment for sinners and

⁵²⁵ So Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 160.

⁵²⁶ Cf. 100:10; 103:2, 7-8; 104:10, 12. A second type is also used at 104:8 where "I will show to you" occurs. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 201–2.

⁵²⁷ 1 En. 108:7 For writings and inscriptions about them were found to be in heaven, so that angels may read them and know what will befall sinners and the spirits of the lowly and those who afflicted their bodies and were compensated by God and those who were humiliated by evil men.

⁵²⁸ 1 En. 108:10 And all their blessings I have told in books and he has named for them their compensation for they were found as those who had love for heaven than their life in the world when they were crushed by evil men and when they heard from them challenges and abuse and were humiliated, they blessed me.

reward for the righteous. Like the other texts from the corpus, the seer's disclosure appears through the motif of visionary revelation.

An equivalent set of literary markers that identify special knowledge do not occur in 1 Peter. However, as discussed above, Christ himself and events surrounding his suffering, death and resurrection constitute 1 Peter's revelation. For this reason, the main body of the letter is organised around three Christological sections that frame aspects of 1 Peter's revelation. These are: 1:18–21, 2:22–25 and 3:18–22.⁵²⁹ Rather than through disclosure formulae that marks the form or mode of revelation, these sections are discernible through their content regarding the suffering, death or resurrection of Christ as well as the symbolic use of prominent events from Israel's sacred past (cf. Part II above).⁵³⁰

A point of contrast between the visionary revelation of 1 Enoch 91–108 and the visible revelation that constitutes Christ in 1 Peter is that, although both sets of traditions employ the mediation of hidden knowledge through an otherworldly figure, angels are not prominent in 1 Peter as they are in the Enochic traditions. However, angels are mentioned in 1 Peter at 1:10–12 as we have seen in relation to their

⁵²⁹ Following Goppelt, cf. *1 Peter*, 247; see also Lutz Doering, "Ransom, Re-Begetting, and Rescue: The Soteriological Web of 1 Peter," in *Sōtēria: Salvation in Early Christianity and Antiquity: Festschrift in Honour of Cilliers Breytenbach on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. David du Toit, Christine Gerber, and Christiane Zimmermann (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 487.

⁵³⁰ This aspect of 1 Peter's apocalyptic world discussed here (in connection with its Christological section) and in the preceding section (in relation to the revelation of hidden knowledge about Christ by an otherworldly being who is identified as Christ himself), does not appear in scholarship on 1 Peter. For instance, while correctly noting that 1 Peter contains apocalyptic elements, Achtemeier takes that to mean eschatology. Thus he writes, "the form and content of [1 Peter] make it appropriate to speak of elements of an apocalyptic eschatology rather than a full-blown apocalyptic system," Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 106–7. Moffatt also betrays an understanding of apocalyptic solely in terms of its temporal content when he briefly discusses the "apocalyptic hopes" of the readers (see Chapter 1 above for the context in which his discussion appears); Moffatt, *The General Epistles*, 158. A welcome exception is Pierce's analysis of 1 Peter. However, while his monograph is dedicated to an exploration of 1 Pet. 3:18-22 and for that reason does not consider either the spatial aspects of 1 Peter's apocalyptic framework or the rest of the letter. His more recent essay briefly engages 1 Peter's apocalyptic motifs centred on temporality, the idea of glory and the revelatory aspect of suffering in addition to a discussion of 1 Pet. 3:18-22, see, respectively, Pierce, *Spirits and Proclamation*; Pierce, "Apocalypse," 307–17.

longing to gain a glimpse (παρακύπτω) of the revelation proclaimed to the readers. In addition to depicting the authoritative status of the author, their mention functions to highlight the “exclusive privilege” granted to the readers.⁵³¹ At 3:22, angels are one of the otherworldly entities Jesus is said to have subjugated after his resurrection and subsequent exaltation.⁵³²

In the Enochic traditions, angels have several roles in the heavenly disclosure of knowledge to Enoch. They also accompany the seer on heavenly tours and oversee particular aspects of the cosmos (see for e.g., 1 En. 17–35; 72–82) and deliver and interpret messages from God (1 En. 108; cf. 17–36).⁵³³ In the Apocalypse of Weeks, one of the ways through which Enoch gains understanding is through the words of angels (1 En. 93:2). In recounting the giving of the Torah, the author of AW evokes angels at 93:6, suggesting that it was through angels that the Law was given. In the Birth of Noah (106:1–107:3), angels accompany Methuselah on his journey to Enoch. In the Eschatological Admonition, as mentioned above, it is an angel who explains what Enoch is seeing (the place of punishment for sinners at 108:6). The angel also says that there are heavenly inscriptions from where angels will read and know the fate that awaits sinners and the righteous (108:7). According to 108:5 there is also an angel with Enoch, presupposing an implicit narrative context of a heavenly journey.⁵³⁴ In the Epistle of Enoch, the author responds to the lament of his righteous community by stating that in the eschatological future their status will

⁵³¹ Elliott, *1 Peter*, 350.

⁵³² These otherworldly beings are rightly understood as evil cosmic beings, cf. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 687; Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation*, 217–18; Pierce, *Spirits and Proclamation*, 217 while affirming Dalton and Elliott's view, Pierce adds that human enemies could also be in view at 3:22. I find this problematic as for reasons stated in Part II above.

⁵³³ For more a more detailed discussion of heavenly beings in 1 Enoch in comparison to the depiction of angels in the NT, see for e.g., Kelley Coblenz Bautch, “Heavenly Beings in the Enoch Traditions and Synoptic Gospels,” in *Enoch and the Synoptic Gospels: Reminiscences, Allusions, Intertextuality*, ed. Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Gabriele Boccaccini, Early Judaism and Its Literature (SBL Press, 2016), 105–27.

⁵³⁴ So Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 708.

be reversed and assures the readers that angels bring the righteous to divine remembrance and individual recognition before God.⁵³⁵

9.1.2 The Aim of Revelation

The aim of Enochic revelation in the traditions we have discussed in Part I is not to draw significance to angels or evil cosmic beings as such. There is no evidence to indicate that these texts and the general outlook they espouse is geared towards promoting angelic worship either. In the concluding section of the Epistle of Enoch, the elect community receives divine commissioning to pass on Enochic books to all humanity (“children of the earth (𐤀𐤋𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤍𐤏𐤔),” cf. 105:1) at 1 En. 105:2). Again Enochic wisdom is depicted as the way of establishing cosmic order through the ways of righteousness that is to be found in the Enochic books (1 En. 104:13; cf. 92:3; 94:1–2; 91:18–19; 91:14). What is being emphasised can be generally expressed in terms of the concern to obey God and demonstrate covenantal fidelity however that is understood and construed in each text. Moreover, as Stuckenbruck notes, these traditions highlight “the ultimate, universal outcome of the vision in which ‘the ways of righteousness’ will be established in accordance with God’s original design.”⁵³⁶

Another prominent aim that is associated with such a vision is God’s judgment. Thus, the revealed content the seers communicate functions to provide an assurance about divine judgement against the wicked. While implicitly exhortational through the negative examples the wicked provide, the motif of divine judgment is addressed to authors’ own groups who are often depicted as being opposed or persecuted by the wicked. In the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Exhortation as well,

⁵³⁵ See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 569–72.

⁵³⁶ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 604.

the righteous are said to be vindicated. Divine judgement is construed as a cosmic event that includes the destruction of demonic beings and sin itself (AW, 1 En. 91:15; Exhortation, 1 En. 91:5–9) in addition to punishment levelled against wicked humanity. Although persecution or the oppression of the righteous by the wicked is not an immediate concern to the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks, the author still hints at the cosmic stress and general mayhem sin causes. This is apparent in the prevalence of sin that marks the author's own time and the description of the present along the lines of the antediluvian prevalence of sin and disorder (more on this below).

Throughout the various literary units that make up the later Enoch traditions, a common concern is the correct worship of God and the righteousness and wisdom that enables it. This is expressed through the emphasis placed on the eschatological reward and vindication of the righteous, the ill fate that awaits the wicked and the salvific significance attached to the knowledge the books of Enoch reveal. Although each author has a particular rhetorical aim and purpose for writing, the traditions generally comfort and exhort their readers to remain on the path of righteousness. By alluding to earlier Enochic tradition the authors address themes such as persecution, the prevalence of sin, apostasy, transcendent evil beings in varying degrees of emphasis and depth.

Through such themes and ideas, the various authors construct a symbolic world that invites the communities to identify themselves with the values that are expressed. In a sense, in sharply distinguishing the divinely revealed and correct

way of living from the life of sin, ignorance and wickedness, authors of apocalyptic literature construct a highly desirable way of life to readers.⁵³⁷

The Thirdspace reality that emerges from each text then becomes a normative ideology by which people ought to live. At the same time, the religious desire to live in accordance with God's desire is central to the appeal made by the Enochic authors.⁵³⁸ Readers can also confidently negotiate evil in this life whether it appears in the form of evil cosmic beings or their human agents. In the case of the Epistle of Enoch and the Eschatological Admonition, there appears to be a concern for the correct interpretation and understanding of the Mosaic Law and the prophetic literature of the HB (93:6; 108:1; cf. 108:7). In other instances, the concern is adherence to Enochic Torah, i.e., the instructions revealed to Enoch (Epistle of Enoch 98:11⁵³⁹; 99:2, 10).⁵⁴⁰

In the case of 1 Peter, the author's ultimate focus is on advocating devotion to Christ who is the mediator of revelation. For the author Christ is on par with the divine and appears in a complex theological framework that forms the basis of the elect's normative spatial practice (cf. 1:2, 8; 5:12). In addition to advocating adherence to Christ (2:21–24; 5:12), in 1 Peter, the aim of revelation is to exhort and to comfort. By recalling Israel's sacred past from scriptural traditions, 1 Peter discloses hidden knowledge about Christ. The symbolic world he constructs through

⁵³⁷Newsom, "Rhetoric," 204.

⁵³⁸ Newsom discusses the persuasive aims associated with apocalyptic writings by tracing the significance of vivid descriptions, narrations and other detailed ways through which an author constructs a symbolic world in where the seer and the audience become virtually contemporaneous. This serves to invite readers to an intimate relationship with the revered figure "so that the audience identifies its own time as like that of the seer's." Newsom, "Rhetoric," 208.

⁵³⁹ In the second woe oracle, the author of the Epistle accuses the wicked with "doing evil" and "drinking blood." As Stuckenbruck suggests, both can be interpreted as breaches against the Torah, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 365–66.

⁵⁴⁰ Boccaccini sees an anti-Mosaic polemic in 1 Enoch, cf. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 104–62. For an explanation for 1 Enoch's non-Mosaic content that rejects Boccaccini's explanation see for e.g., George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enochic Wisdom and Its Relationship To the Mosaic Torah," *The Early Enoch Literature* (2007): 81–94; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 377–79.

the letter is found on the basis of two key principles I have argued for in Part II above: the concern to maintain the presence of God among the temple-community and also, the imitation of God and of Christ by the elect addressees.

In this regard, 1 Peter formulates an apocalyptic Christology that makes use of and thus highly regards the Mosaic tradition and the prophetic writings in general and aspects of the exodus, tabernacle, temple and Isaiah's prophecy in particular. In a sense then, for both the later 1 Enoch traditions and 1 Peter, fidelity to God, morality and the consequences of human deeds are important themes. A point of marked contrast is 1 Peter's dedicated focus on promoting devotion to Christ and signifying events that involved Christ as salvific. Not only is Christ the readers' or the faithful's means of salvation, for 1 Peter, his life, death and resurrection have cosmic wide repercussions. This is expressed in the temporal shift, that is, the eschatological inauguration Christ's death and resurrection mark. Furthermore, the author associates Christ with the access the readers are given to God. Christ is thus both the means to the space of God and the basis for the Thirdspace existence of the newly constituted people of God.

9.2 Determinism and Human Responsibility

In 1 Peter and the 1 Enoch traditions I have discussed in the forgoing sections, an element of determinism and divine agency can be dictated. This occurs in the respective authors' thought world and the shaping of reality through revelation in both the temporal and spatial dimensions. With regards to time, history as well as the eschatological salvation of the elect is said to unfold in accordance with divine pre-determination. The eschatological future likewise entails the pre-determined divine response to the sins and disobedience of both humanity and evil cosmic

beings. We have also seen the spatial dimension of these writings where all space is subsumed under the realm of God and a divinely mandated cosmic map.

The temporal and spatial dimensions of God's pre-determined plans concerning humanity receive variegated expressions and levels of emphasis in the various traditions we have assessed. However, it can confidently be said that in addition to a fixed aspect of reality and God's unalterable plans concerning cosmic affairs, human responsibility is repeatedly highlighted. As we will see below, while marking space as ordered and disordered for instance, rather than presenting it as occurring by design, 1 Peter uses the notion of "(dis)obedience" to juxtapose divine will versus the will of pagans (cf. Sect. 6.3.1 above).

The tension with which divine (pre)determination and human agency are held together finds its sharpest expression in the authorial construction of space. By this I mean the lived reality of the elect which is a divinely established Thirdspace whose spatial production ultimately occurs through the divinely revealed knowledge each author communicates through his respective text. This Thirdspace is embodied by the elect and in turn constitutes the elect. Although this spatial reality is accessible only to those who have been divinely elected or to whom divine disclosure is mediated, it is still the obedient, the wise, and those who otherwise demonstrate an appropriate response that end up occupying it. In what follows, I will discuss ways in which the Enochic authors and 1 Peter hold determinism and human agency in tension in their respective spatial imaginations by focusing on the motif of election, divine judgment and the moral agency attributed to individuals.

9.2.1 Election in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter

For Mladen Popović the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks is deterministic on the basis of the motif of a heavenly record (i.e., a book) from which Enoch reads

the divinely ordered history.⁵⁴¹ While it is true that elements of determinism exist in the very motif of a divinely ordered history, there is also evidence for the belief that humans have agency to choose and are therefore responsible for sin.⁵⁴² In the Apocalypse of Weeks, the tension with which the author holds determinism and human responsibility for sin becomes apparent in the idea of election. By using the motif of Israel's election as God's special people from among all humanity, the writer constructs a lived space that reinforces the identity of his readers as connected to those whom God has placed on the path of righteousness.

The author emphasises human responsibility in the destruction of the first temple (93:8). The prevalence of humanity's sin and disobedience leads to the destruction of the temple and results in the exile. Although Israel, that is, the "plant of righteousness (ܛܗܐ ܟܘܢܝܢܐ, 93:5)," is chosen from among all humanity through the covenant God establishes with Abraham, apostasy leads to the dispersion of Abraham's descendants (week six, 93:8). Following this, a further act of choosing occurs and those who are chosen are given salvific wisdom. According to the Aramaic equivalent to 93:10,

c[hosen one]s [w]ill be chosen as witnesses of truth from the etern[al] pl[ant of] truth, to whom sevenf[ol]d wisdom and knowledge will be giv[e]n"(4QEn^g 1 iv 12–13).⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ Mladen Popović, "Apocalyptic Determinism," in *Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 260.

⁵⁴² It will be interesting to see how the Apocalypse of Weeks compares to later expressions of determinism and human agency, specifically in association with what Klawans calls "Type 2 Jewish compatibilism," a term he uses to analyse the Pharisees' partial determinism, who (according to Josephus) understood some events as divinely predetermined and others as dependent on unfettered human decisions, cf. "Josephus on Fate, Free Will, and Ancient Jewish Types of Compatibilism," *Numen* 56.1 (2009): 65–75.

⁵⁴³ Stuckenbruck's restoration, cf. *1 Enoch 91-108*, 120, see also, VanderKam, *The Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 146–47.

Since this is an event that pertains to the author's present time in the seventh week, he is stating that through God's further act of choosing, the readers have been set up as the chosen people of God from among Israel, the covenantal people of God whose election he has discussed earlier. For the author of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, God's further act of choosing a people from among Israel forms a mode of establishing the significance of human responsibility for wrongdoing. The idea of election from and out of the covenantal people of God accomplishes this ethical aim by problematizing the association between the elect status of the righteous and the assurance that their piety is assured to last into the future. In other words, by establishing election as a non-fixed reality, the author implicitly states that election is not a guarantee that those who have been placed on the path of righteousness will continue on it. Since the chosen people of God ended up being scattered and exiled because of their sin (93:8), those who constitute the author's chosen group need to know that they are accountable for their actions.⁵⁴⁴ Through this second event of divine election, the readers become the nucleus of a righteous people established by God.

The author of *AW* thus presents a view of reality to his readers that is contingent upon their action as much as it is on God's. The readers are implicitly encouraged to imagine a social identity and a lived space in connection to their divine election. At the same time, they are to take note that their predecessors who were chosen from among humanity to establish the "plant of righteousness" perished nevertheless. Thus, while eschatological events are pre-determined and unalterable, individual fates are very much dependent on one's action. In the *Animal Apocalypse*

⁵⁴⁴ 93:8 "And after this, in the sixth week, those who will be blind in it, all of them, and the hearts of them all will fall away from wisdom. And in it a man will ascend. And at its end the house of the kingdom will be burned with fire, and in it the whole family of the chosen root will be scattered." For translation and textual notes, see Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 111–12.

(1 Enoch 85:1–90:42), in addition to the sins of Israel that resulted in the destruction of the temple and exile, the author alludes to the involvement of the disobedient angels (1 En. 89:66). This aspect is missing in the AW, indicating the importance the author places on direct human responsibility in causing the destruction of the temple and the exile.

In 1 Peter, the author communicates a similar idea of human accountability to God for sins committed. This finds expression through 1 Peter's construal of divine judgment and the related idea of the individual as capable of moral agency with the ability to know and choose what is right (cf. for e.g., 1:22–23; 2:1–3; 5:12). Election and the conferring of righteousness and eschatological salvation in the Apocalypse of Weeks is similar to 1 Peter's notion of election which is the mode through which God establishes a community of faith through Christ. The addressees' election through Christ and their constitution as the people of God is a central concept in 1 Peter, however, the readers' elect status is a fixed identity that does not need further confirmation through a further act of choosing as is the case in the Apocalypse of Weeks.

Through the idea of Christ's vicarious suffering and the morally purifying and consecrating event of believers' rebirth and baptism, the addressees are already presumed righteous in the here and now. This is because divine election in 1 Peter is linked to the notion of sanctification (ἁγιασμός) which entails the readers' being set apart for a cultic purpose (1:2; cf. Sect. 6.2.1 above). Their righteousness is a divinely given status that confers on them an identity as the righteous people of God. We have also seen in Chapter 8 that righteousness is associated with the capacity to do right and is linked to the readers' cleansing from moral impurity. This is an event attributed to the atoning death of Christ (cf. Sect. 8.2.2). For this reason, and owing

to divine prerogative, the readers are presumed righteous at present. However, this status does not appear as coerced behaviour which is evident from the author's association of holiness with his call to the readers' to continue to choose obedience over disobedience (1:14–16).

This contrasts with the way the righteousness of the readers is presented in the Epistle of Enoch in that in the Enochic text, righteousness is not associated with the definitive removal of moral defilement or with being set apart for a specific purpose. The Enochic author's spatial production is aimed at consoling his addressees while conferring authority to his interpretation of the Torah and aspects of his teaching which contrasts with the teachings and scriptural interpretations of his opponents. The view of reality the author reaffirms to his readers involves a particular view of the afterlife and the principle that divine justice is not to be sought in the present order of things but after death. Thus, while the readers are at present people who are privileged with Enochic wisdom and are on the path of righteousness, their fate still awaits the final judgment in the eschatological future when sinners will be “destroyed” (ἀπόλλυμι, 1 En. 99:9) and the righteous “saved” from divine destruction (σώσω, 1 En. 99:10).⁵⁴⁵ While the author does take the readers to already be on the path of righteousness (cf. 92:1), his message is exhortational. As Stuckenbruck notes, the text's contrast between the sinners and the righteous is an example of the way such motifs “serve as a means by which the authors clarify and re-inforce the religious identities of the implied readers, while exhorting them to remain faithful.”⁵⁴⁶ In the author's view of reality, humans are

⁵⁴⁵ For an in-depth discussion of motifs associated with the Holy War tradition in 1 En. 99:3-102:3 and its portrayal of the final judgment, see Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 179–84.

⁵⁴⁶ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 250.

responsible for sin (98:4). Put differently, the Epistle espouses the view that human beings are able to make moral choices.

The case of sinners appears in a complex formulation where the author states that sinners “are being ‘prepared’ for the day of judgment” (94:9; 98:10; cf. 99:6 where “sin” rather than sinners is in view).⁵⁴⁷ This may indicate a sealed fate for the sinners with no possibility to make an unfettered moral choice. It can also be an emphatic declaration that the wrongs sinners do against the righteous will not go unanswered. The latter is further supported by the absence of the notion of repentance in the Epistle. While determinism may have a role in the fate that awaits sinners (since there is no possibility of redeeming an immoral action for sinners), sin itself is not an external agent or a predetermined state that is divinely allotted for some. The author of the Epistle rather sees human beings as responsible for sin.⁵⁴⁸

In the Eschatological Admonition, determinism plays a larger role in the author’s depiction of revealed knowledge. The theme first appears through the notion of heavenly tablets or books.⁵⁴⁹ At 108:3, the author states that sinners will have their names erased from the “book of life” and the “books of the holy ones.” As Stuckenbruck notes the first expression is an allusion to Psalm 69:29 and the latter to Exodus 32:3.⁵⁵⁰ The author states here that sinners will not survive the divine judgment against them. Again the notion of a heavenly written record appears at 108:7. It is these records which inform angels about the fate that awaits both sinners

⁵⁴⁷ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 398.

⁵⁴⁸ For an interesting analysis of Jewish thought regarding divine determinism and free will and the ways these notions are depicted in Josephus, cf. Klawans, “Josephus on Fate, Free Will, and Ancient Jewish Types of Compatibilism.”

⁵⁴⁹ Leslie Baynes explores the motif of heavenly books in early Jewish and Christian traditions and discusses the various ways the theme is presented in Second Temple Jewish texts including in 1 Enoch. For a summary of the way it functions in these traditions cf. Leslie Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses 200 BCE-200 CE*, *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses 200 BCE-200 CE* (Brill, 2011), 131–32, cf. 109–34.

⁵⁵⁰ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 701.

and the righteous (108:7). Heavenly inscriptions also appear in the Epistle as a record of the sins committed by the author's opponents (98:6–8; 104:7-8) and also that of the prayer for vindication the righteous offer (99:3). In 103:1–4, heavenly tablets appear in association with a record of rewards for the righteous which Enoch claims to have seen. In the Birth of Noah as well, Enoch is said to have read a heavenly tablet at 106:19. Here the writing contains a record of human history which states that after several generations that do evil, a righteous generation will arise (107:1).⁵⁵¹

The notion of heavenly books and the information they contain about future human deeds and events on earth indicates a belief in God's predetermination of events. Although history is presented in terms of fixed reality in these heavenly inscriptions, the authors refrain from stating that God has determined who will sin. In 1 Enoch 108 as well, whether the author includes the determination of who will be sinful as one of God's unalterable plans for humanity is not explicitly articulated. However, the case of the righteous is clearer.

Writing of the righteous, the author writes of the readers' piety. He maintains that they love God and despite their oppression by the rich, they have disavowed wealth and the comforts of life, instead choosing to "give their body to torment" (108:8).⁵⁵² He further describes them at 108:9 as those who have, from birth, chosen to please God despite their suffering:

⁵⁵¹ Baynes groups the motif of heavenly tablets under several subcategories. In 1 Enoch, she writes that except at the Epistle's 93:1-3, all references belong to the sub-group of "books of fate" where the "eternal destinies of a people" are recorded. She notes that in this regard, the 1 Enoch texts are "fully consistent with how the books of life and deeds have developed in this period, and with the aims and themes of the apocalypses in which they appear," Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif*, 132. In discussing notions of "fate" and "destiny", Baynes does not delve into the topic of determinism when discussing 1 Enoch 108.

⁵⁵² 108:8 Those who love God and have not loved gold or silver, or any beauty inside the world; those who gave their body to torment;

108:9 those who, from the time they came into existence, did not yearn for food on the earth but regarded themselves like a breath that passes away and retained this; and many times the Lord tested them but their spirits were found pure to bless his name.

In tracing their attributes of piety and fidelity to God to the moment their existence began, the author claims a deterministic view that takes human action to be the product of divine causation and predetermination.

The author's theological determinism finds further expression at 108:11–12 and 108:14 where the case of sinners becomes a little clearer.⁵⁵³ In the first passage, the author employs the motif of light and darkness to describe the righteous and the sinners in a speech attributed to God:

108:11 And now I will summon the spirits of the good ones from the generation of light; and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who were not rewarded with honour in their body, as is fitting to their faithfulness.

108:12 And I will bring out those who have loved my holy name into the bright light, and I will let each one sit on his throne of honour.⁵⁵⁴

The “generation of light” are here promised eschatological reward for a life spent in faithfulness. Interestingly, the author does not depict the fate of those “born in darkness” as sealed – instead of having judgment levelled against them, they will be transformed and rewarded for the divinely approved choices they have made in life. It seems as if the author is here contradicting his earlier claim at 108:9 that the generation of light are righteous from the point of existence. Those who are “born in

⁵⁵³ Affirming the determinism at 108:9, Stuckenbruck also notes that it finds a more emphatic expression at verses 11 and 14, Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 722, 730–31.

⁵⁵⁴ Translation by Stuckenbruck. For textual notes, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 729–30.

darkness” (i.e., those who are predetermined to be sinners) escape their fate and end up being rewarded for their faithfulness. In expressing this thought, the author again alludes to divine agency with regard to the transformation those who are “born in darkness” will undergo.

Again, the author seems to be contradicting himself at 108:14 where he states, in contrast to 108:11 but in line with the determinism of 108:9, that those who are born in darkness will be destined for eschatological punishment. Here, the author states that the righteous “will see how those who were born in darkness will be led into darkness while the righteous will shine,” (108:14).⁵⁵⁵ To resolve the inconsistency between 108:11 and 108:14, Nickelsburg suggests an emendation to the Ethiopic at 108:11 so it reads as “those who descended into darkness” (*la-'ella waradu*) instead of “those who were born in darkness” (*la-'ella tawaledu beṣelmat*).⁵⁵⁶ However, as Stuckenbruck points out, there is no evidence in the manuscript tradition to support Nickelsburg’s proposal.⁵⁵⁷ Stuckenbruck rightly adds that the emendation is not needed since the author builds on Enochic tradition to emphasise the reward that awaits the righteous, “whether they were determined to be this from the beginning or, having been born in darkness, became faithful.”⁵⁵⁸ In addition to this, I would like to suggest that 108:11 demonstrates the author’s nuanced view of divine predetermination.

The contradiction between 108:11 and 108:14 disappears if we take into account 1 Enoch 108’s overall agenda of exhortation. This means that the deterministic aspect of the Eschatological Admonition, which is expressed through

⁵⁵⁵ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 738–39.

⁵⁵⁶ He does this under the presumption that the text is a dittograph of 108:14 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 552.

⁵⁵⁷ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 731.

⁵⁵⁸ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 731.

the notion of (i) heavenly tablets (108:9) and (ii) the metaphor of light and darkness (108:14), can be taken as serving a hortatory agenda. By disclosing his knowledge about heavenly tablets and the eschatological punishment that these inscriptions record, the author intends to alter the behaviour of an audience wider than his own group whom he takes as righteous (i.e., “the generation of light”). This means that the deterministic framework itself functions as a conceptual construct to urge the author’s opponents to heed the final judgment and join his group. His group are described as those who obey the law and love God (108:1, 8, 9). Regarding the sinners, the author writes what the angel reveals to Enoch saying, they are “those who alter everything that the Lord has done through the mouth of the prophets (about) all the things which will happen,” (108:6). As Stuckenbruck rightly notes,

[the reference to “the prophets”] belies the importance which these “sinners” themselves attach to “the prophets”. At dispute for the writer, then, is the correct interpretation of the prophets. As not all Jewish groups valued the prophets to the same extent as the Torah, it is significant that both the writer (and his community) and the evildoers mentioned in *Eschatological Admonition* may at least be said to have shared an interest in that tradition.⁵⁵⁹

Seen in this light then, it makes sense to understand the author as aiming his persuasive efforts at those who reject the prophets or show lax attitude towards the Torah or perhaps offer alternative interpretations that the author strongly disagrees with. In essence, his partial determinism makes it possible for the opponents (those born in darkness) to have a change of heart. Thus in verse 11, the author assures the opponents that despite their past which is rooted in darkness and sin, their

⁵⁵⁹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 712.

change of attitude in the present will result in a transformed future so that they too will receive the eschatological reward allotted to the author's own group.

Given this idea of divine agency at 108:11, the sinners' transformation is not solely the result of their faithful deeds (or their acceptance of the prophets) but rather something that is determined by God alone. Regarding those who persist in sin, verse 14 states that their origin in darkness will culminate in divine punishment. Despite their origin in darkness, the sinners are ultimately the ones who are responsible for their fate. This indicates a measure of determinism in the author's thought-world along with the view that humans have the agency to choose. Ultimately, the author retains elements of both determinism and human responsibility out of the desire to urge faithfulness while emphasising God's omniscience and his power to punish sinners, reward the righteous and re-order a cosmos marred by sin.

In this regard then, the author of the Eschatological Admonition expresses the concern for human responsibility we have seen in the Epistle of Enoch. In the latter, one of the ways determinism is held in tension with human responsibility is also through the possibility of conversion (104:9a) and the accessibility of Enochic wisdom to the "children of the earth" through the author's group who are urged to transmit the revealed knowledge they have received (105:1). Differently from this, 1 Enoch 108 expresses a similar sense of openness by using determinism as a hortatory device but still emphasising divine agency. In a sense the author of 1 Enoch 108 sets a limit on determinism through the possibility of transformation he holds out for those born in darkness. Also, while the author of the Epistle is evidently bothered by the opponents, the author of the Eschatological Admonition is primarily concerned about his righteous readers which may be why his primary focus is

assuring the readers of their future reward and their vindication through the punishment their oppressors are sure to receive.

In contrast, 1 Peter's symbolic world aims to signify the new reality inaugurated by Christ. Even in addressing the particular situation of persecution that the readers are facing, 1 Peter's point of departure and elaborative construal finds focus not on the punishment that awaits persecutors. It is rather the Christ event and the new space the readers have been made to embody through election. This space is open and the readers are actively encouraged to "invite" others, even opponents, to it (cf. for e.g., 2:10–12; 3:1; see also Chapter 7 of this thesis). For this reason, 1 Peter is concerned with marking their new identity and their new lived space as the space of God. Thus he goes to a more detailed and nuanced view of righteousness, purification from moral defilement and the subject of what threatens this new reality in the life of the addressees than the Enochic authors.

An example of the nuanced view about the readers' election and righteousness appears for example in the tension between their present state of their right standing before God (2:4–10) and the exhortation to conform to God's law (cf. e.g., 1:15; 2:1–3). Thus, in addition to the exhortation to maintain holiness and imitate Christ (aspects of his view on human responsibility for sin), the author assures the readers that their faith will be found at the appearing of Christ (1 Pet. 1:7), which expresses a degree of belief in divine determinism. It seems that for 1 Peter as the Enochic authors we have seen, the starting point is human responsibility which occurs alongside a recognition of God's omniscience and cosmic power as creator (more on this and the related motif of judgment below).

Determinism is also brought to the forefront through the idea of salvation through divine election. At 1:2, our author states that the readers' status as the elect

exiles (ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις, 1:1) is according to the foreknowledge of God (κατὰ πρόγνωσιν θεοῦ). Again, and as we have seen in Part II above, rebirth is associated with election. At 1:3, it is stated as occurring as an outworking of God's "great mercy" (ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος). While it is evident that there is an aspect of determinism in the notion of election, the identification of the readers as the "elect" and other related description such as "people of God", "royal priesthood", "holy nation" imply the presence of a subtle exhortational agenda behind the terms (cf. 2:5, 9). Put differently, through the description of the righteous as divinely chosen, the author urges the readers to imitate the character he identifies. What Stuckenbruck notes of the generic designations for the Enochic authors is equally applicable to 1 Peter. He writes that, taken together, these designations "function implicitly as exhortations to readers who, if they are pious, should recognize themselves in them and embrace them within their self-understanding."⁵⁶⁰

The various authors' concerns in these texts find a common agenda which aims to establish the respective sets of readers in the spatial realities the texts create. Such constructions of space reinforce the readers' religious identities and highlight the particular truth claims of the authors. They also ensure the maintenance of fidelity to God through specific spatial practices such as, for example, avoiding wicked deeds (Apocalypse of Weeks), lies and incorrect interpretation of scripture (Epistle of Enoch), denouncing riches and ill gains (Eschatological Admonition) and imitating God and Christ (1 Peter). Ultimately then, determinism and human responsibility are held in tension with the latter taken as the starting point and the

⁵⁶⁰ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 719.

means of limiting determinism from a fuller expression as we would find for example in the strong determinism of texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁵⁶¹

9.2.2 Judgment in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter

In the 1 Enoch traditions we have analysed so far, the theme of judgment is presented in terms of punishment levelled against sinful humanity or cosmic evil beings for their involvement in perpetrating wickedness on earth. The final judgment is also presented as entailing rewards and vindication for the righteous and reprisal as punishment for sinners. In the Exhortation, human sinfulness is the major focus of the author in contrast to angelic sin. Using a disclosure formula, “I make known to you” (91:3; cf. 91:5a), the author discloses a two-way instruction (91:3–4) and states that:

91:5 For I know that the state of wrongdoing will grow strong upon the earth. And a great punishment will be carried out on the earth; and all iniquity will come to an end, (and) it will be cut off at its roots, and (its) entire structure will disappear. 91:6 And iniquity shall recur once more and be carried out on the earth. And every work of iniquity and of wrongdoing and of ungodliness will prevail a second time.⁵⁶²

The author’s emphasis throughout the Exhortation is on human responsibility for sin although determinism also appears. Both elements are expressed through a parallel temporal framework that is divinely predetermined and where the human

⁵⁶¹ On which see, for example, Klawans, “Josephus on Fate, Free Will, and Ancient Jewish Types of Compatibilism”; Jonathan Klawans, “The Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and the Study of Religious Belief: Determinism and Freedom of Choice,” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*, ed. Maxine L. Grossman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 264–83; Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif*; Popović, “Apocalyptic Determinism.”

⁵⁶² Translation from Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 175–76.

sinners of the author's own time follow a pattern of wickedness in Noah's time.⁵⁶³

While the time of the flood is construed as Enoch's immediate future, the rise of sin for the second time occurs during the author's own time. Using the flood as a prototype for his own time at 91:6, the author goes on to describe eschatological events that entail punishment for human sins in the present.⁵⁶⁴ The final judgment is thus presented as the second phase of divine judgment through the flood (91:5; cf. Birth of Noah 106:15, 17, 18; 107:1).⁵⁶⁵

The widespread tradition of the Noahic flood imagery also features in the Apocalypse of Weeks at 93:4 and Birth of Noah at 106:19–107:1 (see also 1 En. 89:6). The flood represented a paradigmatic divine action against wickedness that resulted in the renewal of the earth and the cleansing of immorality. Utilising this definitive divine action against unrighteousness, authors construct symbolic worlds on the basis of the unalterable plan that God will deal more fully with evil in the final judgment. While this exhibits a deterministic perspective, the exhortational framework within which the texts appear indicates that the aim of these authors is to encourage their respective readers to keep to the path of wisdom and righteousness as they are currently doing. Behind this aim there is the presumption that human beings have capability for moral agency (more on this below). Thus human responsibility for sin is not only within the purview of the Exhortation but emphasised through the motif of punishment for sin.

⁵⁶³ See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 412.

⁵⁶⁴ The Noahic flood is also associated with the sins of the giants. Taking Genesis 6:3's Nephilim as a point of departure, the Book of Watchers depicts the flood as having occurred because of the greed and violence of the giants (1 En. 7:2–5). Later 1 Enoch traditions continue this association between the giants and the flood (1 En. 89:6; 106:4–12; cf. for e.g., Jub. 7:23; the Book of Giants 4Q203 5 2).

⁵⁶⁵ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 412–14.

In the Exhortation, God's intervention against evil is described as "the great punishment," (דינא רבא, 91:5, 7) which is also the expression used in the Apocalypse of Weeks at 91:15 and the Birth of Noah at 106:17 (cf. the Book of Watchers 22:3).⁵⁶⁶ Similarly to the Apocalypse of Weeks (91:14), eschatological judgment culminates in the destruction of sin and wrongdoing rather than the destruction of sinners (91:7–9).⁵⁶⁷ The author states that idols will also be destroyed through fire.⁵⁶⁸ In the Book of Watchers at 19:1 which notes the coming final judgment, the charge brought against the fallen angels is teaching humanity "to sacrifice to demons as gods." The connection between idols and evil cosmic beings is thus a plausible link to adduce in the Exhortation.

Since oppression, iniquity and idolatry are aspects of the present order of reality for the author and his readers, the continued involvement of fallen angels or at least the potential of being led astray through their teaching is a distinct possibility in the Exhortation's symbolic world. This would fit well with what is stated in the Aramaic tradition at 4QEn⁹ 1 ii 16 "the] ear[th] will rest."⁵⁶⁹ However, the author does not state that demonic beings interfere with the moral choices of the readers. Put differently, there is no claim made that the potential to be led astray is realised in the readers' lives. Although the increase in iniquity that will catalyse the final judgment

⁵⁶⁶ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 174.

⁵⁶⁷ 91:7 And when sin and iniquity and blasphemy and wrongdoing in all deeds increase, and (when) apostasy, and ungodliness and uncleanness increase, there will be a great punishment from heaven upon all these. And the holy Lord will go forth in wrath and punishment in order to execute judgement upon the earth. ⁸ In those days wrongdoing will be cut off from its roots – and the roots of iniquity together with deceit – and they will be destroyed from under heaven. ⁹ And every idol of the peoples will be given up; with fire a tower will be burned, and they will remove them from the whole earth. And they will be thrown into the fiery judgment and be destroyed through wrath and through a powerful judgement which will be for ever.

⁵⁶⁸ Contra Knibb who argues that the judgment is against gentiles. That the author has in view the destruction of idols rather than pagan nations is indicated in the wide attestation the notion of eschatological judgment against idols has. Stuckenbruck cites: Testament of Moses 10:7; Tobit 14:6; Wisdom of Solomon 14:11 and in the present corpus, the Epistle of Enoch 99:7-9, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 178–79; Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 2:218.

⁵⁶⁹ Following Stuckenbruck's restoration, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 173.

may well be ultimately linked to the activity of evil otherworldly beings, this aspect of the author's spatial imagination is neither explicitly articulated nor emphasised (cf. Exhortation 91:5, 7; Epistle of Enoch 93:4; Birth of Noah 106:19). Thus, although angelic punishment forms an aspect of what the author reveals about the final judgment, his interest lies in the present and the significance of the eschatological future for his own time. This is evidenced by the greater attention he pays to the present rather than the past and the many synonyms for the sins that will be judged (cf. for e.g., 91:7).

Moreover, as stated in 91:18–19, the author's intention is to appeal to his readers to maintain fidelity to God by adhering to the path of righteousness and being encouraged that God will take a decisive action against the present time of increased iniquity just as he did in the past.⁵⁷⁰ The notion of righteousness in 1 Enoch 91–108 entails conduct aligned with Torah and the revealed instruction the Enochic author discloses. Righteousness is also depicted as obedience to the divine order. The threat of disobedience and apostasy is an ever present danger and for this reason, the coming judgment is portrayed as a key event. Since the righteousness of the elect will be fully realised after the final judgment (91:8–9), the readers are urged to ensure continued fidelity to God. Therefore, while God is the sole agent in the ordering of historical events and time frames, and malevolent otherworldly beings may affect the readers' lived reality, the righteous are ultimately responsible for their own fate. If they remain on the path of righteousness as the

⁵⁷⁰ 91:18 And now then, my children, I am saying to you and I am showing you the ways of righteousness and the ways of wrongdoing; and I will show (them) to you again so that you may know what will happen. 19 And now listen to me, my children, and walk in the ways of righteousness, and do not walk in the ways of wrongdoing for all those who walk in the ways of iniquity will be destroyed for ever.

author exhorts them to do, they are assured of divine vindication at the final judgment.

Similarly, righteousness in the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Eschatological Admonition, is not presented as a fixed reality although, as I have stated earlier, the author presumes the readers' righteousness to varying degrees. In the Apocalypse of Weeks, it is fully realisable only after the complete destruction of wickedness and the punishment of disobedient otherworldly beings through God's final judgment. This is indirectly expressed in the Apocalypse of Weeks when the author outlines the description of the rise of iniquity in his time. The present time takes after the pattern of events in Noah's day when human disobedience and angelic sin was rampant.

The constructed overlap between the author's present time and the rise of evil on earth prior to the flood may thus indicate the continued effect of otherworldly beings who are responsible in part for sinfulness and apostasy. Their final destruction awaits the final judgment (91:15). Thus, righteousness (i.e., the obedience) of the faithful remains unfixed until the final judgment when sin and the possibility to disobey is removed along with all evil and evil cosmic beings. For this reason, the author's focus is on the final judgment against sinners which he expresses through the pattern of sin and punishment and the analogy of the past for the present and the future.⁵⁷¹ This motif of a divinely ordered history is indicative of determinism but since it appears within an exhortational framework, the determinism is confined by the belief that humans are responsible for sin. The temporal pattern functions to provide as "a stern warning to those who might be inclined to associate

⁵⁷¹ Nickelsburg, "The Nature and Function of Revelation," 95–96.

with the wicked.”⁵⁷² If the righteous persevere on the right path, the unalterable reality that awaits them is eschatological rewards.

Additionally, the fact that they have been made privy to this hidden aspect of reality confers on them the special relationship they have with God through the Enochic instruction they are receiving. As we have seen, the portrayal of God’s past salvific action through the flood in which he saved Noah from unrighteousness portrays the confidence in managing evil that the author wants them to embody. Without resorting to a claim that the righteous are guaranteed to remain on the path of righteousness, the author motivates the readers to persevere by depicting a present time when evil has been partly dealt with through the flood and an eschatological future when they would be given “sevenfold” wisdom, which symbolises perfection and completion. This determinism over history is held in view together with human responsibility for sin which is emphasised here and the rest of 1 Enoch 91–108.⁵⁷³

Furthermore, although the after-effect of angelic sin is indirectly addressed, exhortation to the righteous is the more significant function attached to the theme of angelic punishment. This is evident in the way the author recasts the punishment of fallen angels from the Book of Watchers on to human sinners:

91:11 And after that the roots of oppression shall be cut off, and sinners shall be destroyed by the sword; from every place the blasphemers will be cut off, and those who plan oppression and those who commit blasphemy will be

⁵⁷² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 414.

⁵⁷³ In the Eschatological Admonition, determinism receives greater attention as we will see below in the discussion on the idea of election.

destroyed by the knife.⁵⁷⁴ 91:12 And after this there shall be another week, the eighth, that of righteousness, and a sword shall be given to it so that judgment and righteousness will be executed on those who oppress, and sinners will be delivered into their hands [the hands of the righteous]

Punishment through the sword is what was meted out to the giants as punishment according to 1 Enoch 10:9 and 16:1.⁵⁷⁵ In the Eschatological Admonition as well, the punishment levelled against human sinners resembles that of the giants' punishments. The author states at 1 Enoch 108:3 that the judgment against sinners comes as a result of their disobedience and for their persecution of the righteous. It involves (1) the removal of their names from "the book of life" and "the books of the holy ones" (2) the destruction of their "seed," echoes the destruction of the fallen angels' progeny (10:9, 12; 12:6; cf. 22:7; 99:5); (3) the slaughtering of their spirits which is unique to 1 Enoch 108 and does not entail their complete or final destruction as they are said to continue crying out and lamenting in a deserted place fire (108:4–7).⁵⁷⁶ Again, this recalls 1 Enoch 10:6 which records the fiery place of punishment that is levelled against Asael. In the Epistle of Enoch, the theme of judgment appears in terms of punishment against sinful humanity on whom the author recasts the punishment levelled against the fallen angels in the Book of Watchers.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁴ Both the term for "oppression" and the motif of injustice being "cut off from roots" in the Ethiopic resonate with earlier portions of the foregoing *Exhortation* in 91:1–10 that describe eschatological judgement. In particular, the wording of the Ethiopic, and less so the Aramaic, is reminiscent of the Ethiopic tradition in verses 5 and 8.

⁵⁷⁵ Pierce, *Spirits and Proclamation*, 63–64.

⁵⁷⁶ 1 Enoch 108:3–5: But you wait until sin passes for their names will be erased from [the book] of life and books of the holy ones and their seed destroyed forever and their spirits killed and they will cry and lament at the place of desolation which cannot be seen and burn with fire, for there is no earth there. 4 And I saw there [something] like a cloud which cannot be seen because of its depth I could not look upon it, and I saw a flame of fire burning brightly and they circled like mountains turning and shaking this way and that. 5 And I pleaded with one of the holy angels who was with me and I said to him, —what is this bright [thing], for it is not heaven but only the flame of fire that burns, and the sound of weeping and crying and lamentation and great agony.

⁵⁷⁷ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 206.

The repeated collection of the past which is used to describe the fate of human sinners here and in the Eschatological Admonition serves to link human sinners with evil cosmic beings. This link indicates a view of sinners as the hostile other, i.e., as agents of evil who belong to the camp of evil cosmic beings and will be punished like them. The significance of this lies in the emphasis the author places on human moral agency. Linking the fate of sinners with that of evil cosmic beings serves to intensify the importance of choosing the right moral path. The authors presume that, if the readers *choose* to do right, then they will escape eschatological punishment. Through this remembrance of angelic punishment, the authors communicate an implicit exhortation that demonstrates a conceptual framework that views the readers as capable of exercising their will freely. Thus while the motif of final judgment and eschatological punishment contains elements of determinism, the determinism is partial in that human responsibility is affirmed and emphasised through the exhortation framework behind the motif.

Human culpability for sin is further adduced in the Epistle of Enoch. The author charges the sinners with being in possession of excessive wealth and oppressing the poor (94:7,8; 96:4–8; 97:8–10; 98:1–2, 11–14; 99:13; 103:9–15). The sinners are also charged with the eating of blood at 95:17 which recalls the charge brought against the giants at 1 Enoch 7:5. As we have seen in Part I, the author of the Epistle of Enoch characterises the opposing group as those who spread lies and a teaching that is not based on the correct interpretation of the Torah (98:9–99:2; 103:2).⁵⁷⁸ Because of these deeds, God will pass judgment on them through a post-mortem punishment. The author describes their punishment in several ways. He writes that “fear will find them” (100:8) and that they will lose hope (98:10–14). As

⁵⁷⁸ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 380–82.

Stuckenbruck notes, this recalls the theme of Holy War from the HB (Num. 21:34; Deut. 2:24; 3:2; Josh. 6:2; 8:1; 10:8).⁵⁷⁹ In the Epistle of Enoch it functions to portray the punishment due sinners as reprisal (99:15–16; 103:5).⁵⁸⁰ Those who have persecuted the righteous and lived with no apparent consequence for their sins in their life on earth, will have their fortunes reversed in the afterlife. The author states in 102:1–3 that they will have nowhere to hide from the outpouring of God’s wrath on them. In contrast, although the righteous have died in grief, they will be glad in the afterlife since joy and many good things have been prepared for them and will be given to them (103:3–4).⁵⁸¹

The contrast that is evident between the fate of the righteous and the sinners on the one hand and the ethical dualism between the two groups of people on the other does not come in a deterministic framework. This means that God does not predetermine the existence of good and evil as is the case in Sirach or the *Hodayot* (cf. *Sirach* 37:7–15; *1QH^a* V 30–36; VI 22–23). In the Epistle, God’s sovereignty and determinism or even ethical dualism is not foregrounded. Instead, the author’s antithetical language is “in service of exhortation.”⁵⁸² In this regard, the contrast between the sinners and the righteous serves as admonition while highlighting the identity of the addressees as the righteous, which again serves as an exhortation.

Furthermore, in the Epistle, the language of judgment follows “a threefold reference to the day of divine punishment.”⁵⁸³ The first expression is “the day of

⁵⁷⁹ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 200; Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 174, 179–84.

⁵⁸⁰ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 200.

⁵⁸¹ Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 186–87; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 292.

⁵⁸² Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 250; on ethics in the *Hodayot* and other traditions from the Dead Sea Scrolls, cf. for e.g. Carol A. Newsom, “Predeterminism and Moral Agency in the *Hodayot*,” *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2018): 193–211; Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self”; Matthew J. Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the *Hodayot*,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11.3 (2004): 263–88.

⁵⁸³ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 265.

bloodshed” or “the day of unceasing bloodshed” (cf. 100:3; 99:6). This language reflects the Epistle of Enoch’s view of reality that those who do evil and oppress the righteous will be avenged by God in the afterlife (cf. for e.g., 95:7; 96:8; 99:11; 100:9; 102:9; and 103:9–15).⁵⁸⁴ The other expression is “the day of darkness” which stands for the place of punishment. In the Book of Watchers Asael is punished in a place of darkness (1 En. 10:4–6). The sinners in the Epistle of Enoch are said to have their spirits cast into fire in darkness and in chains (103:8; cf. 92:5 and 102:7). This expression also appears as a description of the final judgment in Amos 5:20, Joel 2:2 and Zephaniah 1:15 (יום חשך) . The third form of the language of judgment appears as “the great day of judgment”. This expression also occurs in the Book of Watchers which again refers to the God’s judgment against the fallen angels (1 En. 10:12; 19:1).⁵⁸⁵ Several passages refer, for example, to “the great and terrible day of the Lord” (Joel 2:11, 31; Mal. 4:5; cf. Acts 2:20), while Zephaniah 1:14 designates the judgement as “the great day of the Lord” (cf. Rev. 6:17 and 16:14).

As evidenced by the language used for the final judgment and moreover, through the literary forms of woe-oracles, oaths and disclosure formula he adopts in the main body of the Epistle (94:6–104:8), the author presents himself as a prophet.⁵⁸⁶ His indictment against the sinners is of a moral nature and indicates the gravity of the sins they have committed. However, he does not link their transgressions with the defiling effect immorality has on the temple, the land or the

⁵⁸⁴ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 265–66.

⁵⁸⁵ So Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 267. Stuckenbruck also notes examples of equivalent expressions from the biblical tradition noting, for example, “‘the great and terrible day of the Lord’ (Joel 2:11, 31; Mal. 4:5; cf. Acts 2:20), while Zephaniah 1:14 designates the judgement as ‘the great day of the Lord’ (cf. Rev. 6:17 and 16:14),” cf. *idem*, 267.

⁵⁸⁶ The Epistle of Enoch similarly recalls the prophetic tradition in terms of content. As Stuckenbruck rightly notes, “the indictments expressed in texts like Isaiah 10:1–2, Jeremiah 22:13, Amos 6:4–6, Habakkuk 2 (vv. 9, 12, 19), and Micah 2:1 may have shaped the way the sinners’ circumstances—both their comfortable social standing and their oppression of the righteous—are described (cf. 94:7a; 96:5),” Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 197.

individual sinner. There is no evidence of the prophetic concern with the moral defilement sin causes as is the case for example in Hosea 5:3 and 6:10 where idolatry is associated with moral defilement (cf. Jer. 2:7, 3:1; Ezek. 22:1–4; 33:26; 36:18).⁵⁸⁷ This indicates that the author’s condemnation against the sinners is at root a theological conflict about the correct interpretation of the law rather than a general sectarian indictment of others as morally defiled or unholy.⁵⁸⁸ For this reason, the author distinguishes between his opponents and other sinners (which likely refers to Gentiles) accusing the former for associating with evildoers (97:4; 103:14–15).⁵⁸⁹

Additionally, since sin is not conceptualised in terms of defilement, there is no notion of impurity or a conception of the addressees as those who have been or will be purified. This means that, in theory, the sinners have unfettered access to making a moral choice. If they choose to follow the right path (that is, accept the teachings of the author and the validity of his revelation), then they will attain righteousness. This is of course something the author does not articulate.

In contrast to sinners, the addressees are considered as righteous because of their understanding and possession of Enochic wisdom by which the author means his written tradition. Reflecting his assumption of the readers’ righteousness, the author’s description of the readers combines “righteous” and “pious” at 103:9 and 104:12 (i.e., δίκαιος and ὅσιος, cf. Isa. 57:1; Mic. 7:2).⁵⁹⁰ These terms may indicate a thought world that is reflective of the belief that God has caused the author’s group to be righteous. Put differently, it may indicate the author’s belief that God predetermines the disposition of people towards righteousness.

⁵⁸⁷ On the association of grave moral sins with the defilement they cause on the land, Temple and individual in relation to these passages, cf. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 28–36.

⁵⁸⁸ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 380.

⁵⁸⁹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 473; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 313–14.

⁵⁹⁰ See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 517–18.

However, a closer look at the terms indicates the greater emphasis placed on human responsibility. Nickelsburg notes that righteousness and piety are not synonymous terms that would make the combination here redundant. While righteousness denotes a life of obedience and conformity to God's law, "יִסְדִּים focuses on the relationship of devotion, loyalty and faithfulness between the pious person and his or her God."⁵⁹¹ After reviewing the literature where this combination of terms occur, Nickelsburg concludes that the combination in the Epistle of Enoch is indicative of terminology used for those Jews who "stand in a right relationship with God and receive the reciprocal blessing of divine אֱלֹהִים."⁵⁹² If so, while divine agency is implied for the state of blissfulness the righteous will find themselves in in the after-life (92:4; 100:5; cf. 102:4–5), it is a result of their faithfulness and the utilisation of their moral agency. Often appearing as encouragements followed by an assurance of divine judgment against the sinners, the exhortations addressed to them also reflect the author's assumption that they are responsible for the right standing they have before God. These exhortations are the author's admonition to have hope (96:1; 102:4; 104:2, 4), to have faith, to take courage and to not fear (95:3; 96:3; 103:4).⁵⁹³

In 1 Peter, determinism and human responsibility are also held in tension in a context where the author's addressees are presumed righteous. In relation to the deterministic view of reality, God is depicted as creator and judge of the whole world who accomplishes his predetermined plan. According to 1 Pet. 4:19, God is πιστῷ κτίστῃ (faithful creator). This presents the NT's only appearance of the noun

⁵⁹¹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 518.

⁵⁹² Cf. Ps. 30:5; 50:5; 148:14; 149:1; 11QPSa 18:12; 19:7–8; 22:3–6; Ps. Sol. 3:8 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 518.

⁵⁹³ For a discussion on this feature along with a literary analysis of the passages involved, cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 199, cf. 198–200.

κτίστη. Here, 1 Peter urges all those who are suffering for their faith in Christ to view their undeserved suffering as occurring in accordance with God's will and for that reason to entrust themselves to the faithful creator: πιστῶ κτίστη παρατιθέσθωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐν ἀγαθοποιίᾳ. In so doing, he alludes to Christ's entrusting of himself to God when he was being reviled (τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως, 2:23). God is identified as one who judges justly and who vindicates innocent sufferers. In both cases, comfort for those who are being persecuted lies in the identification of God as one who is a faithful creator and who is a just judge over all beings. Through the categories of creator and judge, 1 Peter evokes God's sovereign power through an eschatological framework that depicts "God's prerogative to execute eschatological judgment."⁵⁹⁴ This demonstrates the author's fixed view of reality as one that is predetermined by God and is unalterable.

While this is so, and as we have seen earlier, determinism is reflected in the notion of election which entails divine initiation, human agency and responsibility is still within the purview of 1 Peter's spatial imagination.⁵⁹⁵ This is evident in 1 Peter's reflection of God as the eschatological judge (1:17; 2:23; 4:5, 6, 17; cf. 2:12). Divine judgement is impartial but it is based upon one's deed (ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου ἔργον, 1:17). A favourable outcome is not guaranteed and although elected and constituted as the people of God, the readers are still warned to ensure that their actions are aligned with the divinely ordered space of God. For this reason, in both 1:13–21 and in 4:1–6, 1 Peter presents the call for holiness and fidelity.⁵⁹⁶

Elsewhere, the language of judgement and related ideas also appear in a paraenetic

⁵⁹⁴ Jobes, *1 Peter*, 295.

⁵⁹⁵ Michaels notes that in 1:13-21, "Peter mentions the divine 'calling,' a corollary of divine election..." thus affirming 1 Peter's intention to present divine agency and human responsibility as two aspects of the new life in Christ, cf. Michaels, *1 Peter*, 111.

⁵⁹⁶ Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition*, 52; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 111.

context (2:12; 4:17; cf. 2:23). So for 1 Peter, the addressees have received re-birth (1:3–5), are ransomed from an immoral life (1:18) and given a new life in the space of God through divine election and in accordance with God’s predetermined time (1:10–12). However, they also have agency in maintaining holiness and their status as God’s elect people, failure to do so is associated with the divine judgment they will face.

By urging the readers to live in accordance with God’s will and cautioning them against the divine judgment based on human conduct, 1 Peter regards the readers as moral agents. While awaiting the salvation that is to be revealed (1:5), the chosen have the responsibility to continue live in righteousness (τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν, 2:24; cf. 3:14), that is, living in accordance with God’s will thereby growing “into salvation” (αὐξηθῆτε εἰς σωτηρίαν, 2:2).⁵⁹⁷ The author also foregrounds the active agency of the addressees in the response to persecution he advocates. As Cavin rightly notes, “although trusting in God results in non-retaliation, this restraint is in the first instance an *active* agency. Deliberately choosing to suffer and relinquish both the desire for and the act of revenge *is* acting.”⁵⁹⁸ The elect thus retain the agency to choose.⁵⁹⁹

The idea of human agency is also brought to a sharp relief in what 1 Peter urges the readers to do when faced with the threat of a cosmic evil being as the readers’ enemy (5:8). He says, νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε (“be self-controlled and watchful,” 5:8) since their opponent the devil (ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος) seeks to devour them. They are nevertheless to resist/oppose (ἀνθίστημι) him, firm in their

⁵⁹⁷ Righteousness in 1 Peter entails uprightness, that is, living in accordance with divine ordinances; see also Elliott, *1 Peter*, 535; Achtemeier, *First Peter*, 203.

⁵⁹⁸ Cavin, *New Existence*, 113 emphasis original.

⁵⁹⁹ Cavin, *New Existence*, 112.

faith (5:9). In stating this, 1 Peter indicates that the addressees have the capacity to manage evil and withstand a cosmic evil force. As discussed in Chapter 8 above, this is made possible through Christ's heavenly journey that resulted in the defeat and subjugation of evil cosmic beings (3:19, 22). Thus, by standing firm in their faith even as they suffer at the hands of their persecutors, i.e., by submitting themselves to the will of God and by imitating God and Christ, the readers are enabled to resist a powerful otherworldly being.

Thus, 1 Peter foregrounds human agency and responsibility in relation to the readers' new lived space. At the same time however, divine agency is highlighted in the conferring of an "elect" identity on the readers and the assurance of reward that is due to the faithful in the eschatological future. God's election confers an identity and a status upon the readers that is expressed through their identification as God's holy people who have access to his presence. In connection to this status, they are also "guarded" by the power of God (1:5). It is also through the resurrection of Christ and his proclamation of victory to evil spirits that they are in a position to live without fear in the presence of demonic power. However, since holiness and righteousness are spatial markers linked to living in accordance with God's will as his temple, 1 Peter's overall concern can be said to lie in the tension between divine action (that is, determinism) and human responsibility.

9.2.3 The Moral Self

Human responsibility in choosing what is right entails viewing human beings as moral agents with the ability to act in accordance with one's will without coercion from otherworldly beings. Carol Newsom's analysis of the conceptualisation of the moral self in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism creates helpful categories to help us understand and comparatively analyse the notion of human

responsibility for sin which we have traced through the themes of election and judgment in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter.

Newsom identifies three categories to classify the notion of moral agency, providing pertinent examples for each. The first perspective is one where the capability of human beings to make their own moral choices is affirmed. This, she notes, is an affirmation of the Deuteronomic view which does not consider “the human moral ‘equipment’” as impaired.⁶⁰⁰ This model depicts humans as free to choose good or evil (cf. 2 Bar. 54:19; Sir. 15:15).

The second model considers moral agency as being impaired due to internal or external circumstances; but this impairment can be overcome.⁶⁰¹ This perspective affirms that human beings have the capacity to make moral decisions, but because of some sort of inherent condition such as a guilty inclination or propensity to lust given the human nature, human beings can have disordered desires. The impairment can also be the result of an external influence by demonic beings which cause error and lead humans astray thus affecting their ability to make the correct moral choice. As Newsom notes, despite the impairment, human beings are still considered as “active moral agents and held responsible for their actions,” according to this perspective.⁶⁰² The third view has its point of departure in the creation accounts of Genesis 1–3 and takes that as the basis for the notion that human beings are not created with the capability to possess moral agency.⁶⁰³ What she notes with regard to these perspectives is instructive in contextualising our

⁶⁰⁰ Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 15.

⁶⁰¹ Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 16–21.

⁶⁰² Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 15.

⁶⁰³ Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 21–24.

comparison of 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter in light of the latter’s acute focus on the internal moral conflict the righteous face.

Before discussing the significance of the three models of the moral self for our texts, it is helpful to note the larger context for these perspectives. Newsom distinguishes between those traditions where inner moral conflict occurs with those that do not employ such a motif. What she notes is worth quoting at length:

The new models of moral selfhood in Second Temple Judaism frequently focus on the phenomenon of inner moral conflict. By contrast, earlier Israelite literature seldom focused on that issue. The emphasis there is much more on the acquisition of proper insight and the formation of proper desires, so that one does not in fact experience moral conflict but is drawn reliably to what is right (e.g., Deut 4:1–9; 30:6–10; Prov 6:20–24; 7:1–5; 8:1–11). One of the effects of the new focus on inner moral conflict is nothing less than the creation of a different kind of “inner life,” a form of quasi-introspective subjectivity that was simply unavailable with earlier models of the moral self.⁶⁰⁴

This helps explain the differences we have seen between 1 Peter and the Enochic conception of human responsibility for sin. In the Enochic texts discussed here the notion of an internal moral struggle does not occur. This is especially the case with AW, Exhortation and the Epistle of Enoch. To put it in Newsom’s terms, the conception of the self that is evident in these texts reflects an emphasis on knowing, accepting or acquiring a divinely revealed knowledge that is mediated through the Enochic author. This in turn is associated with possessing proper desires

⁶⁰⁴ Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 14.

and an affinity for the path of righteousness. It is as if the authors take for granted human capability for moral action. Each respective author's exhortation can be summed up as an admonishment to simply *choose* to follow the right path. Once the right path has been revealed to them and they accept its divine origins, it is presumed that people will be able to uphold morality. Thus, rather than depicting the righteous in terms of the moral struggle they face as individuals, the authors draw a direct link between accepting Enochic wisdom and having moral agency.

Perhaps the clearest expression of this model of the moral self appears in the Eschatological Admonition where instead of having an inner moral conflict, the righteous are drawn to the right course of action. In fact, the righteous are so committed to keeping the law that they are imagined as being able to go beyond what is even required. According to 108:9, the author states the heavenward orientation of the righteous addressees in terms of their disregard for things on earth including food, "they did not long after food which is on earth," implying their supererogatory fasting. Thus, it can be said that these Enochic texts can be considered as conceptualising human responsibility for sin in terms of the individual's straightforward capability for moral agency. For instance, in the Exhortation, the author appeals to his readers to maintain fidelity to God knowing that God will deal with iniquity in judgment just as he did in the past (91:18–19). While righteousness is depicted as obedience to the divine order expressed in terms of adherence to Enochic wisdom, the threat of disobedience and apostasy is an ever present danger and serves as the rationale for the author's emphasis on human responsibility for sin and the foregrounding of the coming judgment. This indicates that the author presumes the readers to be moral agents who can choose to have a right standing with God since their moral agency is unmarred.

Similarly, the readers are presumed to be active moral agents in the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Eschatological Admonition. While the authors do not explicitly state that the readers are guaranteed to stay on the path of righteousness, still, they do not state anything that would prevent their addressees from doing so. There is no “fleshly desire” to borrow the language of 1 Peter or innate human propensity to disobey the will of God. The activity of demonic beings in leading humanity astray is not a significant aspect of these authors’ thought worlds. Although given the AW’s *Urzeit-Endzeit* parallelism, the rise of apostasy in the author’s present time may be accounted to demonic activity in part, demons are not depicted as leading humanity astray or causing an impairment on one’s moral capability (compare with Jub. 10:1–14; 19:28–29).⁶⁰⁵ For this reason, the moral self in these Enochic works is one where moral agency is affirmed.

A final example for the moral vision we see in 1 Enoch 91–108 presents itself in the association authors draw between the punishment of human sinners and the sin and punishment of angelic beings. This association indicates a view of sinners as the hostile other, i.e., as agents of evil who belong to the camp of evil cosmic beings and will be punished like them. The significance of this lies in the emphasis the authors place on human responsibility for sin and the view of human beings as moral agents. Linking the fate of sinners with that of evil cosmic beings serves to intensify the importance of choosing the right moral path. The authors presume that, if the readers choose to do right, then they are able to without the interference of malevolent beings or an inherent inability to do right: the readers are affirmed as active moral agents and are urged to exercise their agency.

⁶⁰⁵ For a discussion of moral agency in Jubilees, cf. Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 19–20; Miryam Brand, *Evil Within and Without: The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 169–96.

This is in stark contrast with 1 Peter where human responsibility appears through the notion of a moral selfhood that takes into account the inner struggle. Through the language of “desire” (ἐπιθυμία), 1 Peter identifies an internal condition the readers need to recognise in themselves and intentionally resist if they are to overcome moral impairment and exercise their moral agency. Illicit desires that threaten to impair the readers’ ability to choose what is right before God are expressed at 1:14, 2:11 and 4:2. The first of these appears as 1 Peter’s appeal to the readers whom he calls “obedient children.” The author exhorts the readers to not be conformed to the “desires” of their “former ignorance” (τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις, 1:14). Their capability for obedience, that is, their moral agency is affirmed and an impairment identified: an internal deficiency that is in disorder with their present life.

A possible remedy for this impairment is also identified in 1:15–17. At 1:15 where 1 Peter tells the readers to be holy as God is holy, he establishes a spatial practice that centres obedience on the identity of God as holy (1:16). This indicates that in order to intentionally resist moral impairment, the readers should begin with imitating God. Again, by evoking the spatial practice of “the fear of God”, 1 Peter indicates the means by which the internal force of illicit “desires” can be resisted on the basis of the identity of God. Put differently, the impairment of moral agency can be overcome through spatial practices (i.e., new sets of relationships) that are aligned with the newly accessible space of God. These practices result in correcting the disordered desires that lead the readers astray.

In 2:11–12, the author expresses these ideas in terms of τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν (fleshly desires). After articulating the readers’ new identity as the household of God and their consecration for cultic services at 2:5–9, 1 Peter begins a new section with the exhortation to abstain from fleshly desire (2:11–25). This

restates his earlier call to the readers to imitate the holy God by being holy themselves (cf. 1:15–16). He tells the readers to abstain from illicit desires which threaten their new identity and negatively impact the missional task that is stated at 2:9 (see also 4:3). What threatens the readers' allegiance to God is identified as the internal issue of τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, which 1 Peter says “wage war against the soul” (στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, 2:11). This is a clear description of the moral dilemma the righteous community face on the individual level.

In 4:2–3 as well, 1 Peter urges the readers to adhere to the will of God by resisting ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις (human desires, 4:2) which further clarifies the inherent nature of illicit desires and for that reason something the readers will need to continually overcome. At 4:2, seeking after sinful human desires is contrasted with living in pursuit of the will of God which is in turn juxtaposed with the desires of the Gentiles at 4:3. Here, the author describes with more clarity his earlier command to abstain from fleshly desires. The readers are told not to engage in “sensuality, passions, drunkenness, orgies, drinking bashes and detestable idolatry” (4:3). This list of vices sums up 1 Peter's command to not emulate the pagan society but rather God himself (1:15–17) and Christ (2:18–21). Moreover, it serves as an elaboration of what impairs moral agency and what needs to be intentionally resisted so that one's moral agency is not impeded. The inner moral conflict and the need to continually adhere to the will of God further demonstrates the importance of human agency and human responsibility for sin within 1 Peter's symbolic world.

The way to mitigate disordered desire and overcome the threat to disobey God is to resist from acting upon such desire. Instead the readers are to recognise their new mode of existence which is expressed here at 2:11 in terms of the sojourner identity. Thus, 1 Peter links his exhortation to abstain from fleshly desire

with the readers' identity "as sojourners and exiles," (2:11). This indicates that resisting moral impairment is associated with being conscious of the identity the readers have gained when placed in the space of God.

While imitating pagans amplifies internal moral impairment, adhering to the example of Christ helps overcome it. This association with imitating Christ is relayed at 4:1 where the author expresses imitating Christ in terms of having his mind-set or thought: "since Christ suffered in the flesh, arm yourselves with the same thought, since the one who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin," (Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος σαρκὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν ὀπλίσασθε, ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας). By imitating Christ in his thoughts and behaviour, the readers will be able to overcome the propensity to act upon illicit human desires which threaten to impair their moral agency internally.⁶⁰⁶ The mitigating steps 1 Peter states at 1:15–17 and at 4:1 cohere with the underlying principles we have identified in 1 Peter's use of the temple, i.e., imitating God and Christ on the one hand and maintaining the presence of God on the other (cf. Chapter 6). Seen in this light 1 Peter's exhortations can be understood as ways of resisting moral impairment by being conscious of God and their new identity in Christ and imitating God and Christ.

⁶⁰⁶ Hockey rightly notes that there are three ways in which the imitation of Christ is expressed in 1 Peter. The imitation occurs through the readers' imitation of Christ in terms of their behaviour, their thinking and the meaning they ascribe to suffering. She adds that "the behavioural aspect is clear in 2:21, where Christ leaves the believers a pattern (ὑπογραμμός) that they might follow in his footsteps. [...] Imitating Christ's thinking occurs in 4:1, where the believers are asked to arm themselves with the same ἔννοια as Christ. Lastly, in 2.20-21 and 3:17-18 where the call to imitate Christ is present, suffering is qualified as suffering for doing good, which infers that the believers are only imitating Christ if they suffer for the right reasons." While Hockey is right in identifying the three ways in which the imitation of Christ is conceptualised, she does not associate this with the notion of human responsibility (moral agency). Hockey, *Emotion in 1 Peter*, 149. See also, Dubis, *Messianic Woes*, 96–97.

9.3 Apocalyptic Spatiality in 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter

Bautch rightly notes that the notion of space is critical to understanding of the apocalyptic imagination.⁶⁰⁷ Signifiers of space and ideas connected to spatial realities help us access spatial practices and ideologies encoded in the text thereby opening up avenues of analysis and the opportunity to understand our ancient sources better. The space that is represented in texts depicts a particular author's description of beliefs and spatial practices a particular group or society holds at a given time and for this reason it can be considered as the way an author imagines it to be. However, as Claudia V. Camp rightly notes, the text is not only an author's representation of what a particular society conceives space to be, but rather the site where we encounter Thirdspace which includes the space of representation (Secondspace) and the physical space where that society has its embodied existence (Firstspace). She argues that the text "potentially supplies both a model for thinking Thirdspatially and a site of Thirdspace from which live First- and Secondspatial possibilities can be abstracted and analysed."⁶⁰⁸ This means that texts can produce "multiple understandings of any given space, endorsing First- and Secondspatial understandings of those spaces, while at the same time challenging important elements of their perceptions and conceptions."⁶⁰⁹ Texts thus create space and are used by authors to realign centres and priorities as well as make salient ideological shifts that impact their readers' conception of reality and social location.

⁶⁰⁷ Bautch, "Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature."

⁶⁰⁸ Claudia V. Camp, "Storied Space, or, Ben Sira 'Tells' a Temple," in *"Imagining" Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honour of James W. Flanagan*, ed. David M. Gunn and Paula M. McNutt, JSOTS 359 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 68.

⁶⁰⁹ Stewart, "New Testament Space/Spatiality," 143.

Moreover, in apocalyptic literature, the text “becomes the locus of deliberations on contested space, social location, and religious roles.”⁶¹⁰

There are variations in authorial intent and purpose in the apocalyptic texts we have seen. Despite these variations, given the concern with mediating divinely revealed knowledge, its spatiality we encounter in 1 Enoch 91–108 on the one hand and 1 Peter on the other foregrounds transcendent space. These spaces are inaccessible to human beings except through a revelation mediated by an otherworldly figure to a seer. The seer in turn communicates this knowledge to an audience. The content of the revealed knowledge concerns hidden realms such as God’s dwelling place or space where events occur and particular places exist, such as those having to do with dead humans, evil spirits or angelic beings.⁶¹¹ It also includes phenomena associated with rewards for the righteous and places of punishment for wicked humanity and evil cosmic beings, including storehouses for astronomical phenomena, tablets depicting the fate of the wicked and the righteous, and other aspects of space that is not immediately available on the earthly realm.

Otherworldly space can serve various functions. It can be associated with an author’s desire to elevate his status as a person of visionary piety with access to hidden knowledge that would remain hidden had it not been for the divine revelation the seer received.⁶¹² Access to transcendent space can also serve to elevate the status of the seer’s community who are recipients of the knowledge thus gained.⁶¹³ Moreover, having such access confers authority to the author and whatever the rest of his text contains is validated through the motif of his revealed knowledge about

⁶¹⁰ Bautch, “Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature,” 273.

⁶¹¹ See also Bautch, “Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature,” 278.

⁶¹² Bautch, “Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature.”

⁶¹³ See also Newsom, “Rhetoric,” 210–13.

inaccessible spaces. Thus, ethical exhortations get marked as authoritative and divinely approved knowledge. This also includes the author's condemnation of particular views of reality or groups considered as outsiders.

In the later Enochic traditions access to transcendent space is emphasised through visionary experiences or communication with angels attributed to Enoch the seer. In 1 Peter, as we have seen, access to such knowledge occurs through Christ whose otherworldly journey is recounted. Instead of a visionary experience, the author also depicts himself as someone who has visibly experienced an encounter with Christ who is depicted as both the content of revelation and also the mediator of transcendent knowledge (see Sect. 9.2.1 above). Moreover, and in contrast to 1 Enoch traditions, access to the realm of God occurs through the presence of God among the temple-community. This marks the readers' corporate and corporeal existence as sacred space. Although the Enochic authors explicitly place their readers as the righteous who are on the side of God, who is opposed to cosmic evil beings, human sinners and sin itself. In this regard and by association, the Thirdspatial reality of the readers, i.e., their embodied and socially located reality is experienced in a manner that is ideologically aligned with the realm of God. The evocation of Enoch also highlights the association of their lived space with righteousness, faithfulness and the heavenly realm in general. While these aspects are also present in 1 Peter, the biblical past that is used to mark 1 Peter's Thirdspace does not allude to the figure of Enoch. Also, the association between the realm of God and the readers is more explicit with the "spirit of glory and of God" said to be upon the readers (1 Pet. 4:14; cf. Sect. 6.3.3).

Despite differences, both the 1 Enoch traditions we have seen and 1 Peter present writings that make use of the category of divinely revealed hidden spaces to

communicate their respective agenda. These sets of traditions also include aspects of the future such as eschatological judgment, reward that awaits the readers (in 1 Peter heavenly inheritance and salvation), and events that have taken place in space other than the earthly realm. This is explicitly stated as divinely sourced knowledge that the reader has gained – in the case of 1 Enoch, through “Enoch” the seer and in 1 Peter in connection with Christ with whom “Peter” is associated.

The transcendent space expressed in these texts are not just authorial constructs. As critical spatial theory informs us, space is encountered, envisaged and experienced through ideology and culture. Through the otherworldly spaces in his text, the author thus informs his readers’ lived space, mediating the way everyday life is experienced and reality envisaged corporately and corporeally. This means that the otherworldly realm experienced through heavenly journeys for example (taken by Enoch and in 1 Peter by Christ), impact the lived space of the readers. This includes the imaginative places of punishment for the wicked, heavenly records, rewards, including salvation, that await the righteous or the otherworldly scope of eschatology in the 1 Enoch texts we have seen. The common feature in these traditions is the overall framework of exhortation that encompass each author’s Thirdspace so that ultimately, transcendent space is made to function as a rhetorical tool to urge readers to embody ideals associated with the space of God. The ideals that are communicated through the transcendent space of God are to be embodied, that is, practiced as the readers await the eschatological end which is the great end history is moving towards for each of the texts we have seen here.

Some of these ideals are explicitly stated in terms of spatial practice the readers are to engage in. An example is the spatial practice of the fear of God which the authors of both the Epistle of Enoch and 1 Peter articulate (1 En. 101:1–9; 1 Pet.

1:17; 2:17). According to 1 Enoch 101:1–9, the author uses the creation motif to exhort the readers to fear doing evil in God’s presence. The author here depicts God as the creator who has total control over creation and is to be feared. He also depicts sinners as those who do not fear God and have no respect for his majesty (101:7–9). The fear of God in 1 Peter also functions in tandem with the description of God as creator and judge (1:17). Fearing God is thus depicted in both traditions in association with the motif of judgment. To escape judgment one needs to fear God.⁶¹⁴

Another spatial practice that is pertinent to both the Enochic traditions and 1 Peter is prayer. In 1 Peter, prayer (προσευχή, 3:7; 4:7) is an aspect of the lived reality of the community. Both occurrences of the term show 1 Peter’s concern with the efficacy of prayer. At 3:7, he tells husbands that the ill-treating their wives will cause their prayers to be hindered (ἐκκόπτω). At 4:7 as well, he states conditions that will render prayers efficacious. He urges the readers to be self-controlled and sober-minded for the purpose of prayer (σωφρονήσατε οὖν καὶ νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς). The admonition to be self-controlled and sober-minded stands in stark contrast with the uncontrolled desires and illicit passions that marks the life of pagans at 4:3.⁶¹⁵

In the Epistle of Enoch, prayer is also the presumed praxis associated with the lived reality of the righteous. In an address to sinners, the author connects the prayer of the righteous with the judgment of sinners (97:3–6; cf. 99:16; 104:3).⁶¹⁶ He states that the prayers of the righteous will be a witness against their oppressors. At

⁶¹⁴ On the notion of the fear of God as an aspect of the creation motif in 1 Enoch, cf. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 101–12.

⁶¹⁵ Jobes, *1 Peter*, 274–78.

⁶¹⁶ On the prayer of vengeance here and related traditions cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 307–16.

99:3 as well, the author identifies prayer as a trigger for divine judgment.⁶¹⁷ He addresses the righteous and exhorts them to present their prayers as a reminder before angels who would then present the sins of the unrighteous to God.

Another spatial practice that appears throughout the Enochic traditions we have seen here and also in 1 Peter is the avoidance of sin and the active demonstration of fidelity to God. In 1 Peter, this entails right conduct and an attitude of non-retaliation and non-conformity. In 1 Peter, spaces that impact the readers' here and now by informing the readers' spatial practices include occurrences such as Christ's declaration of victory over imprisoned spirits in a realm other than that of the earthly as well as the realm of God where an inheritance, reward and partaking of Christ's glory await the readers and where a final judgment is expected to unfold. One way the author constructs a symbolic world and affects the perception of reality by the addressees is through communicating a view of reality that revolves around the conviction that actions in this life have consequences in the afterlife. This is emphasised and reinforced through the places of punishment, the idea of judgment, and otherworldly *dramatis personae*, which form and contribute to the construction of space where sins, the afterlife, punishment and reward receive greater significance through the author's claim to divine revelation.

Furthermore, as Bautch notes, "access to the divine confers authority because it speaks to a person's election [and] moral rectitude."⁶¹⁸ In 1 Peter as well, the readers' access to the divine through the resurrection of Christ and the otherworldly dimension of the readers' election (such as rewards that await them or their ability to keep evil at bay in the present) confers authority on the readers. In

⁶¹⁷ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 489.

⁶¹⁸ Bautch, "Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature," 278.

recognition of this facet of their new identity in Christ, 1 Peter foregrounds their otherness in terms of their moral rectitude over the wider society (2:4–9) and their moral capability to overcome fleshly desires and modes of behaviour that are contrary to the will of God (2:11–12). Thus, even in moral exhortations, the basis for 1 Peter’s message lies in the elect status he has established for the readers and their baptism and re-birth which is associated with the salvific significance attached to the resurrection of Christ. Through the content of his revelation, that is through Christ and the associated realm of God that is disclosed in 1 Peter, authority is conferred to the readers since 1 Peter speaks to the readers’ freedom from the defiling force of sin, their sprinkling with the blood of Christ (1:2), constitution as the people of God and a holy priesthood.⁶¹⁹

In the Enochic traditions, authority is conferred to the authors’ groups through the frequent allusions to their righteousness, humility or election. In the Apocalypse of Weeks, the moral rectitude of the author’s groups is expressed through their designation as the chosen and in particular their election from among Israel which represents the collective whole that has apostatised (1 En. 93:8, 9). They are also the ones to whom salvific wisdom will be given. Their association with Enochic wisdom and the role they are portrayed to play in eschatological judgment (91:10, 11) further provides their link to the divine and thus the authority that is conferred upon them. Other designations such as “sons of righteousness”, “plant of righteousness” and “my [i.e., Enoch’s] children” similarly function to link the community with the symbolic world authors construct (91:1–2; 93:1–2; 94:1; 108:1; cf. 1 En. 1:1–2, 8; 10:16).

⁶¹⁹ As discussed in Chapter 8 above.

However, as we have seen, there is no evidence to indicate that the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Exhortation, the Epistle of Enoch or the Eschatological Admonition are addressed to members of a closed sect. Even in stating the existence of an elect group who are divinely chosen from Israel, the author of AW does not allude to a specific group that is sealed off. The terms used in relation to this group at 1 En. 93:10 is “the chosen righteous ones from the eternal plant of righteousness” (“witnesses of truth from the etern[al] pl[ant of] truth,” 4QEng 1 iv 12–13).⁶²⁰ This planting metaphor does not indicate a specific designation that is sectarian. As Tiller notes,

the phrases ‘(eternal) plant of truth,’ ‘sure planting,’ ‘righteous plant,’ ‘plant of righteous judgment,’ or ‘plant of the eternal seed’ in Enoch seem to be alternate expressions of a relatively fixed metaphor for the righteous people who stand at various points from Noah until the eschatological future.⁶²¹

Thus, although designations such as ‘elect ones’ or ‘righteous ones’ are reserved for groups associated with the authors, they nevertheless appear to be general descriptions rather than technical terms for a social organisation with a “distinct social identity”⁶²² (cf. for e.g., the Epistle of Enoch at 1 En. 94:2).⁶²³ These terms are designations that function to enliven the revealed realities the authors communicate and to invite the communities to imagine their lived space in light of the Enochic wisdom that is revealed and a renewed commitment to righteousness.

⁶²⁰ Translation from Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 121.

⁶²¹ Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 322.

⁶²² Tiller cites Jacob Licht, “The Plant Eternal and the People of Divine Deliverance,” in *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of E. L. Sukenik* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Hekhal ha-Sefer, 1961), 5–6 cf. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 322 n. 26.

⁶²³ Contrast with specific designations of groups with more detailed profiles where out-groups are excluded: 1QpHab v 4; 1QS v 5–6; viii 6; ix 14; 4QpPsa 1–2 ii 5.

9.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed salient features that emerge from the Jewish apocalyptic outlook that undergirds the thought-world of 1 Peter and 1 Enoch 91–108. Without suggesting a literary or conceptual relationship between these traditions, the comparative analysis considered the theme of divinely revealed knowledge in both sets of traditions along with the related ideas of election, judgment and moral agency through the categories of determinism and human responsibility.

A close look at the themes of election and judgment reveals that in both 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter, divine agency and human responsibility are aspects of the authors' symbolic world. While human responsibility is emphasised, determinism is perceived as compatible with the freedom human beings have to make unfettered moral choices. In the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Exhortation and the Epistle of Enoch, the tension between divine determinism and human responsibility come into focus in similar ways to 1 Peter. Furthermore, these four texts articulate their respective addressees' identities primarily in relation to the spatial re-orientation set in motion through the addressees' divine election.

In the Eschatological Admonition and in 1 Peter, the authors use the motif of light and darkness to depict the righteous as those who are placed in the ordered space of God (cf. 1 Pet. 2:9 and 1 En. 108:11; cf. 108:14). Both authors comfort and exhort their readers to maintain such a lived space. For the author of the EA, determinism is applied to the reward the righteous will receive while the fate of sinners is described as resulting in punishment. However, the author holds the possibility that the sinners can be transformed (108:11b).

Additionally, the later Enochic traditions highlight accountability to God through the idea of divine judgment. In the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:8), this is described using the template of the past to construe the present in connection with the consequence for sin and apostasy. Since the author considers his elect group as having the agency to choose, he is implicitly urging them to take heed lest they experience divine judgment. Furthermore, and as we have seen in Chapter 2, the author presents reality as following a deterministic pattern. In the Exhortation, emphasis is likewise placed on human responsibility for sin. In the Eschatological Admonition as well, the author is concerned with human responsibility for sin and accountability to God. This is again held in tension with God's pre-determined plans for eschatological reward, punishment and the inevitability of final judgment.

Furthermore, in both 1 Enoch 91–108 and 1 Peter, human beings are viewed as moral agents. In the Enochic texts however, moral agency is presumed to be free from impairment. For this reason human beings are considered as capable of making moral choices and are held responsible for their choices. The articulation of human responsibility for sin is more nuanced in 1 Peter. In contrast to the author of the EA, 1 Peter explicitly states that the readers were born in darkness and lived in darkness. They were "called out" of that darkness and constituted as the people of God having received mercy through Christ's vicarious suffering (2:9, 24). Human responsibility in 1 Peter also receives greater nuance through the depiction of the elect as complex moral beings who continually face an inner battle between sinful desires (2:1–3, 11, 4:1) and the desire to obey God (1:8–9). Moreover, through their identity as the people of God, the addressees share in Christ's victory. This is expressed using the idea of baptism and rebirth which are aspects of the readers' Thirdspace identity in association with the resurrection.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

This study has explored the apocalyptic depiction of reality through the symbolic space constructed in texts from the later 1 Enoch traditions as well as 1 Peter. Although there is no account of a visionary revelation about the future, we have seen that 1 Peter portrays himself as having access to privileged knowledge associated with the Christ event including the eschatological future when Christ will be visibly revealed and the sacred past which evidences God's salvific action through the Noahic flood and his self-revelation to the prophets of old.

Although each author has a particular rhetorical aim and purpose for writing, the traditions generally comfort and exhort their readers to remain on the path of righteousness as they await the universal outcome of God's salvific actions that began in the past. A point of marked contrast is 1 Peter's dedicated focus on promoting the imitation of Christ and assigning cultic significance to the new identity the readers have received through Christ's vicarious suffering.

Furthermore, unlike the Enochic authors, 1 Peter associates the readers with having gained access to the presence of God through Christ on an individual level and at the scale of the corporeal. Christ is thus both the means to the space of God and the basis for the readers' social location in a Thirdspace existence.

In the 1 Enoch traditions I have considered in this study, emphasis is placed on human responsibility for sin, thus rendering the determinism presented in these traditions as partial, that is, one that is compatible with human agency. This is evident from the presentation of election and judgment (cf. Chapter 9, Sect. 9:3). Pointing to the immediacy of the Thirdspatial reality the authors communicate through their texts, human action is portrayed in these traditions as having

consequences not just in terms of eschatological reward and punishment but also in the immediate “here and now”: it is only the righteous who are given access to a divinely revealed “mystery”.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, a further means of emphasising human responsibility for sin, and the principle of righteousness that it highlights, is through historiography. The author of the Apocalypse of Weeks emphasises human responsibility by omitting details from his historical account. Despite the gravity of the matter, there are no details about the temple’s destruction by the Babylonians or the circumstances and events around the exile. As Stuckenbruck notes, to have included such details “would have been a distraction from his focus on the main characters in the sacred history: God and Israel, whose relationship is the sustained focus of the account.”⁶²⁴ These traditions evidence the addressees’ spatial re-orientation and the new social location they now inhabit. In other traditions within 1 Enoch, facets of this a renewed relationship with God and with space, such as the principle of maintaining righteousness and avoiding sin, is evident in the portrayal of the final judgment. In the Exhortation, as we have seen, final judgment entails the destruction of sin (Chapter 3).

By using the notion of inaugurated eschatology as a spatial practice, the author of the Exhortation draws a symbolic world where judgment against sin has already begun. The writer thus places the readers in a new social space where the present and the future overlap. The Exhortation is thus an invitation to think of space—and a spatio-temporally embodied faith—in radical terms. This explains the author’s emphasis on human responsibility: the readers are to radically dissociate with sinful ways and pursue a life of obedience and faithfulness with God.

⁶²⁴ Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108*, 117.

One way of assessing the role of human agency in relation to divine agency in the Epistle of Enoch is through the author's exhortations (Chapter 4). The eschatological focus of the text serves to urge the righteous to stay on the path of righteousness. Although their final rewards and their ultimate vindication at the final judgment is divinely determined and unalterable, there is no guarantee that the righteous would remain faithful throughout the present time. They are thus presented as bearing responsibility for their fate. In addressing his opponents through woe-oracles and prophecies of judgment, the author includes an exhortation to the readers to transmit the knowledge of Enoch's wisdom to "all the children of the world" (105:1). With regard to the non-hostile other, the author expresses an openness to the salvation of non-Jews. This can be taken as an expression of an eschatological hope for the future that entails removal of categories of otherness so that all humanity (at least those who have not persecuted the righteous), will receive wisdom at the eschaton without distinction.

For the author of the Eschatological Admonition, similarly the Epistle of Enoch's author, the constructed Thirdspace is where, no matter one's association with sin in the past, there is eschatological reward for faithfulness and piety. This is expressed in 108:11b where God is said to transform sinners and reward them for their faithfulness. Also, his Thirdspace is a space of ideological protest against the view that piety and covenant faithfulness entails material blessings (the Deuteronomic perspective). In 1 Enoch 108, the social aspect of space (i.e., the addressees' collective lived realities including their relationships and activities) is impacted, reordered and given new significance through a view of reality that associates piety and Torah obedience with persecution and suffering. This functions to comfort and

exhort the readers while conferring an authoritative view of reality that highlights moral agency.

In 1 Peter, while human beings are active moral agents, the capability to make a moral choice is impaired and needs to be continually overcome. Moral impairment is expressed through the notion of the internal moral conflict between fleshly desire and the desire to obey God which individual believers are imagined to face. Ways to overcome the impairment entail recognising that natural desires cause internal moral conflict as 1 Peter states at 2:11. The readers are to forgo the desire to sin by being conscious of God and their new identity in Christ and imitating God and Christ.

In relation to the analysis of 1 Peter, we have seen in Chapter 6 how the author maps the space of God's household using metaphors associated with the Jerusalem temple. Addressing the readers in priestly and covenantal terms, he emphasises their new identity and new ways of being in the space of God's location. The metaphoric use of the temple thus extends to the readers' social location which constitutes the Thirdspace. This spatial reality is beyond the physical. Expressing this in cultic terms, the author depicts the readers' new identity as a "spiritual" house that is concerned with offering a "spiritual sacrifice" by its constituent members who are called priests (2:5–9).

It is a lived space that is also more than the conceptual space that is associated with the Jerusalem temple: 1 Peter's temple-space defines the formation, identity and practice of members that have become God's own household. By using tradition associated with the temple and the Tabernacle in the description of the readers' identity and new existence, the author constructs their lived space as a tangible locus of God's presence. In other words, by recalling narratives from Israel's sacred past, the author transforms the experience of living in Asia Minor (cf. Chapter 7):

instead of a place of persecution and othering, it is depicted as the exclusive space of God's presence that requires divine election, rebirth and consecration by the Spirit in order to enter and holiness and re-aligned priorities to maintain. This re-mapping of the Anatolian Peninsula is what Soja calls "Thirthing as othering".⁶²⁵ This construction of a symbolic or imagined world is an outworking of the temple metaphor and reflects the author's concern with maintaining the divine presence through holiness which necessitates imitating God in holiness and Christ in thought, behaviour and reason for suffering.

We have also seen that this space of God is symbolically produced through Christ's death and resurrection (1:19–20) and that the addressees access it the basis of God's will outworked through their faith in Christ and their acceptance of the gospel preached to them (1:8; 2:6–8). Those who enter this space, are said to be "in Christ" (3:16; 5:10, 14) and partake in the new world thorough re-aligned social relationships between one another and the society at large. This is made evident in the way the author intertwines the new family believers are born into with the new world inaugurated through the Christ event (cf. 1:22–25).

The way to participate in the new space is through maintaining the identity bond Christ has formed between the believers and the Father on the one hand and between members of the 'brotherhood' on the other. The former relates to holiness without which the presence of the divine cannot occupy the readers' Thirdspace. The latter signifies a principle of imitating Christ as a model for re-configured relationships within the household as well as with (hostile) others. This demonstrates the suitability of the organising principles I have argued for, namely, the concern with

⁶²⁵ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 61.

the imitation of God and Christ and the concern with maintaining the presence of God.

In Chapter 8, we have seen how the author constructs this sense of home for the diasporic readers through everyday spatial practices that emanate from the understanding that the temple-community is analogous to Israel. Thus, he could write of their being “sprinkled with blood” (1:2), “ransomed” (1:18–19), and “purified” (1:22). They are to maintain this state of moral transformation. Therefore, beyond the call to maintain godly living despite suffering by using a Christ-Christian parallel, the author of 1 Peter formulates a strategy to respond to suffering by employing apocalyptic categories to frame his discussion of the readers’ persecution by opponents (the hostile other). As we have seen throughout Part II of this thesis, this results in his construction of the readers’ identity in the spatio-temporal category of “the eschatological elect” redeemed from a life of disorder and re-placed in the space of God at a foreordained time. In so doing, 1 Peter recasts time as divinely ordered and predetermined, while space is likewise penetrated by the Christ event and the presence of the divine it had made possible.

The content of 1 Peter’s letter is generally centred on Christ’s exemplar and salvific life, death and resurrection, along with its cosmic outcome. Regarding himself, the author states that he is a μάρτυς to the visible Christ. In this schema although the seer is not associated with visionary experiences like the figure of Enoch is in the Enochic traditions we have discussed, he is still linked with the divine mediator of knowledge who he has visibly seen. Thus, both “Enoch” and “Peter” fulfil a parallel function in the transmission of revelation to divinely chosen communities. This aspect of 1 Peter foregrounds the Jewish apocalyptic framework.

The foregrounding of the letter's apocalyptic motif, that is, its divinely mediated knowledge about Christ, impacts our understanding of other aspects of the letter, such as the depiction of human persecutors or ideological (i.e., religious) others such as the Roman governing authorities. In this schema, the Roman space simply becomes subsumed under the spatial ideals of the space of God: this is reflected in the missional (i.e., evangelistic) engagement the readers are to have in the world. In 1 Peter this space is also presented in contrast and opposition to the ordered theocentric and Christological space of God which the addressees presently occupy. It can also be said that since 1 Peter's apocalyptic outlook is concerned with the universal outcome of the Christ event at the eschaton, it rationalises the author's emphasis on human responsibility and moral agency while precluding a concern with the immediate reality of living in the Roman empire.

By offering an alternative view of reality through the ordering of space and time, the author thus offers a response to suffering and a strategy of resistance against cosmic evil – which in 1 Peter, is the only hostile “Other” whose threat is to be taken seriously. The result is a rich apocalyptic imagination that presents the readers as God's elect living in and constituting a theocentric and Christological Thirdspace—the Space of God—in Anatolia where all other spaces (including the anti-imperial space modern scholars occupy) recede to the background.

Bibliography

- Abebe, Sofanit T. "Peter and the Patriarch: Eschatological Perspectives from 1 Peter and 1 Enoch." Pages 39–54 in *Beyond Canon*. Edited by Meron T. Gebreananaye, Logan Williams, and Francis Watson. London: T&T Clark, 2021.
- Achtemeier, Paul J. *1 Peter: A Commentary on First Peter*. HCHCB. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996.
- Adler, William, and James C. VanderKam, eds. *Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature, Volume 4 Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*. *Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature, Volume 4 Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*. Brill, 1996.
- Anderson, Cory D. "Jude's Use of the Pseudepigraphal Book of 1 Enoch." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 36.2 (2003): 47–64.
- Argall, Randal A. *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation, and Judgment*. *Early Judaism and Its Literature* 8. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.
- Asumang, Annang. "'Resist Him' (1 Pet 5:9): Holiness and Non-Retaliatory Responses to Unjust Suffering as 'Holy War' in 1 Peter." *Conspectus: The Journal of the South African Theological Seminary* 11.3 (2011): 7–46.
- Balch, David L. "Hellenization/Acculturation in 1 Peter." Pages 79–101 in *Perspectives on First Peter*. Edited by Charles H. Talbert. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986.
- . *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter*. SBLMS 26. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1981.
- Barclay, John M. G. *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander To Trajan (323 BCE To 117 CE)*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996.
- . *Pauline Churches and Diaspora Jews*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- Barclay, John M. G., and Benjamin G. White. *The New Testament in Comparison: Validity, Method, and Purpose in Comparing Traditions*. LNTS 600. London: Bloomsbury, 2020.
- Bautch, Kelley Coblenz. "Heavenly Beings in the Enoch Traditions and Synoptic Gospels." Pages 105–27 in *Enoch and the Synoptic Gospels: Reminiscences, Allusions, Intertextuality*. Edited by Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Gabriele Boccaccini. *Early Judaism and Its Literature*. SBL Press, 2016.
- . "Spatiality and Apocalyptic Literature." *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 5.3 (2016): 273–88.
- Baynes, Leslie. *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses 200 BCE-200 CE*. *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses 200 BCE-200 CE*. Brill, 2011.
- Beare, Francis Wright. *The First Epistle of Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes*. 3rd edition. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1970.

- Bechtler, Stephen R. *Following in His Steps: Suffering, Community and Christology in 1 Peter*. SBLDS 162. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998.
- Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Penguin UK, 1991.
- Blackwell, Ben C., John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston, eds. *Reading Mark in Context: Jesus and Second Temple Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2018.
- Blount, Brian K. *Revelation: A Commentary*. Louisville: Presbyterian Publishing Corporation, 2013.
- Boccaccini, Gabriele. *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998.
- Boring, M. Eugene. *1 Peter*. ANTC. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999.
- . “Narrative Dynamics in First Peter: The Function of Narrative World.” *Reading First Peter With New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of First Peter*. Edited by Robert L. Webb and Bauman-Martin. New York: T&T Clark, 2007.
- Bornemann, Wilhelm. “‘Der Erste Petrusbrief: Eine Taufrede Des Silvanus?’” *ZNW* 19 (1919): 143–65.
- Brand, Miryam. *Evil Within and Without: The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.
- Camp, Claudia V. “Storied Space, or, Ben Sira ‘Tells’ a Temple.” Pages 64–80 in *“Imagining” Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honour of James W. Flanagan*. Edited by David M. Gunn and Paula M. McNutt. JSOTS 359. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Carey, Greg. “Introduction: Apocalyptic Discourse, Apocalyptic Rhetoric.” *Vision and Persuasion: Rhetorical Dimensions of Apocalyptic Discourse*. Edited by L. Gregory Bloomquist and Greg Carey. Chalice Press, 1999.
- . *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature*. St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2005.
- Carter, Warren. “Going All the Way? Honoring the Emperor and Sacrificing Wives and Slaves in 1 Peter 2:13-3:6.” *A Feminist Companion to the Catholic Epistles*. Edited by Amy-Jill Levine and Maria Mayo Robbins. New York: T&T Clark, 2004.
- Cavin, Robert L. *New Existence and Righteous Living. New Existence and Righteous Living*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013.
- Charles, R. H. *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch: Edited from Twenty-Three MSS. Together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions*. Anecdota Oxoniensia 11. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906
- Clifford, Hywel C. “‘And They Saw the Place Where the God of Israel Stood’: Exodus 24:10 LXX in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria.” Pages 125–43 in *Holy Places in Biblical and Extrabiblical Traditions: Proceedings of the Bonn-*

- Leiden-Oxford Colloquium on Biblical Studies*. Edited by Jochen Flebbe. Vol. 179 of *Bonner Biblische Beiträge*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016.
- Cohen, Shaye J. D. *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*. Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1988.
- Collins, Adela Yarbro. *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*. JSJSup 50. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- . *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse*. Westminster John Knox Press, 1984.
- Collins, John J, ed. *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*. Semeia 14. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1979.
- . *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2015.
- . *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible: Second Edition*. 2nd ed. Fortress Press, 2014.
- . “Nebuchadnezzar and the Kingdom of God. Deferred Eschatology in the Jewish Diaspora.” Pages 262–57 in *Loyalitätskonflikte in Der Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift Für Carsten Colpe*. Edited by Christoph Elsas and Hans G. Kippenberg. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1990.
- . *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- . “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered.” *ZAC* 20.1 (2016): 21–40.
- . “The Sense of an Ending in Pre-Christian Judaism.” *Fearful Hope: Approaching the New Millennium*. Edited by Christopher Kleinhenz and Fannie LeMoine. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.
- . “Wisdom, Apocalypticism and Generic Compatibility.” Pages 165–85 in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie*. Edited by L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman. Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993.
- Dalton, William J. *Christ’s Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 Peter 3:18–4:6*. 2nd ed. Analecta Biblica 23. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1989.
- Davids, Peter H. *The First Epistle of Peter*. NICNT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990.
- Davidson, Maxwell. *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36; 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran*. JSPSup 11. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.
- Davies, John A. *A Royal Priesthood: Literary and Intertextual Perspectives on an Image of Israel in Exodus 19.6*. London: T & T Clark International, 2004.
- Dimant, Devorah. “‘4Q386’ li-ii A Prophecy on Hellenistic Kingdoms?” *Revue de Qumrân* 18.4 (72) (1998): 511–29.
- DiTommaso, Lorenzo. “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part I).” *Currents in Biblical Research* 5.2 (2007): 235–86.
- . “The Apocalyptic Other.” Pages 221–46 in *The “Other” in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins*. Edited by Daniel C. Harlow,

- Karina M. Hogan, Matthew Goff, and Joel S. Kaminsky. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011.
- Doering, Lutz. *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginnings of Christian Epistolography*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament ; 298. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.
- . “Ransom, Re-Begetting, and Rescue: The Soteriological Web of 1 Peter.” Pages 476–97 in *Sōtēria: Salvation in Early Christianity and Antiquity: Festschrift in Honour of Cilliers Breytenbach on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Edited by David du Toit, Christine Gerber, and Christiane Zimmermann. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London, New York: Routledge, 1966.
- Downing, F. Gerald. “Pliny’s Persecutions of Christians: Revelation and 1 Peter.” *JSNT* 34 (1988): 105–23.
- Dryden, J. De Waal. *Theology and Ethics in 1 Peter*. WUNT 209. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006.
- Dubis, Mark. *1 Peter: A Handbook on the Greek Text*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010.
- . *Messianic Woes in First Peter: Suffering and Eschatology in 1 Peter 4:12-19*. SBL 33. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc, 2002.
- Ehrensperger, Kathy. *Searching Paul: Conversations with the Jewish Apostle to the Nations. Collected Essays*. Mohr Siebeck, 2019.
- Elgvin, Torleif. “The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation.” Pages 113–50 in . Edited by Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson. Copenhagen International Seminar 6 and JSOTSup 290. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Elliott, John H. “1 Enoch, 1 Peter, and Social-Scientific Criticism: A Review Article on a Major 1 Enoch Commentary.” *BTB* 39.1 (2009): 39–43.
- . *1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Vol. 37B of *AB*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- . “1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy: A Discussion with David Balch.” Page 550 in *Perspectives on First Peter*. Edited by C. H. Talbert. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986.
- . *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981.
- Elliott, Neil. “Romans 13:1-7 in the Context of Imperial Propaganda.” Pages 167–83 in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society*. Edited by Richard A. Horsley. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1997.
- Erho, Ted. “New Ethiopic Witnesses to Some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.” *Bulletin of SOAS* 76.1 (2013): 75–97.
- Erho, Ted M., and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. “A Manuscript History of Ethiopic Enoch.” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 23.2 (2013): 87–133.

- Esler, Philip F. "Social-Scientific Approaches to Apocalyptic Literature." Page 800 in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*. Edited by John J. Collins,. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- , ed. *The Blessing of Enoch: 1 Enoch and Contemporary Theology*. Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2017.
- Falk, Daniel K., Florentino Garcia Martinez, and Eileen M. Schuller, eds. *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*. STDJ 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Feldmeier, Reinhard. *The First Letter of Peter: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. Translated by Peter H. Davids. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2008.
- Flemming, Johannes. *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902
- Foster, Paul. "Book Review: 1 Peter and Eschatology: Kelly D. Liebenhood, *The Eschatology of 1 Peter: Considering the Influence of Zechariah 9-14*." *ExpTim* 126.8 (2015): 409.
- . "Echoes without Resonance: Critiquing Certain Aspects of Recent Scholarly Trends in the Study of the Jewish Scriptures in the New Testament." *JSNT* 38.1 (2015): 96–111.
- France, Richard T. "First Century Bible Study: Old Testament Motifs in 1 Peter 2:4-10." *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 18.1 (1998): 26–48.
- Fredriksen, Paula. "Judaizing the Nations: The Ritual Demands of Paul's Gospel." *New Testam. Stud.* 56.2 (2010): 232–52.
- Fuller, Michael E. *The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-Gathering and the Fate of the Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke-Acts*. De Gruyter, 2012.
- García Martínez, F., and E. J. C. Tigchelaar. "The 'Books of Enoch (1 Enoch)' and the Aramaic Fragments from Qumran." *Revue de Qumrân* 14.1 (53) (1989): 131–46.
- Gärtner, Bertil. *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series ; No. 1. Cambridge: University Press, 1965.
- Goff, Matthew. "A Blessed Rage for Order: Apocalypticism, Esoteric Revelation, and the Cultural Politics of Knowledge in the Hellenistic Age." *HeBAI* 5.3 (2016): 193–211.
- . "Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11.3 (2004): 263–88.
- Goppelt, Leonhard. *A Commentary on 1 Peter*. Edited by Ferdinand Hahn. Translated by John E. Alsup. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993.
- Harrill, J. Albert. *Paul the Apostle: His Life and Legacy in Their Roman Context*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

- Hartman, Lars. *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1-5*. LiberLäromedel/Gleerup, 1979.
- . “The Functions of Some So-Called Apocalyptic Timetables.” *NTS* 22.1 (1975): 1–14.
- Hays, Richard B. *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Hempel, Charlotte, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger. *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*. BETL 159. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.
- Henze, Matthias. *Jewish Apocalypticism in Late First Century Israel*. TSAJ 142. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- . “The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Architecture of the End Time.” Pages 207–9 in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Hill, David. “On Suffering and Baptism in i PEter.” *Novum Testamentum* 18.3 (1976): 181–89.
- . “On Suffering and Baptism in I Peter.” *Novum Testamentum* 18.3 (1976): 181–89.
- Himmelfarb, Martha. *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*. Oxford University Press, 1993.
- . “Temple and Priests in the Book Of The Watchers, the Animal Apocalypse and the Apocalypse Of Weeks.” Pages 219–35 in *The Early Enoch Literature*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Hockey, Katherine M. *The Role of Emotion in 1 Peter*. SNTSMS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Hogeterp, Albert L. A. *Paul and God’s Temple: A Historical Interpretation of Cultic Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence*. Biblical Tools and Studies 2. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2006.
- Horrell, David. *1 Peter*. NTG. New York: T&T Clark, 2008.
- . *Becoming Christian: Essays on 1 Peter and the Making of Christian Identity*. LNTS. New York: T&T Clark, 2013.
- . “Between Conformity and Resistance: Beyond the Balch-Elliott Debate Towards a Postcolonial Reading of First Peter.” Page 226 in *Reading First Peter With New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of First Peter*. Edited by Robert L. Webb and Betsy Bauman-Martin. New York: T&T Clark, 2007.
- . “Re-Placing 1 Peter: From Place of Origin to Constructions of Space.” Pages 271–86 in *The Urban World and the First Christians*. Edited by Steve Walton, Paul R. Trebilco, and David W. J. Gill. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2017.
- . “The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter.” *JSNT* 86 (2002): 29–60.

- . “Whose Faith(Fulness) Is It in 1 Peter 1:5?” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 48.1 (1997): 110–16.
- Horsley, Richard A., and Patrick A. Tiller. *After Apocalyptic and Wisdom: Rethinking Texts in Context*. Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2012.
- Howe, Bonnie. *Because You Bear This Name: Conceptual Metaphor and the Moral Meaning of 1 Peter*. Vol. 81 of *BIS*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- J. van Rensburg, Fika and Steve Moyise. “Isaiah in 1 Peter 3:13-17: Applying Intertextuality to the Study of the Old Testament in the New.” *Scriptura* 80 (2013): 275–86.
- Jobes, Karen H. *1 Peter*. BECNT. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005.
- . *1 Peter*. Baker Academic, 2005.
- Johnson, Luke Timothy. *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation*. Revised Edition. London: SCM Press, 1999.
- Joseph, Abson P. *A Narratological Reading of 1 Peter*. London: T&T Clark, 2012.
- Kelly, J. N. D. *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*. BNTC. London: Black, 1969.
- Klawans, Jonathan. *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism. Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*. OUP, 2000.
- . “Josephus on Fate, Free Will, and Ancient Jewish Types of Compatibilism.” *Numen* 56.1 (2009): 44–90.
- . *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- . “The Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and the Study of Religious Belief: Determinism and Freedom of Choice.” Pages 264–83 in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*. Edited by Maxine L. Grossman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
- Knibb, Michael A. “The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Epistle of Enoch.” Pages 213–19 in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005.
- . *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- . “The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period.” Pages 189–212 in *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Koch, Klaus. “History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the Community.” Pages 185–99 in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005.
- Laato, Antti. “The Devil in the Old Testament.” Pages 1–22 in *Evil and the Devil*. Edited by Ida Frölich and Erkki Koskenniemi. LNTS 481. London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013.

- Lanci, John R. *A New Temple for Corinth: Rhetorical and Archaeological Approaches to Pauline Imagery*. Studies in Biblical Literature. Bern: Peter Lang Publishing Inc, 1997.
- Langford, Justin. *Defending Hope: Semiotics and Intertextuality in 1 Peter*. Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2013.
- Lee, Max J. *Moral Transformation in Greco-Roman Philosophy of Mind: Mapping the Moral Milieu of the Apostle Paul and His Diaspora Jewish Contemporaries*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991.
- Lindars, Barnabas. "Enoch and Christology." *The Expository Times* 92.10 (1981): 295–99.
- Lopez, Davina C., and Todd Penner. "Paul and Politics." *The Oxford Handbook of Pauline Studies*. Edited by Matthew V. Novenson and Matlock, R. Barry, 2017.
- Macaskill, Grant. *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. JSJSup 115. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Maier, Harry O. *Apocalypse Recalled: The Book of Revelation After Christendom*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002.
- . "Soja's Thirdspace, Foucault's Heterotopia and de Certeau's Practice: Time-Space and Social Geography in Emergent Christianity." *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 38.3 (145) (2013): 76–92.
- Martin, Troy W. *Metaphor and Composition in 1 Peter*. SBLDS 131. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992.
- Mathews, Mark D. "Eschatological Admonition and Mark 10:13—31: Riches, Poverty, and the Faithful." Pages 159–73 in *Reading Mark in Context: Jesus and Second Temple Judaism*. Edited by Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2018.
- . *Riches, Poverty, and the Faithful: Perspectives on Wealth in the Second Temple Period and the Apocalypse of John*. SNTSMS 154. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Mbuvi, Andrew Mūtūa. *Temple, Exile, and Identity in 1 Peter*. LNTS 345. London: T&T Clark, 2007.
- Meyer, Esias E. "From Cult to Community: The Two Halves of Leviticus." *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34.2 (2013): 1–7.
- Meyers, Carol. *Exodus*. NCBC. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Michaels, J. Ramsey. *1 Peter*. Vol. 49 of *WBC*. Waco: Zondervan, 1988.
- Middleton, Paul. *Radical Martyrdom and Cosmic Conflict in Early Christianity*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2006.
- Milik, J. T. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

- Moffatt, James. *The General Epistles: James, Peter, and Judas*. The Moffatt New Testament Commentary. New York: Harper & Bros Pub., 1928.
- Moore, Stephen D. *Empire and Apocalypse: Postcolonialism and the New Testament*. The Bible in the Modern World 12. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006.
- Moxnes, Halvor. "Because of 'The Name of Christ'. Baptism and the Location of Identity in 1 Peter." Pages 605–28 in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*. Edited by Øyvind Norderval, Christer Hellholm, Tor Vegge, and David Hellholm. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.
- Moyise, Steve. *Evoking Scripture: Seeing the Old Testament in the New*. A&C Black, 2008.
- . *The Later New Testament Writings and Scripture: The Old Testament in Acts, Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles and Revelation*. Baker Books, 2012.
- Moyise, Steve, and Maarten J. J. Menken. *Isaiah in the New Testament: The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005.
- Najman, Hindy. "The Idea of Biblical Genre: From Discourse to Constellation." Pages 307–21 in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*. Edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen. Vol. 98 of *STDJ*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Newsom, Carol A. "God's Other: The Intractable Problem of the Gentile King in Judean and Early Jewish Literature." Pages 31–48 in *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism*. Edited by Daniel C. Harlow, Karina M. Hogan, Matthew Goff, and Joel S. Kaminsky. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011.
- . "Models of the Moral Self: Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism." *JBL* 131.1 (2012): 5–25.
- . "Predeterminism and Moral Agency in the Hodayot." *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2018): 193–211.
- . "Rhetoric of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature." Pages 201–17 in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*. Oxford: OUP, 2014.
- . "Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology." Pages 437–50 in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Edited by Troxel, Ronald L., Friebel, Kelvin G., and Magary, Dennis R. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapter 1-36; 81-108*. Edited by Klaus Baltzer. HCHCB. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001.
- . "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 100.4 (1981): 575–600.
- . "Enochic Wisdom and Its Relationship To the Mosaic Torah." *The Early Enoch Literature* (2007): 81–94.

- . “Riches, the Rich, and God’s Judgment in 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Gospel According to Luke.” *New Testament Studies* 25.3 (1979): 324–44.
- . “The Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92-105.” *CBQ* 39.3 (1977): 309–28.
- . “The Nature and Function of Revelation in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and Some Qumranic Documents.” Pages 91–119 in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Esther G. Chazon, Michael E Stone, and with the collaboration of Avital Pinnick. STDJ 31. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- . “The We and the Other in the Worldview of 1 Enoch , the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Other Early Jewish Texts | Orion-Editor.Dev.” Pages 262–78 in *The “Other” in Second Temple Judaism: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins*. Edited by Daniel C. Harlow, Karina M. Hogan, Matthew Goff, and Joel S. Kaminsky. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011.
- Nijay K. Gupta. “A Spiritual House of Royal Priests, Chosen and Honored: The Presence and Function of Cultic Imagery in 1 Peter.” *PRSt* 36.1 (2009): 61–76.
- Osburn, Carroll D. “The Christological Use of I Enoch i.9 in Jude 14, 15.” *New Testament Studies* 23.3 (1977): 334–41.
- Peterson, David. *Possessed by God: A New Testament Theology of Sanctification and Holiness*. Vol. 1 of *NSBT*. Downers Grove: IVP, 1995.
- Pierce, Chad T. “Apocalypse and the Epistles of 1, 2 Peter and Jude.” Pages 307–25 in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2017.
- . *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ: 1 Peter 3:18-22 in Light of Sin and Punishment Traditions in Early Jewish and Christian Literature*. Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- Poole, Fitz John Porter. “Metaphors and Maps: Towards Comparison in the Anthropology of Religion.” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 54.3 (1986): 411–57.
- Popović, Mladen. “Apocalyptic Determinism.” Pages 255–70 in *Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Portier-Young, Anthea. *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011.
- . “Jewish Apocalyptic Literature as Resistance Literature.” Pages 145–62 in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*. Edited by John J. Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Portier-Young, Anthea E. *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2014.
- Portier-Young, Anthea E., and John J. Collins. “Jewish Apocalyptic Literature as Resistance Literature.” Pages 145–62 in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*. Oxford: OUP, 2014.

- Prinsloo, Gert T. M., and Christl M. Maier. *Constructions of Space V: Place, Space and Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013.
- Reed, Annette Yoshiko. *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*, 2006.
- Regev, Eyal. "Community as Temple: Revisiting Cultic Metaphors in Qumran and the New Testament." *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 28.4 (2018): 604–31.
- . "Moral Impurity and the Temple in Early Christianity in Light of Ancient Greek Practice and Qumranic Ideology." *The Harvard Theological Review* 97.4 (2004): 383–411.
- . *The Temple in Early Christianity: Experiencing the Sacred*. AYBRL. Yale University Press, 2019.
- Reicke, Bo. *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of 1 Peter III. 19 and Its Context*. ASNU 13. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1946.
- Reynolds, Benjamin E. "The Form and Spatial Content of Jewish Apocalypses and Apocalyptic Revelation in the Gospel of John" presented at the Munich Congress on Apocalypticism in Antiquity/Eleventh Enoch Seminar, 26 May 2021.
- Reynolds, Benjamin E., and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought*. Fortress Press, 2017.
- Reynolds, Bennie H. *Between Symbolism and Realism: The Use of Symbolic and Non-Symbolic Language in Ancient Jewish Apocalypses 333-63 B.C.E.* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.
- Rowland, Christopher. *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity*. London: SPCK, 1982.
- Rowland, Christopher, and C. R. a Morray-Jones. *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament: 12*. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Sargent, Benjamin. "Chosen through Sanctification (1 Pet 1:2 and 2 Thess 2:13): The Theology or Diction of Silvanus?" *Biblica* 94.1 (2013): 117–20.
- . *Written To Serve: The Use of Scripture in 1 Peter*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.
- Schlosser, Jacques. "Ancien Testament et Christologie Dans La Prima Petri,." Pages 65–96 in *Etudes Sur La Première Lettre de Pierre*. Edited by C. Perrot. Paris: Cerf, 1980.
- Schreiner, Patrick. *The Body of Jesus: A Spatial Analysis of the Kingdom in Matthew: 555*. London ; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016.
- Schutter, William L. *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*. WUNT 2/30. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989.
- Scott, James M. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts (New Haven: Yale University, 1990)*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

- Segovia, Fernando F. and R. S Sugirtharajah. *A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Writings*. Bible and Postcolonialism ; 13. London ; New York: T & T Clark, 2007.
- Seland, Torrey. *Strangers in the Light: Philonic Perspectives on Christian Identity in 1 Peter*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Selwyn, Edward G. *The First Epistle of St. Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Essays*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981.
- Shimada, Kazuhito. "Is 1 Peter Dependent on Romans?" *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 19 (1993): 87.
- Sleeman, Matthew. *Geography and the Ascension Narrative in Acts*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- . "In Comparison a Magic Dwells." Pages 23–44 in *A Magic Still Dwells: Comparative Religion in the Postmodern Age*. Edited by Kimberley Christine Patton and Benjamin C. Ray. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Smith, Mark S. *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2002.
- . *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World*. The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. Verso, 1989.
- . *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Cambridge, Mass: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996.
- Spitta, Friedrich. *Christi Predigt an Die Geister (1 Petr. 3, 19ff.): Ein Beitrag Zur Neutestamentlichen Theologie*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1890.
- Starling, David I. "'She Who Is in Babylon': 1 Peter and the Hermeneutics of Empire." Pages 110–27 in *Reactions to Empire: Sacred Texts in Their Socio-Political Contexts*. Edited by J. A. Dunne and D. Batovici. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- Stewart, Eric C. "New Testament Space/Spatiality." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 42.3 (2012): 139–50.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. *1 Enoch 91-108*. CEJL. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.
- . "A Place for Socio-Political Oppressors at the End of History? Eschatological Perspectives from 1 Enoch." *Reactions to Empire: Sacred Texts in Their Socio-Political Contexts*. Edited by John Anthony Dunne and Dan Batovici. WUNT 372. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- . "Giant Mythology and Demonology: From the Ancient Near East to the Dead Sea Scrolls." Pages 318–38 in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie Der Israelitisch-Jüdischen Und Frühchristlichen Literatur Im Kontext Ihrer Umwelt = Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature*

- in Context of Their Environment*. Edited by Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Diethard Römheld. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- . “Has Christian Tradition Influenced the Ge’ez and Greek Versions of 1 Enoch?” Pages 55–66 in *Beyond Canon: Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition*. Edited by Meron T. Gebreananaye, Logan Williams, and Francis Watson. London: T&T Clark, 2021.
- . “Revelation: Historical Setting and John’s Call to Discipleship.” *Leaven* 8.1 (2012): 27–31.
- . “Some Reflections on Apocalyptic Thought and Time in Literature from the Second Temple Period.” Pages 137–56 in *Paul and the Apocalyptic Imagination*. Edited by Ben C. Blackwell, John K. Goodrich, and Jason Maston. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016.
- . “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.” Pages 131–70 in *Qumran and the Bible: Studying the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Nóra Dávid and Armin Lange. Leuven: Peeters, 2010.
- . “The Demonic World of the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Pages 51–70 in *Evil and the Devil*. Edited by Ida Fröhlich and Erkki Koskeniemi. Vol. 481 of *LNTS*. London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2013.
- . “The ‘Epistle of Enoch’: Genre and Authorial Presentation.” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 17.3 (2010): 358–88.
- . *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- . “The Plant Metaphor in Its Inner-Enochic and Early Jewish Context.” Pages 210–12 in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T., and Gabriele Boccaccini, eds. *Enoch and the Synoptic Gospels: Reminiscences, Allusions, Intertextuality*. Early Judaism and Its Literature 44. SBL Press, 2016.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T., and Ted M. Erho. “The Significance of Ethiopic Witnesses for the Text Tradition of 1 Enoch: Problems and Prospects.” *XVII Congress of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Aberdeen, 2019*. Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming.
- Sugirtharajah, R. S. *Exploring Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: History, Method, Practice*. John Wiley & Sons, 2011.
- Sun, Joyce Wai-Lan. *This Is True Grace: The Shaping of Social Behavioural Instructions by Theology in 1 Peter*. Langham Monographs, 2016.
- Suter, David W. “Temples and the Temple in the Early Enoch Tradition: Memory, Vision, and Expectation.” Pages 195–218 in *The Early Enoch Literature*. JSJSup 121. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Taubes, Jacob. *The Political Theology of Paul*. Edited by Aleida Assmann and Jan Assmann. Translated by Dana Hollander. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.

- Thompson, Leonard L. *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Thurén, Lauri. *Argument and Theology in 1 Peter: The Origins of Christian Paraenesis*. A&C Black, 1995.
- . *Argument and Theology in 1 Peter: The Origins of Christian Paraenesis*. Sheffield: Sheffield academic Press, 1995.
- Tiller, Patrick A. “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4.3 (1997): 312–35.
- Trebilco, Paul R. *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*. SNTSMS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- VanderKam, James C. *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.
- . *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*. CBQMS 16. Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984.
- . *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- . “Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17).” *CBQ* 46.3 (1984): 511–23.
- VanderKam, James C., and James M. Scott. “The Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature.” Pages 89–109 in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*. JSJSup 56. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Venter, P. M. (Pieter Michiel). “Allotted Place and Cursed Space in 1 Enoch 12-36.” *Old Testament Essays* 27.2 (2014): 666–83.
- Wan, Wei Hsien. “Repairing Social Vertigo: Spatial Production and Belonging in 1 Peter.” Pages 287–303 in *The Urban World and the First Christians*. Edited by Steve Walton, Paul R. Trebilco, and David W. J. Gill. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2017.
- . *The Contest for Time and Space in the Roman Imperial Cults and 1 Peter: Reconfiguring the Universe*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019.
- Wasserman, Emma. *Apocalypse as Holy War: Divine Politics and Polemics in the Letters of Paul*. AYBRL. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018.
- Webb, Robert L. “‘Apocalyptic’: Observations on a Slippery Term.” *JNES* 49.2 (1990): 115–26.
- . “Intertexture and Rhetorical Strategy in First Peter’s Apocalyptic Discourse: A Study in Sociorhetorical Interpretation.” Pages 72–110 in *Reading First Peter with New Eyes*. Edited by Robert L. Webb and Betsy Bauman-Martin. LNTS 364. New York: T&T Clark, 2007.
- Westfall, Cynthia Long. “Running the Gamut: The Varied Responses to Empire in Jewish Christianity.” Pages 230–58 in *Empire in the New Testament*. Edited by Stanley E Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall. Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2011.

- Williams, Logan. "Disjunction in Paul: Apocalyptic or Christomorphic? Comparing the Apocalypse of Weeks with Galatians." *New Testament Studies* 64.1 *Disjunction in Paul* (2018): 64–80.
- Williams, Travis B. "Intertextuality and Methodological Bias: Prolegomena to the Evaluation of Source Materials in 1 Peter." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 39.2 (2016): 169–87.
- Wright, Christopher J. H. *God's People in God's Land: Family, Land, and Property in the Old Testament*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1990.
- Wright, N. T. "Paul and Caesar: A New Reading of Romans." Pages 173–93 in *A Royal Priesthood? The Use of the Bible Ethically and Politically: A Dialogue with Oliver O'Donovan*. Edited by Craig Bartholemew. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2002.
- . *Paul: Fresh Perspectives*. London: SPCK Publishing, 2005.
- Zwierlein, Otto. *Petrus in Rom: Die Literarischen Zeugnisse. Mit Einer Kritischen Edition Der Martyrien Des Petrus Und Paulus Auf Neuer Handschriftlicher Grundlage*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010.