DIFFERENTIATING SATAN'S MANY FACES: A RECEPTION HISTORY APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

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The study of Satan has been approached in a variety of ways with some harmonizing texts to construct a singular description of the Satan figure, others have tried to trace a singular development of Satan over time, and others still acknowledge disparate presentations of Satan throughout the Second Temple period but lacking from these attempts is one which considers whether multiple ideas of Satan have developed over time. This dissertation reconstructs a reception-history of the Satan figure by tracing the many permutations of a leading figure of evil throughout the Old Testament, Second Temple writings, and the New Testament. This process demonstrates that there exist distinct conceptions of the Satan figure and that these conceptions have formed developing traditions which themselves show variance in key understandings. These differing notions of the Satan figure are contrasted against the writings of New Testament authors to show how of their understandings of Satan may have been influenced by earlier traditions. A final section of this study organizes the writings of the Old Testament, Second Temple period, and New Testament into stratified layers based on dating so that their ideas can be read considering historical events of their time. This comparison helps to show how prominent events in history have stimulated thinking regarding the Satan figure over the course of time and that New Testament authors had not yet refined these different ideas into a singular depiction.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Animal Apocalypse
ABD	Freedman, David Noel, ed. The Anchor Bible Dictionary. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
ALD	Aramaic Levi Document
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd Ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
ApOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary
Asc. Is.	Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah
As. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
ASV	American Standard Version
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BW	Book of Watchers
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CEV	Common English Version
D	Damascus Document
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DRC	Douay-Rheims Translation of Latin Vulgate
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
DTL	Digital Theological Library, https://libguides.thedtl.org/home.
DtrH	Deuteronomic History

EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
ESV	English Standard Version
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
GLAE	Greek Life of Adam and Eve
HALOT	The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
HDR	History of David's Rise
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JPS	Jewish Publication Society Tanakh
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTsup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
KJV	King James Version
LAB	Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo)
LAE	Life of Adam and Eve
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
LXX^{L}	Lucianic Text of the Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
MTA	The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah
NA28	Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament, 28th edition
NAC	New American Commentary
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NETS	A New English Translation of the Septuagint

NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	New International Version
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OG	Old Greek (LXX of Old Testament before its recensions)
OTL	Old Testament Library
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk årsbok*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
T. 12 Patr.	The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs
TH	Theodotion (Greek recension of Old Testament)
T. Job	Testament of Job
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
VA	Visions of Amram
Vita	Latin Life of Adam and Eve
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

INTRODUCTION

Description of the Topic and its Importance

Many churches today consider Satan and the serpent of Gen 3 to be synonymous and that at the beginning of biblical history Satan (originally a prominent angel of heaven) rebelled against God, was cast out of heaven, and has since gone on to oppose both God and humans.[1] The biblical witness to these forces leaves room for disagreement in that it is generally secondary to the primary line of discussion, it is unevenly presented across the full canon, and it is frequently impacted by interpretive uncertainties. The New Testament writers give credence to the existence of a supernatural being named Satan, who tempts, lies, and opposes the will of God as well as evil spirits who can take possession of human hosts. Scholarship has repeatedly pointed out that this depiction of Satan is either inconsistent with or more fully developed than the presentation offered within the Old Testament.[2]

The New Testament often equates Satan to an evil being, who is the leader of evil forces in direct opposition to God and all believers. Jesus claims to have watched Satan fall from heaven (Luke 10:18) and claims that he was a murderer from the beginning (John 8:44). Passages such as these seem to suggest that Satan has been in existence since the primordial past, and as such drives an ardent student of the Bible to search for signs of Satan within the Old Testament. Satan's fall is often seen within Ezek 28:16 and Isa 14:12 even though both these

[1] As an example, the "Statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths" of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada indicate in §5.3.1 that Satan, the originator of sin, fell through pride and was followed by those angels who rebelled against God. These fallen angels or demons are active in opposing the purposes of God. Another example can be found in the "Catechism of the Catholic Church" (Part One, Section Two, Chapter One, Article One, Paragraph 7, 391–94) where Satan is described as a formally good angel who fell because of his free choice to reject God and his reign in the beginning. Within this description Rev 12:9 is specifically cited.

[2] Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, 200; Russell, *Devil*, 219–21; Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 107; Pagels, *Origin of Satan*, 39; Stokes, *Satan*, 11; Page, *Powers of Evil*, 37.

passages have a human referent (the king of Tyre, and the king of Babylon).[3] Satan's evil intentions are ascribed to the serpent's temptation of Eve in Gen 3 (even though the story never uses the term שׂטן)[4] and Satan's incitation of David from 1 Chr 21 (even though the nature of that particular Satan is not definitive).[5] These examples illustrate the hermeneutical difficulties inherent with a study of Satan. There is a tendency for anachronistic content to be projected back onto Old Testament texts. Assumptions associated with the doctrine of Scripture suggest that since Scripture not only contains but is the word of God, that there is a consistent portrayal of Satan being offered throughout the full canon. This dissertation will not be making such an assumption. A singular view of Satan may have crystallized within the early days of the church, but this does not mean that authors of the biblical texts shared this view. Rather than create a composite of Satan as one may be inclined to do as a task of biblical theology, this study will be interested in observing how the portrayal of Satan formed, adapted, and refined through time.

Thesis Statement

This study will argue that distinct conceptions of Satan were formed within the Old Testament, that these were expanded and adapted throughout the Second Temple period, yet not fully refined into a singular depiction by New Testament authors. This argument will be supported by a Reception History that will provide a broader awareness of ancient Jewish beliefs through its examination of Second Temple writings like the Apocrypha, the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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[3] Canright, *Ministration of Angels*, 65–67; Chafer, *Satan*, 7; Boyd, *God at War*, 160–62. Payne, *Satan Exposed*, 55.

[4] Canright, *Ministration of Angels*, 69; Boyd, *God at War*, 154–56; Payne, *Satan Exposed*, 123.

[5] Boyd, *God at War*, 153–54; Page, *Powers of Evil*, 36. Scholarship debates whether שׂטן of 1 Chr 21 should be understood as a human adversary or a supernatural being.

History of Interpretation

To date, by far the dominant form of research pertaining to the Satan figure is that which focuses upon his appearances in a single verse or passage.[6] It is much less frequent for scholars to make observations based on a wider collection of Satan references over large portions of Scripture. The history of interpretation to follow will showcase authors from the past thirty years, who have attempted to take a wider view of Satan within the Bible and extra-biblical writings.[7]

Sydney Page (1995)

Page, in *Powers of Evil*, sets out to present a biblical study of Satan and demons, where he attempts to discuss every explicit reference to Satan and other evil spirits within the Bible.[8] He attempts to read each text in their literary and historical context, but what he finds in the Old Testament is a group of texts which yield discrepant interpretations.[9] He is convinced that the references to Satan are much more clear in the New Testament because it has a much more integral role in the gospel and because interest in demonology significantly increased within late

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[6] OT – German, *Fall Reconsidered*; Doedens, *Sons of God*; Boda, "Evil Spirit from God"; McClennan, "Gods-Complaint"; Frankel, "El as the Speaking Voice"; Hamori, "Spirit of Falsehood"; Keulen, "Identity of the Anonymous Ruler"; Patmore, *Adam, Satan and the King of Tyre*; Second Temple – Goff, "Enochic Literature"; Stone, "Enoch and the Fall"; Fröhlich, "Evil in Second Temple Texts"; Olson, "Wicked Angels"; Dimant, "Ideology and History"; Gore-Jones, "Animals"; Mermelstein, "Animal Apocalypse"; Knight, "Portrayal of Evil"; Brand, "Belial"; Stuckenbruck, "Book of Tobit"; Orlov, *Watchers of Satanail*, Twelftree, "Exorcism"; New Testament – McMains, "Deliver Us"; Wold, "Apotropaic Prayer"; Koskenniemi, "Miracles of the Devil"; Orlov, *Dark Mirrors*; Docchorn, "Devil"; Llewelyn, "John 8:44"; Oudtshoorn, "Demons"; Yi, "You Have a Demon"; Hakola, "Believing Jews"; Evans, "Jesus, Satan"; Tilling, "Paul, Evil"; Blackwell, "Greek Life of Adam and Eve"; Moses, *Practices of Power*; Löfstedt, "Paul, Sin and Satan"; Stuckenbruck, "Melchizedek"; Furhmann, "Devil"; Wold, "Sin and Evil"; Rodenbiker, "Persistent Sufferer"; Byrley, "Eschatology"; Thuren, "1 Peter and the Lion"; Asumang, "Resist Him"; Devivo, "2 Peter 2:4–16"; Stokes, "Not over Moses"; Gulaker, *Satan*; Wright, "Life of Adam and Eve"; Canoy, "Time and Space."

[7] Further studies of this nature have been considered throughout this study. They include Payne, *Satan Exposed*; Pagels, *Origin of Satan*; Day, *Adversary in Heaven*; Forsyth, *Old Enemy;* Russell, *Devil*; Kelly, *Satan*; Bamberger, *Fallen Angels*. There are also pertinent edited multi-essay works which include Docchorn et al., eds. *Das Böse*; Koskenniemi and Fröhlich, eds. *Evil and the Devil*; or works considering multiple Second Temple writings like Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*; Brand; *Evil Within and Without*; Dimant, "Between Qumran"; Reed, *Fallen Angels*; Michalak, *Angels as Warriors*; Ryan, *Divine Conflict*.

[8] Page, *Powers of Evil*, 9.

[9] Page, *Powers of Evil*, 43.

Judaism.[10] His limited scope left him speculating how events of history like Syrian domination in the second century BCE may have led to further reflection regarding suprahuman forces.[11] When Page looks back on the material he has surveyed he adds up all the different characteristics that have been observed to create a catch-all description of who Satan is portrayed to be.[12] While Page's approach is consistent to other works of biblical theology, it is worth considering whether New Testament authors even share the same view of Satan. This study will remain open to the possibility that they do not.

Gregory Boyd (1997, 2001)

Boyd has produced two monographs, *God at War* and *Satan and the Problem of Evil*, which seek to show that biblical authors had a warfare worldview which accepts that agents of God's creation are able to resist God's will.[13] Boyd makes interesting philosophical arguments which endeavor to explain how an all-powerful God who is all good, could allow evil to exist, but his initial assumptions hamper his analysis of Scripture. He boldly states that he rejects a position that says a comprehensive biblical theology cannot be achieved and he indicates that he holds a high-view of Scripture.[14] Construction of a singular theology (or belief) regarding Satan requires the acceptance of a firm canon, it assumes that disparate texts can be combined into a singular composite of Satan, and it requires inconsistencies or contradictions within the texts to either be omitted or harmonized.[15] McDonald suggests that the earliest Christians had little interest in a

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[10] Page, *Powers of Evil*, 87.

[11] Page, *Powers of Evil*, 87–88.

[12] Page (*Powers of Evil*, 220) declares that the nonnarrative New Testament material has shown Satan to be a dangerous enemy, who exercises influence over the unbelieving world, who attacks believers, who tempts, afflicts, and accuses. While Satan no doubt does all these things within the NT, what Page has failed to observe is whether these different references to the Satan figure can even coexist.

[13] Boyd, *God at War*, 13; Boyd, *Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 15.

[14] Boyd, *God at War*, 24–25.

[15] An example of this issue is when Boyd discusses the troublesome parallel passages of 2 Sam 24:1 and 1 Chr 21:1, where Chronicles gives to Satan the role originally ascribed to God in inciting David to take a census for which he and Israel are later punished. Scholarship has debated whether this may be evidence of a later writer trying to remove a morally questionable action from God, or whether it is a sign of development being exhibited in relation

fixed text and did not attempt to produce one until much later in church history[16] (fourth and fifth centuries).[17] A writing such as 4 Ezra 14:43–47 reveals that many more writings were accessed by the spiritually wise. For this reason, it would be anachronistic to assume that the ideas of biblical authors were solely sourced by canonical texts. This study will expand its examination beyond canonical texts and will present them diachronically to highlight shifts in thought.

T. J. Wray and Gregory Mobley (2005)

Wray and Mobley (*Birth of Satan*) seek to identify the origin of Satan and trace his development which they say is influenced by the triumph of monotheism, foreign cultures, and an increased amount of reflection on the origins of evil within the Second Temple period.[18] Unlike Boyd, Wray and Mobley seek to treat the Bible like any other piece of literature, which means they are willing to read with suspicion and to appreciate the profundities and primitive features of the authors. Their diachronic observations of the texts suggest that the development of monotheism within the Hebrew texts led to the birth of Satan,[19] that the figure was shaped by the influence of neighboring nations,[20] and gives the impression that various representations of Satan (whether they be opposing factions within Judaism, foreign rulers, or the enemy within) assimilate to become the Satan of the New Testament.[21] This monograph offers only limited exposure to Second Temple period texts (1 Enoch, Jubilees, Damascus Covenant, Community Rule, and Life

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to the Satan figure. Boyd (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 403) seeks to harmonize the contradiction by suggesting that despite being opponents, God allows Satan to incite David because he was already angry with Israel and wanted them punished. This solution poorly fits the context, since leading up to the census God had affirmed David by entering a covenant with him (1 Chr 17) and this is followed by a narrative describing David's establishment and extension of his kingdom (1 Chr 18–20). Chronicles gives no indication leading up to the census that God wanted to punish Israel.

[16] McDonald, *Biblical Canon*, 17.
[17] McDonald, *Biblical Canon*, 423.
[18] Wray and Mobley, *Birth of Satan*, 165–66.
[19] Wray and Mobley, *Birth of Satan*, 36.
[20] Wray and Mobley, *Birth of Satan*, 75–94.
[21] Wray and Mobley, *Birth of Satan*, 112.

of Adam and Eve),[22] it assumes that all names of Satan are used synonymously,[23] and like the authors already mentioned it sees a singular understanding presented by New Testament writers.

Derek Brown (2011–2015)

Brown contributes to the research on Satan with a survey of research ("Devil in the Details") and a monograph (*God of this Age*) which seeks to understand how Satan fits into Paul's apocalyptic framework. Brown's survey provides an overview of scholarship on the references of Satan in the writings of the Old Testament, the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and Qumran literature, and the New Testament. Brown's monograph assumes that Paul knows more about Satan than what he writes, so he scours texts of the Hebrew Bible, Pseudepigrapha, and Qumran literature to determine what a first century Jewish Christian would understand about Satan.[24] Brown proceeds to accumulate attributes that Paul could have associated with Satan, such as his role as an accuser, his introduction of evil into the world, his reign over lesser evil beings, and his role as tempter. Brown's approach does not consider important distinctions within the early writings of Satan. This study takes the perspective that these distinctions have the capability of re-orienting our understanding of Satan as he is presented in the New Testament.

Michael S. Heiser (2015)

Heiser (*Unseen Realm*) seeks to uncover a hidden supernatural worldview which was held by ancient writers's but which has been hidden by tradition and modern interpreters.[25] Heiser stresses the importance of reading the text like an ancient reader[26] and uses texts like Ps 82:6 and

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[22] With such a small number of writings being observed, it would be very difficult to identify alternative developing traditions if they did exist.

[23] Wray and Mobley, *Birth of Satan*, 108.

[24] Brown, *God of this Age*, 15.

[25] Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 16, 28.

[26] Heiser (*Unseen Realm*, 44) assumes that we (his readers) do not see passages as ancient readers would. He indicates that ancient readers would not need theological stances to understand the ways of God (66). He says the

Deut 32:8 to highlight how interpreters have distorted the clear meaning of texts.[27] Heiser shows concern that the believing church is bending udder the weight of its own rationalism.[28] He refers to a singular Second Temple writing (1 Enoch) to illustrate that the ancient reader was aware of the Mesopotamian context of Gen 6:1–4 (that the sons of God were clearly not human and that the eradication of their giant offspring was the purpose lying behind many of the Old Testament texts describing holy war).[29] However, Heiser wrongly assumes that the ancient world shared a singular world view. There are numerous reasons why ancient writers may have written texts involving a Satan figure (to make theological claims, to explain the unseen world, for polemical purposes) and even more reasons why they may express different understandings (shifts in understanding, new reflections based on changing contexts, re-interpretation of texts through new revelation). A broader appraisal of ancient texts will bear out the fact that the ancient world had many different points of view on these issues.

John H. Walton and J. Harvey Walton (2019)

Walton and Walton's monograph (*Demons and Spirits*) is written as a critique of "conflict theology" which emphasizes an ongoing conflict between God and Satan and their respective servants and underlings.[30] Rather than read texts as though they are presenting information about Satan or demons (as they suggest Boyd does), they insist on the importance of understanding the texts as the ancient reader would. While their intention to read the texts as an ancient reader parallels the emphasis of Heiser, Walton and Walton come to a vastly different understanding. They purport to examine every passage in the Bible thought to contain information about Satan or demons and try to discern its message based on all the information about genre, meanings of

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Second Temple Jewish thinkers correctly understood that Gen 6:1–4 actually involved supernatural beings and giant offspring (102).

[27] Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 18, 113.

[28] Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 17.

[29] Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 101, 203.

[30] Walton and Walton, *Demons and Spirits*, 6.

words, discourse analysis, and comparative studies and nowhere in that process are they able to offer any biblical conception of demons and spirits.[31] Undergirding this conclusion is the assumption that texts do not offer any new information beyond what an original audience would have already known. They claim that texts do not affirm the existence of Satan or make declarative statements that are universally true,[32] they just use references drawn from the social milieux to convey meaning on particular subjects unique to each different context. Rather than examine the biblical texts or Second Temple writings to determine the different viewpoints that were held regarding Satan, Walton and Walton seek to dismiss them as actual views held by any particular author. I agree with Walton and Walton that understandings of ancient witnesses should not automatically be deemed true, but I believe they have gone too far in their opposition to that belief. Because they are concerned whether the reality of Satan is depicted within the Bible, they have not stopped to consider whether a unified view of Satan is presented.

Ryan E. Stokes (2009–2019)

Stokes has written a few different works on the topic of Satan highlighted by his monograph (*The Satan*) which proports to be a history of the origin, shaping, and reshaping of beliefs about Satan figures and about the Satan.[33] Stokes makes a helpful distinction when he states his intention to describe the religious thought of the religious writers rather than to develop a theology.[34] This allows him to present different ideas that are witnessed within the various texts without being compelled to validate the meaning behind them. He attempts to identify when the conception of Satan originated within the Old Testament,[35] and then proceeds to point out how

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[31] Walton and Walton, *Demons and Spirits*, 298. Through this process they consult Second Temple writings such as 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Rule of Community, Testament of Job, and Life of Adam and Eve.

[32] Walton and Walton, *Demons and Spirits*, 38.

[33] Stokes, *Satan*, 12. Two of Stokes's earlier articles ("The Devil Made David Do it," and "Satan, YHWH's Executioner") are reiterated within this monograph.

[34] Stokes, *Satan*, 12.

[35] Stokes (*Satan*, 24–25) suggests a three-stage development of the figure within the OT (from Num 22 to Job 1–2 and Zech 3 and then to 1 Chr 21). Russel (*Devil*, 190, 199, 203) and *Forsyth* (*Old Enemy*, 115, 121) also

various Second Temple writings have continued to develop that conception. Stokes makes some connections between Second Temple writings and shows how these writings have developed ideas from the Old Testament but lacks this same intention when he broaches the New Testament texts. When Stokes observes Satan within New Testament texts, he sees an oscillation between subservient executioner and an autonomous evil figure,[36] but this underplays how many points of oscillation may be present in the New Testament texts. More work is needed to establish links between developing conceptions from the Second Temple period into the New Testament to show that distinct ideas of Satan were held.

Thomas Farrar and Guy Williams (2016–2019)

Farrar, both in conjunction with Guy Williams and also on his own, has authored several articles in recent years tabulating the different occurrences of Satan within the New Testament ("Diabolical Data"; "Talk of the Devil"; "Intimate and Ultimate Adversary"; "New Testament Satanology"), showing how different notions of the Satan figure are evidenced within second century Christian writers, and also how disparate notions of the Satan figure have converged within the New Testament.[37] These works offer a valuable contribution to scholarship on Satanology but this study intends to improve upon their work in a number of ways. Firstly, their selection of texts placed too much emphasis upon occurrences where the Satan figure can be

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seek to chart the development of the Satan figure within Job, Zecheriah, and 1 Chronicles and each come to a different ordering. Their deviation illustrates the importance of dating in diachronic presentations.

[36] Stokes, *Satan*, 176.

[37] Farrar and Williams ("Diabolical Data") tabulates all the occurences of the Satan figure within the New Testament paying special attention to the different terminology used to identify him. Farrar and Williams ("Talk of the Devil") takes these tabulations to determine the level of prominance the figure has in each of the different New Testament books. Farrar ("Intimate and Ultimate Adversary") catalogues the Satan references within the early Apostolic writings and seeks to group the differing conceptions into groups such as Satan within the Individual, Satan and the boundaries of the community, Satan's hegemony in the world, Satan in a cosmic dualistic system, and Satan in the abstract. Farrar ("New Testament Satanology") surveys OT and Second Temple writings to show that New Testament authors did in fact believe in a real mythological devil. Second Temple writings are grouped into three categories (non-existent, rationalistic, and concretely mythological), and Farrar goes onto to argue that disparate presentations within the Second Temple period have converged within the NT.

identified by a name or common noun (i.e., ruler of demons, father of lies, etc.).[38] Texts referencing angels, expectations of the future judgment, and motifs of light and darkness may also point to differing conceptions of the Satan figure. Farrar admits that there is no standard Jewish concept of the Satan figure that the early church simply inherited but stops short of detailing these different concepts.[39] Farrar observes terminological consistency within New Testament Satanology, but wrongly connects this with conceptual consistency in functions and attributes assigned to Satan.[40] Bruin points out how Farrar's tabulation process presents ambiguous passages in an overly definitive manner which overstates their impression of consistency.[41]

Archie Wright (2005, 2022)

Wright has produced multiple writings dealing with the Satan figure.[42] Two of the more relevant works are his recent monograph (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*) that surveys Satan and the problem of evil across the Bible and into the early church fathers and another (*Origin of Evil Spirits*) which tracks the Reception History of the fornicating angels from Gen 6:1–4.[43] Wright exposes his readers to a large breadth of writings within *Satan and the Problem of Evil* but asks limited questions of those texts. His work seeks to understand if the various satan figures are

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[38] Farrar and Williams ("Diabolical Data," 41) list over thirty designations used within New Testament writings to signify the Satan figure. This tabulation gives the impression that an all-encompassing survey has been carried out, but by failing to identify alternative traditions relating to the Satan figure (like the Watcher tradition or the Two Spirits tradition) and its associated concerns (eschatology, dualistic motifs of light and darkness, origin stories), they have omitted further material that could be useful for developing an understanding of the different notions presented within the New Testament texts.

[39] Farrar, "New Testament Satanology," 56.

[40] Farrar ("New Testament Satanology," 60) believes that terminological consistency of the New Testament Satanology appears to be paralleled by a conceptual consistency in functions and attributes assigned to Satan.

[41] Bruin, "The Great Controversy," 441.

[42] Wright, *Satan and the Problem of Evil*; *Origin of Evil Spirits*; "Life of Adam and Eve."

[43] In *Satan and the Problem of Evil*, Wright traces the Satan figure across the Old Testament, numerous Second Temple writings, the NT, some Gnostic writings, and even the early church fathers. In *Origin of Evil Spirits*, he seeks to ascertain what Jews of the Second Temple period understood with regards to the origin and activity of evil spirits.

depicted as human or supernatural and to see if they play a consistent role. It does not attempt to connect or group these different ideas into prominent traditions. This presentation lacked a firmly delineated time period for comparison and a method for ordering or arranging texts. This allows pseudepigraphic writings much later than the New Testament period to be retained for comparison and makes it difficult for the reader to detect development across the writings. *Origin of Evil Spirits* is a revision of his doctoral thesis and observes the reception of the rebellious angels from Gen 6:1–4 into the Book of Watchers, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and into the writings of Philo. This approach to observing the different interpretations of an Old Testament text through the course of time offers a more nuanced understanding of the thinking of ancient writers, contra Heiser. It also allows the various viewpoints to be represented without minimizing their validity, unlike Walton and Walton. I think it also demonstrates that viewpoints were neither static nor unified in the ancient world.

Tom de Bruin (2013, 2022)

Bruin wrote his dissertation on the individual's struggle with good and evil within the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs ("The Great Controversy") and has also written an article ("Defense of New Testament Satanologies") seeking to critique Farrar and Williams tabulation of Satan references within the New Testament (primarily their notion that conceptions of Satan converged within the NT).[44] Bruin's article articulates his belief that a monolithic or coherent New Testament Satanology does not exist and he goes onto show how the method of tabulating characteristics of the Satan figure across different books of the New Testament often presents ambiguous passages in an overly definitive manner which overstates impressions of consistency. Bruin critiques Farrar and Williams but has not offered his own understanding of the differing

[44] Bruin ("The Great Controversy") describes the belief system of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and then compares its notion of the Two-Spirits to other writings of the post-apostolic period, showing that a second century dating is appropriate. Bruin ("Defense of New Testament Satanologies") primarily challenges Farrar and Williams notion that a monolithic and coherent Satanology exists within the NT.

notions that may be evidenced within the New Testament writings. This study would seek to fill this gap. Bruin's dissertation however does make an interesting contribution to this study, by tracing the Two Spirit theology within the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Rule of the Community, the Shepherd of Hermas, the writings of Origen, and Clement of Alexandria.[45]

Summary

After consideration of recent research, it has become evident that there is need for a study which provides an assessment of a larger collection of ancient non-biblical texts to better inform the period between Testaments. Rather than privilege canonical texts in the construction of another composite portrait of Satan, this study sees a greater need for understanding the various conceptions of Satan that were held leading into the New Testament period. Rather than position shifts into one singular line of development, this study will try to further differentiate texts into distinct traditions.

Methodology

As a practice Reception History is undatable as there is nothing new with collating the responses of different readers to a particular text[46] but it has had a profound effect upon biblical studies in recent decades.[47] It offers a challenge to traditional historical-critical exegesis, because it shows us that different individuals and groups saw the same texts from different angles.[48] Biblical

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[45] The following writers have also traced singular traditions across multiple writings. Leaney (*Rule of Qumran*) traces the Two Spirit theology of the Rule of the Community into the NT, noting a particularly strong affinity to its teaching within the Johannine literature. Levison (*Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*) traces the development of the Adam myth across Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, Jubilees, Josephus, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the Life of Adam and Eve. A writing such as this offers a great companion for tracing ideas regarding the rebellious serpent. Harkins (*Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions*) traces the Watcher tradition into Jubilees, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Book of Similitudes, the Life of Adam and Eve, the writings of Justin Martyr, and the Targums. Naab ("Testament of Job") seeks to substantiate a Christian reception of the Testament of Job and to explore the thematic points of contact between it and the NT.

[46] Roberts, "Introduction," 6.

[47] Beal, "Reception History," 360.

[48] Roberts, "Introduction," 4.

criticism has placed a great deal of emphasis on understanding what the original author intended when they wrote. Taking up this thought, Schniedewind explains how source criticism has focused on the urtext while neglecting a text's final form, and canonical criticism has virtually dismissed literary history in their devotion to the text's final form.[49] Regardless of whether it seeks to understand the intention of the original author, or the final editor or composer, traditional historical-critical exegesis has attempted to locate a single objective meaning in texts.[50] Reception History pushes us past such an objective for it is less interested in discovering meaning in biblical texts than it is in how meaning is made from biblical texts in different cultural contexts.[51] The practice is rooted in the ideas of Hans-Georg Gadamer and Hans Robert Jauss.[52]

In *Truth and Method*, Gadamer raises issues with both the horizon of the present, and the horizon of the past. Firstly, if we are trying to understand a historical phenomenon of the past, we are always affected by history.[53] This means that when we interpret an event of the past, we are prejudiced by a perspective of our own time which itself is shaped by traditions. Gadamer suggests that if we look at a point in history without a horizon then we tend to overvalue what is nearest to us.[54] A person who has a horizon knows the relative significance of everything within the horizon.[55] When discussing historic phenomenon, Gadamer admits that what an expression expresses is not merely what is supposed to be expressed (or what is meant) but what is also expressed by the words without it being intended.[56] In this way he emphasizes the role of language between an interpreter and a text.[57] He concludes that interpretation is necessary

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[49] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 7.
[50] Roberts, "Introduction," 4.
[51] Beal, "Reception History," 364.
[52] Roberts, "Introduction,"; Evans, *Reception History*, 1; Breed, *Nomadic Text*, 8; Beal, "Reception History," 361–62.
[53] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 311.
[54] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 313.
[55] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 313.
[56] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 345.
[57] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 386.

wherever one is not prepared to trust what a phenomenon immediately presents to us.[58] What Gadamer says about the horizon of the present can also apply to a point of the past. Gadamer's deliberations are framed around a modern interpreter seeking to understand the meaning of a past text, but they can just as easily apply to an ancient reader/writer who interprets writings of their own past before then recording new texts of their own. Their interpretation is affected by traditions that precede them, and their understanding of an earlier text can be shaped by what the text is able to say even when it was not intended. By filling out our horizon of the past, we can gain a better grasp of what ancient Jewish writers knew of the Satan figure, and how their writings compared to traditions of their time.

Jauss built upon the ideas of Gadamer but indicates that Gadamer did not do enough to consider what makes one writing stand out from its contemporaries.[59] According to Jauss, the way in which a literary work satisfies, surpasses, disappoints, or disproves the expectations of its first readers in the historical moment of its appearance gives a criterion for the determination of its aesthetic value.[60] He deemed it necessary to consider the historical relevance of the literature.[61]

Ulrich Luz, another early proponent of Reception History, differentiates Gadamer's history of effects from that of Reception History since its perspective was from the standpoint of the original event or texts, while Reception History is formulated from the standpoint of the receivers.[62] This can be misleading, however, since Reception History can have different aims. As Breed explains, some reception historians are interested in the readers or reading practices themselves, while others may be interested in shorter durations of time and geographically or culturally delineated spaces of reception.[63] Reception histories can seek to answer a variety of

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[58] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 345.
[59] Jauss, "Literary History," 23.
[60] Jauss, "Literary History," 14.
[61] Jauss ("Literary History," 23) considered the writing diachronically, synchronically, and in relation to the general process of history.
[62] Luz, "Contribution of Reception History," 124.
[63] Breed, *Nomadic Text*, 132.

different questions. For instance, how can we bridge the gap between times and cultures? What does the intended audience know that we do not? How can we determine what the author knows but does not write? These are questions that a Reception History can help to inform because it considers both the literary and historical precedents that may impact a given author/editor's thinking and that may shape or inform their intended audience.

This dissertation will utilize a literary history approach based upon the reception theory (or *Rezeptionsaesthetik*) of Hans Robert Jauss and adapted to biblical studies by William M. Schniedewind.[64] Schniedewind insists that a central concept of Reception theory is the reader's horizon of expectation, that is cultural, social, political, and literary expectations of a text's readers in the historical moment of its appearance.[65] These expectations are the basis on which a text is received, and a new text is produced.

This study will seek to outline the literary expectations that would have been present within successive generations of readers/redactors, especially those from the New Testament period. In order to understand these expectations and to appreciate the nuances inherent in the imaging of Satan, the writings need to be considered in three ways; (1) diachronically, by positioning them in a chronological series of writings with a similar interest; (2) synchronically, by relating them to other similar writings from within its period of history; (3) by relating them to the general process of history.[66] Through its examination of a wide range of Old Testament and Second Temple period texts, this study is well positioned to appreciate the expectations of the New Testament writers, in regards to the Satan figure, and to examine what traditions their writings reflect and whether those traditions have been harmonized.

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[64] Schniedewind (*Society and the Promise*) bases his approach on the earlier work of Hans Robert Jauss ("Literary History"), who was concerned with deriving a method for ascertaining how the aesthetics of literary works could be assessed." Schniedewind, in turn, adapted this method, for use in tracing the reception and transmission of the Promise of David in 2 Sam 7 through to the dawn of Christianity.

[65] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 6.

[66] Jauss, "Literary History," 23.

Diachronic Analysis

Schniedewind suggests that the chain of literary series is critical for understanding a text in its historical moment because the chain is part of the reader's horizon of expectations and thus informs each new reading.[67] The construction of such a chain requires that writings be dated and chronologically sequenced. Dating arguments can be tenuous when a writing lacks clear historical referents. Dyck demonstrates a variety of techniques that may be used to date a writing in his attempt to date Chronicles.[68] Clear usage of an earlier source can be used to create the terminus a quo[69] while having a witness to the writing can be used to create the terminus ad quem.[70] To refine these limits, he considers an analysis of the language used[71] and an analysis of an author's purpose.[72] It would be distracting to carry out such a process for each and every writing considered as part of this study. The dating of writings within this study will be based on an informed assessment of dating discussions offered within scholarship. At times these discussions will evince uncertainty and be resistant to definitive solutions. In these situations, the analysis will consider the writings from different perspectives.

Ordering of texts and their interconnectivity can be informed by intertextuality. The term intertextuality was originally coined by Julia Kristeva[73] and was intended to be a reader-oriented method where the reader is the one who creates meaning through an association between texts.[74] Each time a person reads a text in relation to another, both take on new meanings. Intertextuality can also be an author-oriented approach which seeks to locate discernable intertextual clues that

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[67] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 7.

[68] Dyck, "Dating Chronicles," 17–21.

[69] Dyck ("Dating Chronicles," 17) notes how Chronicles post-dates both the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History showing early critical scholars that it must be a post-exilic writing.

[70] A witness to a writing may come in the form of a extant manuscript containing the writing or the citation of or reference to the writing by later writers. Dyck ("Dating Chronicles," 18) when setting a lower range for Chronicles points to citations within writings of Eupolemus and Ben Sira.

[71] Dyck ("Dating Chronicles," 18). This type of analysis may detect the use of particular forms of words known to frequent a particular period or the usage of loan words that can be correlated to a specific empire.

[72] Dyck ("Dating Chronicles," 20) suggests that an analysis of authorial intention makes use of three overlapping circles: communicative intentions, the author's motives, and the context of production.

[73] Kristeva, *Desire in Language*, 4.

[74] Miller, "Intertextuality," 286.

have been left by the author pointing to precursor texts which may better inform their meaning.[75] This is a process that has been given different names (inner-biblical exegesis[76] or allusions,[77] hypertextuality,[78] metalepsis,[79] etc.). It will make connections between writings by locating intertextual links like citations, quotations, or allusions. Each of these links can be established by finding common arrangements of words within two or more writings.[80] Associations can be drawn from as little as a single word, like Satan or other terms that may be deemed synonymous (Belial, Mastema, etc.). This study will be interested in author-oriented intertextuality, but it will not focus upon locating its own intertextual links. Rather, it will look to existing scholarship to highlight potential links between writings.[81] These associations will not be used to aid dating but will instead be used to assess how precursor texts may impact our interpretation of an author's presentation of the Satan figure.[82]

Diachronic analysis also faces challenges from complicated composition histories. Some writings show evidence of being composed over long periods of time or by distinct authors. Old Testament scholarship is riddled with debates surrounding the compilation of its texts (as with the JEPD sources of the Pentateuch or the different theories pertaining to the Deuteronomic History), while Second Temple writings at times show layers of Jewish and Christian thought

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[75] Miller, "Intertextuality," 287.

[76] Fishbane (*Biblical Interpretation*, 7) used this term to describe Scriptures that interpret earlier Scriptures.

[77] Boda (*Bringing Out the Treasure,* 214) credits this term to Somer and Nurmela and suggests it involves the detection of exclusive verbal parallels, verbal similarities, or even synonymic similarities.

[78] Rosenberg ("Hypertextuality," 17) suggests that hypertextuality exists when a text is integrally based on and transforms another while Intertextuality refers only to the actual presence of one text within another.

[79] Brown ("Metalepsis," 29) defines this as when an author cites or alludes to a brief part of another text to evoke its entire context.

[80] Paulien, "Elusive Allusions," 39–40.

[81] As examples, McCartney (*James*, 46) points to shared authorial interests and phrasing to correlate James with the Wisdom of Solomon; Gray ("Points and Lines," 409) makes a connection between James and T. Job through similarities in outlook and language, distinctive linguistic or thematic parallels, along with their density and interconnectedness; and Chesnutt ("Wisdom of Solomon," 118) points to literary parallels and the frequent citation of patristic writers who worked out trinitarian theology as evidence that Paul had knowledge of Wisdom of Solomon.

[82] For instance, Chesnutt ("Wisdom of Solomon," 118) points to parallels between Paul's understanding of the Holy Spirit and wisdom as described in the Wisdom of Solomon. The task of this study would be to determine how Paul's understanding of Satan may be impacted by that offered in Wisdom of Solomon.

(i.e., T. 12 Patr.; LAE). Schniedewind admitted that reconstruction of social and political contexts of the past is a complicated problem and that it leads to deficiencies in one's verdict, but he still thought it important to make decisions since he believed that literature had to be shaped by the context it was written within.[83] He also conveyed how traditional critical approaches had difficulty arriving at a consensus when they sought to reconstruct the compositional history of biblical texts.[84] Despite these acknowledgments, Schniedewind is still criticized for how he assigns dates to texts and his confidence in doing so.[85] Schniedewind was right to see the value in an assessment of history, but he may have come across too confident in doing so (like when he views the promise of David as an early monarchial text).[86] Schniedewind may have had good reason to suggest that the Davidic promise could be credibly seen as an early monarchic reading, but perhaps he opens himself up to criticism by not attempting to understand how it would inform his study had it alternatively been deemed an addition of the Deuteronomist. Reception History is naturally inclined to highlight alternative views that appear over time, so it may have been more profitable to discuss a reading of the Davidic promise from multiple settings rather than taking a definitive stance. This study will encounter numerous writings that cannot be confidently confined within a singular historic period. On these occasions the study will take a more cautious approach than Schniedewind, by attempting to understand how different settings may impact our interpretation of a given text and its contribution within a larger framework of writings.

The diachronic analysis employed in this study will range from the time of authorship of the earliest Old Testament witnesses through to the approximate end of the New Testament period (1030 BCE–135 CE). The history of research showed that some studies presented distorted views of the Second Temple period by failing to assess enough texts. This study

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[83] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 12. Our knowledge for many periods within the history of ancient Israel is limited because we only have evidence of a fraction of the writings that would have been written.

[84] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 9.

[85] Wright, Review of *Society and the Promise*, 345; McKenzie, Review of *Society and the Promise*, 538.

[86] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 49.

observes twenty-seven Jewish writings from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Old Testament Apocrypha, and Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Schniedewind does not consider that development of a single textual tradition may occur concurrently with reception and transmission to other writings but this parallel process is highlighted by Reed, who in her study examines the changes inherent within the extant manuscripts of the Book of the Watchers along with later writings which receive and reinterpret its views.[87] In appreciation of this parallel process, key differences observed between ancient translations of the Old Testament texts have been highlighted along with developing traditions in Second Temple texts.

Without an appreciation for the range of interpretations evidenced within the Second Temple period, an interpreter of the New Testament may be inclined to accumulate the contributions of the different texts into a singular conception of the Satan figure. When one approaches a text with other comparatives in mind, those same points can begin to associate or dissociate with other traditions. This study will assist the reader with this process. Four distinct expressions of the Satan figure have been recognized within the Old Testament (the rebellious serpent, the watchers or fallen angels, the prosecuting divine council member, and the angel of darkness who works in opposition to the angel of light). These expressions become part of traditions developed across the Second Temple period. It will become evident that significant variances can be found within a singular tradition and that expectations held within the tradition can be adapted to suit new settings.

[87] Reed (*Fallen Angels*, 16) notes that the Book of the Watchers was not a result of a single act of authorial creativity. Rather the apocalypse was shaped by multiple stages of authorship, redaction, and compilation. She goes onto explain that our manuscript evidence suggests that the writing circulated as a distinct document at an early stage of its development (17).

Synchronic Analysis

Jauss and Schniedewind approach their synchronic analysis differently. For Schniedewind, a synchronic analysis intends to relate a work to its historical moment,[88] while for Jauss a synchronic analysis should allow for the comparison of literary works from the same period.[89] Jauss was interested in understanding why one work may be forgotten along with other conventional works of the time, and another may grow to prominence and continue to shape the ideas of future readers.[90] For one to understand how an audience would have viewed and understood a work they need to be familiar with both the historical setting and the other contemporary works. As such, both concerns are seen to have import in this study. They will be described as Synchronic Analysis (like Jauss's synchronic analysis), and the Relation to General Process of History (like Schniedewind's synchronic analysis). For Jauss, a synchronic analysis takes a cross-section of history and arranges heterogeneous contemporaneous works into equivalent, opposing, and hierarchical groups so that one can discover a general system of relationship in the literature of a historical moment.[91] Since this study is interested in the development of an individual figure within an array of writings rather than the appeal of the writings themselves, the value for examining these writings across a historical moment is to understand how variant expressions of the Satan figure operate within a similar contextual setting. Rather than highlight the mundane, points of similarity could reveal commonly held beliefs that transcend a tradition. Points of distinction may not explain why a tradition endured but could instead illustrate a tradition's unique perspective. When related to the general process of history, these similarities and distinctions can be better understood. The synchronic analysis done within this study will be done in conjunction with the historical analysis. The writings observed within this study will be located within ten different time periods which traverse the

[88] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 6. Jauss's third point of reception theory (the relation of a work to the general process of history), actually resembles Schniedewind's conception of synchronic analysis.

[89] Jauss, "Literary History," 23.

[90] Jauss, "Literary History," 29.

[91] Jauss, "Literary History," 27–28.

period of 1030 BCE–135 CE. Writings within each period will be compared to one another, and then related to prominent historical events of the time.

Relation to General Process of History

Schniedewind stresses that to properly apprehend the reception of texts we must understand as precisely as possible the society within which they were produced.[92] He takes aim at source and redaction critical studies by declaring that a significant problem they have is a failure to adequately investigate the sociopolitical context to which sources and redactional layers were attributed.[93] He ascribes this shortcoming to reconstructions of social and political backgrounds that are based on texts alone. Dever, a prominent voice in Syro-Palestinian archaeology, understands the Bible to be written by intellectuals, religionists, and professional scribes who are part of an elitest group within society.[94] He suggests archaeology gives a voice to the ordinary folk. While he may not speak for every archaeologist, Dever does emphasize texts may only give expression to one group's voice. A careful examination of history should work to locate additional voices of the time, to give a fuller appreciation of each author's purpose. Jauss explains that

> The method of the history of reception is essential for the understanding of literary works which lie in the distant past. Whenever the writer of a work is unknown, his intent not recorded, or his relationship to source and model only indirectly accessible, the philological question of how the text is "properly" to be understood, that is according to its intention and its time, can best be answered if the text is considered in contrast to the background of the works which the author could expect his contemporary public to know either explicitly or implicitly.[95]

Schniedewind points out that Jauss was criticized for being too inclusive in his definition of a reader's expectation.[96] It would be an oversight to assume that any given period only had a singular expectation. Schniedewind saw this to be a concern, especially within the Second

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[92] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 13.
[93] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 14.
[94] Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 5.
[95] Jauss, "Literary History," 19.
[96] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 6.

Temple period because of an explosion in Jewish sects.[97] Not only were there distinct communities in different locations, but there was internal division evidenced within singular communities whether it be competing religious or political groups or rival socio-economic classes. This multiplicity of views can at times be detected within the featured writings of this study but can be further informed by external historical writings of the ancient Near East, archaeological artifacts, and sociological studies.

The Satan figure is often understood to influence the actions of the enemy, but the nature or identity of the enemy changes with time. Significant shifts within the political and religious spheres can reorient the identification of the elect and their enemy. This study will endeavor to construct a historic rendering which locates sources of trauma and which features divisions within the people and the causes that lie behind those divisions.

Procedure

The first three chapters contribute to the diachronic analysis mentioned above. The first chapter concentrates on Old Testament passages. Some of the earlier mentioned scholarly efforts have begun their studies of the Satan figure by utilizing a search criterion which is too narrow. For instance, Stokes starts by looking at Old Testament texts which include the word שׂטן, meaning his search of origins begins with texts like Job 1–2, Zech 3, and 1 Chr 21.[98] This approach overlooks other texts that are commonly associated with the Satan figure like the garden narrative of Gen 3, or the rebellious angels of Gen 6:1–4. Second Temple writings identify the Satan figure by a variety of names and designations (Satan, devil, Asael, Mastema, Belial, evil one, etc.) and these designations have potential roots in Old Testament texts which are not typically associated with Satan. For this reason, a fuller range of early texts has been examined which describe supernatural beings who are associated with discord, rebellion, wickedness,

[97] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 6.
[98] Stokes, *Satan*, 25.

confrontation, or prosecution. These passages have been organized chronologically within four different groupings (the rebellious serpent and the primordial fall, rebellious angels, troublesome spirits, and the שׂטן). The groupings were used to help the reader make connections between writings which make similar portrayals of the Satan figure. The exegetical analysis of the various passages seeks to highlight points of ambiguity and interpretive debate within the passages because the intent is not to determine what the passages mean, but rather to show how they could be understood in different ways by later interpreters. Each grouping also includes a synthesis which compares the writings of the group, discusses how the writings can be used together to construct a portrait of the Satan figure, and highlights conceptual shifts that are apparent across time.

The second chapter examines Second Temple writings that are organized chronologically into three groupings (the Watcher Tradition, the Two-Way Tradition, and a Miscellaneous Grouping). A discussion is provided for each writing which dates the writing, summarizes its content regarding a Satan figure, and which highlights associations with other like writings. A synthesis is provided for each grouping which highlights key points of commonality and variance within the grouping. Towards the end of the chapter, the discussion highlights how ideas from the Old Testament groupings have been expanded upon or adapted within the developing traditions of the Second Temple period.

The third chapter examines New Testament texts associated with the Satan figure, except this time they are grouped chronologically by author. The New Testament texts are dated, the presentation of the Satan figure is discussed considering the author's overall message, and potential influence from earlier Old Testament and Second Temple Writings is highlighted. The general intent of this third chapter is to see how traditions have continued to be developed and to see how prominent points of variance within earlier writings can inform our interpretation of New Testament authors.

The fourth chapter concentrates on both the synchronic analysis and correlates the writings to their historic setting. The writings fall within a timeline which spans from approximately ca. 1030 BCE–135 CE. This timeline has been delineated into ten distinctive periods. For each period prominent events were described which pertain to the condition of the people, traumatic events which may have shaped their thinking, or internal divisions which may have developed. These events have been correlated with writings authored from the same period to see how those events may have impacted the various presentations of the Satan figure. Writings which have been assigned larger date ranges can straddle multiple periods and, in these cases, they will be considered from multiple authorial settings.

CHAPTER 1: OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SATAN FIGURE

Introduction

In this chapter, we are going to look at various passages within the Old Testament that can be linked to the conception of Satan. Figure 2.1 illustrates when each of the passages discussed within this chapter are thought to have originated. Some of these writings have a great deal of uncertainty regarding their date of authorship which is depicted within the chart with wider ranges of possible dates.

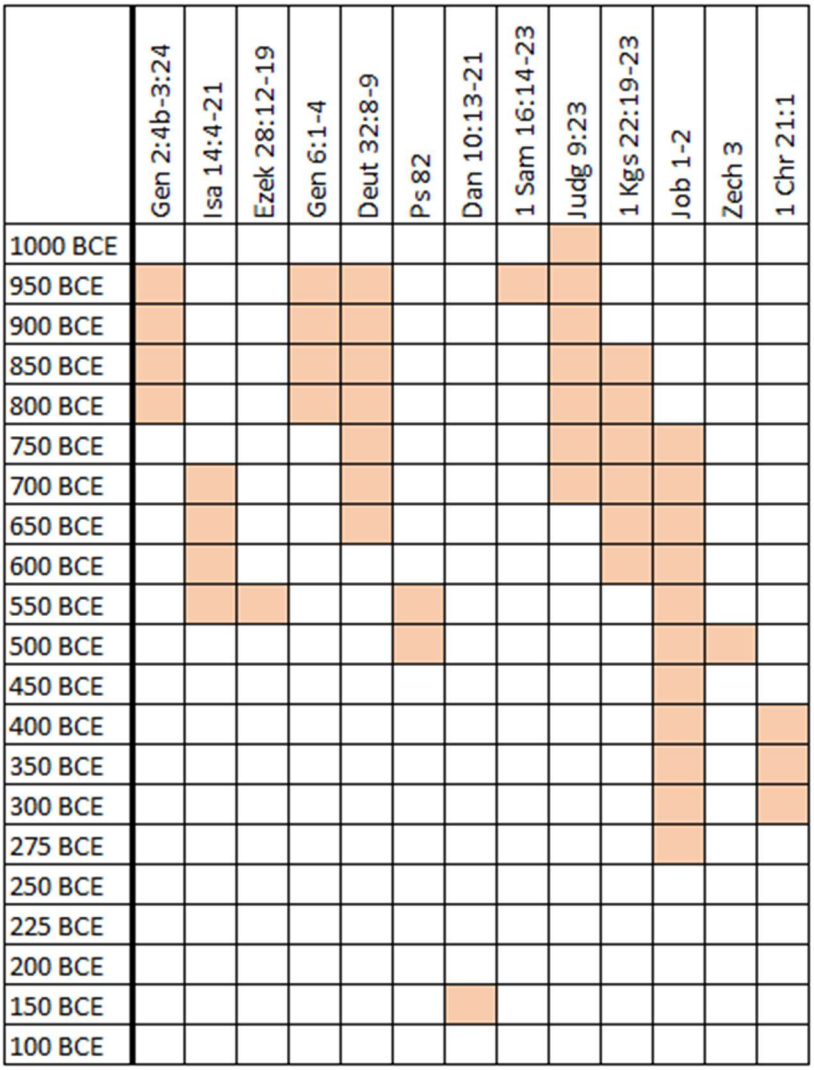

Figure 1: Likely Date of Authorship for Old Testament Passages

The Rebellious Serpent/Primordial Fall

Genesis 2:4b—3:24

The garden narrative of Gen 2:4b—3:24 highlights the events and implications of the original sin as part of an overarching downward decline shown throughout the primordial history (Gen 1–11). It is considered part of the Jahwist writings of the Pentateuch which are dated to the tenth/ninth century BCE.[1] Adam and Eve are placed within the garden and given one mandate. They were not to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, otherwise they would die (2:17).[2] A talking נחשׁ "serpent," described as the craftiest animal created by God,[3] questions Eve on whether they were restricted from eating of all trees in the garden, shows doubt that they would die if they did so, and suspects that God gave the mandate because he did not want Adam and Eve to be like God, knowing good and evil (3:1–5).[4] This causes Eve to desire the fruit and to transgress God's mandate. She also gives the forbidden fruit to Adam to eat and this leads to a new-found awareness of their nakedness (3:7) and the eventual cursing by God. The serpent is relegated to life upon his stomach and it is told there would be enmity between him and Eve and between their descendants (3:15).[5]

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[1] Wenham (*Genesis 1–15*, xliii) gives support for this dating. Gen 2:4b—3:24 is thought to be part of the J source because Yahweh Elohim is used to refer to God except for the serpent speech which uses Elohim.

[2] Predominant interpretations for the meaning of "knowledge of good and evil" include a sexual knowledge, omniscience, a moral knowledge, and moral autonomy. Hamilton (*Book of Genesis*, 163–66) describes points in support and opposition to each of these viewpoints.

[3] It is often pointed out that the craftiness (ערום) of the serpent is a play on words with the nakedness (ערומים) of Adam and Eve despite the fact that they derive from two different roots. See Okoye, *Genesis 1–11*, 55; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, 72; Hamilton, *Book of Genesis*, 187.

[4] A key point of interpretation relating to the satan figure is whether the serpent was showing signs of wickedness in this situation. It is often discussed that the serpent spoke truth when he said Adam and Eve would not die when they ate the fruit, while God's proclamation of Gen 2:17 was not fulfilled. Interpretations which have been used to relieve God of this issue is that (1) God meant that they would inevitably die, rather than die right away, or (2) that he chose to show some degree of grace (see Hamilton, *Book of Genesis*, 173), or (3) that death (like in Deut 30:15–20) could mean to metaphorically live outside of God's fullness of blessing (see Moberly, *Theology of the Book of Genesis*, 83–84).

[5] This is a key verse which has been used to point forward towards a conflict between Satan and Christ but there are interpretive questions which surround this verse. Hamilton (*Book of Genesis*, 197) suggests that there are at least three issues involved with Gen 3:15; (1) what is the meaning of the verb which describes what the woman's and the serpent's seed will do to each other, (2) does offspring (זרע) refer to an individual or plural descendants, and (3) who specifically is to crush the serpent's head. With regards to the first issue, the same verb (שׁוף) (to crush,

While the garden narrative never uses the term שָׂטָן, this passage is often correlated with Satan because of New Testament interpretations.[6] To strengthen this correlation, scholars will tend to point out that the serpent is described as being the craftiest of the wild animals (suggesting its wickedness), that it is able to speak (suggesting a supernatural element), and that it tempts Eve to distrust God and to disregard his commands. [7] Add to this, that the serpent is cursed (frequently equated to his fall from heaven) and told that his seed(s) would be involved in an ongoing struggle with that of the woman.[8] It is entirely possible that the craftiness of the serpent was never intended to connote wickedness. Considering the play on words between the serpent's craftiness (ערום) and the man and woman's nakedness (ערומים) the choice of words may have been intended for the reader to draw a contrast between the wisdom of the two groups rather than to imply some level of waywardness in the serpent's nature.

Scholars who fail to see a connection between the serpent of Gen 3 and Satan will tend to point out that the Old Testament does not treat this event as though it were significant throughout

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bruise, or strike) is used to refer to descendants of both the women and serpent, but some translations (like the Latin Vulgate) choose to translate them differently in a way which suggests the women's offspring will do the greater damage. With regard to the second, the term זרע despite appearing in the singular form, can at times connote a singular descendent (Gen 4:25; 15:3; 19:32, 34; 21:13; 1 Sam 1:11; 2:20; 2 Sam 7:12) or in others a collective set of descendants (Gen 9:9; 12:7; 13:16; 15:5, 13, 18; 16:10; 17:7–10, 12; 21:12; 22:17–18). Hamilton (*Book of Genesis*, 198) points out that when the term is used to refer to a singular descendent it tends to refer to an immediate offspring rather than a distant descendant. With regards to the third issue, this passage is traditionally thought to prophesy an eventual spiritual conflict between Satan and Jesus. It is refered to as the Protoevangelium (the first enunciation of the gospel) and was first named by Irenaeus of Lyons (*Haer.* 3.23.7). See Okoye (*Genesis 1–11*, 75).

[6] Hakola ("Believing Jews," 116) indicates that Rom 16:20; 2 Cor 11:3; Rev 12:9; 20:2 are each thought by some to correlate the actions of the serpent with that of Satan although it can be argued that none of these texts are intended to make this connection. Okoye (*Genesis 1–11*, 73–75) draws attention to patristic writers who draw correlations to the garden scene through typology, whether it be Adam–Christ, or Eve–Mary. A similar typology could be drawn between the serpent and Satan.

[7] Heiser (*Unseen Realm*, 87), Payne (*Satan Exposed*, 120), Boyd (*God at War*, 156), and Dempster (*Dominion and Dynasty*, 66) are examples of those who suggest the serpent could not have just been a normal snake because of its description.

[8] The curse of the serpent which relegates it to eating the dust and crawling on its belly, is often connected by scholars to other OT texts like Ezek 28:12–19 and Isa 14:12, where they see hints towards the same ancient fall. See Chafer (*Satan*, 8), Heiser (*Unseen Realm*, 78, 83), and Payne (*Satan Exposed*, 121). Dempster (*Dominion and Dynasty*, 69) and Payne (*Satan Exposed*, 131) understand this struggle as a battle for dominion over the earth. In their view, by listening to the serpent and eating of the fruit, Adam and Eve forfeited their dominion to the serpent. The serpent (Satan) would continue to battle with Eve's descendants, until Christ is eventually able to defeat him through his death and resurrection.

the rest of its corpus,[9] the serpent does not actually lie to Eve,[10] and that he never explicitly tells her to disobey God.[11] We could add to this a number of other things we are never told within the passage. We are not told why the serpent speaks to Eve, or how it is able to speak, or what reason it might have had for cautioning Eve about God's mandate. We are never told that any other being affected the behavior of the serpent, or that it was cast out of the garden (or heaven). Adam and Eve are expelled from the garden, but the garden is located on Earth, which only further distances this story from the idea that the serpent was somehow cast from heaven. Should the sin of Adam be seen as a historic event which is repeated by all others to follow or is it responsible for the sin of all others? Was the sin responsible for allowing corruption to enter the earth and humanity or was it simply an offense against God which required forgiveness? Some see great importance in the prophetic implications of Gen 3:15 but it is not clear whether the struggle between seeds should be sought from Eve's immediate descendants or from a singular messianic figure of the future (whether that may be David, later kings, or Jesus).

Isaiah 14:4–21

The poem of Isa 14:4–21 has been described as a parody of a royal dirge, which instead of celebrating the accomplishments of a newly deceased king, mocks that king's final humiliation.[12]

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[9] Provan (*Discovering Genesis*, 87–88) points out that Gen 3 has not adversely affected the Israelites's impression of the nature of creation (as evidenced by its positive portrayal in the Psalms), that the transgression of Gen 3 has not contributed to ongoing relational problems between God and human beings (as with Abel, Enoch, and Noah who were all shown to have favorable relationships with God), and that the remainder of the OT does not regard the consequences of sin as inevitable.

[10] The serpent questions God's statement that the man and woman would die if they eat of the fruit (2:17). As the serpent suggested, when the man and woman eat, they do not die (at least not immediately). The serpent goes on to suggest that when they eat of the fruit, their eyes would be opened and that they would be like God, knowing good and evil. God later confesses (3:22) that Adam and Eve had in fact become like "one of us," knowing good and evil, further validating the statements of the serpent.

[11] Moberly (*Theology of the Book of Genesis*, 86) points out that the serpent never tells the woman to transgress but rather undermines God's trustworthiness and truthfulness, leaving her to draw her own conclusions.

[12] Aster, *Reflection of Empire*, 243; Keulen, "Identity of the Anonymous Ruler," 113. Kaiser (*Isaiah 13–39*, 32) explains that a royal dirge or a lament of the dead emphasizes the incomparability of the dead person in order to arouse sorrow at his loss. This poem instead celebrates the liberation that has come with his death.

The identity of the anonymous tyrant is depicted as the king of Babylon (Isa 14:4, 22) but this identity[13] and the associated dating of the poem[14] has been heavily debated within scholarship. Most options tend to select from Babylonian or Assyrian kings ranging from late eighth to early sixth century BCE, but this study finds Aster's argument for Sargon II (705 BCE) most convincing.[15] This tyrant, who once exalted himself proudly as he terrorized nations and overthrew cities (v. 17), has been brought low by God (v. 5), and is now described as being greeted by past rulers who now reside in Sheol as *Rephaim* (v. 9).[16] Features of the poem which are commonly used to correlate this tyrant with a historical figure is the fact that this leader would no longer cut down the cedars of Lebanon (v. 8),[17] they are identified as the king of Babylon (v. 4),[18] and that they have not received a proper burial but instead lie with the dead in

[13] The exact identification of the king of Babylon is left ambiguous, so scholarship has raised arguments linking the king with a variety of different historical referents. Wildberger (*Isaiah 13–27*, 54) while himself thinking Sennacherib offers the best fit (55) lists other arguments that have been made along with their supporter. His list includes Sargon, Sennacherib, Ashur–uballit, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, and even Alexander the Great. Some like Oswalt (*Book of Isaiah*, 311) think that rather than specify a specific historical king, the poem intends to make a general statement about the nature and end of human pride. Recent scholars such as Roberts (*First Isaiah*, 207) and Aster (*Reflection of Empire*, 240) prefer Sargon II as the referent. Aster provides the most convincing argument for rather than simply point to the correlation of v. 19 with the nature of Sargon's death (in battle with a vassal kingdom where his body was unretrieved) (240) and his self identification as "king of Babylon" when he conquered Babylon in 710 BCE (241), he also explains how the poem serves as a fulfillment of Isaiah's earlier prophecies in Isa 10:5–34.

[14] Both the identity of the anonymous king and one's perception of the direction of perspective (foreward looking or backward reflecting) impacts one's dating for this poem. If the poem reflects the situation after Sargon II's death as Aster (*Reflection of Empire*, 244) argues, then a date shortly after 705 BCE would be appropriate. Sweeney (*Isaiah 1–39*, 55–57) who attempts to reflect the ideas of form-critical studies suggests that while the poem may have elements that originated with Isaiah ben Amoz, it also has signs of later redaction from the late seventh century to legitimize Josiah's program of national and religious restoration and also sixth century redaction composed in conjunction with the building of the Second Temple in Jerusalem.

[15] Aster, *Reflection of Empire*, 239.

[16] Yogev (*Rephaim*, 1) explains that historically the *Rephaim* are thought to be either "shades" living in Hades or an ancient Canaanite nation of giants. He goes onto to observe all Ugaritic, Phoenician, and biblical references of the *Rephaim*. While early accounts described the *Rephaim* as living (Gen 14:5; Deut 2:11; Josh 17:15), later accounts considered them dead (Isa 14:9; Ps 88:10; Job 26:5). Foreign kings who thought themselves divine (like in Isa 14 and Ezek 28) were shown to die very mortal deaths (178).

[17] Wildberger (*Isaiah 13–27*, 58) points out that a wide variety of texts from the ancient Near East mention harvesting trees in the Lebanon for use in construction projects.

[18] This identification can call to mind Babylonian kings such as Nebuchadnezzar or Nabonidus but Oswalt (*Book of Isaiah*, 314) points out that Assyrian kings such as Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, and Sennacherib also styled themselves as "kings of Babylon" likely because they each exerted control over the region.

the battlefield (v. 19).[19] The boasting of this leader (Isa 14:13–14) made claims that they would ascend to heaven, raising their throne above the stars of God, making themselves like the Most High (עליון). While this boast can be understood as a human leader overreaching, some have believed that it must point to a second supernatural being, who also overreached and was brought low (ie. the Satan figure).[20] While modern commentators refuse to accept an interpretation which correlates Satan[21] with these verses, ancient interpreters thought otherwise.[22]

If this passage is correlated with Satan, it points to his fall from heaven. It is comparable with other biblical texts such as Ezek 28:12–19, Luke 10:18, and Rev 12:9[23] and extrabiblical texts such as 1 En. 6–11,[24] 2 En. 29:4–5, and GLAE 12–16.[25] The fall was necessitated because of the tyrant's pride for they sought to be like God, placing their throne above the stars of heaven.

Ezekiel 28:11–19

Ezekiel 28:11–19, is part of a larger collection of passages dated to 587 BCE[26] which includes an oracle (26:1–21) and lament (27:1–36) concerning Tyre, and also an oracle (28:1–10) and lament

[19] Keulen ("Identity of the Anonymous Ruler," 110) points out that v. 19 is typically understood to mean that the anonymous king was left without a grave.

[20] Interpreters who draw this conclusion often read Isa 14:4–21 along with other passages such as Ezek 28:12–19, Luke 10:18, and even Rev 12:9. See Chafer, *Satan*, 7; Canright, *Ministration of Angels*, 67–68; Payne, *Satan Exposed*, 132; Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 83–91.

[21] Modern commentators will often avoid all mention of Satan preferring a historical interpretation of the verses, while others pointedly dismiss the correlation with Satan. See Penner, *Isaiah*, 444; Oswalt, *Book of Isaiah*, 320–21; Ross, *Isaiah 1–39*, 133; Tull, *Isaiah 1–39*, 275; Wegner, *Isaiah*, 124; Butler, *Isaiah*, 103.

[22] Origen, Tertullian, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Cassiodorus have all correlated the prideful taunts of Isa 14 with Satan. See Tull, *Isaiah 1–39*, 283; McKinion and Oden, eds., *Isaiah 1–39,* 120–23; Kelly, *Satan*, 324. Patmore (*Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre*, 77) remarks that both Patristic and Rabbinic sources connect Ezek 28 with Isa 14 but that only the Patristic sources connected these texts with the devil.

[23] Patmore (*Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre*, 78) also adds Ps 82:6–7, John 12:31, and 2 Pet 2:4 to his list of falling texts.

[24] See Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven," 208–09; Russell, *Devil*, 196; Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 178.

[25] See Wright, "Life of Adam and Eve," 110; Wright, *Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 40; Pagels, *Origin of Satan*, 48–49; Patmore, *Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre*, 78.

[26] The book of Ezekiel is framed by numerous dating notices which range from 593–571 BCE (Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, 12). These dating notices refer to the date after which exile began for King Jehoiachin. Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 1*, 11) explains that the Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings edited by D. J. Wiseman has made it possible for

(28:11–19) for Tyre's ruler.[27] The identity of the addressed ruler is the king of Tyre, but the combination of mythical language and potential textual corruptions[28] has produced a nexus of speculation around alternative potential referents. Ezek 28:1–10 describes a mortal leader who thought of himself like a God (28:2) because of his wisdom and wealth accrued from a vibrant trade economy (28:4–5).[29] It is foretold that this leader would be killed during an invasion of a foreign nation (28:7–10).[30] Ezek 28:11–19 reiterates this general trajectory but does so with language which likens the leader to a figure from the garden of Eden (Gen 2–3) who is adorned by stones reminiscent of the high priest's breastplate (Exod 28:17–20).[31] This figure was originally blameless in their ways (28:15), full of wisdom and beauty (28:12), but because of the wickedness found in them through their trade (28:16) and their pride (28:17) they were cast from the mount of God (28:16) to the earth (28:17) and consumed by fire (28:18) for the nations to see (28:19). Key textual issues occur in 28:14a and 28:16 which impact whether the king be understood as a cherubim who was cast out from the garden (i.e., like Satan), or as one cast out of the garden by a cherubim they were with (i.e., like Adam).[32] The complexity of this passage

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dating of the capture of Jerusalem to be made with precision to the 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Joyce (*Ezekiel*, 13) indicates that a consensus position started to emerge in the 1960s where much of the original material was credited to Ezekiel, but the book itself was seen as a product of a long tradition.

[27] Tuell, "Book of Ezekiel," 70.

[28] Lust ("Ezekiel Text," 155) quotes G. A. Cooke who suggests no text outside of 1 and 2 Samuel has suffered more injury than the text of Ezekiel. He goes onto quote G. Forher who singles out Ezek 7; 21:13–22; 28:11–19 as being particularly corrupt. This suggests that Ezek 28:11–19 is among the most troublesome passages in the Old Testament.

[29] Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 76) suggests that a potential setting for this writing could be during Babylon's seige of Tyre, where the expectation was that they would fall. According to Josephus (*Ant*. 10:228) the siege against Tyre lasted thirteen years. Zimmerli further points out that in a later dated oracle (Ezek 29:18) it is shown that the siege of Tyre did not go as badly as initially expected since the army was never able to acquire any reward from Tyre for their labors (89).

[30] Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20*, 14–15), as a support for the dating of oracles, points out that many of Ezekiel's prophecies failed to materialize. Among the failed prophecies is Babylon's failure to destroy Tyre.

[31] Tuell ("Book of Ezekiel," 80) makes an intriguing argument which surmises that priestly editors who were unhappy with Ezekiel's original condemnation of the high priest redirected the lament towards the king of Tyre.

[32] The MT (28:14a, 16) identifies the king of Tyre as the cherub who was cast out from the Garden of Eden while the LXX indicates that the king of Tyre was with the cherub in the garden and that this cherub cast him out. Patmore (*Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre*, 64–65) indicates that rabbinical literature commonly associated Ezek 28 with Adam, while patristic literature persistently understood Ezek 28 to describe the fall of Satan.

has made its interpretation as much a problem in antiquity as it has come to be for modern commentators.[33]

Early interpreters remarked how this passage must speak to more than just a simple mortal, because the king is said to be a cherub who was cast to earth from the garden.[34] The Tyrian leader's identification as מלך "king" (28:12), rather than prince נגיד "prince" (28:2) further reinforces an interpretation which seeks to see two referents within this passage.[35] A second point of concern for early patristic interpreters was that the cherub was originally blameless before later choosing to do wrong. This was a way of distancing God from Marcionite claims that he created him with a deceitful nature.[36]

The pride and fall of the king of Tyre evokes comparisons with the king of Babylon from Isa 14:4–21 although other details differ.[37] The garden imagery suggests a connection with Gen 2–3, yet no character from that story presents a strong fit to the king of Tyre. The cherubim with the fiery sword guarding the entrance to the garden (Gen 3:24) never demonstrates any wickedness. The serpent of Gen 3 is not associated with the cherubim or cast from the garden. A further complication for correlating this fall with Satan is that the fall leads to his death.[38]

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[33] Patmore (*Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre*, 60–68) indicates that historical interpretations have included the Elohim (MT), the high priest (LXX), a historic king (Targum), the King of Tyre or Adam (Rabbinical literature), and Satan (church fathers). Among diverse modern interpretations he lists Adam (Blenkinsopp), an angelic fall (Barr), a political tale (Greenberg), a deposition of a God from among a pantheon (Pope), and an oracle against Jerusalem and its temple (Bogaert).

[34] Origen, *Princ*. 1.5.4; Tertullian, *Marc*. 2.10.

[35] Block (*Book of Ezekiel*, 103), in response to those who suggest this switch in identification could highlight a switch from a human to divine patron, indicates that the two terms should be understood synonymously because there are links to trade in both sections.

[36] Patmore, *Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre*, 43.

[37] Isa 14:12 tells of a fall from heaven to earth, while in Ezek 28:16 the fall was from the mount of God. Isa 14 goes on to explain how the fallen king laid dead (v. 19) while being watched by other dead kings of Sheol (v. 15). Ezek 28 sees its fallen king consumed by fire (v. 18) and watched by neighboring nations (v. 19). In both situations the king's death is described.

[38] Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 48) asks an interesting question when he asks why those who read Satan into the passage still expect him to be alive?

Synthesis

The texts that describe the fall of beings that have been associated with Satan, Ezek 28:11–29 and Isa 14:4–21, are often correlated with each other for they both depict the fall of someone filled with pride. Despite both having a human referent, the metaphoric language of these passages attribute characteristics to these figures which suggest a potential second supernatural referent. The garden language of Ezek 28 leads interpreters to make a further link to Gen 2:4b—3:24. If there was to be a supernatural being punished for their pride, than the serpent of the garden story becomes a leading possibility, for it acted deviously in its persuasion of Eve, leading to the expulsion of humanity from God's dwelling place. Isaiah 14 adds that this fall may have been more than just being brought low because of pride, it may have included a fall from heaven. These three writings, despite having gaps in their stories, offer an origin story for evil, they single out a specific figure behind the evil (despite having no name for that figure), they link a punishment to that figure, and suggest a reason for its fall.

Rebellious Angels

Genesis 6:1–4

Gen 6:1–4 is considered part of the Jahwist source of the Pentateuch which is dated to the tenth/ninth century BCE.[39] In it we are told that when people began to multiply on the earth, the sons of God began to admire the daughters of men and began to take them as wives (Gen 6:1–2). This event leads to an admonition of the narrator which tells how the Lord had observed the wickedness of humanity (Gen 6:5), how he was grieved that he had made them (Gen 6:6), and that he intended to blot them out (Gen 6:7). The starting point for most discussions on this passage revolve around the identity of the sons of God.[40] Scholarship had identified four

[39] Wenham (*Genesis 1–15*, xxliii) gives support for this dating. Gen 6:1–4 is thought to be part of the J source because Yahweh is used to refer to God. This pattern stops in v. 9 when Elohim begins to be used.

[40] Hamilton, *Book of Genesis*, 262–65; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, 139–40; Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 94–105; Page, *Powers of Evil*, 44–51.

prominent viewpoints; (1) angels (dominant from secon century BCE to second century CE), (2) mighty ones like former kings, (3) descendants of Shem (prominent from fourth century CE through to nineteenth century CE), and (4) divine beings (favored by modern critical scholarship).[41] Many other Old Testament texts associate sons of God with supernatural beings (Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Deut 32:8; 32:43; Ps 29:1; 89:7b; 82:6; Dan 3:25). Some scholars point out that there is no indication that God is unhappy with the sons of God or that he intends to render some judgment upon them.[42] This is a gap that would be filled by later writers (like in the Book of Watchers). Longman and Walton suggest that the flood should not be understood as a response to the union between the sons of God and daughters of men, but more of a response to an overall escalation of violence and corruption evidenced in the world during the antediluvian period.[43] This is plausible considering the transgression of Adam and Eve, Cain's murder of Abel (Gen 4:8), and the prideful claims of Lamech (Gen 4:23–24).

Many of the details offered in Gen 6:1–4 are ambiguous. It is not clear who the sons of God are, how they relate to the Nephilim,[44] nor how their fornication relates to God's decision to flood the earth. While their act of fornication with human women is not directly said to be a violation, the act is associated with a general decline of humanity, which ultimately causes God to regret his creation and necessitates destruction through the flood. As a later translation,[45] the

[41] Doedens, *Sons of God*, 171–78.

[42] Bamberger, *Fallen Angels*, 8; Page, *Powers of Evil*, 53; Wright, *Origin of Evil Spirits*, 6.

[43] Longman and Walton, *Lost World of the Flood*, 57.

[44] The men of renown are best understood as the children produced by the union of the sons of God and the daughters of men, but the Nephilim could be contemporary to the sons of God, the children of the sons of God, or even the sons of God themselves. The Greek has attempted to clarify the situation by replacing the term Nephilim with giant and equating it to the men of renown. Wenham (*Genesis 1–15*, 143) implies that this interpretation may have taken its cue from Num 13:33, the only other time the term Nephilim is used, since on that occasion the Nephilim were said to reside in the promised land and made the Israelite spies seem like grasshoppers in comparison.

[45] Jobes and Silva (*Invitation to the Septuagint*, 13) note that the Pentateuch was translated in Alexandria around the year 250 BCE and the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures were translated within the following two or three centuries.

LXX increases God's regret to anger[46] heightening his dissatisfaction with the behavior that preceded.[47] It also places the act of fornication among the angels, the intermediaries who typically act in subordination to God. This raises the possibility that his subordinates can go astray. The LXX also clarifies the relationship between the angels and their offspring (the giants). By describing the offspring as giants, later passages (Gen 10:8; Num 13:34; Josh 12:4) can be used to suggest that this offspring was not annihilated during the flood.[48]

Deuteronomy 32:8–9

Deuteronomy 32:8–9 is part of a larger poetic section of Scripture that is frequently referred to as the Song of Moses (Deut 32:1–43).[49] It has been assigned dates from pre-monarchial to post-exilic times on formal, linguistic, traditio-historical, and theological criteria[50] but many have ruled out an exilic or post-exilic date.[51] The Song, intended for teaching purposes (v. 2), contrasts the greatness of the Lord with the perverseness of his people. It reminds them of his acts of the past, it tells of their failings, describes how they will be punished, and when their power is no more, he will have compassion for them. Prior to providing for the people during their wilderness wanderings, the Lord took Jacob (Israel) as his people (v. 9). This was done when the Most High apportioned the nations and fixed the boundaries of the people according to

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[46] Brayford (*Genesis*, 262) notes that the Greek word ἐνεθυμήθη most often refers to a mental state of careful consideration but that it can also refer to anger or hurt as a result of that reflection.

[47] Brayford (*Genesis*, 260–62) indicates other variations which show signs of interpretation.

[48] Heiser (*Unseen Realm*, 190) postulates that other sons of God may have fathered more Nephilim (giants) after the flood. He goes onto suggest that holy war was necessary for the elimination of the descendants of the Nephilim.

[49] The Song of Moses and Moses' blessing (Deut 33) are the only poetic texts within the book of Deuteronomy, and Markl ("Cultural Trauma," 683) thinks there is good reason to argue that the Song originated independently from the rest of the book.

[50] McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 451. Lundbom (*Deuteronomy*, 852–57) provides a history of research which reinforces the date range suggested by McConville, but provides details regarding the different perspectives, the people who had them, and time in which they wrote. Markl ("Cultural Trauma," 675) in a recent article, indicates that recent attempts to date the poem have assigned a post-exilic date to the writing based on allusions to the prophets, psalms, and wisdom writings.

[51] Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 853.

the number of the sons of God (v. 8). This verse attracts attention because the oldest texts (4QDeut[j])[52] say the apportioned lands were divided amongst the (בני אלוהים) "sons of God," the MT says they were divided amongst the בני ישׂראל "sons of Israel," and some Greek texts say they were divided amongst the ἀγγέλων θεοῦ "angels of God." Not only is the term sons of God represented by the oldest witnesses, but if one were to ask the question, "Which would have changed to the other?" then it is most likely that sons of God was later changed to both sons of Israel and angels of God.[53] The MT may have attempted to eliminate a reference to heavenly beings in order to avoid polytheistic language[54] or may have reflected the idea that seventy descendants of Jacob (Gen 46:7) matched the seventy nations catalogued in Gen 10.[55] The later LXX translators may have opted for angels of God to affirm the existence of lesser supernatural beings in YHWH's heavenly host, rather than pagan gods.[56]

Deuteronomy 32:8–9 introduces the idea that supernatural beings were assigned territories which they were responsible for, while YHWH himself was responsible for Israel. Within this framework, it would be natural to equate the detestable practices of the foreign nations with their supernatural overseer. Deut 32 tends to focus its attention on the misdeeds of Israel, but looking to the wider Old Testament canon, the judgment of the sons of God in Ps 82 gives the impression that these supernatural beings failed to meet YHWH's standards in their role, and Dan 10:10–21 suggests there was conflict between the representatives of these foreign nations and those angels responsible for Israel.[57] The terminology "sons of God" could also lead

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[52] Also referred to as 4Q37. See Duncan, *DJD XIV*. The oldest Greek witness is P.Fouad 266 (1st-2nd cent. BCE) and it agrees with 4QDeut[j] as opposed to primary Greek codices like Codex Vaticanus (B) which shows the nations being divided among the angels of God. See Wevers, ed. *Deuteronomium,* Deut 32:8–9.

[53] McCarter (*Textual Criticism*, 72) suggests this is an appropriate question to ask when trying to determine the most likely original text for Deut 32:8.

[54] Heiser, "Deuteronomy 32.8," 59; Christensen, *Deuteronomy*, 796.

[55] McConville, *Deuteronomy*, 454.

[56] Lundbom (*Deuteronomy*, 878) suggests that later Israelite religion would not accept the existence of deities other than YHWH, but they could accept the existence of lesser heavenly beings.

[57] In Deut 32:9 it is YHWH who is responsible for Israel, but in Dan 10 those responsibilities seem to have fallen to angels working under YHWH.

to associations being made with Gen 6:1–4 and Job 1–2. Through these associations one may question when these supernatural beings married human women in relation to being given their responsibilities over nations,[58] and one may also wonder what the relationship is between these beings, and the satan.[59]

Psalm 82

Dating of Ps 82 tends to be based upon its message or theology since it lacks historical referents, but an exilic dating seems plausible.[60] Psalm 82 begins with God (אלהים) standing in an assembly of the gods (אלהים) where he judges.[61] It is generally assumed that the first אלהים refers to YHWH, but some think that it could also reference *El* the supreme god of the Canaanite pantheon.[62] The second אלהים has been thought to refer to human judges,[63] some other human,[64]

[58] Jubilees 5:2 suggests that the angels had been sent to earth by God and that because of their union with human women, their dominion would be taken away.

[59] Origen (*Fr. Prin*. 1.4.4) when talking about the prince of Tyre from Ezek 28, draws the conclusion that the prince of Tyre was an angel who had received the office of governing the nation of the Tyrians. By equating this idea with Isa 14 and Luke 10:18 he is able to equate this angel with Satan.

[60] Frankel ("El as the Speaking Voice," 455n23) contends that dating of the psalm goes hand and hand with the interpretation of the Psalm as monotheistic. He goes onto to state that the emergence of monotheism in Israel is usually connected with the exilic period. McClennan ("Gods–Complaint," 851) suggests the psalm was most likely composed in response to Asaphite complaints that blame YHWH for the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of his people. Rather than blame YHWH, Ps 82 expands the responsibility for the breakdown of justice to other members of the divine council.

[61] English translations often interpret this verb as though YHWH is holding judgment rather than raising a charge. This is dependent on whether one understands YHWH to be the highest-ranking God of the assembly or whether he is among the lower gods, each responsible for a territory.

[62] Frankel ("El as the Speaking Voice," 449–51), building on the ideas of other scholars who differentiate YHWH from *El* in this psalm, suggests that if vv. 6–8 are heard as the words of *El* the high God, then it seems as though the psalm tells of YHWH being promoted in light of *El*'s judgment against the unjust gods.

[63] McClennan ("Gods–Complaint," 836) suggests that scholars who interpret Elohim to be human judges will often point to Exod 21:6 and 22:7 for support. Phillips (*Psalms 73–107*, 103) finds it hard to reason why God would place the weak into the hands of wicked spiritual powers and expect justice, he thinks it unlikely that angelic beings could die as in v. 7, but most telling for him is that Christ in his citation of Ps 82 within John 10:34 makes it clear that the Bible refers to human leaders as Gods who exercise authority from God.

[64] Gillingham (*Psalms Through the Centuries*, 43–44) points to an assortment of early Christian writers such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Clement of Alexandria who each thought the gods referred to humans.

angels,[65] or other deities.[66] Verses 2–4 offer a first person charge (thought to be from YHWH) against the gods for having failed to bring justice for the weak and needy and for favoring the wicked. This lack of justice has led to the foundations of the earth being shaken (v. 5). Another first-person address (YHWH or El)[67] announces a judgment upon the offending gods (בני עליון),[68] in that they would die like mortals (82:6–7). In the final verse either El, the psalmist, or the community of worshippers call for God to judge the earth for all the nations belong to him.[69] Psalm 82 is similar to 1 Kgs 22:19–23, Job 1–2, and Zech 3 in that it provides a glimpse into a heavenly divine counsel. Psalm 82 is the only one that suggests these attendants acted in opposition to God. Like Gen 6:1–4, Job 1–2, and Deut 32:8 the perpetrators of Ps 82 are identified as sons of God, although in this instance God is translated from עליון rather than אלהימ. The similarity with Deut 32:8 is particular striking for עליון "the Most High" was responsible for allotting the nations to the sons of God, while YHWH had as his portion the people of Jacob (Israel). In Ps 82:2 these sons of God are being charged with ruling unjustly by God (thought to be YHWH), who in v. 8 is told to judge the earth with all the nations now in his possession.[70]

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[65] Estes (*Psalms 73–150*, 33) and Longman (*Psalms*, 306) are examples of those who understand this to identify angels. They each use alternative passages such as Deut 32:8–9 and Job 1–2 to interpret Ps 82. In both those cases, the LXX has interpreted sons of God to be angels of God.

[66] Zenger ("Psalms 82," 329) and Claissé-Walford et al. (*Book of the Psalms*, 641) are examples of those who think this passage identifies other gods or deities. This interpretation tends to suggest that the ideas of ancient Israel were at one time similar to their ancient Near East neighbours in that they shared a polytheistic understanding of the heavens. In this perspective the psalm can be seen as a writing which helps the transition to monotheism since God (YHWH) is filling the void left by the offending deities who were sentenced to death in v. 7. See also McClennan, "Gods–Complaint," 849.

[67] Most understand this to be an address of YHWH but Frankel ("El as the Speaking Voice," 454) thinks the psalm reads better if *El* is understood to be the speaker. From his viewpoint, YHWH is being promoted so that he may assume rule over the entire world.

[68] Ps 82 is often included among the "sons of God" passages within the OT however in this case rather than בני האלהים, the title בני עליון is provided. See Walton and Walton, *Demons and Spirits*, 177; Stokes, *Satan*, 62; Boyd, *God at War*, 139. In Deut 32:8–9, the בני האלהים (within 4QDeut^{j}) have the nations apportioned to them by עליון. This association with עליון strengthens Ps 82's place within the sons of God passages.

[69] McClennan, "Gods–Complaint," 836.

[70] Zakovitch ("Psalm 82," 225) draws attention to the strong correlation between Deut 32:8–9 and Ps 82:8. He suggests Ps 82 is attempting to neutralize his mythical sources without having to resort to a corruption of the text like with Deut 32:8. In Deut 32:8 the MT removes the idea of supernatural beings by apportioning the nations to the sons of Israel.

When read together this psalm can be seen as a petition for YHWH to judge in light of his sovereignty over the nations or a call for YHWH to take a newly appointed role as head of the pantheon of gods. The ideas of this passage have a strong connection with ideas present with the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees[71] and Ps 82 is explicitly cited in 11Q13 (11QMelchizedek) where the unjust gods are interpreted as Belial and the spirits predestined to him (2:12).[72]

Daniel 10:13–14, 20–21; 12:1

Daniel 10–12 tells of a man clothed in linen[73] who brings a vision of a great conflict (10:1) which would include multiple kingdoms, would see the rise of a tyrant who would occupy and profane the temple (11:31), then fall (11:45), after which the people of God would come to experience deliverance (12:1). The final form of Daniel is thought to have been solidified by 164 BCE.[74] The man tells Daniel that God had sent him the day Daniel prayed (10:12), but that his arrival had been delayed for twenty-one days because he was opposed by the prince (שַׂר) of the kingdom of Persia (v. 13). This prince is commonly understood to be a heavenly angel,[75] but there are those who interpret him to be an evil agent of Satan,[76] and others who equate the prince to a human leader.[77] The man in linen was only able to come because of Michael, one of the chief princes (שָׂרִים). After giving his vision, the man clothed in linen says he must return to fight against the prince (שַׂר) of Persia, and after that the prince (שַׂר) of Greece (v. 20). This passage raises the notion of supernatural beings having territorial responsibilities and the possibility of

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[71] Stokes (*Satan*, 87) sees a connection between Jubilees 15:31–32 and Deut 32, Ps 82, and Dan 10.

[72] Gillingham (*Psalms Through the Centuries*, 42) draws attention to the use of Ps 82 within 11Q13.

[73] Commentators frequently point out that linen is the material worn as priestly garb (Lev 6:10; 16:4; Ezek 44:17) but that this passage strongly parallels descriptions of an angelic being from Ezekiel (Ezek 1; 9:2, 3, 11; 10:2, 6, 7). See Collins, *Daniel*, 373; Lucas, *Daniel*, 275; Seow, *Daniel*, 156; Widder, *Daniel*, 220.

[74] McLay, "Old Greek Translation," 317. He theorizes that the OG and MT are two literary editions of Daniel that have undergone separate redaction from a common *Vorlage* (321). There are three major versions of Daniel, the Masoretic Text in Hebrew and Aramaic (MT), the Old Greek Translation (OG), and the Theodotion Greek Translation (TH).

[75] Widder, *Daniel*, 221; House, *Daniel*, 169.

[76] Duguid, *Daniel*, 146.

[77] Collins (*Daniel*, 374) points out that Calvin associated the Prince of Persia with Cambyses.

them having heavenly conflicts which are mirrored on Earth, but this interpretation demands that the princes of Persia and Greece be understood as supernatural beings.[78] The MT uses the term prince (שׂר) to refer to both Michael, and the combatants from Persia and Greece so it strengthens the argument that they are both supernatural. In the OG, the man clothed in linen was assisted by a holy angel (10:13) who was left behind with the general of the king of the Persians (10:13).[79] This rendering makes it easier to differentiate Michael from the Persian representative.

For this passage to contribute to a Satanology, one must take the interpretation that the princes of Persia and Greece are supernatural beings representing those nations. Then the passage can be used to illustrate that the supernatural beings responsible for these other nations act autonomously from God. There could still be debate whether the supernatural beings should be understood as faithful representatives of their people, or beings who are inclined towards evil. Unlike, Deut 32:8–9 and Ps 82, Israel is represented by angels acting on behalf of God rather than by God himself. This may reflect a development in theology. Had God still been presented as Israel's representative it would have been difficult to understand why he struggled against their opposition.[80] Unlike Deut 32:8–9 and Ps 82, it is possible that Dan 10 has been influenced by Second Temple writings such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees.

Synthesis

Genesis 6:1–4, Deut 32:8–9, Ps 82, and Dan 10: 13–14, 20–21; 12:1 develop the idea of formerly good supernatural beings turning rogue. While the supernatural beings may have once been

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[78] Seow (*Daniel*, 159) points out that the term prince is used in Dan 8:11, 25 to refer to a supernatural being who was being contested by a bold king. Commentators, frequently point out that Michael is regarded in other Second Temple writings (like 1 En. 9:1; 10:11; 20:5 and 1QM 17:6–7) as one of God's chief angels. The account of 1 Enoch may have influenced Daniel since it is often considered the earlier writing (as with Collins, *Daniel*, 376).

[79] A side-by-side comparison of an English translation for the OG and Theodotion version of Dan 10:13–14, 20–21; 12:1 can be seen in McLay, "Daniel," 1018–21 (NETS Dan 10–12). Meadowcraft ("Who are the Princes of Persia," 102) points to this distinction suggesting that this in an indication that in the mind of the translator the princes of Persia and Greece are human figures whereas Michael is not.

[80] Widder (*Daniel*, 220) who suggests the man in linen may be God, struggles with such a situation. She suggests that God may have been self-limiting in this case much like he was when he wrestled against Jacob.

equated to foreign deities they later came to be associated with angels. For instance, the first three passages all identify the sons of God. The lands were apportioned to these beings just as Israel was apportioned to YHWH, yet these beings were shown to be derelict in their duties. Gen 6:1–4 provides a particular example where these beings are seen making inappropriate unions with humans as part of humanity's decline into wickedness. At some point in time, YHWH relieved these beings of their role. Daniel 10, being a much later writing, potentially equates the territorial responsibility of the sons of God, with angels, a correlation which is also demonstrated by later Greek translations of Gen 6:1–4 and Deut 32:8–9. This suggests that what may have started with a notion of nations being represented by independent deities came to be known as nations being represented by YHWH's subordinates. Another late addition introduced by Greek translators is that the offspring of the fornicating angels were giants who may have been a source of anger for God. This set of writings can be used to offer an origin story distinct from the garden narrative. Rather than a singular offender, these offenders are plural. They were once good, serving an important role, but they turned bad, leading humanity towards wickedness. YHWH has taken over their roles with humanity, yet there are signs of continued conflict, between these rogue angels and those who remain loyal to YHWH. The presence of the giants is left as a loose thread for later writers.

Troublesome Sprits

1 Samuel 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:9

1 Samuel 16:14–23 is the second of three accounts which introduce David to the biblical narrative.[81] The dating for the Book of Samuel is thought to have been derived through multiple stages of composition but the accounts of David's rise are thought to be sources that could date

[81] 1 Samuel 16:1–13; 16:14–23; 17 are often read together in harmony but there are those who suggest they should be understood as independent sources which have been tied together by a later editor. North ("David's Rise," 542) for instance sees three different narratives of how David rose to power which do not demonstrate any editorial effort to interrelate them.

back to the time of David's reign (early tenth century BCE).[82] This rise of David is contrasted with Saul's own falling trajectory. After his unwillingness to utterly destroy all the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:9), a word from God informs Samuel that Saul's kingship would be rejected because he would not carry out God's commands (1 Sam 15:11). The events of 1 Sam 16:14 pick up from this rejection for in v. 14 the spirit *of* the Lord departs from Saul and an רעה (evil?) [83] spirit *from* the Lord takes its place to torment him. Saul had on occasion been empowered by God's spirit, but this empowering did not last.[84] While the presence of God's spirit caused Saul to prophesy (1 Sam 10:6) and later to charge into battle in defense of Jabesh Gilead (1 Sam 11:6), the presence of the evil spirit (16:14) is treated in this case as an ailment that required a remedy. The servants of Saul suggested that the effects of the spirit could be alleviated through the playing of an instrument, and they knew that a son of Jesse could be perfect for this role. The servant in recommending David, points to several positive traits which leads Brueggemann to surmise that the narrator is providing credentials for more than just a court musician.[85] The servants were eventually proven correct in their recommendation of David for the lyre player for when he played the evil spirit would depart from Saul (v. 23). While v. 23 already gives the impression that the evil spirit came upon Saul on repeated occasions, we are specifically told of two more

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[82] There is much debate over the composition history of 1 Samuel, but Tsumura (*First Book of Samuel*, 25) suggests Gressman's fragmentary hypothesis is influential among scholars. This hypothesis posits that short narrative units were eventually combined by an editor. The history of David's rise (HDR) which is thought to include 1 Sam 16 through to 2 Sam 5 is thought to be a document from the time of David which sought to legitimate David's succession to Saul as the rightful king of all Israel (McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 28).

[83] Some commentors will suggest that "evil" is an inappropriate translation of רעה and would prefer alternatives such as calamitous, injurious, or harmful. See Evans, *1 & 2 Samuel*, 180; Tsumura, *First Book of Samuel*, 308; Chapman, *1 Samuel*, 125. A second point of debate is whether the evil spirit should be understood as a supernatural being, or a psychological ailment. See Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 124; McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 281; Evans, *1 & 2 Samuel*, 180.

[84] While this spirit language brings with it the connotation that YHWH was now with David and not Saul, there is also room for one to suggest that unwillingness to follow God can result in the departure of the spirit of the Lord. Tertullian (*Fug.* 2.6–7), who understands the evil spirit to be the devil, uses this passage to support his understanding that the devil only has power over those who no longer belong to God. See Franke, ed. *Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–2 Samuel,* 264.

[85] Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 126. In v. 18 we are told that David is brave, a warrior, a good speaker, handsome, and most importantly that the Lord was with him.

occasions (1 Sam 18:10–11; 19:9–10) where an evil spirit came upon Saul and he proceeded to throw a spear at David in an attempt to kill him.

Some early Patristic writers saw Satan's involvement in this passage although he is never explicitly referenced.[86] We are told of two opposing spirits. The departure of the spirit of the Lord, appears to have made space for a second evil spirit to reside within Saul. This second spirit seemingly impacts the behavior of Saul causing him to act rash, sporadic, and violent. Saul's reactions towards David seem to be birthed out of jealousy and distrust. This passage associates both good and evil spirits with God as their source, but it fails to indicate whether there is some long-term purpose for the spirit of God to be replaced by an evil spirit. Despite his own misdeeds, the spirit never departs from David, and in the stories of the following kings the spirit of God is never again mentioned in that king's anointing.

This incident of Saul leads commentators to point out other Old Testament passages which seem comfortable with God being the source of both good and evil (like Judg 9:23; Isa 45:7; Amos 3:6, or 1 Kgs 22:19–22), and has led some to see similarities in Paul's affliction in 2 Cor 12:7[87] but a further connection could be made to the two spirit theology of the Rule of the Community, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermes [88] where two antithetical spirits from God battle over the hearts of men.

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[86] Tertullian (*Fug.* 2.6–7) takes from this passage that the devil only had power over those who were no longer with God. See Franke, ed (*Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–2 Samuel,* 263). Nicetas of Remesiana, and Cassiodorus are two others that are cited as equating the evil spirit of 1 Sam 16 with the devil.

[87] Evans, *1 & 2 Samuel*, 180.

[88] Seitz, "Two Spirits in Man," 87.

Judges 9:23

Many of the sources of Judges are thought to be very old,[89] but there is evidence of much later editorial activity.[90] Smith and Smith suggest that three older local traditions of Judg 9 (Judg 9:26–41, 46-49, 50-52) have been woven into a northern royal collection before the fall of the northern kingdom (721 BCE). They suggest that references to Abimelech's evil spirit (v. 23) and Abimelech's dispatch by his armor bearer (v. 54) were likely added to the narrative to remind audiences of the tragic figure of Saul.[91]

The narrative of Judg 9 tells how Abimelech, the son of Gideon (Jerub-Baal) from his concubine (8:31), convinced his maternal kinfolk to persuade the Lords of Shechem to give him authority over the region.[92] Abimelech proceeds to kill the other legitimate claimants to rule, when he and his hired assassins execute his brothers (except the youngest, Jotham) on a single stone (9:5). Before exiting the narrative, Jotham in the form of a parable shouts out a curse before God against Abimelech and the Lords of Shechem which foreshadows their downfall (9:7–21).[93] God seemingly takes action in response to Jotham's words by sending a רעה "evil" spirit between Abimelech and the Lords of Shechem (9:23)[94] to serve as retribution for their crimes against Abimelech's brothers (vv. 24, 56–57). The narrative proceeds to tell how relations broke down between Abimelech and the people of Shechem, and how this led to Abimelech's

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[89] Judges is resistant to an accurate reconstruction because its internal dating fails to fit with other dates for the period (1 Kgs 6:1). Provan et al. (*Biblical History*, 164) draws attention to these dating inconsistencies and suggests that the reigns of the various judges may have overlapped.

[90] Block (*Judges*, 64–65) calls attention to parenthetical comments in Judg 1:11, 23; 3:1–2; 19:10; 20:27–28, to chronological notes like "until this day" as in Judg 1:21, 26; 6:24; 10:4; 15:19: 18:12; 19:30, and to a comment in Judg 18:30 which is thought to correlate with the removal of the Danite population by the Neo-Assyrians in 734–732 BCE.

[91] Smith and Bloch-Smith, *Judges 1*, 23.

[92] Steinberg ("Social–Scientific Criticism," 58) explains that Abimelech undermines the legitimate ancient societal norms of patrilineal kinship. Not only was Abimelech's claim to rule weakened by him being the son of a slave wife, but he also seeks help from his mother's kin to gain authority over the region.

[93] Judg 9:57 specifically refers to Jotham's words as a curse even though what he requests is divine judgment.

[94] Two ancient retellings of this story (Josephus, *Ant*. 5:233–53; LAB 37) omit any mention of the evil spirit within Abimelech's story.

forces razing the city of Shechem (9:45), and Abimelech being mortally wounded by a single stone dropped by a woman (9:53). While the parallel between the single stone of Abimelech's death and the stone used to kill his brothers highlights the divine retribution within the narrative, the narrative also offers ties to the prologue of Judges[95] and the kingship of Saul,[96] suggesting some level of editorial intention.[97]

Judges 9:23 is a text that is commonly associated with 1 Sam 16:14 and also 1 Kgs 22:19–23.[98] They each present an occasion where a spirit from God comes to influence events in a negative way, and in both cases that spirit was given in response to prior waywardness. Similarly, the evil spirit in Judg 9:23 can be contrasted against the spirit of YHWH which empowered other judges for battle (Judg 3:10; 6:34; 11:29; 14:6, 19: 15:14).[99] Unlike 1 Sam 16:14, the evil spirit does not come upon an individual but rather comes between two groups of people (Abimelech and the Lords of Shechem).[100] This evil spirit is at the root of tensions which

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[95] Wong (*Compositional Strategies*, 204–5) surmises that the Adoni-Bezek episode may have been composed specifically to foreshadow the Abimelech narrative. Adoni-Bezek and Abimelech both have divine retribution brought against them (Judg 1:7; Judg 9:56), both victimize seventy from the ruling class (Judg 1:7; 9:5), and the retribution of each takes the same form as their original violation (Judg 1:6, 7; 9:5, 53). Wong suggests that the narrator may have been drawing attention to the Canaanization of the Israelite ruler.

[96] Wong (*Compositional Strategies*, 210) points out that both Abimelech and Saul are willing to resort to murder to eliminate leadership rivals, both are said to have an evil spirit from God, and both ask their armor bearer to kill them after being wounded. Wong suggests that by depicting Saul as a latter-day Abimelech, the author of Samuel would have conveyed his negative evaluation of Saul immediately to his readers. Smith and Bloch-Smith (*Judges 1*, 23) in contrast say the northern royal composers may have added the reference to an evil spirit and Abimelech's dispatch by his armor bearer to remind audiences of the tragic figure of Saul.

[97] Smith and Bloch-Smith (*Judges 1*, 4) note that Abimelech is never called a judge, shows no call from the deity, and if anything, his portrayal is more as an anti-judge. Being the one judge who is refered to as king, it begs the question how this narrative is meant to be read in correlation to later claims that the troubles of the period of Judges should be associated with its lack of king (Judg 17:6; 18:1; 19:1; 21:25). Oeste (*Legitimacy*, 232) suggests that Judg 9 may serve the interest of the monarchy by showing the perils of supporting local leaders and the alliances they forge as opposed to a centralized monarchy. Wong (*Compositional Strategies*, 201) asserts that the Abimelech narrative should not be seen as a pro-monarchial story since Abimelech himself is called a king. Rather, the key to verses like Judg 17:6 may lie in the confusion over what type of king was expected. Rather than a judge or human king, Wong suggests that verses such as these, look forward to YHWH as the divine king.

[98] Boda and Schwab, *Judges*, 179; Spronk, *Judges*, 279.

[99] Boda and Schwab, *Judges*, 180; Butler, *Judges*, 244; Smith and Bloch-Smith, *Judges 1*, 630. The Spirit of YHWH of 1 Sam 11:6 most resembles these occasions in Judges for the spirit seems to be responsible for Saul's resolve to go to battle in defense of Jabesh Gilead.

[100] Smith and Bloch-Smith, *Judges 1*, 630.

develop between the two groups and seems to have a hand in the eventual downfalls of both groups. With Saul, the evil spirit brings the sense that God's support was no longer behind the king and impacts the stability of Saul's character. With Abimelech, the evil spirit has a stronger tie to retributive justice, for its influence directly leads to the downfall of both groups.

1 Kings 22:19–23

First Kings 22:19–23 contains a prophetic vision of Micaiah as part of a larger narrative which depicts the kings of Israel (Ahab) and Judah (Jehoshaphat) seeking approval from their prophets prior to making the decision to go to war against Aram in Ramoth-Gilead in an attempt to retake land thought to be theirs (22:3).[101] Its dating is tied up into theories regarding the composition history of the DtrH but generally this passage would have been composed between the end of Ahab's reign (mid-ninth century) and the period of the final exilic edition (mid-sixth century BCE).[102] Within Micaiah's vision the Lord calls for a volunteer to entice Ahab to go to war at Ramoth-Gilead so that he would fall (die). One spirit comes forward and shows its willingness to act as a רוח שׁקר "lying spirit" in the mouths of the prophets. Micaiah uses this divine court scene to explain why the four hundred prophets speak in opposition to him. Some have trouble accepting that God could be behind such a questionable request. Origen (*Comm. Jo.* 20.257–62) insists that whenever a spirit speaks, it speaks from its own resources and not from the resources of God. Modern commentators will often comment that the spirit was acting at the behest of God who was inclined to bring judgment upon Ahab for his prior actions.[103]

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[101] Ahab already had the intention of going to battle but sought the help of Judah. Jehoshaphat refused to join Ahab's fight until they sought approval from the prophets.

[102] See Sweeney (*1 & 2 Kings*, 4–31) for a detailed breakdown of the composition history of the DtrH.

[103] Wray Beal, *1 & 2 Kings*, 285; DeVries, *1 Kings*, 268; Wiseman, *1 and 2 Kings*, 200. Hamori ("Spirit of Falsehood," 28) insists that a common feature of similar texts involving a spirits negative influence upon humans (1 Kgs 22:19–23; 1 Sam 16:14–23; 18:10–12; 19:9–10; Judg 9:23–24; 2 Kgs 19:7; Isa 19:13–14; Isa 29:9–10; Job 4:12–21; Hos 4:12; 5:4; 9:7; 12:2), is that they had first been in the wrong.

A key aspect of this passage which tends to be used to interpret the other evil spirit passages (Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14; 18:8; 19:9) is the fact that the lying spirit is among God's host of heaven (or divine council).[104] The inhabitants of God's heavenly host are often described as angels (Ps 148:2). Boda makes this connection and goes onto suggest that angels and spirits are synonymous.[105] This setting of the heavenly throne room, invites further connections to scenes involving the satan (Job 1–2; Zech 3). This allows spirit, angel, and satan to be equated and allows other attributes of spirit beings from other divine council settings to be imposed upon the divine council members.[106]

Like Judg 9:23, this spirit influences a group of people[107] but it would require engagement from the prophets. They would have to listen to the words of the spirit and forward them on to their listeners. Where Saul's behavior was directly influenced by an evil spirit, Ahab could have ignored the words of this spirit,[108] although it was God's intention that he go to war as a judgment for his prior actions.

Sons of Belial (בני־בליעל)

Numerous Second Temple writings identify the satan figure as Belial.[109] This is a term that is used repeatedly throughout the Hebrew Bible but is generally obscured within modern English

[104] This term host can be understood as God's army as in Jos 5:14 or Dan 8:11 but also as his divine council (Ps 103:21; 148:2).

[105] Boda, "Evil Spirit from God," 36.

[106] For instance, Heiser (*Unseen Realm*, 57) understands Job 4:17–19 and Job 15:14–15 to say that divine council members are not perfect and that they oppose the will of God.

[107] Hamori ("Spirit of Falsehood," 21) points out that in Judg 9:23 the evil spirit influences all the Lords of Shechem and in this case the lying spirit influences the four hundred prophets.

[108] DeVries (*1 Kings*, 268) points out that other prophets such as Jeremiah (Jer 20:7, 10) and Ezekiel (Ezek 14:9) indicate the possibility that prophets could be misled by God.

[109] For example, Jubilees; Damascus Document, War Scroll, Rule of the Community, 1QHodayot, 4QFlorilegium, 4Q177 Catena; 4Q225 Psuedo-Jubilees[a]; 4Q286 Blessings[a]; 4Q390 Apocyrphon of Jeremiah, and 11QMelchizedek. The Testament of 12 Patriarchs and Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah also has a form of Belial (Beliar).

translations.[110] The term is most often used in a construct chain in the form sons/daughter/man of Belial (Deut 13:14; Judg 19:22; 20:13; 1 Sam 1:16; 2:12; 10:27; 25:17; 2 Sam 16:7; 20:1; 1 Kgs 21:10, 13; Prov 6:12; 16:17; 19:28), sometimes as an adjective (Deut 15:9; 1 Sam 25:25; 30:22; Psa 18:5 [4]; 41:9 [8], 101:3; Prov 19:28), and also as a common noun (2 Sam 22:5; 2 Sam 23:6; Job 34:18; Nah 2:1 [1:15]). As a construct chain it is typically translated as scoundrels, wicked or pestilent as an adjective, and perdition or the wicked when a common noun. The construction, sons of X, is used in many different forms within the Hebrew Bible, but rarely is the identifying absolute noun lost in translation. There are approximately 195 different constructions in the form of sons of X within the Hebrew Bible. In certain arrangements the form of the construction is lost in translation (like with sons of Israel – Israelites), but it is even more rare for the identifying infinitive absolute to be lost in translation; (1) בני–חיל "able men" (Judg 18:2), (2) בני–עולה "the wicked" (2 Sam 3:34), (3) בנים האהובה "the loved" (Deut 21:15). The sons of God, another phrase of interest in this paper, retains its identifier rather than being shrouded with a term like divine ones. The translation of sons of Belial seems to be an outlier within English translations of the Old Testament and unfortunately this hides a term which ancient writers came to correlate with the satan figure.

If the occurrences of בליעל were read within the Hebrew Bible as a personal name, one could draw the following conclusions from its various contexts. Belial can impact your thoughts (Deut 15:19; 1 Sam 25:25), he can bring suffering (2 Sam 22:5; Ps 18:5 [4]), or attach something wicked to people (Ps 41:9 [8]). His followers carry out wicked deeds (Judg 19:22), they plot destruction (Prov 6:12; 16:27), and they teach his ways (Nah 1:11).

[110] Early English translations such as the Wycliffe Bible (1382), the Coverdale Bible (1535), Matthew's Bible (1537), Bishops Bible (1568), and the KJV (1611) retain the phrase sons/children of Belial. The Latin Vulgate of Jerome which underlies the KJV also understood בליאל to be a personal name "Belial". See Michalak, *Angels as Warriors*, 171. In Ps 18:4 the Latin Vulgate even translates the torrents of Belial as the devil's torrents suggesting Jerome may have further equated Belial with Satan. Modern translations such as the ESV, NRSV, NIV, NASB, and JPS all obscure the phrasing sons of Belial by translating as worthless men/ungodly men/scoundrels.

Synthesis

1 Samuel 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:9, Judg 9:23; and 1 Kgs 22:19–23 share the idea of good and bad spirits (rather than angels or some singular being) influencing humanity while they (the spirits) are in subordination to God. The good spirits can endow their holder with special abilities, while the bad spirits can influence their decision making and disposition for their own harm. Unlike the first two sets of writings which envision an external source of wickedness, these writings depict an evil that can come from within, although room is still left for humans to disregard or resist this influence. Similarly, while the first two groupings depicted perpetrators who acted autonomously from God, these writings depict a being or force which acts in complete subordination to God. In each case where a spirit was sent to influence a person or group for their harm, those people had already violated God's purposes in some way. The sons of Belial texts do not yet show a strong affinity for our passages from Samuel, Judges, and Kings, but they hint towards a group of people whose actions shows signs of wicked influence. Writings which utilize a similar notion of two opposing spirits within the Second Temple period will come to associate the name Belial with the influences of the evil spirit.

Satan

Job 1–2

The prologue of Job 1–2 intertwines two settings, one depicting the blessed life of Job, and the other a meeting between the Lord, the sons of God, and הַשָּׂטָן "the adversary."[111] The article suggests this is a role or office (filled by a supernatural being) rather than a name.[112] The book of

[111] Scholars often translate הַשָּׂטָן as "the adversary" but English translations typically identify the character with the personal name Satan. See Page, *Powers of Evil*, 23; Brown, *God of this Age*, 24; Pagels, *Origin of Satan*, 39.

[112] HALOT, 2:1317. Day (*Adversary in Heaven*, 31) notes that the nine usages of the term שָׂטָן in the OT lack consistency and that they range between a simple adversary to a character who brings forth legal charges. She notes that both Job 1–2 and Zech 3 use the term forensically and that the term means "accuser" but what is less clear is whether the definite article is intended to envisage a specific member of the sons of God (34). She later notes a

Job fails to provide direct allusions to historical or prophetic traditions which makes its dating difficult, but a date between eighth–third century BCE can be defended.[113] Some debate whether Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7 should be considered late additions to the text of Job but ultimately there is no extant manuscript which supports this notion.[114] We are not told where the meeting occurred[115] or whether the satan was a regular member of the council or an unexpected visitor.[116]

The scene sees God draw the satan into an observation of the quality of Job's condition (he is said to be truly unique, blameless and upright, fearing God, and inclined to turn from evil) (Job 1:8). Rather than revel in Job's condition, the satan questions the impetus for Job's condition. Was he only blameless because God had blessed him (v. 10) or would he curse (ברך) God to his face should those blessings be removed?[117] In order to answer the question, God

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vision of Elihu of the heavenly assembly (Job 33:23–25) where any one of a thousand messengers/intermediaries could step forward to speak on behalf of a human being in the heavenly tribunal (42).

[113] Anderson (*Job*, 64–66) points out that dates have ranged from the time of Moses through to the Hellenistic period but suggests; (1) that orthography makes a date later than seventh century hard to uphold, (2) the way the book grapples with suffering was only possible after the exile, (3) and that it must have been authored after the rise of individualism (seventh century) but before the belief in life after death (second century BCE). He provides a dating himself (750 BCE) but admits that it is an unsubstantiated opinion. Dell (*The Book of Job as Sceptical Literature*, 160–62) indicates that pre-critical scholars argued that Job belongs in the patriarchal times because of the book's setting, that more recent scholars have argued for the monarchic period because that is when Hebrew literature received its greatest development, but that post-exilic Job is a type of Israel and that Satan is a character named only in post-exilic literature and that the angelology of the book finds its closest parallel in the late book of Daniel. Dell goes onto suggest a late-fourth or early third century BCE.

[114] Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7 can seem like late additions because there is no return of the adversary to conclude the book, God is depicted as the source of evil in reported speech (Job 1:16; 42:11), and the narrative flows smoothly with the omission of the sections. Sarna ("Epic Substratum," 23) rejects the notion of the late addition but Stokes (*Satan*, 45–48) in a more recent monologue suggests that it is likely because there are no unambiguous references to the sores of Job throughout the material or any conception that Satan ever existed.

[115] Anderson (*Job*, 87) points out that in Isa 6:1–3 God's divine assembly takes place in the temple on earth. English translations can give the impression that this was a heavenly meeting by translating "sons of God" as heavenly beings (like in the NRSV) or as angels (like NIV or CEV), but ultimately no location is specified.

[116] Habel, *Book of Job*, 89. The Lord asks the satan where he comes from and his answer suggests he may fill a role like the horse riders of Zech 1:10; 6:7 who were sent to patrol the earth. Anderson (*Job*, 88) sees his roving in a negative light by associating it with a passage like 1 Pet 5:8 which suggests the devil sneaks around like a roaring lion looking to find someone to attack. Walton (*Job*, 74), in contrast, sees the satan working as a policy watchdog, roving the earth to see if there have been any violations of God's policies.

[117] English translators on four occasions (1:5, 11; 2:5, 9) translate the word ברך (typically translated as bless) as curse. The context of the word's usage makes it sound as though to bless God would be a bad thing, so commentators tend to question whether this may be a euphemism left by scribes to soften repulsive language. See Anderson, *Job*, 85; Habel, *Book of Job*, 88.

empowers the satan to put him to the test. Job passes these tests. While the satan does not return within the book of Job, the effect of the trials on Job would continue for much of the book, despite his unawareness of the cause. The poetic dialogue to follow explores the effects of suffering on a blameless man, and its implications for conceptions of divine retribution.

These earliest Greek witnesses include substantial additions to Job 2:9 and 42:17 which reshape the depiction of Job, his wife, and friends, but the variations pertaining to the Satan figure are more subtle. White suggests that when a common Greek idiom (προσέχω τὸν νοῦν) akin to that used in Job 1:8b is complimented by a genitive rather than taking a dative form, it produces a much different impression (against rather than upon).[118] This small change suggests that the satan has a preconceived negative disposition towards Job, where the Hebrew depicts the character more neutrally. This disposition is further enhanced by the term used for the satan. Rather than use the term σατανᾶς common to the New Testament (which is often translated as Satan or adversary as in Sir 21:27), it uses the term διάβολος "slanderer." While this is a common equivalent used throughout the Old Testament, it brings with it an element of deprecation. Rather then being perceived as someone who stands in the way of another, this term suggest that this character is in the habit of tarnishing the image of others.

Without importing information from later texts, Job presents a neutral anonymous figure who questions the motives of Job, despite the lofty praise he was receiving from God.[119] In this narrative, the satan's presence in the divine assembly is not questioned, his questions are not dismissed, and he only acts with the power granted to him by God. There is nothing which requires him to be any more than a compliant subordinate of God. He could be seen as an official of God whose purpose was to rove the earth observing the virtue of humanity. Kelly notes that it was common in human governments of the day for people to serve as the eyes and ears of the

[118] White ("Devil in the Making," 149) explains that διανοίᾳ is a well-known synonym of νοῦς.

[119] The satan does not disagree with the attributes that God's praises, but rather questions whether they are the result of God's prior blessings.

king.[120] Alternatively, the satan's suspicion of Job's motives could be interpreted as a disposition set against Job or even humanity. Despite being empowered by God, the satan in this narrative, is shown to have power which has the potential to influence natural elements and human nature, both for harm. What is ambiguous in the passage is whether the satan had this power and only required approval to use it, or whether the power had to be supplied.

The setting of this narrative among the divine assembly inclines it to be compared to other passages like 1 Kgs 22:19–23 and Zech 3. With mention of the sons of God, comparisons can also be made with Gen 6:1–4, Deut 32:8–9, and Ps 82 although in this instance it is unclear whether the satan should be identified as one of the sons of God. These passages when associated with Job allow us to speculate regarding the satans form (spirit or angel), his autonomy, and his inclination for acting in opposition to God. In Job, like Zechariah, the satan acts without affiliation with other subordinate beings.

Zechariah 3

Zechariah 3 (dated between 520–515 BCE)[121] is the fourth of eight visions arranged in a chiastic structure (Zech 1–6).[122] It presents a linear progression of events where God shows his intention to show mercy towards his people (Zech 1:16). For the people to live peacefully once again under God (Zech 6:8) it was necessary that their purity be restored (Zech 5:3). This required the reestablishment of the priesthood (Zech 3) and its temple (Zech 4:9). Zechariah 3 depicts a heavenly court scene where Joshua (the High Priest) stands accused by הַשָּׂטָן "the adversary" before the Lord (v. 1).[123] הַשָּׂטָן has been interpreted as Joshu's human enemies within either the

[120] Kelly, *Satan*, 26.

[121] While variance can be found in the dating of Zech 3, Tiemeyer ("Dating Zechariah 1–8," 74) makes a strong case for why it can most appropriately be dated between 520–515 BCE when the temple was being rebuilt.

[122] Boda (*Book of Zechariah*, 103–6) outlines an assortment of scholarly theories regarding concentric variations which each see the visions of Zech 1:8–17 and 6:1–8 as bracketing the structure.

[123] The passage creates some confusion regarding the attendees of the court room scene. Verse 1 indicates that Joshua is standing before the angel of YHWH, yet in v. 2 it is YHWH himself who speaks. Boda (*Book of*

Jewish community or the Persian administration, others see a tension between priests who served in Jerusalem and in exile, others see spiritual representation of the attacks of human empires, and others see Satan or the devil as depicted in later Jewish and Christian literature.[124] Despite his apparent guilt, God's intention is to restore his elect people and their city, rather than simply forgive the guilt of an individual.[125] He dismisses the accusations of השׂטן and initiates the removal of guilt from Joshua (v. 4).[126] In order for God to dwell among his people again (Zech 2:5), the people had to be purified and this process required the initiation of the priesthood. While charges of השׂטן were not without cause, their enforcement would have required the denial of God's desire to restore his elect people.

For this passage to contribute to one's Satanology they must first make the interpretation that השׂטן is a personal being rather than a role or office. Even though Zech 3 depicts a divine council setting like 1 Kgs 22 and Isa 6 its easiest association is with Job 1–2 for both depict a court scene which involves השׂטן in a prosecuting role against a human defendant. Unlike Job, Joshua is shown to be guilty, but the motives of השׂטן are questioned because of the tone God uses in response to his charges.[127] This can give the impression that השׂטן was out of line by daring to challenge God's purposes. Read in this light, Zech 3 shows signs of discord in heaven, where a subordinate begins to show a willingness to challenge the purposes of God.

Zechariah, 230) points out that the angel of YHWH was earlier encountered in the first vision report as the rider on the red horse (1:9, 11). In that case, the rider was one who the Lord had sent to patrol the earth (1:10). This destinction suggests that the Lord's voice may be interrupting a court scene where Joshua stood before an angel of God rather than before God himself.

[124] Boda, *Book of Zechariah*, 229.

[125] Boda, *Book of Zechariah*, 233.

[126] Scholarship has speculated that Joshua's guilt could be due to impurity of gentile lands, the crimes that led to the exile, or to the guilt of the priesthood for inappropriate worship practices. See Rudman, "Zechariah and the Satan Tradition," 194–95; Tiemeyer, "Guilty Priesthood," 5–7.

[127] Boda, *Book of Zechariah*, 230. Hill (*Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, 148) and Petterson (*Haggai, Zechariah & Malachi*, 139) understand the rebuke of השׂטן to represent a strong opposition to God suggesting nefarious intentions.

1 Chronicles 21:1

First Chronicles 21 is a parallel text to the narrative of 2 Sam 24 which tells of David taking a census, Israel's subsequent punishment for that act, and the eventual aversion of that punishment through David's repentant actions which ultimately lead to his purchase of an alter site which would come to serve as the site for the temple foundation. The book of Chronicles is commonly dated to the fourth century BCE.[128] Most scholars accept that Chronicles uses 2 Sam 24 as its source,[129] but they will also urge that changes within Chronicles should not be simply assumed to be theological in nature.[130] Chronicles retelling presents the story within a rearranged larger framework, it places more emphasis on David's responsibility for the plague, and it accentuates the positive outcome of his intercession and obedience.[131] Of the variations evident within 1 Chr 21, none are more impactful to this study than the one regarding the impetus for David taking the census. 2 Sam 24:1 indicates that due to the anger of the Lord being kindled again, he incited David to count the people of Israel and Judah. The Chronicler's version reads, שׂטן stood up against Israel and incited David to count the people of Israel. Commentators seem to agree why the Lord's anger was not relevant in the Chronicler's retelling,[132] and why the object of the

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[128] Dyck ("Dating Chronicles," 18) suggests that the upper and lower bounds for the dating of Chronicles (400–200 BCE) is well established but that an absolute dating is not. He describes the reasoning behind these boundaries and then goes onto explain that recent interpreters have favored a later Persian period date (fourth century BCE) because of a lack of Hellenistic influence (19).

[129] Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 30) points to Graeme Auld as an exception. Auld argues that both Sam-Kings and Chronicles were based upon a common source.

[130] Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 26) suggests that before one ascribes a change to the Chronicler, one needs to determine whether a reading in Chronicles may once have been in the Samuel textual tradition as witnessed by the LXX, LXX^{L}, Qumran manuscripts, Josephus, or some other witness.

[131] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 763. Japhet (*I & II Chronicles*, 371–72) provides a helpful explanation regarding the Chronicler's rearrangement of the Samuel text. He suggests that 2 Sam 24 acts as a sequel to 2 Sam 21:1–14 but is interrupted by several units [two descriptions of David's warriors (21:15–22; 23:8–39) and two poems (22; 23:1–7)]. They work together to form an appendix to the Samuel material. The Chronicler omits 21:1–14; 22; 23:1–7, he relocates the descriptions of David's warriors, and he uses ch.24 to serve as an introduction for his unique section describing David's preparations for the temple.

[132] When 2 Sam 24:1 says the Lord's anger was kindled again, the prior time his anger was kindled was 2 Sam 21:1–14 when a three-year famine was given as punishment for the blood guilt stemming from the house of Saul. The Chronicler omits this prior story from his account, so it would not make sense to refer to the Lord's anger once again being kindled. See Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 418; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 373; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 751; McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles*, 170.

counting was changed,[133] but the appropriate translation of שׂטן (as a common noun or personal name)[134] and who that identifies has been heavily debated.[135]

It is also noteworthy to consider what David was actually being punished for. Scholarship generally accepts that David was being punished for taking the census, for in 1 Chr 21:8 he is shown to take responsibility for his personal sin. While a simple reading of the text may incline someone to deduce that the punishment was given solely for a census being taken it has also been argued that David's actual failure was that the individuals who were counted were not required to pay the half-shekel required in Mosaic legislation of Exod 30:11–16.[136] If a failure to collect the census tax was the reason for the punishment than the impact of שׂטן in this passage become less sinister, because despite being incited to take a census, it is David's oversight of Mosaic legislature that becomes the problem.

We lack consensus as to whether the author of Chronicles intended to blame David's misdeed upon a Satan figure. We do however have another ancient precedent for a writer who

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[133] McKenzie (*1–2 Chronicles*, 170) for instance, remarks that with his emphasis on the unity of Israel, the Chronicler removes the destinction between Israel and Judah that is present in the Samuel version. See Braun ("Message of Chronicles," 510) for a more in-depth discussion on the All-Israel theme within Chronicles.

[134] Day (*Adversary in Heaven*, 128), Japhet (*I & II Chronicles*, 374), and Beentjes ("Satan," 140) each provide different reasons for interpreting שׂטן without a definite article as a common noun. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 418) and Evans ("Divine Intermediaries," 546–48) interpret שׂטן as a personal name and provide rebuttals for arguments used to interpret as a common noun.

[135] שׂטן has been interpreted as both human and supernatural, both anonymous and specific (Satan). Sailhamer ("1 Chronicles 21:1," 34) introduces the range of explanations for this passage well when he categorizes interpretive choices of scholarship into three primary groups; harmonistic, redactional, and exegetical. He suggests that older approaches are generally harmonistic and that they attempt to combine the two passages together suggesting that God raised up Satan to incite David to take the census. Boyd (*God at War*, 153–54) is an example of this approach. A redactional interpretation would suggest that the Chronicler viewed the older writing and decided to modify it to take an alternative theological position. This could be done for a variety of reasons. Rather than depict God in a morally questionable way (by causing David to commit an act that required punishment), the Chronicler introduced an agent that could remove the act away from God. Alternatively, the redaction could be revealing an increased awareness of the spirit world. What may have initially been understood to be the work of God, was later realized to be the work of Satan (the opponent of God depicted in the NT, or some supernatural intermediary not yet equivalent to Satan). Examples of this approach include Schreiber, "Great Opponent," 439–40; Arnold, *1 & 2 Samuel*, 644; Hill, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 293; Page, *Powers of Evil*, 33–36; Evans, "Divine Intermediaries," 557. An exegetical interpretation would view the modification of the Chronicler as an attempt to interpret the thought of 2 Sam 24:1 rather than an attempt to alter its theological view. Examples of this approach include Sailhamer, "1 Chronicles 21:1," 42; Stokes, "The Devil Made David Do it," 100.

[136] Evans, "Let the Crime Fit the Punishment," 68.

ascribed former actions of God to a Satan figure to distance him from an immoral act.[137] Should a later writer see a satan figure within this passage they could easily ascribe malign intentions to that figure because his influence upon David led to the punishment of Israel, much like the serpent's influence upon Eve led to the punishment and expulsion of her and Adam from the garden.

Synthesis

Job 1–2, Zech 3, and 1 Chr 21:1 each depict a singular character (like those within the rebellious serpent grouping) identified by the term שׂטן. In the first two passages this figure attends YHWH's divine council meeting and seems to play a role in subservience to God as a prosecutor, raising charges against human defendants. Nothing is said of the figures' origin, but his contrary views to YHWH coupled with God's tone in dialogue with him, hint to some that there may be discord between the two, even though the figure only ever acts with the approval of YHWH. Later Greek translations of Job make slight modifications which ascribe a predisposed disposition to the שׂטן against Job and heightens the adversarial nature between him and YHWH. In all three texts, the שׂטן works in opposition to humans. One aspect that stands out within these writings that was absent or less developed in the other groupings is the powers that the שׂטן wields. Like the spirits who cause harm, 1 Chr 21 suggests that the שׂטן can influence the actions of a human from within. Job 1–2 goes further to suggest he can also influence nature, large groups of people, and even inflict harm directly to one's body.

[137] Wray and Mobley (*Birth of Satan*, 103) point to how the author of Jubilees when rewriting the events of Genesis and Exodus, credits the more unsavory deeds of God to a malicious, evil being. In that case, Mastema incites Abraham to sacrifice Isaac (Jub 17:15–18; Gen 22:1–2), he attempts to kill Moses for his son not being circumcised (Jub 48:2–3; Exod 4:24), and he is said to be the one who influenced the Egyptians to act against Israel (rather than God hardening Pharaoh's heart) (Jub 48:3, 9–12, Exod 9:12; 10:1, 20, 27; 14:8).

Conclusion

As discussed in this chapter, within the Old Testament there exists seeds from which conceptions of the satan figure can grow, and these seeds extend beyond texts which simply use the name Satan. These texts can be grouped in different ways based upon various similarities that they share. The presentation within this chapter has grouped the writings into sets based upon shared features (the rebellious serpent and primordial fall, rebellious angels, troublesome spirits, and the satan), but other groupings could have been made.[138] Rather than assess the writings in each different combination, this chapter has arranged the passages into groupings which became meaningful for later writers as they attempted to understand evil in their world. A Reception History approach to the subsequent writings will allow us the ability to see what potentialities were formulated within the minds of later writers. The following chapter will resume this survey by discussing writings from the Second Temple period which speak of a satan figure.

[138] For instance, Ps 82, 1 Kgs 22:19–23, Job 1–2, and Zech 3 all make depictions of YHWH's divine council and the sons of God show up in Gen 6, Deut 32, and Ps 82, but also Job 1–2.

CHAPTER 2: EXAMINATION OF SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD WRITINGS

Introduction

The previous chapter observed how thirteen Old Testament passages contribute to an understanding of the Satan figure. The last chapter arranged these passages into four prominent groupings. This chapter will shift focus towards the Second Temple period. Twenty-seven Jewish writings will be observed to further inform our understanding of the development of the Satan figure. These writings are from the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, and the Apocrypha.

Each writing will be located within a general timeline so that developments within a tradition can be observed and so that in a later chapter the writings can be interpreted against underlying historical factors. Two methods of organization have been utilized to assist with the comparison. The writings have been divided into three primary groupings, the Watcher tradition, the Two-Way tradition, and a collection of writings which are more miscellaneous in nature. The writings of this miscellaneous group may show influence from multiple traditions or may present a perspective unique from the larger traditions. Within these groupings, the writings have been organized chronologically. The miscellaneous group does not offer a strict chronological ordering because several of the writings within this collection have very wide date ranges attributed to them. A chart has been provided (Figure 3.1) which lists the writings in the order that they will be discussed, divides them into the three groups, and most importantly indicates their date of authorship.

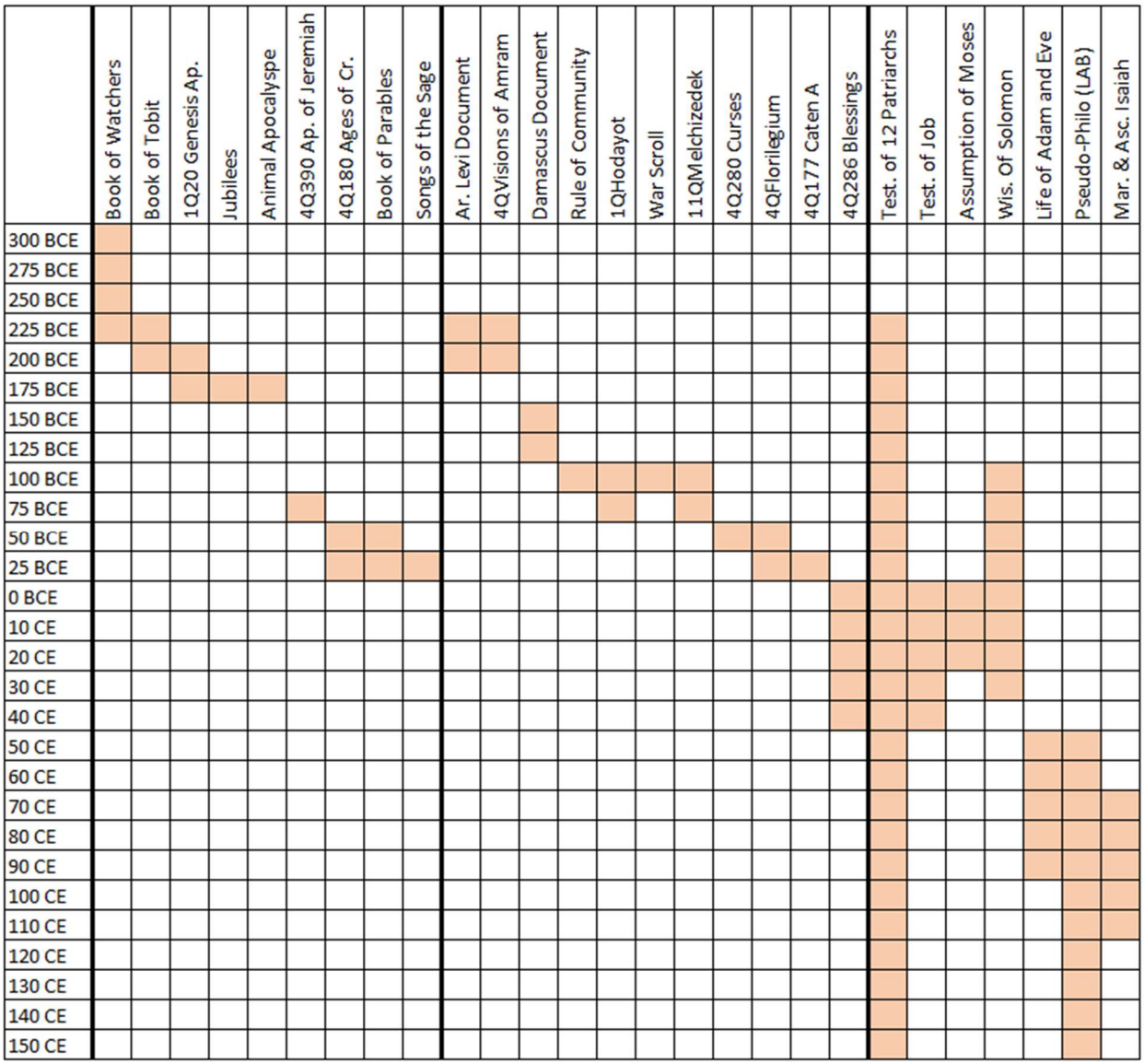

Figure 2: Likely Date of Authorship for Second Temple Writings

Watcher Tradition

Nine writings can be considered part of the Watcher tradition, but the ways they connect to this tradition varies. Each shares a connection to the angelic acts of the primordial past, but they do not highlight each aspect of those acts. Only the Genesis Apocryphon, 4QAges of Creation, and the Book of Parables speak of both the angelic fornication with human women and the revealed heavenly mysteries, but the Genesis Apocryphon emphasizes the fornication, while the Book of Parables emphasizes the revealed heavenly mysteries.[1] Jubilees, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Songs of the Sage refer to angelic fornication while the book of Tobit portrays a demon which within the Watcher tradition is associated with the remaining spirits of punished angelic offspring. The Apocryphon of Jeremiah, through its reference to the angels of Mastema, only connects to this tradition through its knowledge of Jubilees.

Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36)

Charlesworth, in review of the Enoch seminars, suggests that the consensus view would place the Book of the Watchers (BW) within the early Hellenistic period (late fourth to early third century BCE).[2] The BW (1 Enoch 1–36) is a pseudonymous writing in the name of Enoch (Gen 5:18–24) which offers an expanded narrative resembling Gen 6:1–4 to tell a story regarding the origin of evil and its ramifications for the world.[3] There is debate whether the writing should be seen as an interpretation of Gen 6 or an alternative.[4]

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[1] See p. 75n83.

[2] Charlesworth, "Books of Enoch," 446.

[3] Wright (*Origin of Evil Spirits*, 19–20) claims there are two primary positions for how Gen 6 corresponds to the BW; (1) the BW elaborated on the Genesis text and (2) the redactor of the Genesis passage was relating a well-established oral tradition. Milik (*Books of Enoch,* 31) goes further to suggest that Gen 6 may have drawn upon the Book of Watchers.

[4] As an interpretation see Wright, *Origin of Evil Spirits*, 9; Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 293. As an alternative see Fröhlich, "Evil in Second Temple Texts," 32; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 53–56.

The BW intertwines two origin stories. Each one presents a leading figure of evil.[5] Only one of these stories correlates with Gen 6.[6] The first variant features the angel Shemihaza and 200 other angels who choose to rebel against God by having children with the daughters of men. The angels, also identified as watchers, act out of desire, they make an oath to act together, and they show awareness of it being a transgression (6:1–6). Their children become giants[7] who anger humanity through their activities (overeating, cannibalism, and eating blood) and this incites humanity to bring an accusation against them to God (7:2–6).[8] The second variant lists Asael first among a group of angels who were responsible for teaching inappropriate heavenly knowledge to humanity (8:1–4).[9] Asael was personally responsible for teaching humans to forge weapons, ornaments, and to do alchemy. Other angels taught humans about astrology and incantations. This too caused an outcry by humanity.

Michael, Sariel, Raphael, and Gabriel report the outcry to God (9:1–4) who in turn casts judgment upon humanity and the watchers. Raphael was to bind Asael and bury him in the desert (in darkness) where he would await the final judgment by fire,[10] Michael was to bind Shemihaza and the other angels for seventy generations where they would await judgment by eternal fire, and Gabriel was to cause the giants to kill each other. These judgments were intended to cleanse the earth so that the remaining people of the earth would be righteous and worship God (10:21–

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[5] Brown (*God of this Age*, 31) describes the BW as a story where the Satan figure appears as a leader of the angels and their offspring.

[6] The history of composition is often discussed because there are multiple retellings of Watcher involvement which do not show coherence. See Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 1*, 171; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 25–29. Forsyth (*Old Enemy*, 175) points out that Shemihaza (10:11, 14) and Asael (9:6; 10:4–10) are each presented as leaders.

[7] The term giants show an affinity towards the LXX translation of Gen 6:4 which labels the offspring as γίγαντες (giants) as opposed to הנפלים (fallen ones) as in the MT.

[8] Goff ("Enochic Literature," 47) sees the limitless eating as a form of life that is out of balance (one out of order with God's creation).

[9] Stone ("Enoch and the Fall," 351) notes that there is a contrast between the negative heavenly mysteries that the Watchers teach and the positive heavenly secrets that are given to Enoch by the angels.

[10] Leviticus 16:8, 10, 26 each use the term עזאזל (Azazel), but it is unclear from those usages whether the term was to be interpreted as the name of a demon in the wilderness or as the name of a place. Hanson ("Rebellion in Heaven," 224) lists four specific details connecting Lev 16 to the BW.

22). Asael and Shemihaza could be seen as early forms of a Satan figure in that they both appear as chief over an angelic group who are responsible for introducing evil into the world.[11] The giants, born from the union of spirits (of heaven) and flesh (of earth), would become evil spirits after their destruction who reside on earth (15:9–10).[12] Until the day of great conclusion, these evil spirits would revolt against humanity by causing corruption and sorrow (15:11—16:1).

The BW expands upon Gen 6:1–4 by naming the offending angels, by adding to their transgressions (revealing heavenly mysteries), providing a motive for their action (lust), it places the angels in a hierarchy, it associates their actions with sin, it deals out punishments, and it suggests how the angelic transgressions led to ongoing wickedness in the world. The root of this evil is distanced from both God and humanity by making an angelic group responsible for the origin of humanity's wickedness and provides a cause for their continued suffering on earth (evil spirits/demons).[13] This suffering would be concluded by a final judgment of God where the disobedient angels, their evil spawn, and those found to be wicked among humanity would meet their end. Scholars have seen in this story a polemic against the priesthood, a hint of oppression under Hellenistic kingdoms, and a story telling of the origin of evil and its eschatological judgment.[14]

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[11] Brown (*God of this Age*, 31) sees the Satan figure of the BW as a figure of the distant past no longer active in the present world. Jubilees a later writing of the tradition associates its Satan figure (Mastema) with a leader of the Watcher's evil offspring.

[12] Black (*Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 7) indicates that the section on evil spirits from 1 En. 15 is not existent in the Aramaic fragments from Qumran. From the various Greek texts, they are only present within the Gizeh fragment which dates to the sixth century CE. While the section containing evil spirits could be a later addition numerous scholars see 1 Enoch as an important point in the development of demonology in the Second Temple period (i.e., Walton and Walton, *Demons and Spirits*, 76; Fröhlich, "Evil in Second Temple Texts," 50; Stokes, *Satan*, 14; Wright, *Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 84).

[13] Goff ("Enochic Literature," 45) notes that both illicit instruction and the nature of the sons of the Watchers are motifs absent within Genesis.

[14] Wright, *Origin of Evil Spirits*, 38.

Book of Tobit

The book of Tobit[15] is a fictive narrative about two families plagued with misfortunes while living among the Jewish diaspora of Assyria in the eighth century.[16] It is thought to be dated between 225–175 BCE.[17] Its didactic purpose is thought to inculcate righteous conduct, almsgiving, proper burial of the dead,[18] and edifying family life for Jews of the diaspora.[19] The story tells of Tobit and Sarah, two righteous sufferers akin to Job,[20] who pray to God about their plight (3:1, 11).[21] Sarah is plagued by a demon[22] named Asmodeus who has killed seven men who were to marry her (3:8).[23] We are given no indication where the demon came from, why it chose to kill Sarah's betrothed, or how those killings took place. The writing seems more concerned to show that the prayers of Sarah were heard and that God desired to answer her prayers and had the means to overcome the demon.

An angel (Raphael) disguised as a guide to Tobit's son (Tobiah), is sent to heal both Tobit and Sarah (3:17). This angel instructs Tobiah on how to use the organs of a fish as both a

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[15] Fitzmyer (*Tobit*) provides a useful side-by-side translation of both the short version and long version of the text.

[16] Macatangay, "Rhetorical Function," 162. Fitzmyer (*Tobit*, 32) outlines numerous errors in its historical account.

[17] Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 51; Littman, *Tobit*, xxviii.

[18] Macatangay ("Rhetorical Function," 171) sees the burial of the dead (as exemplified by Tobit) as a boundary marker that differentiates the righteous covenanters from the apostates within Israel.

[19] Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 31.

[20] Owens, "Asmodeus," 280. Vicchio (*Book of Job*, 2) and Fitzmyer (*Tobit*) see further Joban parallels with its involvement of God in the affairs of a faithful servant, with its lack of confidence in physicians, its cursing wives, and with its wives working outside the home.

[21] Scholars often see parallels in the righteous suffering of Job. See Owens, "Asmodeus," 280; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 35; Littman, *Tobit*, xxxvi.

[22] Stuckenbruck ("Demonic World," 58) notes that spirits always appear in the singular within Aramaic writings (like in Genesis Apocryphon, Tobit, 4Q538, 4Q560) but in Hebrew materials (like the Damascus Document, the Rule of the Community, War Scrolls, etc.) they appear in the plural.

[23] Owens ("Asmodeus," 278) points out that Asmodeus appears prominently in the Testament of Solomon 5:1–13. It illustrates Asmodeus's wickedness as seen through the plots he hatches against newlyweds (5:7). Asmodeus tells Solomon that he was thwarted by Raphael who used liver and gall of a sheatfish found in Assyria burned on coals of charcoal to drive him away (5:9). Gurtner (*Introducing the Pseudepigrapha*, 17) indicates that the Testament of Solomon has been considered a Christian document (third century CE) which uses first century CE Jewish material. If this is the case, then the Testament of Solomon shows influence from the book of Tobit.

medicine and as a ward against a demon (6:5; 8:2–3).[24] Stuckenbruck highlights that in earlier texts the reliance upon medicine was discouraged or vilified. He points out that in Old Testament texts, God is depicted as the healer (Exod 15:26; 23:25; Deut 7:15; 1 Kgs 13:6; 2 Chr 7:14; Ps 41:3; 103:3) and that medicinal cures may have been associated with practices involving incantations which could have misused the holy name of God. He further shows that in the Book of Watchers medicines were attributed to the disobedient angels. A shift in thinking can be seen in Sir 37:27—38:15 where medicine and the consultation of doctors is found justifiable through creation theology and in Jubilees where herbal medicine is taught by one of the good angels. The book of Tobit presents medicine in a positive way, but in this case knowledge of its use comes through a mediator of God.

When Tobiah burns the organs of the fish, the smell scares the demon who then flees to Egypt (8:3). Raphael pursues the demon and binds it just as Raphael did to Asael in 1 Enoch 10:4.[25] The writing shows that with the appropriate heavenly knowledge, a human had the means to ward off the influences of a demon, although in the end it was the angel who had it bound.

Genesis Apocryphon

Machiela, suggests that 200–150 BCE would be a safe date range to ascribe to the Genesis Apocryphon.[26] This narrative rewrites the period from Noah's birth through to the Lord's promise of a son to Abraham. Two sections that are featured within the writing are Noah's birth and Abraham and Sarah's time in Egypt (Gen 12:10–20).[27]

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[24] Stuckenbruck, "Book of Tobit," 123–24.

[25] Raphael is also named in the Book of Parables (1 En. 40:9) as the archangel responsible for all diseases and wounds of children suggesting a tradition of him being associated with healing.

[26] Machiela, *Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 142. Eshel ("Aramaic Levi Document," 82) indicates that there are both thematic and linguistic parallels which suggest the Genesis Apocryphon served as one of the sources for Jubilees. Both Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon give an account of the division of the world among Noah's sons. Eshel points out how Jubilees's expansionistic tendency and three mistakes within its text points to Jubilee's reliance upon the Genesis Apocryphon (90).

[27] Machiela (*Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 131) notes that the Noah account includes much more extra-biblical material.

The beginning of the writing is severely fragmented, but it mentions the Watchers (or Nephilim), their fornication with the daughters of humanity, and the defilement of the earth through their divinatory arts (6:19–21). In this writing Lamech shows a great deal of concern for the possibility that his son Noah may have been a child born from the union of a Watcher and his wife (2:1–9). He calls upon his father Methusaleh and his grandfather Enoch to find Noah's true heritage (5:3–4) and is eventually reassured that Noah was in fact his own child. The writing shows great concern to present its patriarchs in a blameless light.[28] This writing gives the impression that the Watchers would eventually be destroyed for their actions although, unlike the Book of Watchers there is no mention of first being bound.

An early form of the two ways theology (not yet two spirit) can be seen in a declaration of Noah. He declares that because of instruction from the Holy One, all the days of his life he has conducted himself in an upright behavior, continually walking in the paths of everlasting truth. During that time, he kept himself from the highway of deceit, which leads to everlasting darkness (6:2–3). This bestows an eschatological theology on the two-ways motif by introducing eternality to both the ways of good and evil.[29] Another connection to the two-way theology can be seen in the Abrahamic account. God sends a pestilential spirit to afflict Pharaoh and every person in his household (20:16). They were inflicted by these spirits for two years until which point, they returned Sarai to Abraham, and requested Abraham to pray for the spirits's departure (20:28). These spirits resemble the troublesome spirits of the previous chapter (1 Sam 16; Judg 9,

[28] Machiela (*Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 132) notes that even Noah's drunken episode is turned into a positive by turning it into a locus for divine revelation of heavenly mysteries. Abram receives a dream before entering Egypt intended to rid him of selfish or malicious intent in asking Sarai to act as his sister.

[29] Eshel, "Aramaic Levi Document," 96. Eshel traces the roots of the "way of truth" to Gen 24:48 and the metaphor of two ways to Deut 30:15–20 (91). She goes onto say that the earliest post-biblical form of the two ways imagery can be found in The Aramaic Levi Document (92). ALD does not refer to the observance of God's commandments as the means for walking the proper path but simply an adherence to what pleases God.

1 Kgs 22) and are given no association to the offspring of the Watchers. Abraham's prayer for their departure offers a precursor to exorcisms of the New Testament.[30]

Jubilees

Jubilees retells the biblical story of Genesis from God's creation through to the Exodus (Exod 12). VanderKam dates the writing within the 160s or 150s BCE.[31] Jubilees draws upon the Watcher tradition but differs sharply in that the angels were sent to Earth to teach humanity (4:22; 5:6) prior to their rebellion.[32] The angels and their offspring receive a similar punishment to the BW (5:6–10) but rather than receiving this punishment for their own actions, they are instead punished because their actions caused humanity to do the same.[33] After the flood, the demonic offspring of the Watchers are blamed for ongoing evil (10:1)[34] but their continued presence is sanctioned by God (10:9). God casts judgment upon the demons in response to Noah's prayer, but he also accedes to the request of *Mastema*[35] "leader of the demons"[36] who requests that some of their numbers remain so that they could continue to corrupt humanity whose evil was great.[37]

Forsyth thinks it clear that from Jubilee's use of Enoch material that the name of Mastema has replaced Shemihazah or Asael from the BW, but it should be noted that in Jubilees,

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[30] Stuckenbruck (*Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 174) notes that the Songs of the Maskil, Jubilees, Damascus Document, and Community Rule also speak of demonic possession. Fröhlich ("Evil in Second Temple Texts," 42) sees a connection between this exorcism and that of Matt 5:23.

[31] VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 38.

[32] VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 50.

[33] Stuckenbruck, "Book of Jubilees," 300.

[34] VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 22.

[35] The word משטמה (Mastema) occurs in Hos 9:7 and is typically translated by English translations as hostility/hatred. This introduces a sense of animosity into the character.

[36] This association is often noted by those seeking to draw parallels with Satan of the NT. See Farrar, "New Testament Satanology," 44; Wright, *Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 83. Stuckenbruck ("Demonic World," 67) sees this as a pivotal transition from the Enochic material to the Yahad writings.

[37] Reed (*Fallen Angels*, 94) notes that there would be no need for Mastema and the demons if it were not for the evil of humankind being so great. She suggests this is the author's way of downplaying the role of fallen angels in the origins of evil.

Mastema leads the demonic forces (the offspring of the Watchers) rather than the Watchers themselves.[38] Jubilees mixes terminology when describing its forces of evil. Mastema is on one occasion used synonymously with Satan (10:12)[39] and possibly in another as Belial (1:20).[40] On other occasions satan is interpreted as a common noun meaning rival or adversary (23:29; 40:10; 46:2; 50:5).[41] Dimant thinks Mastema was an identifier preferred in a small non-sectarian group of works (Jubilees, Apocryphon of Jeremiah C, and Pseudo-Jubilees), while Belial alone marks the sectarian texts.[42]

Despite the erring influences of demonic powers, human beings were held accountable to God.[43] Key figures of Israel's past (Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph) are exemplified for their piety and lived in a way that would ward off demonic forces. While Abraham was himself tested by Mastema (17:16), neither Mastema nor his demons are shown to have any influence on the lives of Abraham's descendants up until the end of Joseph's life.

Foreign nations are distinguished from Israel in that they were divided among the angels (like in Deut 32:8–9) while Israel was chosen by God. In this case, however, the angels were meant to lead the people astray, while Israel was expected to be a people walking in righteousness (15:31–32). Foreign nations could experience peace if they adhered to the ways of Israel, as evidenced by Egypt who for a time, honored Israel (46:3) and as they did so have no evil in their land. Pagels reasonably suggests that the author shows concern that his people are

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[38] Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 190.

[39] There seems to be some degree of interpretation around the use of Satan on this occasion. Charlesworth (*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Vol. 2,* 76) translates Satan as a personal name while VanderKam (*Book of Jubilees*, 60) interprets as a common noun.

[40] VanderKam (*Jubilees*, 157) discusses this and makes the point that the actions attributed to the spirit of Belial are similar to the spirits or demons in 10:1–14.

[41] In these instances, the people experience a time with no satan or evil. This usage does not require the term to be correlated with a cosmic dimension.

[42] Dimant, "Between Qumran," 254.

[43] Stuckenbruck, "Book of Jubilees," 307.

corruptible and prone to assimilation in a world where Israel's destiny depends on moral action rather than election.[44]

Mastema shows up occasionally throughout the story but when he does so, he often replaces unsavory deeds ascribed to God within the biblical account.[45] He persuades God to test Abraham's fidelity (17:16; Gen 22:1–2), he attempts to have Moses killed when he met him at the shelter on the way to Egypt (48:2–3; Exod 4:24), and he empowers the Egyptians against Israel prior to the Exodus (rather than God hardening Pharaoh's heart) (48:9–19; Exod 9:12; 10:1, 20, 27; 14:8). In each of these attempts against Israel, Mastema was foiled by God and shamed.[46]

Jubilees largely concerns itself with the past but on occasion it gives a hint of its expectations for the future. The Watchers were to be bound in the depths of the earth until the day of great judgment (5:10) but their ultimate fate is not provided. From the time of the flood, lifespans would be shortened and the people would be subjected to suffering and affliction and this would continue until the day of great judgment (23:11) at which point a reversal would occur because the children of God would search out the law and return to the ways of righteousness (23:26). This would usher in a period of ongoing peace and blessing (23:29–30).

Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90)

The Animal Apocalypse (AA) is an allegory[47] which summarizes the deeds of humanity from the creation of Adam until some point in the Hellenistic period which is expected to trigger the final

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[44] Pagels, *Origin of Satan*, 53–54. McMains ("Deliver Us," 52) similarly hypothesizes that the author seems to be grappling with the question of why so many Jews have turned from their true God.

[45] Wray and Mobley, *Birth of Satan*, 103; Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 182. These adaptations are like what 1 Chr 21:1 appears to do with 2 Sam 24:1.

[46] Hanneken ("Status and Interpretation," 423) notes that Mastema takes on unbecoming functions of God but never claims victory, only immediate shame.

[47] Gore-Jones ("Animals," 269) describes an allegory as a narrative system (story about animals) that parallels another system in a different domain (human history), with each detail in it corresponding to something to be found in the other system.

judgment and a newly created order.[48] It is frequently dated around 160 BCE because the last battle thought to be alluded to in the writing occurred around that time.[49] The AA uses three symbolic systems (bestial symbols,[50] symbols of blindness,[51] and colours)[52] to describe its characters and it divides history into three periods (antediluvian, postdiluvian, and eschatological).[53]

The AA does not identify any singular Satan figure, but it does highlight two groups of angelic figures who cause harm upon humanity. The first group (modeled after the Watchers) appears within the Antediluvian period and are involved in the misdeeds that necessitate the flood. The Watchers are depicted as stars, and their identity is distinguishable most clearly by their punishment.[54] The first star to fall in this case can be identified as Asael by comparing 88:1 with 1 Enoch 10:4–5. In this case further angels come down to join the first and then together they fornicate with human women.[55] Olson sees in the AA that more emphasis has been placed upon human sin than in the Book of Watchers.[56] The second group (seventy angelic shepherds)

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[48] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 1*, 354. Olson (*New Reading*, 14) sees in AA an allegory which illustrates the dynamics of moral responsibility, the necessity of an authentic encounter with the divine, and the eventual fulfillment of the Abrahamic promise for universal blessing.

[49] Gore-Jones, "Animals," 269. According to Dimant ("Ideology and History," 92) 1 En. 90:13–18 is generally thought to refer to the first victories of Judas Maccabeus, and Olson (*New Reading*, 5) along with Gore-Jones ("Animals," 269) suggest that the last battle referenced can be dated to 161–160 BCE.

[50] Human beings are represented by animals, and these viewed positively (if domesticated and clean) and negatively if (wild or unclean). See Gore-Jones, "Animals," 277–84.

[51] At various points within the history the sheep are said to be dim-sighted or blinded which led to them straying from the ways of the Lord.

[52] Dimant ("Ideology and History," 94–95) suggests that colour symbols signal piety and righteousness as opposed to evil and sin. She points out that Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem along with angelic divine messengers are all white. Black depicts sinful individuals like Cain and Ham.

[53] Dimant, "Ideology and History," 94. The flood marks the end of the antediluvian period (89:9). There seems to be debate regarding at which point the eschatological period beings for Nickelsburg and VanderKam (*1 Enoch 1*, 355) point to 90:28, Dimant ("Ideology and History," 98) to 90:17, and Regev ("The Ram and Qumran," 188) to 90:9.

[54] Olson, *New Reading*, 151.

[55] Reed (*Fallen Angels*, 36–37) points to this segmented arrival of the angels to highlight the willingness for authors to reapply the Enochic myth to new situations, problems, and concerns.

[56] Olson (*New Reading*, 152) suggests that Asael comes down to live among the humans without mention of teaching heavenly mysteries, the actions of the fornicating angels are downplayed by omitting mention of their oath, and the intermingling of the Sethite and Cainite lines are added among the transgressions. Reed (*Fallen Angels*, 76) also notes an increased emphasis on human responsibility for sin.

are given their charge during the exile because of Israel's waywardness but overstep their call by causing excess suffering and destruction amongst the people (89:59–60).[57] This period is devoid of divine presence,[58] but God appoints a separate angel to observe and record their activity (89:61). Scholars see in this period an adaptation of Deut 32:8's angelic territorial responsibility (from a spatial image to temporal)[59] and an attempt to predict the period of the end time.[60]

God is distanced from direct involvement in the affairs of humanity, but the author of AA was expectant of an eventual judgment where the falling stars (the Watchers) and the seventy shepherds would be found guilty and cast into a fiery abyss (90:21–26).[61] The blinded sheep (those not following God) are met with a similar judgment. The AA retains much of the Watcher tradition but rather than ascribe ongoing evil to the work of evil spirits or demons, it blames the adverse behavior of humanity along with overly severe (but not outright rebellious) angels.[62] These supernatural beings are given autonomy of action, but their actions are predicted and confined to a predetermined period.

4Q Apocryphon of Jeremiah

The Apocryphon of Jeremiah C (4Q390) is part of a collection of texts from Qumran that are linked to Jeremiah.[63] Davis provides reasoning for why it should be dated to the middle of the

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[57] Olson (*New Reading*, 190) sees this as an attempt to excuse God from direct responsibility for the excessive sufferings of the exilic and post exilic age.

[58] Dimant, "Ideology and History," 108.

[59] Olson, *New Reading*, 191; Nickelsburg and VanderKam (*1 Enoch 1*, 391) go further to suggest that negligent character of the shepherds resembles the elohim of Ps 82.

[60] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 1*, 360. Laato ("Chronology in the Animal Apocalypse," 4) compares to other systems such as the 70-year weeks of Dan 9:24–27 and the Damascus Document which is based on the period of 390 years mentioned in Ezek 4:5.

[61] Nickelsburg and VanderKam (*1 Enoch 1*, 362) intimate that this vision could comfortably be transmitted in circles that saw the hand of God on the militant activity of Judas Maccabeus. So too Regev, "The Ram and Qumran," 193. Mermelstein ("Animal Apocalypse," 153) thinks the AA makes clear to its second-century audience that the enemies and travails of the present are patterns which match those of the past.

[62] Nickelsburg and VanderKam (*1 Enoch 1*, 356) point out that the AA fails to explain the original source of evil. For instance, why was Cain born black and what was the cause of Israel's blindness?

[63] Davis (*Cave 4 Apocryphon*, 46) points out that 4Q383–4Q390 have been grouped together because these texts mention Jeremiah by name or have been thematically linked to the Babylonian invasion of Jerusalem, the exile,

first century.[64] The Jeremiah texts are seen to include four primary episodes, with specific details repeated in the various accounts.[65] The kingdom would be removed from the land of Israel after the 10th jubilee (4Q385 f4 1:3; 4Q387 f2ii 1:3) and would be given to a gentile nation led by a king described as a blasphemer (4Q385 f4 1:6; 4Q387 f2ii 1:8; 4Q388a f7ii 1:3; 4Q389 f8ii 1:1).[66] During this period God's face would be hidden from Israel (4Q385 f4 1:7; 4Q387 f2ii 1:9; 4Q389 f8ii 1:2) and they would be handed into the hands of the angels of Mastema (4Q387 f2iii 1:4).[67] After this period the priest of Jerusalem would return but three priests would violate the covenant (4Q385a f5 1:7; 4Q387 f3 1:4; 4Q388a f7ii 1:8) and lead to Israel being torn down by infighting (4Q385a f5 1:9; 4Q387 f3 1:7).[68]

4Q390 follows this general flow and uses some of this key phrasing but also applies key changes. First the people would initially be delivered into the hands of the sons of Aaron for seventy years, but they would not walk in God's ways (4Q390 f1 1:2).[69] At the end of the

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and Jeremiah's abduction to Egypt. He goes on to tell how scholars have disagreed over how many separate compositions are contained within these works. He provides a review of scholarship on the issue and tells how there has been support for anywhere between one and three separate compositions (53–68). Texts within this collection have received the names Second Ezekiel (Strugnell and Dimant, "'4Q' Second Ezekiel," 45), Psuedo-Ezekiel, Psuedo-Moses, Apocryphon of Jeremiah, and Psuedo-Prophets.

[64] Davis, *Cave 4 Apocryphon*, 63, 198–203, 217. See also Hanneken, "Status and Interpretation," 409.

[65] Tigchelaar ("Classifications of the Collection," 539) presents Devorah Dimant's four episodes which describe the general sequence of events within the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C.

[66] Hogeterp ("Trauma in the Apocryphon," 464) notes that 2 Macc 9:28 calls Antiochus IV Epiphanes a murderer and blasphemer. In 4Q387 f2ii 1:4; 4Q388a f7ii 1:4, and 4Q389 f8ii 1:10 it is mentioned that God would shatter Egypt and cut off Israel. 4Q388a f7ii 1:4 sets this event in the days of the blasphemer which may mean this is speaking to the period where Antiochus IV conquered Egypt and then proceeded to attack Israel (1 Macc 1:16–53).

[67] This suggests that the atrocities that were done under the control of Antiochus IV were seen as evidence that God had turned his back on the people and that the angels of Mastema were now in control.

[68] Dimant ("From the Book of Jeremiah," 455n10) connects the three priests to the first three Hasmonean priests (Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus) who resumed the temple worship after the High Priesthood was left vacant for seven years. These Hasmonean priests would not be traced to the line of Aaron and would lead to division along religious lines. 1QpHab 8–10 refers to the conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest who could very well be Jonathan, the first of the Hasmonean priests. See Steudel, "In the Texts from Qumran," 237. Davis (*Cave 4 Apocryphon*, 163) suspects the three priests may be Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus because the apocalyptic discourse of the Apocryphon of Jeremiah is fiercely anti-Hellenistic throughout, and he believes it would make sense to vilify these three for their attempts to consolidate political and religious power in the high priestly office. I think a plausible argument could be made for either grouping of priests, which is likely why Dimant herself flip-flopped between the two possibilities.

[69] Davis (*Cave 4 Apocryphon*, 211) notes that this is a unique stance towards the sons of Aaron, since within the 29 other occurences within the Dead Sea Scrolls their priestly rule is viewed either neutral or positively.

seventh jubilee after the destruction of the land they would forget law, festival, Sabbath, and covenant (1:7). At this point God would hide his face (1:9) and the angels of Mastema/Belial would rule over them (1:11) for a week of years (4Q390 f2i 1:4). After this week of years, there would be a period of seventy years where they would contend with each other and they would once again be given over to the angels of Mastema (1:7). In this time the people would enrich themselves by ill-gotten wealth, illegal profit, and by defiling the temple (1:8–10).[70]

The forgetfulness of the law, festival, Sabbath, and covenant are the same charges that are brought up within Jub 23:19 for the future evil generation. Hanneken contends that 4Q390 is dependent upon Jubilees.[71] In Jub 23:23, rather than turn away his face while the angels of Mastema rule over them, God instead rouses up the sinners of the nations against them. 4Q390 seems to be interpreting the events with an even greater cosmic aspect than the writer of Jubilees. He suggests Jub 15:31–32 may be helpful for interpreting the cosmic involvement for it seems that the author may have understood that when the people of Israel failed to adhere to the commands of God then they would for a time be treated as the nations (the non-elect), who were ruled by spirits seeking to lead them astray.[72] This adds a level of pessimism to the ideas of Jubilees, for Jubilees emphasizes the permanent election of all Israel, while the Apocryphon of Jeremiah indicates that God's favor could be lost, at least for a time.

[70] It is commonly pointed out that these three acts resemble the nets of Belial as described in the Damascus Document (CD 4:12–19). See Hogeterp, "Trauma in the Apocryphon," 472. Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 115) suggests from this parallel that the rule of Belial and the rule of the angels of Mastema are the same.

[71] Hanneken, "Status and Interpretation," 409.

[72] Hanneken, "Status and Interpretation," 423.

4Q Ages of Creation A and B

4Q Ages of Creation A and B (4Q180 and 4Q181) represent two similar but not identical works[73] that divide world history into predetermined ages or periods.[74] 4Q180 has been identified as a thematic pesher (a pesher of periods).[75] 4Q181 has been dated to the mid to late first century BCE.[76] 4Q Ages of Creation A and B differs from the other thematic peshers discussed later in this paper also found at Qumran, for rather than pointing to a Satan figure named Belial, it focuses its attention on one named Azazel. Azazel is described as the one who taught the people to love iniquity and to pass on wickedness as an inheritance (f1:8–9), and it is said that he and his angels went into the daughters of men and bore mighty men (f1:6–7).[77] He is introduced into the narrative of Gen 6:1–4 along with the notion that the actions of the rebellious angels introduced wickedness into the world and necessitated judgment by God. This judgment is contrasted with the fate of the elect who would attain eternal life among God's holy ones (4Q181 f1:1–4). This incorporation of Azazel may have been influenced by the Book of Watchers which also associates judgment with the actions of the wayward angels although in that work Asael introduced heavenly mysteries while Shemihaza was identified as the leader of the fornicating

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[73] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 67. Dimant ("Ages of Creation," 13) remarks that Milik considered 4Q180 and 4Q181 copies of the same work. Campbell suggests that Roberts ("Wicked and Holy") provides the best edition of the texts available (68). Citations from the text will be in the form 4Q180 f1:1 indicating the writing, the fragment, and the verse.

[74] As a pesher of periods, this work bears similarities to other works like the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:1–10; 93:11–17), 4QEnoch^{g} (4Q212), and Dan 9:24–27. See Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 71.

[75] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 71. 4Q180 f1:1–2 introduces the work by saying that it is a pesher concerning the times in which God made a time to accomplish everything that is and will ever be. Tzoref ("Pesher and Periodization," 152) clarifies the term pesher suggesting it was used in Qumran to indicate the identification of contemporary/eschatological referents of biblical prophetic texts.

[76] Assuming the two works are in fact copies of the same document than Roberts ("Wicked and Holy," 204) could be used.

[77] Fragment 2 repeats some material from fragment 1 of 4Q181 when it tells of Azazel and his angels going into the daughters of men producing גבורים (1–2). Fragment 2 is not included within the texts of Roberts ("Wicked and Holy") but is included within Martinez and Tigchelaar, eds., *Dead Sea Scrolls,* 375. Roberts translates גבורים as heroes of renown, like what is typically done in English translations of Gen 6:4. Martinez and Tigchelaar, despite translating the same term from the Hebrew, opted for giants following the LXX's interpretation of the term. This creates a stronger affinity for the Book of Watchers, which would in this case be misleading.

angels. The later dating of 4Q180 (first century CE)[78] suggests that belief in the fornicating angels persisted into the common era.

Book of Parables (1 Enoch 37–71)

The Book of Parables is often seen as an intermediate text which transitions towards a Christian understanding of the Son of Man[79] and Satan.[80] It consists of an introductory chapter (37), three parables (38–44, 45–57, 58–69), and a double epilogue (70–71).[81] Charlesworth makes a compelling case which suggests a dating towards the peak of Herod's reign (20–4 BCE).[82] The Book of Parables knows of the Watcher tradition but in its adaptation, the Shemihaza variant (fornicating angels) is downplayed, and the Asael (Azazel) variant (teaching of hidden mysteries) is emphasized.[83] Like in the BW, four archangels are involved in the punishment of these fallen angels (54:6; cf. 1 En. 10:1–13). The duty of one of these archangels (Phanuel) was to expel satans[84] and to forbid them from coming to the Lord of Spirits to accuse those who dwell upon earth (40:7).[85] It would seem his role was intended to prevent situations like that described in Job 1–2 and Zech 3. Like the BW, the Book of Parables provides two lists of

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[78] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 68; Roberts, "Wicked and Holy," 204.

[79] Gieschen, "Importance of the Parables," 57; Joseph, "Was Daniel," 274; Ryan, *Divine Conflict*, 118; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 44. Charlesworth, "Did Jesus Know," 211 suspects that 1 En. 70–71 may have been added as a reaction against Jesus' claims to be the Son of Man.

[80] Scholars often note that 1 En. 69:6 is the first association of a rebellious angel with the serpent's deception of Eve. See McMains, "Deliver Us," 51–52; Farrar, "New Testament Satanology," 45. Reed (*Fallen Angels*, 115) sees this as a transference of traditions from the antediluvian descent of the angels onto the figure of the serpent/Satan. See also Orlov, "Watchers of Satanail," 169; Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 211; Olson, "Wicked Angels," 140.

[81] Reynolds, *Apocalyptic Son of Man*, 42.

[82] Charlesworth, "The Date and Provenance of the Parables of Enoch," 53.

[83] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 45. The Book of Parables announces judgment for the demonic host in 54:1–6; 55:3—56:4; 67:4–13; and 69:26–29 and in each of these instances the punishment was being directed at either Azazel and his followers, or those who were involved in revealing something inappropriate to humanity. Stone ("Enoch and the Fall," 348) observes that the hidden mysteries variant does not stem from Genesis. This suggests how highly the revelation of Enoch was esteemed relative to Pentateuchal writings.

[84] In this case "satans" seems to suggest that there could be numerous supernatural figures who could attempt to come before the Lord to accuse those of earth.

[85] Orlov, "Watchers of Satanail," 168.

rebellious angels, first listing 21 angels (69:2–3; cf. 1 En. 6:7–8), and then describing in detail the violations by a further five (69:4–13; cf. 1 En. 8:1–4).[86] Despite so many renegade angels being named, Azazel is the one with an army (54:5; 55:4), suggesting he was the leader.

Nicklesburg and VanderKam suggest that like Jub 10:8–11, the Book of Parables may mark a shift towards the identification of Satan as the chief demon[87] but the usage of the term is inconsistent within the book. In some cases, it points to a general renegade supernatural being (40:7; 41:9; 65:6), on one occasion to instruments used to punish sinners (53:3),[88] and on one occasion as a synonymous identifier for the leader of the renegade angels (Azazel) (54:6).[89] The temptation of Eve is correlated with an angel in the Book of Parables but rather than be ascribed to either Satan or Azazel, it is associated with Gader'el (69:6).[90]

The primary concern within the Book of Parables seems to be the oppression caused by the kings, the mighty, and the landowners (38:5; 46:4; 48:8; 53:5; 54:2; 62:1; 63:1; 67:8).[91] This is a marked difference from other writings like those of the Qumran community which pitted the pious covenant community against the wicked outsiders,[92] or the writings with a pro-Maccabean stance which distinguished between the oppressed Israelite and the wicked foreigner. The Book of Parables seems to support the hopes of the poor and oppressed against the oppressive elite. The oppression is the result of unauthorized hidden mysteries that were introduced by renegade angels of the primordial past (64:2), and it was expected that these human oppressors along with

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[86] The Book of Parables implicates Yeqon and Asb'el in the fornications with human women (rather than Shemihaza), and associates Gader'el with the deception of Eve (rather than the serpent).

[87] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 203. So too Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 211. Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 86) sees multiple satans operating in the earthly realm within the Book of Parables.

[88] Nickelsburg and VanderKam (*1 Enoch 2*, 196) liken the usage of the term on this occasion to 1 Cor 5:5 (where a sinful congregant is to be expelled so that Satan could punish his flesh) and 2 Cor 12:7 (where Paul was given a thorn in his flesh to prevent him from exalting himself).

[89] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 45.

[90] A key distinction still held in the Book of Parables is that the deceiver of Eve is separate from the leader of evil forces.

[91] Nickelsburg and VanderKam (*1 Enoch 2*, 47) note the uniqueness of this target as opposed to sinful humanity.

[92] Nickelsburg and VanderKam (*1 Enoch 2*, 54) also notes that the Book of Parables makes no reference to either covenant or Torah, two things of great significance for the Qumran community.

the renegade supernatural beings would for a time be imprisoned in a hidden location upon the earth (53:5; 54:5) before being destroyed by fire on the day of judgment (54:6).

Songs of the Sage

The Songs of the Sage have been described as a collection of hymns for protection against demonic harm during the predetermined period of evil just before the day of judgment which would witness the final elimination of the forces of evil.[93] It can be found within two fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran which have been dated to the end of the first century BCE.[94] The collection includes at least three songs, which are thought to include both apotropaic prayers (prayers to avert powers of evil) and incantations (adjurations directly addressing demons).[95] Nitzan sees the Songs of the Sage to be less direct than incantations or magical formulae where the magician directly addresses the evil spirits and commands them to go away.[96] Where the apotropaic prayer of the Aramaic Levi Document sought for evil thoughts to be replaced with heavenly wisdom (ALD 3:5–6), the Maskil from the Songs of the Sage already assumes he has been granted heavenly wisdom (4Q511 f28–29:3).[97] For Angel, this is how the Songs of the Sage differentiates itself from magic. Rather than look for protection from demons through magic, protection was seen as a natural and expected outcome of the realization of the Qumranite ideals of purity, election, and access to supernatural knowledge.[98]

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[93] Angel, "Reading the Songs," 187.

[94] Angel ("Maskil," 1) accepts the paleographic dating provided by M. Baillet in *DJD* 7.

[95] Angel, "Reading the Songs," 201.

[96] Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 54. Angel ("Reading the Songs," 190) thinks he has found in 4Q511 f3:2–7 a direct address to wicked spirits.

[97] Angel, "Maskil," 7. This same distinction can be seen through a comparison with Jubilees. In Jubilees, the good angels reveal remedies to Noah for warding off or neutralizing the effects of evil spirits (Jub 10:10–13) and the patriarchs, Moses (1:19–20), Noah (10:1–6), and Abraham (12:19–20) each utter prayers of deliverance (See Stuckenbruck, "Demonic World," 67).

[98] Angel, "Maskil," 25.

The Songs of the Sage shows a knowledge of the BW (ravaging angels and bastard spirits from 4Q510 f1:4–8) and like many of the other sectarian texts[99] locates itself within an era of wickedness[100] which would eventually be followed by a time when wickedness would be eliminated leaving God, the angels, and his elect.[101] Rather than identify the spiritual opposition as Belial and his minions, this writing points to the demons which were left after the destruction of the giants (1 En. 15:9–10). Stuckenbruck argues that the Songs of the Sage (along with Jubilees) is pivotal for receiving the Enochic tradition and paving a way for the sectarian way of dealing with Belial for they trace the origin of demonic activity to the period of the Watchers and then present demonic activity as a continued condition of the current era (akin to the dominion of Belial).[102]

Synthesis of Watcher Tradition

The most common element found within the writings of the Watcher Tradition is an expectation of God's final judgment. Genesis 6 does not resolve the issue with the fornicating angels. Their action is never deemed wrong, and while their actions are followed by the flood the continuing appearance of both sons of God and giants suggests it may not have put an end to the angelic behavior.[103] The Watcher tradition seeks to clarify these two issues. Firstly, the angelic actions are described as transgressions and these transgressions in many cases are judged in primordial times, but more consistently judged resolutely in the eschaton. Primordial judgments often

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[99] This text uses the common sectarian identifier "sons of light" to identify the elect community which finds themselves amid a period of wickedness. Angel ("Maskil," 8) notes similarities like these as points of contact with the Treatise of Two Spirits.

[100] The Sage seems to draw their understanding of the era of wickedness from the day of the Lord's vengeance as described in Isa 34 based upon its mention of demons, Lilith, owls, and jackals as in Isa 34:14.

[101] In Angel's ("Reading the Songs," 205) translation of Col. 3 from 4Q511 the text speaks of a time when creatures would be able to rejoice before God for there was no destroyer or wicked spirit circulating among them.

[102] Stuckenbruck, "Demonic World," 67.

[103] Heiser (*Unseen Realm*, 190) makes the argument that other sons of God may have fathered more Nephilim after the flood. He bases this upon the observation that further groups of giants appear within the biblical narrative.

involve the binding of the guilty angels and the destruction of their offspring (at least their bodies), with their ultimate destruction coming through fire upon God's final judgment of the future.[104] On most of these occasions, the final judgment will also extend to humans who have been impacted by the actions of the angels.[105]

A second common feature of the Watcher tradition is the importance it places upon piety, even though it is expressed in different ways. One way this is expressed is by depicting particular people from Israel's past who were looked upon as pious figures (like Noah, Abraham, Joseph, etc.) and who because of that piety were free from the influences of evil spirits.[106] In some writings, this relationship between piety and the presence of evil forces, is extended to the entire nation of Israel.[107] As long as the nation was pious and adhered to the ways of God, God would protect them. If the nation strayed, God would turn away his face and subject it to a period of suffering under angelic rule. Piety is also emphasized through prayer. If a pious individual prayed to God amid their suffering, God would respond and alleviate their suffering through divine influence.[108] This emphasis on piety suggests that the authors of the Watcher tradition also held a belief in free choice. God had not predetermined who would be protected and eventually saved. People had to demonstrate a willingness to follow his ways to avoid the influences of evil.

Another common feature shared among many of the writings within the Watcher tradition is the importance of revealed divine knowledge. Revealed knowledge may have been given to a figure of the past (like Enoch or Moses) to provide understanding of the cosmic influences laying

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[104] The book of Tobit and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah do not look forward to a final judgment of God each placing a greater emphasis on the events of the present.

[105] Jubilees speaks of a great day of judgment in the future (Jub 5:10), but the context fails to distinguish whether this judgment applies solely to the offending angels and their giant offspring or whether it would also extend to humans who like them strayed from God's ways.

[106] Writings which recount the events of the past, like Jubilees and the Animal Apocalypse, take patriarchal figures who are favored within the biblical text and present them as pious figures within their own history.

[107] The Animal Apocalypse, the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, the Songs of the Sage, and the Damascus Document all see their present as a time where suffering caused by cosmic forces has been allowed because of past offenses by God's people.

[108] Like the prayers of Tobit and Sarah from the book of Tobit and the prayers of Noah and Abraham within the Book of Jubilees. The Songs of the Sage assume efficacy in their liturgy because of their commitment to piety.

behind historic events,[109] it may be given in specific situations to provide remedies,[110] or it may be granted to a people group for their ongoing defense against cosmic forces.[111] The value of this divine knowledge is often contrasted against wickedness associated with revealed heavenly mysteries of the rebellious angels,[112] but it also offers a strong contrast to communities who instead commit themselves to Torah observance[113] or skeptical wisdom.[114]

Despite being organized into a common tradition the writings discussed also represent a great deal of variety that can be clearly differentiated. Firstly, no name becomes predominate for identifying the figures associated with evil. The BW highlights Shemihaza and Asael as prominent among the offending angels, but it goes onto list many others who shared in their transgressions. The Book of Parables emulates the listing of the BW but varies some of the names and roles. Azazel (rather than Asael) becomes the prominent leader of the transgressing angels while Shemihaza fades into the background. In fact, no other writing, which refers to the fornicating angels, names Shemihaza.[115] Jubilees does not name the Watchers but uses the names Mastema and Belial synonymously as the head of angelic/spiritual forces.[116] Satan is at times

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[109] The events described in the Book of Watchers, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Book of Parables are given to Enoch through either divine vision or angelic messenger. In the Genesis Apocryphon, Noah receives instruction from the Holy One on how to act and Abraham imparts knowledge from the writings of Enoch. Jubilees is a history of events given to Moses through angelic messenger.

[110] Raphael within the book of Tobit reveals heavenly knowledge to bring remedy to the plight of Tobit and Sarah.

[111] The Songs of the Sage and the Damascus Document believed that heavenly knowledge had been revealed to them through their leader (the maskil or the teacher of righteousness).

[112] See p. 62n9.

[113] The Yahad community relied upon divine knowledge but only for its assistance in Torah interpretation. See Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer*, 53–54.

[114] Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 308) sees the mantic worldview of the BW in opposition to that of skeptical literature such as Qohelet or Ben Sira who deny the afterlife. Qohelet is even skeptical in the ability to know God's wisdom. Reed (*Fallen Angels*, 43) cites Ben Sira's warning against overzealous speculation into divine secrets (Sir. 3:21-22; 20:30).

[115] 4Q Ages of Creation; Genesis Apocryphon; Animal Apocalypse; Jubilees; Songs of the Sage.

[116] These same names are used in the Damascus Document with Belial predominate as opposed to Mastema for Jubilees. Dimant ("Between Qumran," 254) suggests that the Angel of Mastema is confined to a small non-sectarian group of works while Belial is prominent within sectarian texts. She also notes that the two terms are at times used together in a way that represent separate figures like in Pseudo-Jubilees (248). Stuckenbruck (*Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 95–102; "Demonic World," 64–70) agrees that a shift occurs between yahad (sectarian) and non-yahad (non-sectarian) writings but also sees a shift in thought from Aramaic writings to Hebrew.

equated to the head spiritual offender,[117] but is used more frequently in general applications referring to unnamed adversaries. The book of Tobit identifies a demon as Asmodeus, but never associates him with a larger demonic group. Within writings included within the Watcher tradition, no name associated with either the transgressing angels or their demonic ancestors enjoys any level of prominence.

A second point of differentiation can be seen in how the various authors of the tradition understand the workings of continued evil in the world. The BW saw the demonic offspring of the transgressing angels as the source of ongoing pain and suffering in the world. In Jubilees, demonic forces serve the purposes of God who utilizes their influence to lead the nations (and at times Israel) astray. The Animal Apocalypse and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah credit wickedness of the present age to angels who replace God's oversight as temporary form of punishment. Finally, 4Q Ages of Creation and the Book of Parables blame revealed heavenly mysteries for continued wickedness in the world.

A third point of differentiation can be seen in the people group associated with the influences of wickedness. The BW suggests that all humanity is impacted by ongoing demonic influence. In Jubilees evil forces primarily impact foreign nations, but also Israel if they fail to adhere to God's commands. Several of the writings distinguish between the righteous and the wicked, suggesting that evil now had the ability to impact particular people within the ranks of Israel.[118] The Apocrypha of Jeremiah associates evil with a wicked priestly group while the Book of Parables does so with kings, rulers, and landowners.

Scholars will at times give the impression that the development of ideas across the Second Temple period are straightforward, moving in a singular direction from one point to

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[117] In a similar way to Jubilees and the Damascus Document, the Book of Parables uses Satan as a synonymous identifier for Azazel.

[118] The Animal Apocalypse, Apocryphon of Jeremiah, 4QAges of Creation, and the Book of Parables each distinguish between the wicked and the righteous. The book of Tobit and Genesis Apocryphon would also fit well into this category because in those stories a righteous person receives aid from God to protect/remedy them from demonic influence.

another. This brief overview of the Watcher tradition should dispel any conception of such simplicity. While certain features of the tradition remained consistent, other facets were continually being redefined as authors attempted to make sense of their world. The next section pertaining to the Two-Way tradition will offer an interesting contrast to the Watcher tradition for a belief in two opposing forces, good vs. evil, is largely found within the sectarian writings of the Yahad group at Qumran.[119]

Two-Way Tradition

The Two-Way tradition employs a dualistic framework where the heavenly spiritual realm as well as all humanity is divided into two polarized groups, characterized as light vs. dark, holy vs. unrighteous, or good vs. evil.[120] The Two-Way tradition show less concern for the events of the past than the Watcher Tradition. It places more emphasis on the present era of wickedness that would at some point come to an end. It shows a strong preference for identifying the primary being of evil under a single moniker, Belial.[121] The Aramaic Levi Document has no name for an evil being, while 4Q Visions of Amram, and 4QCurses use the name Melkiresha. 4Q Visions of Amram, utilizes three names for the primary being of evil, but because of its fragmentary nature the other names are no longer extant. It would not be surprising if Belial were one of the lost names since Belial is frequently associated with wickedness. Dimant observes that the name Belial never occurs within an Aramaic writing (like ALD and 4QVisions of Amram) so it may have been a name which originated in the Hebrew.[122] Melkiresha may have originated as the

[119] Dimant, "Between Qumran," 254.

[120] See p. 83n128.

[121] Stuckenbruck (*Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 98) notes that most of the extant occurrences of Belial are to be found in the more sectarian writings, like the Damascus Document (proto-Yahad), and the Yahad documents which include the Rule of the Community (Serek ha-Yahad), the Hodayot, the pesharic interpretations, 4Q Catena A, Berakot (including 4QBlessings), and 11Q Melchizedek.

[122] Dimant, "Between Qumran," 256.

antithesis to Melchizedek,[123] but its usage in a curse commonly ascribed to Belial suggests the two figures may have become synonymous.

Aramaic Levi Document

The Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) is recognized as part of a corpus of priestly didactic literature (including the Testament of Qahat and Visions of Amram).[124] It has been dated to the third century or very early second century BCE[125] and has been found to profess distinctive ideas about two spirits, apotropaic prayer, and demonology.[126] The ALD has sections which resemble the Testament of Levi, like Levi being given the priesthood and being taught by Isaac, but it lacks any mention of Beliar (T.Lev. 3:3; 18:12; 19:1). It highlights an apotropaic prayer of Levi (ch.3), where Levi asks God for protection from the unrighteous spirit, evil thoughts, and fornication and for pride to be taken away from him (3:5). This prayer resembles those offered by the patriarchs within Jubilees[127] in that God is being called upon to provide the strength necessary to avoid the influences of evil spirits which seek to rule over them (Jub 12:20).

The ALD seems to equate the unrighteous spirit with internal inclinations that would cause Levi to stray from the ways of God. He asks God to instead impart his holy spirit to give him strength where he would otherwise be lacking. Eshel sees ALD to be the earliest postbiblical source for the two-ways imagery.[128] She sees a distinction between ALD and the two-spirits doctrine evidenced in the Rule of the Community and other Qumran writings[129] but it could very well offer an early form of this theology for it speaks of two opposing spirits (the unrighteous

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[123] See p. 96n210.

[124] Drawnel, "Amram, Visions of," 326; Gurtner, *Introducing the Pseudepigrapha*, 176. Exod 6:16–18 lists Amram as the son of Kohath (Qahat) who is in turn the son of Levi.

[125] Greenfield et al., *Aramaic Levi Document*, 19.

[126] Greenfield et al., *Aramaic Levi Document*, 21.

[127] Stuckenbruck ("Demonic World," 67) points to similar type prayers by Moses (Jub 1:19–20), Noah (Jub 10:1–6), and Abraham (Jub 12:19–20).

[128] Eshel, "Aramaic Levi Document," 92. She notes that the concept of walking in the path of truth has its roots in Gen 24:48 and that the metaphor of two ways is expressed in Deut 30:15–20 along with Prov 1–8.

[129] Eshel, "Aramaic Levi Document," 92.

spirit, and the holy spirit) which could each have influence upon an individual. She suggests that as Jewish theology begins to think in terms of an eschatological judgment the life and death that wait at the end of the ways are constructed as eternal life and eternal destruction.

The ALD is one of the first works to associate Satan with a type of demon.[130] It does this through Levi's prayer when he asks for God not to let any satan have power over him or to make him stray from the Lord's path (3:9). This phrasing suggests that the author did not have a singular opponent in mind like that of the rebellious serpent or a prosecuting divine council member of Job.[131] It is more reminiscent of the general satans of Jubilees (Jub 23:29; 40:10; 46:2; 50:5) who would plague the land in times where Israel strayed from the ways of God.

4QVisions of Amram

Like ALD, Visions of Amram (VA) is thought to be part of a collection of three priestly didactic writings (also including Testament of Qahat).[132] It is often associated with the testamentary genre,[133] and is attested by at least five manuscripts at Qumran (4Q543–4Q547).[134] Despite a

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[130] Greenfield et al., *Aramaic Levi Document*, 21.

[131] Greenfield et al. (*Aramaic Levi Document*, 130) speculate that here satan is likely a category of evil spirit rather than a proper name.

[132] Drawnel, "Amram, Visions of," 326. See also Gurtner, *Introducing the Pseudepigrapha*, 176; Duke, "Amram," 105; Dimant, Review of *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens, premiére partie 4Q529–549*, 302. Goldman ("Burial of the Fathers," 241) points out that all three writings share a concern for endogamy (marriage within a singular community or tribe). Perrin ("Visions of Amram," 204–16) provides a lengthy comparison of the three writings providing conceptual and compositional correlations, codicological considerations, and by discussing cultural contexts.

[133] The writing tends to be considered a testament because part of the narrative included among the fragments describes Amram's final discourse to his children, recounting visions revealed to him. See Dimant, Review of *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens, premiére partie 4Q529–549*, 303. Perrin ("Visions of Amram," 130) points out that several scholars such as Drawnel have challenged this association.

[134] The number of manuscripts associated with the Visions of Amram has been debated, with other manuscripts offering potential correlation to this writing (4Q548, 4Q549). Gurtner (*Introducing the Pseudepigrapha*, 176) says that these other two manuscripts are like the other five paleographically and thematically and that they may have been part of the original yet they at no point overlap with the other five writings, so their potential connection to them is hypothetical. Duke ("Amram," 104) thinks their connection is unlikely because of their distinctive content and the lack of overlapping material. Perrin ("Visions of Amram," 124) describes the five manuscripts as certain manuscripts, 4Q542 as a possible manuscript, and 4Q548, 4Q549, and 4Q580 as associated manuscripts.

lack of historical referents, scholars generally conclude it was authored sometime during the third to early second century BCE, prior to the Maccabean revolt.[135] The overlapping narratives of the various manuscripts of VA[136] tell a story which includes four episodes.[137] The fourth episode tells of Amram's vision of two (angelic?) figures who ask Amram to choose which figure would rule over him (4Q544 1:11). One of these figures is associated with light (4Q544 2:6;[138] 3:1) and is unnamed.[139] The other is named Melchiresha and associated with darkness. The writing not only offers a dualism between light and darkness but suggests a locational dualism was also provided by mentioning that one figure had control over a specific region.[140]

Melchiresha is described in an ominous way saying that he had dreadful appearance like pestilence (4Q544 1:13), is obscured by darkness (1:13), and rules over all darkness (2:5). His name is only used in one other writing from the Second Temple period (4Q280), but that writing is later (50 BCE)[141] and primarily details a curse given against him. The figure of light speaks in first person (4Q544 3:1) and tells how they had been made ruler over the light, so it is likely this

[135] Perrin, "Visions of Amram," 131.

[136] This synopsis will utilize Martinez and Tigchelaar (*Dead Sea Scrolls*) for discussion purposes. More recent textual reconstructions/translations can be found in Puech, *DJD* 31 and Perrin, "Visions of Amram." Kobelski (*Melchizedek and Melchireša*) provides a reconstruction, translation, and commentary for 4Q544 and 4Q547 but this reconstruction is not recommended. It is the oldest of these translations (1981), and it repeatedly indicates that the text is referencing to the Watchers, but this reference is built upon reconstructions which are not supported by any of the newer translations.

[137] Duke ("Amram," 104–5) summarizes the contents of the writing into four episodes.

[138] Perrin ("Visions of Amram," 160) lists this as verse 16 of fragment 2.

[139] 4Q544 3:2 indicates that three names were given but there is debate over whether these names should be associated with the figure of light or darkness. Perrin ("Visions of Amram," 167) indicates that the debate revolves around whether an ink stroke is to be interpreted as a *daleth* or an initial *tav*. Earlier writers (like Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*, 28) opted for the *daleth* and went on to speculate that the three names of the figure of light could be Michael, the Prince of Light, and Melchizedek. This draws upon the Rule of Community (1QS), the War Scroll (1QM), and 11QMelchizedek for the names. Perrin ("Visions of Amram," 167) indicates that the latest digital images confirm that a *tav* was used and that these three names should be associated with the figure of darkness.

[140] 4Q544 2:6 indicates that one of the figures had authority from the upper regions to the lower regions. Perrin ("Visions of Amram," 165) points out how this hints towards a cosmological scope within VA's dualism.

[141] Based on Nitzan, *DJD* 29.

appointment was made by God.[142] In this case, the two opposing figures have been given rule by another, but their followers are not predetermined to follow them, rather they must choose to accept their rule. This is a point of distinction within various DSS writings. 4Q Catena A and 4QFlorilegium present a world view where the sons of light have been predetermined from the beginning. 4Q Visions of Amram, along with the Rule of the Community, suggest that one's affinity is the result of a choice.

The core texts of 4QVisions of Amram (4Q543–4Q547) make no mention of eschatological expectations or judgment, but this does occur in 4Q548 (4Q Visions of Amram[f]), a writing which may have been part of this same collection.[143] This writing identifies the followers of these two figures as sons of truth/children of light and sons of deceit/children of darkness and suggests that the sons of light would go to light and everlasting happiness and rejoicing while the sons of darkness would go to death and annihilation (4Q548 1:12–14). Even if this manuscript is to be considered part of the core collection, the later dating still leaves open the possibility that the eschatological expectation is a later expansion.

The Damascus Document

The Damascus Document (D) is a writing that targets a community who saw themselves as inheritors of the covenant of Israel (CD 1:4–7). It is divided into two parts, a sermon-like part called the Admonition, and a legal section.[144] The majority date it to the middle of the second

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[142] Perrin ("Visions of Amram," 165) points out a common characteristic of dualistic expressions in that it maintains an overarching authority and oversight by God. This offers a close resemblence to the Treatise of Two Spirits (1QS 4:16–20) where God appointed the two opposing spirits as spirits of darkness and light.

[143] See p. 84n134.

[144] Wassén, "Damascus Document," 143. Earlier scholarship relied primarily on two medieval documents found in the genizah of a Cairo synagogue (CD - A and B), but manuscripts discovered at Qumran have shown that the ancient document was much longer and that the legal section was much longer than the admonitions (144). Wacholder (*New Damascus Document*, xix) has created a recent translation which incorporates both manuscripts from the genizah of Cairo with ten more manuscripts from the DSS (4Q266–273; 5Q12, and 6Q15). A major divergence of Wacholder's translation from earlier ones like that of Schechter is that he proposes a new understanding of what is past and what is future, with the Teacher of Righteousness no longer being a personality of the past, but a man of the future (17).

century BCE.[145] It shows an awareness of the watchers of 1 Enoch (CD 2:18) and the chronological scheme preserved in Jubilees[146] but shows a stronger affinity to the Two-Way tradition.[147]

The group described in D had left Judah for Damascus (CD 6:19)[148] and were outlining the requirements of their new community as they awaited the end of the epoch of anger, where God would bring them a Just Teacher to lead them in his ways. Those who turned away from God during this period would be met with destruction (4Q266 f1 ii:1:4). The people identified themselves as the sons of light and that they were to separate themselves from the sons of darkness and were to walk in the ways of the Torah (4Q266 f1 ii:1:1-2). The Torah served as protection against the Satan figure for when someone chose to enter the covenant and adhere to the statutes they were released from his grip (CD 8:1–2; 16:5).

Belial's[149] past activity is described for when Moses and Aaron stood in the power of the Prince of Lights, Belial raised up Yannes and his brother when seeking to do evil to Israel the first time (CD 5:18–19).[150] The writer refers to his present age as the era of anger (where Belial

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[145] Wacholder, *New Damascus Document*, 3.

[146] Wacholder (*New Damascus Document*, 176) sees evidence of Jubilees in MTA's classification of history into epochs along with a detailed chronology of the antediluvian generations. VanderKam (*Book of Jubilees*, 19) also recognizes an adopted chronological system and goes further in pointing out that that CD 16:1–6 (4Q271 f4ii:1–7) makes a clear reference to the Book of Divisions (also known as Jubilees).

[147] Wacholder (*New Damascus Document*, 4) notes its use in the Rule of Community and the Pesher Commentaries. Stuckenbruck ("Demonic World," 51) identifies D as a "Proto-sectarian" document which anticipates the formation of the Yahad at Qumran. Dimant ("Between Qumran," 254–55) notes its closeness to sectarian literature but notes its uniqueness through its combination of genres, traditions, and sources and its affinity for literature outside Qumran. Schofield (*From Qumran to the Yahad*, 164–168) notes multiple similarities and differences between D and the Rule of the Community. She surmises that the anticipated teacher of D could have been the founder of the community from the Rule of the Community (167).

[148] Wacholder (*New Damascus Document*, 9) notes the similarity to Jacob's descent to Egypt.

[149] Dimant ("Between Qumran," 238–40) suggests that the abstract noun of Belial means worthlessness, but in the Damascus Document it is used as a personal name. Stokes (*Satan*, 131) does not agree.

[150] Pietersma ("Jannes and Jambres," 427) sees this as the earliest reference to the tradition of Jannes and Jambres which is later cited in 2 Tim 3:8. Brown (*God of this Age*, 65) notes the similarity between these two Egyptian magicians who were empowered by Belial (CD 5:18–19) and Mastema who supported Egypt in Jubilees.

was unrestrained) and the expected duration of this period is quantified.[151] Belial was a spirit (4Q272 f1 ii:6)[152] in opposition to the prince of lights (CD 5:18) and whoever chose not to enter the covenant would be handed over to Belial for destruction (CD 8:1–2; 4Q266 f3 iii:24–25). Brand clarifies that in D non-members do not belong to Belial, but are instead led astray by him (CD 4:12–19).[153] She says that unlike the backslider of the Community Rule these members have not crossed a defined barrier from God's lot to Belial's.[154] Belial had spirits who worked for him (CD 12:2), and he had three traps that he could utilize, fornication, wealth, and defiling the sanctuary (CD 4:13, 15–16).[155] At some point in the future, the era of anger would come to an end and all those who chose to turn away from God would be destroyed (4Q266 f1 ii:1:3–6).

The Rule of the Community

The Rule of the Community is a document regulating the workings of the community at Qumran.[156] 1QS, which includes the Treatise of Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26), has been dated to 100–75 BCE.[157] We are told that the (Qumran) community saw themselves as a group who were covenanted to God (1:7) by their righteous observance of the commandments given to Moses (1:3). The community was led by a wise leader who was to teach all the sons of light (3:13).[158]

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[151] Laato ("Chronology in the Animal Apocalypse," 4) and Steudel ("In the Texts from Qumran," 238–239) provide detailed discussions on the calculation of this period. CD 20:13–15 indicates that the end would come about 40 years after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness.

[152] Reconstructed by Wacholder (*New Damascus Document*, 61).

[153] Brand, "Belial," 87.

[154] Brand, "Belial," 90.

[155] Wacholder (*New Damascus Document*, 187–88), thinks this is an example of midrash where the author has incorporated a saying of Levi (Testament of 12 Patriarchs or ALD) to serve as a metaphor for Isaiah's (24:17) three traps. Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 101) associates these three traps with corruption of the priesthood.

[156] Metso (*Community Rule*, 2–6) provides brief descriptions of each of the manuscripts ascribed to the writing which include 1QS, 1QSa (Rule of the Congregation), 1QSb (Blessings), 4Q255–264, 5Q11, and 11Q29. Schuller ("Past Decade," 8) notes that the chronological ordering of these manuscripts is a point of debate.

[157] Metso, *Community Rule*, 2.

[158] Schofield (*From Qumran to the Yahad*, 167) surmises that the expected teacher of the Damascus Document (CD 6:10–11) could have been the founder of the 1QS community.

All who choose to enter the covenant were expected to do all that God commands (also referred to as "the way" or "the way of light"), remaining stalwart during the reign of Belial (1:16–18).

The Treatise of Two Spirits, thought by some to be a late insertion, details the community's understanding of the cosmos.[159] God is described as the creator of both the spirit of falsehood and the spirit of truth (3:18)[160] and he has ordained that both are equal and that they will struggle in the hearts of men (4:25) until the appointed time of his visitation (4:26). Tukasi describes this as cosmological and eschatological determinism in that God sets up a structure of creation which runs its course according to his divine purpose and this structure is given a predetermined end point.[161] 1 QS 2:2, 4 gives the impression that people were foreordained towards either God or Belial, but this may only point to foreknowledge since individual choice is necessary as part of one's potential to backslide (1:16–18).[162] This structure also stands in contrast to the Watcher tradition in that evil is ultimately attributable to God rather than to fallen angels.[163]

The spirit of light and the spirit of darkness are associated with a series of virtues and vices akin to those found in the New Testament (4:2–5, 9–11; cf. Col 3:8, 12).[164] People on earth are divided into two groups and labelled the sons of light (or righteousness) and the sons of darkness (or injustice) but these groups are not permanent for the choices of an individual cause

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[159] Brand (*Evil Within*, 274) asserts that the Treatise was composed outside the community and was then adapted and integrated into the Community Rule because it shared affinities with different approaches to sin in different texts. She claims it resolves a variety of views such as sin, determinism, free will, and the nature of a dualistic universe. Brand points to A. Lange who determined that the Treatise lacked sectarian terminology and prominent Qumran themes (271).

[160] Also referred to as Angel of Darkness and Prince of Light (3:20–21). Charlesworth ("Critical Comparison," 80) sees this as a negation of absolute dualism since the evil spirit has been subjugated to God. Farrar ("New Testament Satanology," 52) describes this as dualism being subordinated to monotheism.

[161] Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer*, 33, 49. He also sees soteriological determinism in that the unchanging will of God has been revealed in the Torah.

[162] Tukasi (*Determinism and Petitionary Prayer*, 60) sees three ways the Rule of Community emphasizes human responsibility; (1) membership in the community is conditional upon one's steadfastness in the path of truth, (2) every member is rewarded annually on the basis of his deeds and insight, and (3) the individual's position either in the lot of light or in the lot of darkness is determined by his deeds.

[163] Charlesworth, "Critical Comparison," 80.

[164] Stokes, *Satan*, 147–48.

them to move towards one group or the other. People became part of the sons of light by choosing to enter covenant with the community.[165] The spirit of darkness and all the spirits of his lot can bring afflictions or times of distress upon the sons of light and make them stumble (4:23–24) but only for a time. The appointed time marks a judgment which will determine the fate of every living being according to the spirit which is predominant in them (4:26). After this judgment God will put an end to injustice by destroying it forever (4:19).[166]

The name Belial is not used within the Treatise of Two Spirits, and when it is used within the Rule of Community there is some question as to whether it refers to a human leader or is synonymous with the spirit of darkness.[167] The most suggestive occurrence of the term occurs in a prayer of the wise leader when he shows his determination to keep Belial out of his heart (10:21). This verse suggests that Belial, like the spirit of darkness, could mislead one's heart.

Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms)

The Hodayot is a collection of poetic compositions of praise and thanksgiving preserved in eight manuscripts, with the oldest ($4QH^b$)[168] being dated to 100–50 BCE.[169] The Hodayot has been divided into individual psalms[170] and these have been further categorized into Leadership hymns

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[165] Brand (*Evil Within*, 248) differentiates the evildoers of 4QBerakhot (wholly evil) and those of the Community Rule (those rejecting the community covenant).

[166] Tukasi (*Determinism and Petitionary Prayer*, 49) clarifies this to mean that the spirit of deceit would be destroyed and no longer influence the children of righteousness.

[167] Dimant ("Between Qumran," 241) understands Belial to be an alias for the Prince of Light and Angel of Darkness, and that they are beings under divine influence. A similar conclusion is reached by Leaney (*Rule of Qumran*, 149) and Dupont-Sommer according to Wernberg-Møller (*Manual of Discipline*, 71). Stuckenbruck (*Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 88n41) observes that Belial does not occur within the Treatise of Two Spirits, but he notes that the "spirits of his lot" used in reference to the Angel of Darkness (3:24) is frequently applied to Belial within the sectarian texts. Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 103) thinks it is unclear whether Belial refers to a supernatural being or a human figure (like the Wicked priest).

[168] 4QHb is thought to be identical in content and order with the largest and most complete manuscript (1QHa). Schuller ("Recent Scholarship," 122) notes that the manuscripts do not include the entire Hodayat writing. Hughes (*Scriptural Allusions*, 7) suggests that the original length of scroll likely included twenty-seven or twenty-eight columns with forty-one to forty-two lines each.

[169] Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*, 1–3. Chia and Lontoh ("Revisiting of the Dating," 8–9) who uses script analysis based on Longacre, suggests even later dates for 1QHa (50–1 BCE) and 4QHb (125–50 BCE).

[170] Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*, 9–10.

and Community hymns.[171] References to Belial occur primarily in the Leadership Hymns in the psalms ranging from 10:5—15:8.[172] Newsom suggests that the repeated use of these psalms would have served as a kind of preventative maintenance through which the sectarians became familiar with the classic forms of threat and response in the life of the community.[173]

The speaker, within the psalms ranging from 10:5—15:8, is not identified[174] but he repeatedly refers to an outside group, who he once taught but who have since rejected and cast him out (10:35; 12:9). The speaker has since moved to a new land (10:32; 12:9; 13:7) where he teaches a new group to adhere to the covenant of God (12:25, 28).[175] Despite an awareness of their sinfulness,[176] the speaker sees himself as a true mediator of God's word (10:24, 35), one who can interpret the mysteries of God (9:23; 12:28–29), and one who communes with the angelic host (11:23: 14:16). The speaker sees himself as an adversary to erring interpreters (10:16), to their followers who seek smooth things (10:17, 34; 13:13, 19, 25),[177] and even Belial (10:37; 14:24; 15:6). These erring interpreters are described as lying interpreters and deceitful seers (12:10–11) suggesting they offered alternative interpretations as direct revelations of God.

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[171] Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 3. Leadership hymns are marked by "I thank you Lord" and the Community hymns by "Blessed be you."

[172] Schuller and Newsom explain that column and line numbering vary depending on whether one refers to the original edition of 1QH[a] published by Sukenik or the reconstructed scroll published in *DJD* 40 by Stegemann and Schuller. Schuller and Newsom (*Hodayot*, 4) provide a conversion table. The column and line numbering used in this study is based on the arrangement provided in Schuller and Newsom (*Hodayot*, 2) which is based upon the reconstructed scroll.

[173] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 349–50.

[174] It is often suggested that the speaker of these hymns is the Teacher of Righteousness. Mansoor (*Thanksgiving Hymns*, 45–49) explains that this identification comes from similarities between the experiences of the Teacher of Righteousness from 1QpHab and CD with the speaker of Hodayot. Hughes (*Scriptural Allusions*, 128) more specifically correlates 1QHa XII 9–15 with 1QpHab XI 2–8.

[175] The Hodayot shares an affinity with the Damascus Document (CD 6:19) in that its speaker like the group from the Damascus Document, left their former region to begin a new community. In both cases this was done within a time of anger/wrath. The Damascus Document looked forward to God providing a Just Teacher, and the speaker of the Hodayot could very well fit that role.

[176] Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 294. Newsom (*Self as Symbolic Space*, 349) notes that in some Hodayot the speaker sees himself as the site of conflict between the wicked and God, but in others he explores the paradox that while a part of sinful humanity he is still one of the redeemed elect.

[177] Hughes (*Scriptural Allusions*, 109) suggests that "smooth things" is an allusion to Isa 30:10. In that instance, the people ask for the seers to speak smooth things (or to prophecy illusions) rather than give them true instruction from the Lord.

The speaker not only sees himself in opposition to wicked humans (10:26; 14:33) but also amid a cosmic battle (11:26). This cosmic battle would be triggered by Belial, it would escalate through the time of wrath (11:29), and conclude when God along with his host of heaven brought the war to an end in his time of judgment (11:36; 14:32).

The Hodayot combines a mix of predestination and dualism[178] in that from the beginning God created both the righteous and the wicked (7:27–33) and he predisposed their inclinations towards either good or evil (See also 9:10–11).[179] Belial is not defined within the Hodayot[180] but his influence is linked to the actions of the wicked. Belial is said to be a counselor in the heart of the wicked (14:24) and his influence is seen within their destructive plots and plans (10:18; 12:14; 13:28; 15:6).

The War Scroll

The War Scroll tells of a two-stage eschatological war, with the first war being against the Kittim (1:12; 15:2), and the second War of Divisions (2:10).[181] Scholars reason that details of the first war in 1QM 15–19 must be the product of later redactors because of inconsistent details. [182] A battle originally fought and won solely by human agency is redacted to conclude through divine intervention.[183] Along with a narrative of these battles, the War Scroll includes a section describing the organization and tactics (1QM 1 end–9 end) and a section of war prayers (1QM 9

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[178] Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination*, 57.

[179] Hughes (*Scriptural Allusions*, 95) suggests that the author was strongly influenced by Jeremiah in his formulation of the doctrine of predestination and outlines three concepts that have been borrowed.

[180] Hughes (*Scriptural Allusions*, 109) remarks how it is unclear at times whether Belial should be understood as the collective subject of the verb or as the object (worthlessness). On repeated occasions, Schuller and Newsom (*Hodayot*) interpret Belial as an adjective which obscures some of the occurences of the term (10:18; 11:29; 12:14; 13:28). Despite these instances, they still on occasion interpret Belial as a personal name (10:24; 11:32, 33; 13:41; 14:24; 15:6).

[181] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 396; Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements," 152.

[182] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 399; Kugler, "War Rule Texts," 168. Schultz contends that 1QM 1 is based upon Dan 11 while 1QM 15–19 is based upon the battle of God and Magog from Ezek 38–39 (398).

[183] Kugler, "War Rule Texts," 168

end–14 end).[184] Dating depends upon one's interpretation of the battles described and their identification of the Kittim.[185] Schultz provides a strong argument suggesting a two-stage war which views the Seleucids as the Kittim. Flusser supports this position in his dating to 83 BCE.[186]

The first war has seven battles, three won by the sons of light (the tribes of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin), three by Belial's army (including Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, and the Kittim of Ashur), and a final battle culminating in the defeat of Belial and his forces by the assistance of God and his holy ones (1:14–16; 18:1). The second war would involve all the tribes of Israel (2:7) as they face all the remaining nations of the known world.[187] God's assistance in battle is not unexpected for he has assisted in battles of the past against forces led by Belial (11:8–9; 14:9–10). Scholars often see this as an expression of cosmic dualism.[188] Duhaime suggests the War Scroll could have served a need for legitimization and may have been a work of propaganda.[189]

The Satan figure within this writing is referred to both as Belial and the angel of hostility (mastema) (13:11).[190] From the beginning it was intended that he would be destined for the pit and that he would command a group of angels/spirits who would walk in his ways of darkness (13:11–12). Similarly, from times of old a Prince of Light (in 17:6 referred to as Michael) was appointed to lead the angels of justice against his forces, in assistance to the Sons of Light

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[184] A blessing and curse ritual within 1QM 13:1–6 is frequently discussed in comparison with the covenant renewal ritual of 1QS 2:1–18, along with the blessings and curses of 4QBlessings (4Q286), and the curses of 4QCurses (4Q280). This will be discussed in more detail within the sections for 4QBlessings and 4QCurses.

[185] Schultz (*Conquering the World*, 127–58) provides an extended section discussing different possible referents that could be associated with the Kittim. Davies (*War Scroll*, 113, 123) presents an alternative interpretation of a three-part war where the Kittim are equated to the Romans after their occupation of Palestine.

[186] Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements," 154.

[187] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 395.

[188] Ryan, *Divine Conflict*, 142. McMains ("Deliver Us," 68) does not see this as a battle of equals because Belial was created by God to serve his sovereign purpose.

[189] Duhaime, "War Scroll," 87. Kugler ("War Rule Texts," 170) asserts that eschatological imagination in response to disappointment was a key activity in constructing ethnic identity.

[190] Dimant ("Between Qumran," 243) suggests that Belial is not here equated to a being named Mastema but described as an angel full of hostility.

(13:10).[191] Michael's involvement in an eschatological battle invites comparisons to Dan 10–12 and Rev 12.[192] Belial's followers are referred to as the Sons of Darkness, and also as an army which is made up of foreign nations (1:1–2). Gnilka sees that in the War Scroll Belial has become the supreme incarnation of the powers of evil.[193]

11Q Melchizedek

11QMilchizedek is described as a thematic pesher which is concerned with the end days.[194] The majority position for its dating is 75–25 BCE.[195] 11QMelchizedek correlates the laws of the Jubilee year (Lev 25:13) and the Sabbath year (Deut 15:2) into the context of the end times (Isa 61:1–2 where a figure named Melchizedek (king of righteousness) appears (2:2–9). Melchizedek is likened to the Prince of Light (1QS 3:20), the Angel of Truth (4QCatena A 4:12), and Michael (1QM 15:5–8).[196] He administers the final judgment which corresponds to a time of deliverance for the children of light (2:10–14) and would usher in a time of peace and salvation in the last (10th) jubilee (2:15–25).[197] The writing requires that those upholding the covenant owe God a

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[191] This combination of predeterminism and dualism are reminiscent of the Treatise of Two Spirits from the Rule of the Community.

[192] Canoy, "Time and Space," 263; Meadowcraft, "Who are the Princes of Persia," 102; Newsom and Breed, *Daniel*, 333. Michalak (*Angels as Warriors*, 150–54) sees dependence on Daniel but identifies ways how the War Scroll departs from it (like the notion of human communion with angels – 1QM 7:6). Newsom and Breed (*Daniel*, 334) see influence of Daniel but assert that the War Scroll more directly distinguishes the human and cosmic aspects of the battle.

[193] Gnilka, "2 Cor 6:14–7:1," 54. Forsyth (*Old Enemy*, 204) sees this as the most dramatic form of combat myth at Qumran.

[194] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 58; Brooke, "Melchizedek," 687; Cekiera, "Interpretation of Scriptural Texts," 411

[195] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 58. Steudel ("In the Texts from Qumran," 234) provides reasoning which suggests the date of composition could be pushed to the end of the second century BCE.

[196] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 56. See also Brooke, "Melchizedek," 687; Newsom and Breed, *Daniel*, 333.

[197] Cekiera, "Interpretation of Scriptural Texts," 412. Feldman ("New Light," 182) argues from a new reading of the text carried out by infra-red imaging, that the liberation of the captives and forgiveness of sins occurs after the completion of the tenth (rather than the ninth) jubilee. Without the correction the captives would be released at the beginning of the 10th Jubilee, with the day of Atonement occuring at the end of the 10th Jubilee. Campbell (*Exegetical Texts*, 60) points out that within 3:18 (part of the heavily fragmented portion of the text) there is mention of the "divisions of the times" which may be a reference to Jubilees. He also points out that the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 91:12–17 and 93:1–10) also divides the world history into ten great weeks, with eternal judgment taking place during the seventh part of the last week (63).

debt of sin, requiring release on the eschatological Day of Atonement.[198] Ps 82:1 describes the judgment of God (אלהים) in the assembly of the gods while Ps 7:7–8 speaks of God judging the nations (2:10–12). From these texts, 11QMelchizedek interprets אלהים to mean Melchizedek and the assembly of gods/nations to be Belial, his wicked spirits, and their followers.[199] Cekiera suggests that the author of 11Melchizedek assumed they lived in the times that were looked forward to within Ps 7 and 82.[200] Melchizedek would come on the Day of Atonement to release the captives (the sons of light) from their sins (2:8), to bring judgment against Belial and his followers (2:13), and to bring peace and salvation (2:16).

Those who have not adhered to the covenant with God have come to be under the hand (or power) of Belial (2:12–13). Melchizedek's coming would lead to the defeat of Belial and his spirits and the freeing of those he had taken captive (2:25). This defeat could very well mean being devoured by fire (3:7) as indicated in the fragmented text of column 3. 11QMelchizedek (like the Damascus Document) expected this defeat to occur at the end of the tenth jubilee (490 years after the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar)[201] although this interpretation was not universally shared.[202]

4Q Curses

4Q Curses (4Q280) is comprised of three fragments and is generally compared to other Qumran liturgical texts because of its close affinity for the covenant renewal ceremony within the Rule of

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[198] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 61. See also Stuckenbruck, "Melchizedek," 133. Feldman ("New Light," 179) suggests this may only apply to former Sons of Light who were led astray by Belial and who succumbed to sin.

[199] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 62. See also Casey, *From Jewish Prophet*, 79. Stuckenbruck ("Melchizedek," 136) suggests that the conflationary hermeneutic in 11Q13 makes it possible to identify Melchizedek both explicitly and implicitly with אלהים (Ps 7; 82; Isa 52), YHWH (implied from use of Isa 61:1), priest (Ps 110), king (Isa 52), bearer of good news (Isa 52) and anointed one (Dan 9).

[200] Cekiera, "Interpretation of Scriptural Texts," 416.

[201] Steudel ("In the Texts from Qumran," 238) correlates this to the year 72 BCE using the chronology of 2 Bar 1.

[202] Steudel, "In the Texts from Qumran," 238. 1QpHab 2:5–9 speaks of a group who did not share the eschatological interpretation of the Teacher of Righteousness (235) for to them the calculated date of the end had already passed (236).

Community.[203] It has been dated to the middle of the first century BCE[204] and could be a source of 4QBerakhot (4Q286–4Q290).[205] The second fragment attesting to 4Q280 contains a curse directed at Melchiresha (1:2) and his followers (described as those who carry out wicked schemes, establish plans in their heart, and who plot against God) (1:5–6). The structure of the curse (1:2–7) follows that of 1QS 2:4–12 which reverses the blessings of Num 6:24–26 into a curse where God was to withhold his graciousness, bring his countenance of anger, and withhold peace. Where 1QS curses the Lot of Belial 4Q280 curses Melkiresha.[206] 4Q280 is thought to be a reworking of 1QS because it retains an awkward construction which is more likely to have applied to the Lot of Belial (that they could ask for forgiveness).[207] 4Q Blessings (4Q286 7.2:2) and the War Scroll (1QM 13:4) also utilize a similar formatted curse but in their case Belial is targeted.

4Q280 identifies its Satan figure as Melchiresha, a name whose only other appearance comes in 4QVisions of Amram (4Q544 2:13).[208] Because the form of the curses of 4Q280 so closely resemble those of 4Q286, it is possible that it had an influence on 4Q286 which would beg the question whether the authors understood Melchiresha and Belial to be synonymous.[209] Metso suggests that Melchiresha ("king of wickedness") may have originated as a counterpart to Melchizedek ("king of righteousness"), but was later revised to Belial (repeatedly associated with wicked plans like in 4Q286 7.2:3) to better fit with the wider sectarian corpus. [210] As with other Qumran writings the Satan figure is seen in opposition to the sons of Light and acting in opposition to the ways of God.

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[203] Falk ("Berakhot," 299) points out that there are extensive overlaps between 4Q280 and 1QS 2:4–9.

[204] Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*, 37; Davila, "4QBerakhot," 42.

[205] Nitzan has made this argument, but Davilla ("4QBerakhot," 47) thinks 4Q280 has as much claim to belong to 4QBerakhot as 4Q289 and 4Q290 which are included because of similar content.

[206] Arnold, *Social Role of Liturgy*, 161.

[207] Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*, 39. See also Arnold, *Social Role of Liturgy*, 163.

[208] 4QVisions of Amram spoke of there being three names for the figure of evil, but only Melchiresha is retained within the extant text. See p. 85n139.

[209] Davila ("4QBerakhot," 62) draws this conclusion.

[210] Metso, "Shifts in Covenantal Discourse," 506.

4Q Florilegium

4Q Florilegium (4Q174) is a thematic pesher focusing upon the theme of temple against an eschatological background, an eschatological midrash, and a commentary.[211] It has been dated to the second half of the first century BCE.[212] 4QFlorilegium interprets 2 Sam 7 and Ps 1–2 by consulting additional texts (Deut 33:8–11, 20–21; Exod 15:17–18; Amos 9:11; Isa 8:11; Ezek 37:23; Dan 11–12; Ps 5:2–3; Isa 65:22–23) and by using a method similar to what the rabbis called gezera shavah (inference by analogy).[213] The author is concerned to show that the "house" that God will establish (2 Sam 7) does not just refer to Solomon's temple, but to an eschatological sanctuary that is fulfilled and embodied within the author's community.[214] Brooke suggests that the Qumran sect believed that their historical experiences were part of the events that constituted the latter days.[215] The two groupings of Ps 1 (the happy and the wicked) are understood to refer to the author's community and their opponents (4QFlor f1–3, 1:14).[216] Mason points out that the Lord's anointed of Ps 2:2 is interpreted to refer to the elect ones of Israel,[217] or rather a remnant of predestined chosen ones who shall perform the whole Law as God commanded through Moses (4QFlor f1–3, 2:2), rather than to a singular messiah figure.

The Satan figure of 4Q Florilegium and the opposition to the author's community is Belial.[218] The presence of this figure is first read into 2 Sam 7:11b where God says that he would

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[211] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 33. Alternatively described as midrash and commentary. See Brooke, "From Florilegium or Midrash," 136, 150.

[212] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 35.

[213] Carlson ("Structure for the End," 249) explains that with this method the interpretation of an obscure passage is revealed by means of referencing another passage where an identical word occurs. Campbell (*Exegetical Texts*, 40) reviews the words shared among the various texts.

[214] Carlson, "Structure for the End," 250; Mason, "Interpretation of Psalm 2," 75–77; Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 39; Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 144. Marcar ("Building a Holy House," 46) who discusses the identity formation evidenced with the Rule of Community and 4Q Florilegium, remarks that the hierarchy of roles described within the Rule of Community can be equated to the graded levels of holiness of the temple.

[215] Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 197.

[216] Mason, "Interpretation of Psalm 2," 76. Isa 8:11 and Ezek 37:23 and their surrounding contexts are used to describe the features of the happy or blessed.

[217] Mason, "Interpretation of Psalm 2," 78.

[218] Dimant ("Between Qumran," 240) lists CD 4:13, Pseudo Jubilees 4Q225 2 ii 14; 4Q463 2 3, and Florilegium as writings where Belial refers to a personal name. Brooke (*Exegesis at Qumran*, 194–195) describes

give David rest from his enemies.[219] The interpretation of 4QFlor f1–3, 1:8 understands this to mean that God would give rest from all the children of Belial.[220] The children of Belial became party to the plan of Belial to cause the sons of Light to stumble. The community of the author saw themselves as the Lord's elect, a chosen remnant armed with the commands of Moses, which allowed for them to be purified, cleansed, and refined (f1–3, 2:4). The author's community identified themselves within the situation of Dan 12:10 where many would be purified, cleansed, and refined but the wicked would continue to act wicked until the time of the end. Belial has plans against the sons of Light and the house of Judah. In the time leading up to the end, Belial would try with all his might to cultivate animosity against the House of Judah so that he might disperse them (f4, 1:4). Ultimately, in the end however, the wicked would be consumed by fire, destroying all the children of Belial (f1–3, 2:1).

4Q Catena A

4Q Catena A (4Q177) is a thematic pesher[221] which contains chains[222] of scriptural citations which have a central theme of eschatological salvation.[223] It is dated between 30–1 BCE.[224] Laughlin and Tzoref suggest that cited psalms each deal with an individual address to God in the belief that God will hear his prayer and save him from his wicked enemies, and that these

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Florilegium as an eschatological dualistic system (like the War Scroll) where Belial is a real leader of forces opposed to God. He contrasts this to the Rule of the Community and the Hodayot which only depict ethical dualism.

[219] Campbell (*Exegetical Texts*, 39) points out that citations within 4Q Florilegium diverge slightly from MT and all other known versions. He suggests that (1) they could be drawing upon alternative editions of the text, (2) the texts may be either paraphrased or abbreviated, or (3) deliberately changed to introduce or encourage a particular interpretation.

[220] Wright, *Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 112.

[221] Also referred to as thematic commentary and eschatological midrash. See Laughlin and Tzoref, "Theme and Genre," 169.

[222] Catena is Latin for chain. See Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 45.

[223] Laughlin and Tzoref, "Theme and Genre," 175. Steudel has proposed that 4Q Catena A and 4QFlorilegium are different portions of the same composition which she names 4Q Midrash on Eschatology[a-b]. See Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 46.

[224] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 46.

citations are themselves ordered in a way which accords with the form of a lament psalm.[225] Campbell, sees three intertwined motifs throughout the work; (1) the sect behind the composition is a persecuted community of the righteous which believes it is experiencing the events of the end days, (2) although the hosts of Belial try to destroy the righteous, the community can look forward to their ultimate destruction, and (3) the trials of the present are intended to purify the Sons of Light in readiness for the blessings they are to receive in the future.[226]

4Q Catena A identifies Belial as a ruler over spirits (3:10; 4:14) who is in direct opposition to the angel of truth (4:12) and the sons of light (2:7).[227] This dualistic framework shows signs of predeterminism for the author claims that all things have been written upon tablets and that the number of the generations have been made known (3:12).[228] Belial is described as a schemer (4:10) who for a time would exert power over the sons of light (4:12), but he with the men of his lot would eventually be finished forever (4:16). Laughlin and Tzoref suggests that this idea may have been drawn from Ps 12 and 1 Enoch 91:12–13. [229] The superscription of Ps 12 points to a leader according to the eighth. 4Q Catena A understands this to be associated with the eighth division (1:12). The eighth week within 1 Enoch 91:12–13 corresponds to a period of righteousness, where a righteous judgment would fall upon the oppressors.

4Q Blessings

Nizan outlines the contents of 4QBerakhot (4Q286) as a communal confession, blessings of God, curses against Belial and his lot, laws of reproof, a liturgy of expulsion, and a concluding

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[225] Laughlin and Tzoref, "Theme and Genre," 175.

[226] Campbell, *Exegetical Texts*, 48–49.

[227] There is also mention of an Interpreter of the Law (2:5) but fragmentation makes it difficult to understand whether this interpreter is on the side of the author or Belial. The author of the Hodayot saw himself as an interpreter of the Scriptures who was in direct opposition to other erring interpreters.

[228] Campbell (*Exegetical Texts*, 52) notes that heavenly tablets are also mentioned in 4QAges of Creation A and Jub 23:32. Predeterminism has been a common thread within the Belial texts of Qumran.

[229] Laughlin and Tzoref, "Theme and Genre," 180.

expression of eschatological hope.[230] It is included among five manuscripts named 4QBerakhot (4Q286–4Q290) and has been dated to the first half of the first century CE.[231] Pajunen, sees a motif of creation throughout the blessings (like Gen 1), but with an added angelology which introduces different classes of angels.[232] The curses of 4Q286 resemble those of 4Q280, 1QM 13:4–6, and 1QS 2:4–12 but with some key variances. Its curses were to be uttered by the community council (7.2:1) rather than the Levites (1QS 2:4) and they were to be directed at Belial (7.2:1), the spirits of his lot (7.2:3), and his followers (7.2:6) rather than at the lot of Belial (1QS 2:4). Krause adds that even the communities of the two writings saw themselves differently, that 1QS requires continued vigilance while 4QBerakhot assumes a high level of purity.[233]

When 4Q280 inverts Num 6:24 it introduces eternity into the curse to heighten its impact for the Hebrew Bible typically dealt with loss of land, descendants, material possessions, and other types of earthly misfortunes rather than eschatological eternal damnation.[234] 4Q286 goes further to target Belial and his spirits with a curse that sentences them to punishment in an everlasting pit (7.2:3). A further curse targets the angel of the pit (potentially Belial) and the spirits of Abaddon (destruction) (7.2:7). Fragmentation has caused this verse to be interpreted in different ways.[235] In the Hebrew Bible, Abaddon is personified and equated to both Sheol (Job 26:6; Prov 27:20) and Death (Job 28:22), but also treated as a location akin to the grave (Job

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[230] Falk, "Berakhot," 298.

[231] See Nitzan, "4QBerakhot," 490; Davila, "4QBerakhot," 42; Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 269; Falk, "Berakhot," 298.

[232] Pajunen, "Creation as Liturgical Nexus," 31–33. He suggests that incorporation of angels into the creation sequence as evidenced in Jubilees and 4Q286 may be building upon Ps 104:4 which specifically states that amid his original creation God made מלאכיו רוחות "spirits his messengers." Chazon ("Liturgical Communion," 103) suggests that Qumran covenanters believed that angels were blessing God with them and participating from on high. This is evident within 7.1:6.

[233] Krause, "Community," 236.

[234] Metso, "Shifts in Covenantal Discourse," 504.

[235] Martinez and Tigchelaar (*Dead Sea Scrolls,* 646) differentiate between a singular angel of the pit, and plural spirits of destruction (Abaddon) but the plural has been added as part of their reconstruction ([מלא]ך השחת ורו[הי אב]דון). Davila ("4QBerakhot," 59), interprets the verse as the "[ange]l of the pit and the spir[it of destru]ction" suggesting the two names identify the same being.

31:12; Ps 88:11; Prov 15:11). Rev 9:11 makes mention of the angel of the abyss (pit) and names him Abaddon.

Belial and his followers are associated with darkness, organized in their actions, and seen in direct opposition to both the community and God. The community believed they worshipped alongside angels (7.1:6) so they likely expected the supernatural beings to be with them against Belial (like in 1QM). The elect community believed that they would be able to praise God for eternal ages (7.1:7) while the wicked would be annihilated (7.2:6) suggesting that they expected retribution for one's alignment to be meted out on an eternal timeline.

Synthesis of the Two-Way Tradition

The most common feature of the writings within the Two-Way tradition is the division of spiritual opponents and people into two contrasting groups, often given descriptions associated with light or darkness. Probably the clearest example of this can be found in the Rule of the Community where the Spirit of Light and the Spirit of Darkness (also named Belial) were both purposed to win favor among humanity. Their followers were named the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. "Sons of Light" has been recognized as one of the phrases that is used to identify the writings of the yahad[236] from Qumran and it can be found in 9 of the 11 writings of this group.[237] Three of the writings within this group describe two opposing supernatural beings; (1) the Rule of Community has Belial/spirit of darkness in opposition to the spirit/Prince of light, (2) the War Scroll pits Belial against the angel Michael/Prince of Light, and (3) 11QMelchizedek

[236] The Yaḥad (meaning "community") are understood by some to be a Jewish sect living as ascetics in a monastic society (often associated with the Essenes). Collins suggests that the Yaḥad should not be limited to the residents living at Qumran but rather as a union of local communities (Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 14). Schofield suggests that the Yahad movement did not necessarily have to withdraw themselves politically or geographically. It may have identified itself as part of the larger religious body while at the same time setting up ideological boundaries against it (28–30).

[237] Neither the Aramaic Levi Document nor the Hodayot uses the term.

depicts Belial against Melchizedek. 4QVisions of Amram intended to pit Melchiresha against an opposing angel but the name of the angel associated with light is no longer extant.

Another common feature of the Two-Way tradition is the expectation that the era of wickedness would eventually come to an end through the absolute destruction of the wicked, and the ongoing existence of the righteous. Within the Watcher tradition God would send angels to bind rogue angels or demons. The Two-Way tradition lacks this sort of involvement. Rather, the people were expected to endure the era of wickedness until its conclusion. An earlier writing like the ALD shows Levi calling upon God to protect him, but the later writings see Torah as the key. If the covenant group would diligently adhere to the commands laid out in the Torah of Moses, then they would be spared from the destruction that would eventually befall the wicked.

The writings within the Two-Way tradition rarely explain why the people found themselves within an era of Belial's wickedness. Jubilees gave the impression that the period of wickedness was intended to lead the nations astray, and that Israel would not be impacted by this as long as they remained pious. The Animal Apocalypse suggests that God turned away from Israel because of its waywardness and assigned seventy angels to rule over them. By combining these ideas, one could infer that the forces of evil existed in the past, but because of Israel's waywardness God has turned away and conditions have deteriorated. In the Animal Apocalypse, the period of strife was concluded when a group "opened their eyes" and turned back to God and followed his ways. The Damascus Document would fit well within such a scenario. It saw Belial active throughout the history of Israel. Those who followed God were considered part of his covenant people (CD 3:2–4). Within the present, Belial was unrestrained (CD 4:13). God would raise up one to teach righteousness in the last days (CD 6:11) and those who followed those teachings would distinguish themselves as the covenant group. Like the Damascus Document, the Rule of the Community saw Belial working against the covenant group (followers of Moses' torah) in the present age (1QS 1:3, 24) but its understanding of evil differs. It suggests that God appointed two opposing spirits who would influence people towards righteousness and

wickedness (1QS 3:18).[238] This would make one's life a proving ground to show which spirit they preferred. The other writings of the Two-Way tradition tend to include a covenant group who intend to follow the laws of God, but there are rarely enough details to know whether the writing aligns itself with the framework offered by the Damascus Document or by the Rule of the Community.

The writings of the Two-Way tradition also differ in their understanding of predeterminism. Both the Damascus Document and the Rule of Community offer a framework where evil beings serve God's purposes, but they do not indicate if God predetermined who would be a part of his covenant group. The framework where opposing angels of light and darkness struggle over the hearts of men presupposes that free choice was involved because community members could backslide (1QS 1:16–18).[239] 1QS 2:2,4 gives the impression that people were foreordained towards either God or Belial, but this could mean that God had foreknowledge of which side each man would choose. 4QFlorilegium swings towards predeterminism when it describes its community as a remnant of chosen ones, the predestined, who would perform the whole law of Moses (4Q174 f1–3:2). The Hodayot gives an even stronger sense of predeterminism when it says that a man's every inclination is in the hand of God, that it was determined from the beginning and that from the womb God had established each person to either give heed to his covenant or to be set apart for slaughter (1QHa 7:25–30). 11QMelchizedek demonstrates free choice for Belial and the spirits of his lot are those who turned from the commandments of God to commit evil (2:12–13). Additionally, the Sons of Light could not be identified solely by their deeds, for Melchizedek would come to bring a Day of Atonement where the captives (the sons of light) would be released from their sins (2:8). These examples show that the Two-Way tradition fails to offer a consistent understanding of predeterminism.

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[238] 4Q Visions of Amram similarly employs two angelic figures competing for influence over Amram.
[239] See p.89n162.

While the Two-Way tradition commonly expects wickedness to be destroyed, its writings differ over how this may happen. The Rule of Community expects destruction to come by the judgment of God (4:19). The War Scroll foretells of escalating tribulations which lead to a culminating battle between the forces of God and the forces of evil (1:14–16; 18:1). The Hodayot expects an escalation in cosmic battle prior to a decisive judgment of God (11:29, 36; 14:32).

A final distinction within the Two-Way Tradition can be seen in its depiction of the outgroup (the lot of Belial). Many of the writings speak of a covenant group who remain steadfast in their observance of God's commands. Belial's lot are those outside of the covenant community. The Damascus Document and the Hodoyot give the impression that the covenant community was a splinter group from the Jewish community who came from the priestly ranks.[240] The covenant group is led by a priest who fell out of favor in Jerusalem, but who continued to see himself as a righteous interpreter privy to the hidden mysteries of God. This group appears to be in opposition to the Hasmonean priesthood, who gained their priestly role through war success rather than Aaronic lineage.[241] The Two-Way tradition may have incorporated priestly figures of the past, such as Levi, Amram, Moses, and the Levitical priests, to garner more authority in their struggle against rival priestly groups. The War Scroll appears as an outlier for its elect group struggles against foreign nations.

To this point discussed writings have shown an affinity towards either the Watcher tradition or the Two-Way tradition. Despite exhibiting common traits, each tradition displayed a differing perspective on key points. The Watcher tradition showed a high degree of variance in its naming of the Satan figure, on what it believed to be the source of ongoing wickedness in the world, and who should be associated with that wickedness. The Two-Way tradition lacked a definitive explanation for the source of the era of wickedness, who should be associated with that wickedness, whether that association was predetermined, and how the era would culminate.

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[240] See p. 91n175.
[241] See p. 72n68.

Most of the writings discussed so far are dated before the common era and are witnessed by manuscript fragments found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The writings grouped within the miscellaneous grouping, are pseudonymous, lack ancient witnesses from before the start of the new era, and generally have been part of dating disputes.

Miscellaneous Group

Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs

The Testament of Twelve Patriarchs (T. 12 Patr.) purports to be the final utterances of the twelve sons of Jacob (Gen 49).[242] Propositions for its dating range from the third century BCE to third century CE.[243] There is evidence of Christian influence within the writing (i.e., T. Jud. 24:1–4),[244] but there are three primary views for how to understand this influence. Some see it as a Jewish writing later redacted by Christians,[245] others as an Essene writing redacted by Christians, and others still who see it as a Christian composition.[246] Even M. de Jonge who views T. 12 Patr. as a Christian composition has come to admit that he is not able to prove that the Testaments was composed by Christian circles in the second half of the second century, but that they may be the outcome of a thorough redaction of an earlier writing.[247]

In the testaments each son reflects on his life, confesses his misdeeds, exhorts his family to avoid his sins and exemplify virtue, and concludes with predictions about the future of

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[242] Kee, "Testaments," 775.

[243] Bruin ("The Great Controversy," 12) cites Becker (1970) as one who argued for T. 12 Patr.'s earliest stage being set in the third century BCE. Kugler (*Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 36) indicates that Jonge posited a date of 190–225 CE.

[244] Farrar ("New Testament Satanology," 26) ignores the influence of T. 12 Patr. in his discussion of New Testament Satanology because of this dating dispute.

[245] The ALD may be an earlier form of T. Levi.

[246] Kugler, *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 31–35. The first viewpoint is considered the dominant view and is associated with Friedrich Schnapp (late nineteenth century) and Robert Charles (early twentieth century) (31), the second by Dupont-Sommer (1953) and Philonenko (1958, 1959) (34), and the third by M. De Jonge (35). Bruin ("The Great Controversy," 4–18) provides a detailed account of the history of scholarship for T. 12 Patr.

[247] Jonge, "Light on Paul," 103.

Israel.[248] Many of the testaments speak of a Satan figure who is referred to by several different names. Beliar is the most common (29x), but Satan (T. Dan 3:6; 5:6; 6:1; T. Gad 4:7), devil (T. Naph. 8:4, 6; T. Ash. 1:9; 3:2), Prince of Error (T. Jud. 19:4; T. Sim. 2:7), and dragon (T. Ash. 7:3) are also used.[249] The various names are used interchangeably but this could be the result of the writing evolving over a long period of time. Beliar utilizes eight spirits of error (promiscuity, insatiability, strife, flattery and trickery, arrogance, lying, injustice, and fantasy) to taint God's spirits of creation (the spirit of life, seeing, hearing, smell, speech, taste, procreation, sleep) (T. Reu. 2–3).[250] Each person can be disposed towards either good or evil but their actions are a product of their own choice (T. Ash 1:5).[251] Each person may make both good and bad choices, but it is their overall disposition which ultimately determines whether they are classified as either good or evil.[252] When someone succumbs to their wicked thoughts, Beliar gains control of them (T. Ash. 1:9), for Beliar is in direct opposition to the Lord (T. Naph. 2:6). Piety is one way of overcoming Beliar.[253] If one is strict in their adherence to the Lord's commands, then Beliar will flee from them (T. Dan 5:1). God tends not to participate directly in an individual's struggle but rather functions as judge and punisher.[254] T. 12 Patr. looks forward to a day of judgment where humanity will be judged (T. Ash 6:4–5) and Beliar and his spirits will be defeated by the Lord's armies (T. Lev. 3:2–3) and thrown into an eternal fire (T. Jud. 25:3).

T. 12 Patr. shows knowledge of the Watcher tradition (T. Reu. 5:6) yet unlike the Watcher tradition the women charm the watchers.[255] Reed sees this switch as a developing aspect

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[248] Kee, "Testaments," 775. See also Kugler, *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 12.

[249] Bruin, "The Great Controversy," 123.

[250] Bruin, "The Great Controversy," 115. Twelftree ("Exorcism," 176) observes that Beliar's activity is experienced as inner struggle and reflected in destructive relationships rather than physical affliction.

[251] Bruin ("The Great Controversy," 44) sees the mind as the individual's weapon against the opponent.

[252] Bruin, "The Great Controversy," 104.

[253] Twelftree ("Exorcism," 177) notes that defeat of Beliar also comes with the coming of Jesus (T. Benj. 3:8; T. Reu. 6:12). It is quite possible that both Jewish and Christian solutions are interwoven in the final composition.

[254] Bruin, "The Great Controversy," 112.

[255] Bruin, "The Great Controversy," 162. Jonge (*Testaments*, 510) notes striking parallels between T. 12 Patr. and Jubilees.

of the tradition whereby the watchers are distanced from their involvement in the corruption of humanity.[256] T. 12 Patr. shows even a stronger affinity towards the Rule of Community in its conception of two opposing spirits, who influence the actions of humanity with the individual ultimately choosing which spirit to follow.[257] Like the Rule of Community, T. 12 Patr. associates vices with evil spirits, sees the Lord's commandments as a means of resisting these evil influences,[258] and envisions a time where humans will be judged for their choices. Bruin, when comparing the two writings asserts that T. 12 Patr. provides a more nuanced understanding of the internal ambiguity that exists within a person.[259] The Rule of Community describes how the evil spirits originate (a creation of God), while T. 12 Patr. gives no such clarity.

Testament of Job

The Testament of Job (T. Job) is a transformation of the biblical story in which an innocent victim is allowed to suffer into a paradigmatic tale where a righteous man becomes a willing participant in the destruction of evil.[260] This story is told as Job's last words of counsel for his children.[261] Nicholls sees the transformation as an attempt to remove problems for the biblical version which implicates God in Job's afflictions and which emphasize the rebelliousness of Job.[262] It is generally accepted that it was written between first century BCE and first century

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[256] Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 111.

[257] Seitz ("Two Spirits in Man," 82), Forsyth (*Old Enemy*, 203), Duhaime ("War Scroll," 89); Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 132), Brown (*God of this Age*, 47) either make note of the strong dualism within T. 12 Patr. or go further to highlight its contribution to two-spirit doctrine.

[258] Bruin, "The Great Controversy," 180. Kugler (*Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 25) asserts that Testaments shows almost no interest in Mosaic law which should not be a surprise since the writing proports to predate Moses. The sons repeatedly urge their offspring to adhere to the Lord's commands (T.Lev. 13:1; T.Jud. 13:1; T.Iss. 5:1; T.Zeb. 5:1, T.Naph. 8:7; T.Ash 6:1; T.Jos. 18:1; T.Benj.10:4).

[259] Bruin, "The Great Controversy," 267.

[260] Rodenbiker, "Persistent Sufferer," 491.

[261] Balentine, *Have You Considered*, 206.

[262] Nicholls, "Structure and Purpose," 311. Haralambakis (*Testament of Job*, 28) prefers to see T. Job as a well-crafted story in its own right rather than as an interpretation or rewriting of the original.

CE,[263] but Rahnenfuhrer and Nicholls make a good case for this writing to be seen as a Jewish writing which originated prior to the last half of the first century CE. [264] In T. Job, Job initiates conflict with Satan after a divine message alerts him to Satan's disguise as a god to be worshipped (3:3). Job is warned that such a confrontation would draw the attack of Satan (4:4) but if he could demonstrate patience through these trials his name would be renowned, his losses would be repaid double, and he would be raised up in the resurrection (4:6–9). Job takes on this challenge and faces numerous challenges from Satan who tries to break Job's resolve through trickery (6:4; 17:2; 23:1) and by causing harm to his family (18:1), his body (7:12; 20:6), and his estate (16:3).[265] On repeated occasions Satan's actions only ensue after God grants him authority (8:3; 20:2). We do not know why God concedes to these requests but they require Job to demonstrate great patience and perseverance to overcome them for the trials span a large period of time (16:1; 21:1; 22:1; 24:10; 26:1).[266] Satan eventually concedes defeat (27:6) but later returns to inspire the speech of Elihu (41:5) whose words are judged severely by God (43:1).[267]

Like the Greek tradition of Job, T. Job expands the role of Job's wife, identifies him and his friends as kings, and introduces the notion of resurrection but it shows many other distinctions especially with the Hebrew version.[268] Where the Hebrew lauds Job for his integrity (Job 2:3; 4:6; 27:5; 31:6), the Greek highlights his innocence, and T. Job his patience (T. Job 4:6;

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[263] Põldsam, "Intertextual and Intratextual Transformations," 130; Splitter, "Testament of Job," 833; Gray, "Points and Lines," 409; Rogers, "Testament of Job," 395; Naab, "Testament of Job," 144.

[264] Rahnenfuhrer (1967) subjected T. Job to a detailed lexical analysis and noted similar expressions in T. Job and the NT, but also showed the ways it resembled a Jewish writing. See Nicholls, "Structure and Purpose," 37. Nicholls further reasons that because T. Job uses the LXX, which fell into disfavor among the Jews after 70 CE, it must have been written in the first half of the century (322–23).

[265] Balentine (*Have You Considered*, 20) asserts that roughly 40% of T. Job is devoted to Satan's attacks on Job.

[266] Splitter ("Testament of Job," 845 n16c) makes note of a disparity in timelines between the various sources of T. Job.

[267] Splitter ("Testament of Job," 861 n41 c) points out that in the biblical book of Job, Elihu's speech is attributed to God (Job 32:8) but in T. Job it is ascribed to Satan. Kirkegaard ("Satan in the Testament of Job," 13) questions the unity of T. Job and sees this Elihu speech as a secondary section. He sees a shift in the roles, powers, and descriptions of both Satan and God in the second section (15).

[268] Rogers, "Testament of Job," 400. Rogers notes that there is debate over directionality between LXX Job and T. Job (406).

26:5; 27:7). In the Hebrew, Job has no knowledge of השׂטן and his trial, but in T. Job he actively initiates conflict against him.[269] In the dialogues of the Hebrew (Job 3–31), Job laments his condition (7:16) and accuses God of injustice (30:11, 21) [270] but in T. Job he never wavers as he patiently endures his trials. In the Hebrew, the trials of השׂטן are motivated by a quest to determine Job's motives, but in T. Job they are more personal. In the Hebrew השׂטן acts as a prosecutor of God's court, but in T. Job his actions are unambiguously evil.[271]

Põldsam describes Satan of T. Job as the typical trickster known from Talmudic and Midrashic literature.[272] Unlike the Watcher tradition, Satan is not a fallen angel, he works independently, he functions with the support of God, and there is no future judgment in view. Unlike the Two-Way tradition, Satan's attacks are external, they are aimed directly at an individual, they garner no support from an outgroup, and he is not placed in direct opposition to either God or one of his angelic aids.

The Assumption of Moses

The Assumption of Moses (As. Mos.) provides a farewell exhortation given by Moses to Joshua[273] which prophecies of future events that span from Israel's conquest of the promised land through to the time of Herod. It is dated to the first quarter of the first century CE based on the last recognizable event of its historical recount.[274] The predicted events end with the rise of a final tyrant king (8:1)[275] and the appearance of the Lord's kingdom (which will correspond to the

[269] Scholars often find this to be a prominent distinction of the writing. See Põldsam, "Intertextual and Intratextual Transformations," 137; Rogers, "Testament of Job," 401; Nicholls, "Structure and Purpose," 227; Naab, "Testament of Job," 151; Balentine, *Have You Considered*, 22.

[270] Longman, *Fear of the Lord*, 47.

[271] Rogers, "Testament of Job," 402; Naab, "Testament of Job," 152.

[272] Põldsam, "Intertextual and Intratextual Transformations," 137.

[273] Priest, "Testament of Moses," 919.

[274] Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 116–17. Priest ("Testament of Moses," 920) outlines three common dating arguments.

[275] Jenks, *Origins and Early Developments*, 183.

devil's end – 10:1).[276] The concluding verses exhort faithfulness to the commandments, promising good to those who fulfill them and evil to those who disregard them (12:10–11).[277] Jenks marks this as one of the few writings prior to the appearance of the Lord's kingdom which has the expectation of an end tyrant. Tromp suggests this king is modeled after Antiochus IV Epiphanes for the king does not simply storm the city and kill its inhabitants, but he also carries an irrational hatred of their religion.[278]

The writing reflects an apocalyptic determinism in that all that has happened in the past was determined by God and revealed to Moses.[279] Apart from indicating the time of the devil's end, this writing's greatest contribution to discussions of the nature of Satan come from its ending which is no longer extant. Later Greek writers who quote or allude to As. Mos. shed light on the contents of this lost ending which has to do with the death and burial of Moses.[280] Bauckham surmises that there exist two distinct versions of the story.[281] In the first, the devil remains the malicious accuser of Jewish tradition trying to prove Moses' guilt. In the second, the devil has become a kind of gnostic demiurge, claiming to be the Lord of the material world. Considering how Joshua questions which human would dare carry his body from one place to another and what place could possibly receive him (11:5–7) it would not be a stretch to envision Michael, the archangel, being involved in that process, like he was in GLAE for Adam.[282] Tromp suggests that a scenario where the devil has a dispute with Michael over Moses' body has similarities with another dispute, where the angel of the Lord and השׂטן dispute over the

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[276] Priest ("Testament of Moses," 923) notes parallels between the judgment scene of Dan 12 and the hymn in ch.10.

[277] Priest, "Testament of Moses," 919. Priest sees a strong relation to Deut 31–34 (923).

[278] Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 215.

[279] Priest, "Testament of Moses," 922.

[280] Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 271.

[281] Bauckham, *Jude*, 67–75. He goes on to hypothesize that there may have been two writings one named Testament of Moses which was later rewritten and entitled the Assumption of Moses (76).

[282] GLAE 40:2 tells how Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael prepared the body of Adam for burial after his death. Adam's body was to be raised on the last day in the resurrection (GLAE 41:3).

forgiveness of the high priest Joshua (Zech 3:2).[283] Ancient commentators supposed that in this dispute, the devil was appearing as a traditional accuser (like in Job 1–2 and Zech 3) trying to prove Moses' guilt (to prevent his soul from going to heaven).[284]

Wisdom of Solomon

The Wisdom of Solomon can be divided into three major sections, the Book of Eschatology (1:1—6:21), the Book of Wisdom (6:22—9:18), and the Book of History (10:1—19:22).[285] It has no consensus dating,[286] but two predominate options tend to be preferred, one within the first century BCE[287] and another around 40 CE.[288] The Book of Eschatology contrasts the destinies of the righteous and the wicked and admonishes readers to seek wisdom, live righteously, and thereby gain immortality.[289] The Book of History relates events from Israel's history starting with Adam and proceeding through to the time of the Exodus to demonstrate the fruits of wisdom within the lives of key figures of the past (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses). The Wisdom of Solomon is known for its emphasis on wisdom,[290] its belief in immortality,[291] and its relation to the logos of John's gospel.[292]

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[283] Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 273.

[284] Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 279.

[285] Chesnutt, "Wisdom of Solomon," 104.

[286] Collins, "Root of Immortality," 178.

[287] See Gregg (*Wisdom of Solomon,* xii); Horbury, "Wisdom of Solomon," 652–53; Clarke (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 2).

[288] Goodrick, ed. *Book of Wisdom,* 13–17.

[289] Chesnutt, "Wisdom of Solomon," 105.

[290] Sinnott (*Personification of Wisdom*, 168) claims that Wisdom's portrayal of wisdom is intended to encourage and persuade the author's Jewish audience to remain devoted to the essence of their ancestral heritage while living in a Hellenistic milieu.

[291] Chesnutt ("Wisdom of Solomon," 112) lists various idea that have been adopted from Middle Platonism, such as (1) the soul's pre-existence (8:19–20), (2) the statement that the body weighs down the soul (9:15), and (3) the concept of creation out of formless matter (11:17). See also Collins, "Root of Immortality," 188.

[292] Chesnutt ("Wisdom of Solomon," 118) sees a strong correlation between John 1:1–18 and Wis 7:25–26; 8:5–6; 9:1. Goodrick, ed. (*Book of Wisdom,* 10) and Horbury ("Wisdom of Solomon," 651) are others who make this connection.

In its history, the Wisdom of Solomon shows an awareness of the Watcher tradition when it tells of arrogant giants perishing prior to the world seeking refuge on a raft (Noah's ark) (14:6) but this is not seen as the source of evil/death in the world. Rather, death entered the world through the envy of the devil (Wis 2:24), separate from the workings of God (1:13). This could refer to Cain's envy of his brother Abel[293] but scholars often see this as the first occasion where the serpent of the garden is equated with the devil.[294] This is a connection that is made more explicit in later writings such as Rev 12:9 or the Life of Adam and Eve. When Wis 10:1–4 reflects on the lives of Adam and Cain we get a different impression.[295] Wisdom delivered Adam and entrusted him to rule over creation (10:1–2). Cain departed from wisdom in his anger and killed his brother, necessitating the flood (10:3–4). The connection of the Satan figure (Sammael) to Cain is made in Targum Ps. Jonathan (fourth century CE),[296] where it describes Cain as Sammael and Eve's child (Gen 4:1).

Mortality does not directly come to exist because of the devil, but the wickedness that he brings gives cause for death to be brought as a punishment by God (3:5, 10). Death would be experienced by all who join the devil's party (2:24)[297] in contrast to the righteous who would be granted immortality (3:1–4). Death can be understood as a state of being, or as a personal being. Amir argues that Death has been personified within the Wisdom of Solomon and that it is representative of Satan (1:16). He sees precedence for such a move in Canaanite writings where Mot (the god of death) is hostile against his brother Baal, the god of fertility. Death was also the expected outcome for any who joined the lot of Belial. Wisdom, which is depicted as an

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[293] German, *Fall Reconsidered*, 38.

[294] See Stokes, *Satan*, 9; Wray and Mobley, *Birth of Satan*, 70; Brown, *God of this Age*, 33. Farrar ("New Testament Satanology," 39) lists many others who have drawn this conclusion.

[295] German, *Fall Reconsidered*, 39.

[296] Flesher and Chilton, *Targums*, 165.

[297] Amir, "Figure of Death," 159.

emanation of the glory of God (7:25), would not enter the soul of any who plot evil, or those whose body is involved in sin (1:4).[298]

The Life of Adam and Eve

The Life of Adam and Eve (LAE) expands upon the garden scene of Gen 3 by correlating the serpent's trickery of Eve with the machinations of Satan.[299] The original composition can be dated anywhere between the firstt century BCE and third century CE,[300] depending on whether one conceives of it being Jewish or Christian in origin.[301] Jonge and Anderson offer appealing theories to support Christian origins (late second, early third century CE),[302] but I find Dochorn's linguistic argument for a dating to the first to second century CE more convincing.[303] Each of the different translations (Greek, Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Coptic) follow the same basic story line,[304] but there are two primary variants of this story, one which describes the penitence of Adam and Eve (omitted in Greek)[305] and another which has Eve tell her children the story of their transgression in the garden (omitted in the Latin).[306] Satan's involvement is found primarily within these two sections.

In the first variant the devil (taking the form of an angel) again deceives Eve (Vita 9–10) as she and Adam were carrying out an act of penitence (Vita 4) after being cast from the garden

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[298] This idea may have had an influence upon the Shepherd of Hermes and its conception of the Holy Spirit for in that writing it is said that the Holy Spirit (like wisdom) would withdraw from a man who is indwelt by a wicked spirit (*Herm. Mand.* 5:2). See Schaff, "Pastor of Hermas," 44.

[299] Jonge ("Christian Origin," 363) understands this as a Christian writing which retells the story of Gen 3 to highlight that Adam and Eve repented, were pardoned, taken up to heaven, and would rise again in the last judgment.

[300] Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," 252.

[301] Jonge and Tromp, *Life of Adam and Eve*, 74, 77.

[302] Jonge, "Christian Origin," 363; Anderson, "Original Form," 216, 231.

[303] Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Moses*, 165.

[304] Anderson and Stone (*Synopsis, 1*) provide a helpful version of the text which presents the Greek, Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic in parallel.

[305] This section is included in Latin (Vita 1–22), Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic versions. The description of these additions will follow the Latin numbering.

[306] This section is included in the Greek (GLAE 17–27), Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic versions. The description of these additions will follow the Greek number.

(Vita 1–2). When Adam and Eve realize Eve has again been deceived, they ask Satan why he continues to cause them grief (Vita 11). Satan explains that when Adam was made, Michael called upon the angels to worship the image of God (Vita 13:3). Satan refused because he thought himself greater than Adam since he was made sooner (Vita 14:3).[307] Other angels who were under Satan heard this and refused. Michael threatened that God would be wrathful if they declined (Vita 15:3).[308] Satan claimed that if that be true, he would elevate his own thrown above the stars of heaven and would be like the Most High (Vita 15:3).[309] God was angered by this and cast Satan and his followers out of his presence (in heaven) to the earth (Vita 16:1).[310] Satan grieved losing his glory and in vengeance of this loss he deceived Eve so that Adam and Eve would also be banished (Vita 16:2–3).

In the second variant Eve tells her children how she was deceived (GLAE 15:1). Satan (also referred to as the devil and the enemy) tries to convince the serpent to assist him in tricking Eve saying that he was the most cunning creature in the garden yet lying prostrate before them (GLAE 16:2–3). The serpent was hesitant because he was fearful of God's wrath, but Satan reassures him by saying he would use him as a vessel and speak through him (GLAE 16:5). While Satan was worshipping God with the other angels (GLAE 17:2) he spoke to Eve through the mouth of the serpent (GLAE 17:4) and convinced her to eat from the tree (GLAE 17:5–19:3).

LAE places a large emphasis on the reason for Satan's actions and its impact on Adam's glory.[311] The origin of evil is associated with the Gen 3 garden story and a free will choice of one of God's high ranked angels. GLAE 12:1 speaks of a day of judgment for humanity and the

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[307] Anderson ("The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 87) notes how this takes the story of reversed primogeniture and pushes it back one step from the era of Patriarchs to the creation of Adam himself.

[308] This confrontation between Michael and Satan is reminiscent of numerous other Second Temple writings, but this is the first time that confrontation occurs in the garden narrative.

[309] This is reminiscent of Isa 14:13 but only appears in the Latin version. See Anderson (*Synopsis,* 17). Pagels (*Origin of Satan*, 48–49) also draws this connection.

[310] Anderson ("Ezekiel 28, the Fall of Satan, and the Adam Books," 146) suggests that Vita draws upon an exegetical tradition grounded in Ezek 28.

[311] Nickelsburg and VanderKam (*1 Enoch 1*, 96) see similarities between Adam's ascent to paradise and that of Enoch in 1 En. 13–16.

animal kingdom but there is no indication it would extend to Satan or his followers. Vita 39:2 suggests the serpent would be judged, but again this does not extend to Satan.

(Pseudo-Philo) Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (LAB)

The LAB retells large portions of the biblical story from Cain through to the death of Saul.[312] Jacobson indicates that there is general consensus that the writing should be dated between c.50-150 CE with the weight of scholarly opinion preferring a pre-70 CE dating.[313] The LAB contribution to our study of developing traditions of Satan is informative for where Satan figures are added, and where they are removed. Adam's transgression is seen as the source of death for successive generations,[314] but the impetus behind his transgression is the deceit of the serpent without mention of Satan (LAB 13:8). Reference is made to the Watcher tradition when Aod the Magician credits his magic to the angels who were judged (LAB 34:2).[315] The angels could no longer use their magic on their own, but men could appeal to those angels to use their magic on their behalf. God allows this practice to continue to test if Israel was still sinful. In this case, magic led them to serve the gods of the Midianites (34:5). In an ancient version of BW (4Q201 f1iv:1–2), Shemihaza teaches spells, magic, and sorcery but this occurs before their punishment. The watcher's only lasting effect on Earth was their offspring who were left as spirits to plague humanity. LAB 34:2–3 notes that the angelic magic would remain until the age without measure (LAB 34:2–3) a time where the angels would no longer exist. Jacobson explains that in LAB, all would die before being resurrected for a final judgment of God where each person would be recompensed accordingly.[316] The righteous would live again in a newly created world while the wicked would be extinguished along with death and darkness (LAB 3:10).

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[312] It could be described as Rewritten Bible like Jubilees or the Genesis Apocryphon.

[313] Jacobson, *Pseudo-Philo*, 199. Jacobson supports a post-70 CE dating while Harrington (Charlesworth, ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Vol. 2,* 299) prefers a pre-70 CE dating.

[314] Jacobson (*Pseudo-Philo*, 521) calls this a minority Jewish opinion.

[315] Koskenniemi, "Miracles of the Devil," 92.

[316] Jacobson, *Pseudo-Philo*, 247.

Job enters the narrative as the husband of Dinah. His suffering is mentioned but Satan is not (LAB 8:8). There is however an instance in the Judges section where God speaks to the adversary to explain his reaction to the rape of a concubine (LAB 45:6; cf. Judg 19).[317] In LAB the narrative of Micah and his idol worship leading the Benjamites astray (Judg 18) is joined to the following story of the concubine. God is upset that the people did not show similar anger to Micah's offense as they did towards those who committed rape. This reasoning is used to explain why God did not assist the people the first two times they attempted to punish the Benjamites (LAB 45:6). This scene resembles God's address of the divine council and השׂטן from Job 1–2 but in this instance the adversary does the listening while God does the condemning.[318]

The Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah

The Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah (Asc. Is.) combines two stories,[319] one telling of the martyrdom of Isaiah (ch. 1–5), and the other a vision of Isaiah (ch. 6–11).[320] Knight suggests that the majority opinion is that the text is composed of two halves, the second earlier than the first, and that one may date the final apocalypse to the period of 70–120 CE.[321] Chapters 1—3:12; 5 offer a historic rendering of the time of Manasseh where he (under the influence of Satan/Beliar) has Isaiah sawed in two (5:1).[322] Beliar was angered (5:1) by Isaiah's vision (3:13—4:22) which tells of four periods; (1) the time of Jesus (3:13–18), (2) the apostolic age (3:19–20), 3) the sub-

[317] Farrar ("New Testament Satanology," 55) suggests that the author understood the Satan as an individual being like in Job and Zechariah.

[318] Jacobson, *Pseudo-Philo*, 1037.

[319] Bauckham ("Ascension of Isaiah," 379) sees these stories as two points of view (earthly and cosmic) as to how evil was conquered.

[320] Knibb, "Martyrdom," 143. Charles (*Ascension*, xl–xlii) posited a no longer accepted theory of three source documents, Norelli ("L'Ascension," 12) provided an influential two-stage composition theory, and Bauckham ("Ascension of Isaiah," 374—75) has begun a more recent trend of viewing the writing as a unified writing.

[321] Knight, "Portrayal of Evil," 299.

[322] Docchorn ("Trial of Isaiah," 96) understands this to be a Christian transformation of a Jewish tradition.

apostolic age (3:21–31), and 4) the eschatological future (4:1–13).[323] In the vision Beliar, the angel descends in the form of a man (Nero) to persecute the church (4:2–4) but his downfall is triggered by the coming of the beloved (4:14).[324] Hall detects a prophetic rivalry within the prophecy of the sub-apostolic age.[325] Knight sees the omission of Moses in a list of inspired writings (4:21–22) to offer a clue that the author was offering a criticism of contemporary Judaism.[326]

Another vision of Isaiah (ch. 6–11) describes the seven levels of heaven and tells how the Lord would descend (in cloaked form – 10:11) down to earth to be born of a virgin (11:5) and to perform many wonders and miraculous signs (11:18). After his death and resurrection, he would then rise back through the levels of heaven (no longer disguised – 10:14) to the praise of all the angels.[327] In Isaiah's tour of the heavens, he sees Sammael (god of the blind)[328] and his angels amid a great struggle within the firmament (below the seven heavens) (7:9).[329] This struggle is seen as a parallel to struggles on earth.[330] Those within the firmament are unaware of what is happening in the higher levels of heaven. The story confuses the events associated with the Lord's ascension for it first says that as Christ ascends to the sixth heaven, he would judge and

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[323] Knight, "Political Issue," 361. He sees this as a description of present events experienced by the audience of the author. Knight agrees with Norelli that 3:21–31 describes the author's own time (363). The portrait of this period tells of continuing discord within the church. Knight ("Portrayal of Evil," 316) suggests that the author's rhetoric calls into question the authentic Christianity of the leaders concerned.

[324] Hall ("Ascension of Isaiah," 290) suggests that the final author wrote of descent and ascent of the Beloved to unite the two halves of the book. He notes at prior to 4:1 the narrator, not Isaiah, had been explaining the anger of Beliar (292).

[325] Hall, "Ascension of Isaiah," 297.

[326] Knight, "Political Issue," 366. He claims that three different opponents are highlighted; (1) fellow Christians (3:21–31), (2) Romans (4:1–13), and (3) Jews (367).

[327] Knight ("Portrayal of Evil," 311–12) differentiates this story from Jewish apocalypticism in that it combines the myth of cosmic rebellion with the mediator's descent, marking the cross as the turning point. He sees the soteriology of this writing as a precursor to the Christology of Christus Victor (where the theology of atonement makes restoration of harmony in the cosmos the principal theme rather than a distinctive Pauline emphasis on redemption from sin).

[328] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 1*, 380. This is the oldest attestation of the name Sammael, but his name and the role of Manasseh reflect the Animal Apocalypse (1 En. 89:54–58). T. Sim 2:7; T. Jud. 19:4, and T. Dan 2:4 also identify the one who blinds as the prince of error (381).

[329] Knight ("Portrayal of Evil," 311) sees influence from Gen 6:1–4.

[330] Knight ("Portrayal of Evil," 301) describes this as moral evil being intertwined with cosmic evil.

destroy the princes, angels, and gods of the world (10:12) and then later tells how when Christ ascends, Satan and all the angels of the firmament worship him (11:24).[331]

The Satan figure of this writing is called by different names interchangeably (such as Sammael, Beliar, Satan, Matanbukus, and the prince of this world).[332] He is said to be the ruler and prince of this world (1:3; 10:29) who has at his disposal a host of subordinate angels (2:3; 4:14; 11:43). He is a great angel who has ruled the world since it existed (4:2) and is shown to dwell in human kings to exert his influence on earth as with Manasseh (1:9; 2:2; 3:11; 5:1) and Nero (4:2–4).

Synthesis of Miscellaneous Grouping

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs shows a preference for the name Beliar for its Satan figure, but like Jubilees (1:20; 10:12), the term is used synonymously with Satan (T. Dan 1:7; 6:1).[333] Like Jubilees, T. 12 Patr. knows of the Watcher tradition (T. Reu 5:6) but it makes a substantial deviation from that narrative. In its rendering, the human women charmed the Watchers, who succumbed to their desires, mated with the women who gave birth to giants. The story is told as a lesson to the sons of Reuben to guard themselves against the evil of women, and more importantly the spirit of promiscuity (T. Reu 5:3). For in T. 12 Patr. it is not the Watchers or their Giants who were to be feared but rather the spirits of Beliar who were seen antithetically to God. In T. Lev 19:1 the sons of Levi are told to choose for themselves light or darkness, the Law of the Lord or the works of Beliar. Here we have an expression of the Two-Way tradition,

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[331] Knight ("Portrayal of Evil," 318) notes how the composite nature of the writing causes the perspective on evil to be inconsistent.

[332] Both Beliar and Sammael are angered with Isaiah because of his vision (3:13; 5:1 Beliar, 5:15 Sammael), both Beliar and Sammael are said to be in the heart of Manasseh (1:9; 3:11 Beliar, 2:2 Sammael). Manasseh served Satan and his angels (2:3; 11:43) while his people served Beliar (also named Matanbukus) (2:4). Knight ("Portrayal of Evil," 307) points out that Sammael is used throughout the entire work, but that Beliar is never used in chs. 6-11.

[333] Kee ("Testaments," 783n4c) treats Beliar as a synonymous variation of Belial.

but rather than place Beliar opposite a high-ranking angel of the Lord, Beliar is now placed in direct opposition to God himself.

T. 12 Patr. makes an advancement on the Two-Way tradition in how it views the composition of the individual. To choose to succumb to one's inclination was seen as a choice to follow Beliar (not unlike the Rule of the Community). However, what one may have succumbed to in their youth becomes something that can be overcome with maturity. One would not be lost to Beliar from a singular letdown, but rather from a failure to develop across one's life.

The T. 12 Patr. champions piety like other writings within the Two-Way tradition but it does this like T. Job. On occasion the son of a patriarch is warned to make the right choices in life to avoid a particular temptation or sin. They are told that if they do this, Beliar would flee from them (T. Iss 7:7; T. Dan 5:1; T. Naph 8:4). This emphasizes the personal battle one engages in when they stand against the personal attacks of Beliar. He uses the urges of their body to lead them towards sinfulness, but through piety they could overcome those urges and in effect cause Beliar to flee. T. Job moves beyond the biblical story by placing much more emphasis upon the personal struggle Job has against the Satan figure. This struggle is reminiscent of T. 12 Patr. in that one's piety allows for successful defense against Satan's ploys. Job, as an exemplar figure, demonstrates so much resolve that he can evoke shame on Satan and similarly cause him to withdraw.

The Assumption of Moses and LAB each show variations of Satan as a prosecuting divine council member. In the Assumption of Moses, Satan is thought to raise charges against Moses as Michael came to collect his soul for heaven. This role would serve a similar function to the angel of darkness in the Rule of the Community for it implies that people will be judged for the choices that they make while on Earth. In LAB, Satan is found in the presence of God while God defends his involvement with the Israelites. In these cases, Satan could be playing a part in God's judgment process. Satan could be operating with the authority to lure people into making the wrong choices and then raise charges against them when they face judgment. A similar idea

can be found with later rabbinical writings. For instance, in the Babylonian Talmud (t. Ros. 16b:1–2), Rabbi Yitzhak (c.135–c.170 CE) asks why the shofar (instrument made from the horn of a ram) is blown one way before silent prayer and another during the Amida prayer during Rosh Hashanah. The Gemara answers that it is to confuse השׂטן when he brings accusations against Israel before the heavenly court, so that the Jewish people receive a favorable judgment.[334]

Within the Two-Way tradition we have already seen how two opposing spirits battle over the heart of a person, and that a person is judged for whichever spirit they are inclined towards. The Wisdom of Solomon and LAB each show an advancement upon this idea. In the Wisdom of Solomon, wisdom which is personified and described as the emanation of the glory of God, would not enter the soul of any who plot evil or who are involved in sin (1:4). Balaam, within LAB, suggests that he cannot reveal much of his vision because he only had a little holy spirit left within him (LAB 18:11). This gives the impression that God's spirit would diminish within people if they partook in sinful acts. This idea has similarities with T. 12 Patr. and its idea of piety in relation to Beliar, except in this case Beliar would only need be an antithetical spirit. If one is pious then the evil spirit recedes/leaves. If one becomes sinful, then the good spirit recedes.

Despite having elements of an advancing Two-Way tradition, the Wisdom of Solomon also offers a potential early witness to the rebellious serpent tradition stemming from Gen 3. Wis 2:24 suggests that because of the envy of the devil, death entered the world. By correlating this verse with Ezek 28:11–19 one could relate the prideful fall of a heavenly being to the actions of the serpent. Previously it was argued that the historical recount of Wis 10:1–3 suggests that the devil's influence may have been felt more by Cain than by Adam, but this is not the case in the Life of Adam and Eve where Satan influences the actions of the serpent. While the story

[334] See https://www.sefaria.org/Rosh_Hashanah .16b?lang=bi.

emphasizes Adam's redemption, it still illustrates that a new tradition was starting to develop which associated the origin of evil with Satan and his involvement in the garden.

The Life of Adam and Eve offers numerous details which enable it to be easily conflated with other developed traditions. Satan's rebellion includes other angels who follow his lead. Like the rebellious angels of the Watcher tradition, he and his followers are dealt with by God's archangels. Like the other traditions, the Life of Adam and Eve expects an eventual judgment, except in this case the judgment is concerning the everlasting reward of the pious follower and not Satan himself. While Satan's continued deceptive involvement resembles the actions of Satan in T. Job, the importance of penance in the life of a follower of God is new.

The Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah (Asc. Is.) shows an affinity for the Two-Way tradition when it predicts that many would backslide due to Beliar (the spirit of error) causing the Holy Spirit to withdraw from them (3:25–28).[335] The author saw division within the believing community and saw that Beliar could cause the saints (like the righteous) to move towards wickedness. Within the Manasseh narrative, Satan/Belial is shown in a direct confrontation with an individual like in T. Job, but on this occasion piety has no power to thwart his attack, and the Satan figures actions do not seem to be restrained by God in any way. In this presentation, the Satan figure is autonomous, powerful, and wicked.

Within the miscellaneous group we find a collection of writings which date to the beginning of the common era. We see an awareness of longer standing traditions like the Watcher tradition (which is downplayed) and the Two-Way tradition (which is further nuanced), but they also start to show signs of newer traditions developing around השׂטן of the divine council and the serpent of the garden narrative.

[335] Knight ("Portrayal of Evil," 316) suggests that Asc. Is. 3:21–31 betrays the reason for writing the apocalypse in that it portrays the continuing reality of internal church discord which in the author's rhetoric effectively calls into question the authentic Christianity of the leaders concerned.

Development from Old Testament Satanology

Rebellious Serpent/Primordial Fall

Throughout the Second Temple writings the transgression of Adam is at times acknowledged and even the involvement of the serpent,[336] but it is not until the first century BCE that there begins to be any connection between a Satan figure and the actions of the serpent. The Book of Parables notes that one of the twenty-one fallen angels (Gader'el) was the one who misled Eve (1 En 69:6). The Wisdom of Solomon suggests that the devil caused death to enter the world because of envy but does not say what he envied. Isaiah 14:14–21 and Ezek 28:11–29 open the possibility of a supernatural being from the garden who was blameless, full of beauty and wisdom (Ezek 28:12), but who ultimately fell from pride (Isa 14:13–15) and sinfulness (Ezek 28:16). The Life of Adam and Eve provides a narrative which fits with the imagery offered within these texts. It implicates Satan in the actions of the serpent, describes his fall from heaven, and explains the source of Satan's envy.

The early writings of the Watcher tradition tell of an angelic fall, but that fall is not associated with the events of the garden and their fall is never associated with pride or envy. Rather their actions are associated with lust and perhaps corruption. Hanson sees similarities between the description of the fall of Shemihazah from 1 En.10:11 and from Ezek 28:16–18.[337] In both cases the offender was cast to earth and consumed by fire. The Ezekiel passage gives no indication that any time passes between the two events while 1 Enoch places the fall in primordial times and the burning by fire at the final judgment. Isaiah 14:14–21 and Ezek 28:11–29 describe the fall of an individual, while the Watcher texts implicate numerous angels.

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[336] In the Book of Watchers, Enoch is shown the tree of wisdom which Adam and Eve ate from (1 En. 32:6) to warrant their expulsion from the garden. In the Book of Jubilees, the serpent is more direct in his opposition to God's prediction that Adam and Eve would die should they eat the fruit (3:19) but there is no suggestion that he was influenced by a supernatural being. The Animal Apocalypse describes Adam and Eve as a snow-white bovid and a female calf (1 En. 85:3) but the writing places its emphasis upon the events of their children, and Eve's concern for the loss of Abel. Ben Sira in his review of history notes that Adam was above every living thing in creation (Sir 49:16) yet makes no mention of his transgression.

[337] Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven," 208.

Rebellious Angels

The fornicating angels of the primordial period (Gen 6) has had an influence upon the Book of Watchers, although the myth has been expanded to include further transgressions (revealing heavenly mysteries), it has clarified that the actions were wrong, it has described how they contributed to ongoing wickedness in the world (through the demons), and it has created the expectation that the transgressions will necessitate punishment from God. The Book of Jubilees shows knowledge of the fornicating angels but also shows influence from Deut 32:8–9 and Ps 82. Its angels were first sent to earth to teach the sons of man to perform judgment and righteousness on the earth. It was at this time they noticed the daughters of men and first transgressed. Like Ps 82 they were found derelict in their duties. When the demons (their offspring) are allowed to retain a presence on Earth, they are given the role of misleading the nations, as God himself would take Israel as his elect people. This shows influence of Deut 32:8–9, although in this case, right from the start, the foreign nations were to be misled while Israel was to be righteous. Daniel 10 gives the impression that the angels representing Israel and those representing the foreign nations would be in conflict. The Book of Watchers, the book of Tobit, and the Book of Parables depict angels of God being involved in the punishment of rebellious angels but in these cases, they do not represent foreign nations. The War Scroll from the Two-Way tradition reflects warring angels of different nations, but where Dan 10 pictures an ongoing battle, the War Scroll pushes it to the end of time.

Spirits for Good and for Harm

The two-spirit texts from the Old Testament depict antithetical spirits subordinate to God who could influence the behavior of people. The Two-Way Tradition retains the idea of antithetical spirits, but rarely does it show these forces subordinate to God. The Rule of the Community is an exception for in that writing the two spirits were created by God in the beginning and they would throughout time battle for influence upon humanity. Passages like 1 Sam 16:14–23 and Judg

9:23 give the impression that harmful spirits would only be utilized when a person had transgressed and no longer warranted the blessing associated with the good spirit. The Rule of Community has given the spirits a more generalized application in that they would battle over humanity throughout time. The spirit of darkness may have gained an association to the name Belial from "sons of Belial" passages of the Old Testament since this phrase was used to describe people with negative traits.

In 1 Sam 16:14–23 and Judg 9:23, we are given the impression that the holy spirit and the spirit causing harm do not coexist within an individual at the same time. The Wisdom of Solomon and LAB further nuance this idea by suggesting that a person's actions could cause one spirit to recede while the other strengthens. The two-spirit passages of the Old Testament had not yet developed any notion of the afterlife, or an expectation of final judgment so the impact of the harmful spirits in those cases only led their hosts to their death. Late Second Temple writings tend to suggest that people would eventually be judged for which spirit they showed a greater inclination towards and that this would impact whether they would go on to experience a blessed existence in the afterlife or be faced with destruction.

Satan

The שׂטן passages highlighted from the Old Testament depict a singular being who either raised charges against an individual (like in Job 1–2; Zech 3) or who showed the ability to influence their behavior (1 Chr 21:1). On these occasions the שׂטן had numerous ways of attacking an individual or their surroundings but they required authorization from God. For many of the Second Temple writings, the term Satan was not used to identify the primary figure associated with wickedness. This identification does not predominate until later writings within the miscellaneous group. The LAB depicts Satan like Job 1–2 and Zech 3 in that he was in the presence of God privy to his thoughts on a given situation but the Assumption of Moses takes the prosecuting behavior of the satan and adapts it in a creative way. Rather than question an

individual's status during their life, he raises charges after their death that could impact their final judgment and entry into eternal life. This role fits well with the idea of angelic figures who are tasked with roaming the earth to serve as God's eyes and ears (Zech 1:10). The Animal Apocalypse introduces a character that plays a role like this but its primary duty is to observe the activity of the seventy shepherds.

The שטן of Job was empowered by God to bring suffering upon Job to test his motives for being blameless. In T. Job Satan still requires empowerment but rather than test Job's motives, the contest is intended to highlight Job's resolve. T. Job shows that through one's fortitude Satan's attacks could be weathered and ultimately defeated. The correlation between piety and the nullification of the Satan figure's powers is evidenced within both the Watcher tradition and the Two-Way tradition, but within T. Job the confrontation plays out between Satan and an individual. This individual focus is also prominent in other late writings like the LAE and the Asc. Is.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together an assortment of ideas associated with the Satan figure from twenty-seven writings from the Second Temple period. They have been organized chronologically into two traditions (Watcher, Two-Way) and one miscellaneous grouping. These two traditions built upon ideas from the Old Testament but expanded upon them to explain why there was continued evil in the world and by introducing an expectation for the eventual eradication of that evil by God. Writings within the miscellaneous group showed great variety in their ideas but they show that notions of the rebellious serpent of Gen 3 and the prosecuting divine counsel member of Job 1–2 and Zech 3 had continued to inform ideas relating to the Satan figure. These later writings show that understandings of the human body and spirit world were becoming more nuanced, the Satan figure was becoming more autonomous and malevolent, and the battle against him was becoming more personal. The following section will examine New

Testament texts which can be associated with the Satan figure to observe how the different authors understood the figure and how these ideas relate to those of the Old Testament and Second Temple period.

CHAPTER 3: THE VARIANT DEPICTIONS OF SATAN BY NEW TESTAMENT AUTHORS

Introduction

The previous chapter observed the formation of two distinct traditions associated with the Satan figure and showed significant points of variance within those traditions. Towards the end of the period there were signs of new developing traditions being formed and writers continued to work out nuances from earlier traditions. This present chapter will seek to show how developing traditions may have influenced the various writers of the New Testament texts. New Testament texts can be harmonized to construct a singular picture of Satan, but when the works of the different authors are distinguished from one another, one can see great variance in their ideas, much like that observed in the Second Temple period.

This current chapter will seek to showcase the individuality of the different New Testament authors by observing their ideas regarding Satan considering their distinctive messages, and then by comparing those ideas to earlier traditions from the Old Testament and Second Temple period. The New Testament writings have been delineated into eleven groupings, dated, and ordered chronologically.[1] The ordering of the writings and their associated dating can be observed in Figure 5.1.

[1] (1) Undisputed Pauline, (2) James, (3) Hebrews, (4) Disputed Pauline, (5) Mark, (6) Matthew, (7) Luke-Acts, (8) 1 Peter, (9) 2 Peter and Jude, (10) Johannine (Gospel of John and 1 John), and (11) Revelation.

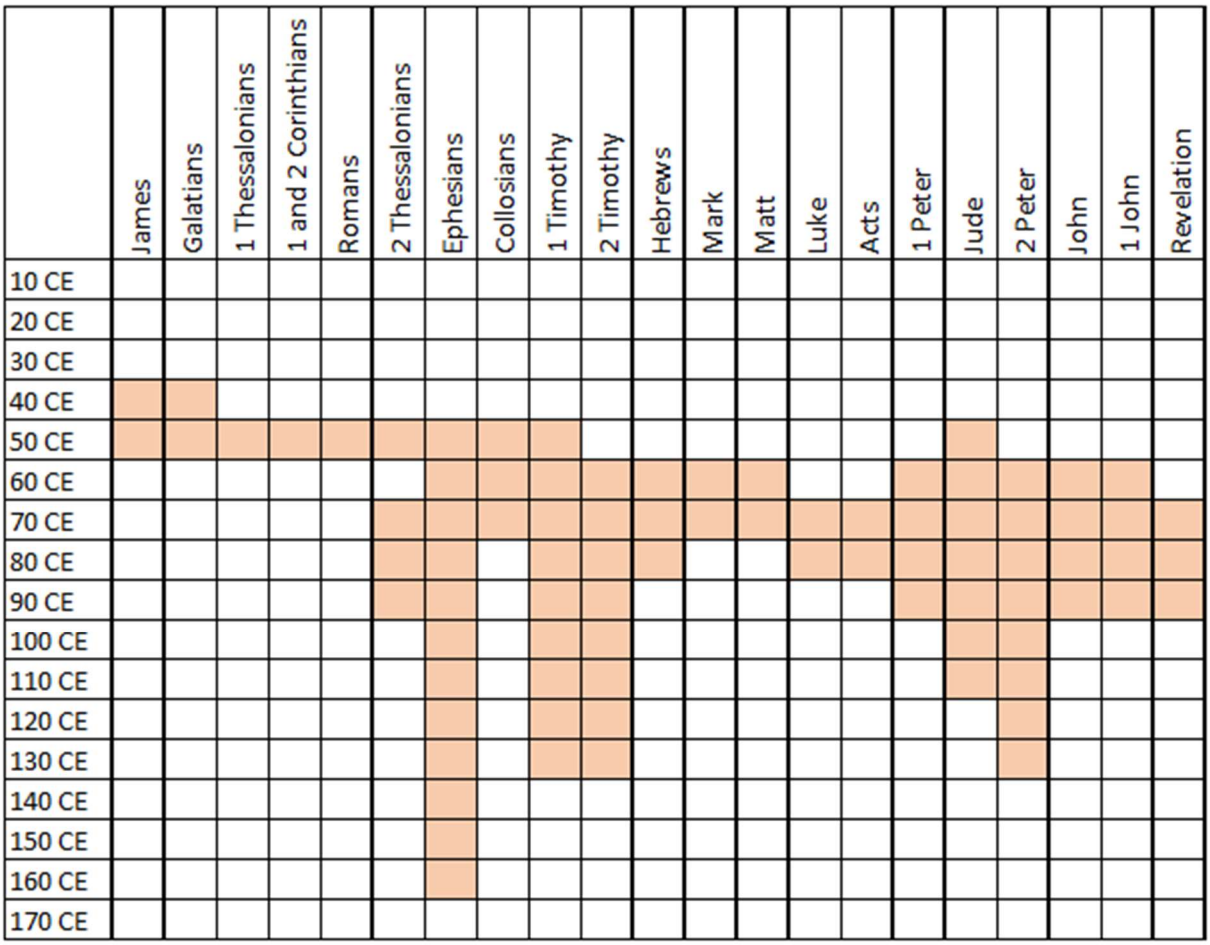

Figure 3: Likely Date of Authorship for New Testament Writings

James

The dating of the letter of James is very much intertwined with who one views as its author, how they relate it to the writings of Paul, and how they resolve its high quality of Greek language.[2] A general dating between about 45–60 CE would seem to suit the consensus opinion.[3] Within James's framework, adherence to the Law is motivated by eschatological concerns of judgment upon the return of the Lord (5:8–9) and this adherence is challenged by evil desires from within (1:14; 4:1) and earthly wisdom (demonic) (3:15). Unlike rabbinical conceptions of the good and evil inclinations, the antithesis to James's evil desires is not an opposing set of good desires. Rather the source of goodness, comes from the heavenly wisdom of God which is offered freely to those who ask (1:5; 3:17).[4] James distances God from any involvement in evil by picturing him as a pure source of goodness (1:17) who never tempts (1:13).

Actions within James's framework are important. An evil desire that is acted upon leads to sin, then death, while the word of truth when acted upon leads to blessing (1:22–24). As an alternative to Godly wisdom, one could turn to worldly wisdom (which James suggests is demonic) but he suggests this sort of wisdom leads to disorder and evil practices (3:16). James urges his readers to submit to God and to resist the devil so that he would flee from them (4:7). This is the only time the devil is mentioned within the letter of James.

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[2] McCartney (*James*, 14) presents four differing views regarding authorship.

[3] Moo (*The Letter of James*, 26) thinks the book of James was most likely written in the mid 40's CE before the Apostolic Council. Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates to 47–48 CE. McKnight (*Letter of James*, 38) dates to the 50's. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 209) is confident that letter should be dated no later than 62 CE (the death of James the brother of Jesus). McCartney (*James*, 17) and Johnson (*Letter of James*, 121) also identify the letter as a writing by James the brother of Jesus.

[4] Wold, "Sin and Evil," 91; McCartney, *James*, 73. Both Sir 15:11–20 and Wis 2:23 distance God from evil in a similar way to James, and both urge their readers to seek wisdom, but for Ben Sira wisdom can be found in the Lords commandments (Sir 1:26), and for the Wisdom of Solomon wisdom was to be found through revelation from God (Wis 7:7).

Traces of Developing Traditions

Similarities are often seen between the letter of James and both Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon. Ben Sira urges similar caution against evils of the tongue (Sir 19:6–12, 16; 20:5–7, 18–19; 28:13–26; Jas 3) and rejects the notion that God could be behind wicked temptations (Sir 15:11–17; Jas 1:12–15).[5] Sirach, however, never mentions a devil and lacks any conception of an afterlife. James's understanding of wisdom functions like the Holy Spirit, just as it does in the Wisdom of Solomon (Wis 1:6–7; 9:17).[6] The Wisdom of Solomon associates the devil with death in the world (Wis 2:23) while James involves demonic worldly wisdom with a process that leads from sin to death (3:16; 1:15).

James highlights an internal evil (desires) which inclines a person to act in an inappropriate way. Each person who chooses to follow or act upon the promptings of this evil exposes themselves to future (negative) judgment. While this framework generally aligns with the Two-Way tradition (1QS 4:23, 26) James does not locate his two sources of wisdom within an individual (3:15). One must be requested from heaven while the other comes through association with the world.

Scholars highlight multiple Jewish writings (the Damascus Document,[7] T. 12 Patr.,[8] and T. Job) for sharing James's notion of the devil fleeing when resisted (Jas 4:7).[9] Of these writings, T. Job is the most likely to exert influence upon James because it shares both linguistic[10] and

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[5] McCartney (*James*, 45) thinks James has the most similarity with Sirach, and points to a writing of Mayor who lists 32 similarities between the two writings.

[6] McCartney, *James*, 46. Much the way James urges his readers to ask for the heavenly wisdom of God (Jas 1:5), Pseudo-Solomon highlights the necessity of being endowed with God's wisdom (Wis 8:19–21; 9:6).

[7] Wright, *Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 181.

[8] Jonge, "Light on Paul," 105.

[9] Gray, "Points and Lines," 420; Rodenbiker, "Persistent Sufferer," 493. See also Naab, "Testament of Job," 145.

[10] Gray ("Points and Lines," 410) indicates that every verse in T.Job 33 except v. 1 and Job's reply in 33:2–9 contains one or more terms found also in James. Gray observes there to be distribution, some degree of distinctiveness, and density in parallels and believes this to lend substantial support to the hypothesis that James knows and uses T.Job (411).

thematic parallels,[11] as well as offering a similar presentation of Job. When speaking of the importance of patient endurance, James highlights Job (Jas 5:11) as a good example. Job is not presented for his patient endurance in either the Hebrew or Greek version of the book of Job, but it is emphasized in T.Job.[12] If James envisioned Satan as presented in T.Job, then he may have seen him more as an obstacle for believers seeking to earn a reward from God (Jas 1:12) rather than as a direct opponent to God himself.

Pauline (Undisputed)

Thirteen epistles are associated with Paul. Four of these lack a reference to a Satan figure (Philippians, Galatians, Titus, Philemon) and five have disputed authorship (Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians,[13] 1 and 2 Timothy). For the purposes of this study, the Pauline corpus will be discussed in two groups, disputed and undisputed writings. Each of the undisputed Pauline letters (Galatians, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians) must be dated prior to his death (64/65 CE).[14] 1 Thessalonians is consistently dated in Paul's two year stay in Corinth

[11] Gray ("Points and Lines," 412) sees common themes such as the virtue of endurance, importance of care for the poor, and the superiority of the heavenly world. Rodenbiker ("Persistent Sufferer," 493) adds that the shared thematic content of James and T.Job is primarily ethical in nature rather than religiously ritualistic (care for orphans, widows, and the poor; enduring trials for the sake of obedience and integrity, and hospitality and wealth).

[12] Gray, "Points and Lines," 406; Rodenbiker, "Persistent Sufferer," 480; Naab, "Testament of Job," 151.

[13] Weima (*1–2 Thessalonians*, 47n39) claims that most of scholars consider 2 Thessalonians Pauline but lists four arguments typically used to assert non-Pauline authorship.

[14] Porter, *Apostle Paul*, 431.

(50–52 CE),[15] Galatians between 48CE–57CE,[16] 1 and 2 Corinthians between 54–56 CE,[17] and Romans between 55–58 CE.[18]

Galatians and 1 Thessalonians have each been considered by some to be the earliest writings of Paul, but they are written with drastically different tones. In Galatians he criticizes its readers for so quickly accepting a perverted gospel (Gal 1:6) while in 1 Thessalonians he expresses his satisfaction for them being such great models for other believers (1 Thess 1:7). In Galatians, Paul defends his authority as an apostle and the gospel that he had preached. Paul purports to have received a mission to preach to the Gentiles through a revelation of God's son (1:15–16). Since bringing the gospel to the Galatians, they had been convinced by others that they needed to be circumcised (5:2) and observe special days of the religious calendar (4:10).[19] Paul never speaks of a Satan figure to the Galatians, but he does teach them of two opposing forces, the desires of the flesh and the leading of the Spirit (5:16). The desires of the flesh are equated to unacceptable behaviors (Gal 5:19–21) that could cause one to lose their inheritance in the kingdom of God. While using a polarity that is consistent with the Two-Way tradition, the book of Galatians gives no indication that Paul is concerned about a cosmic dualism.[20]

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[15] Porter, *Apostle Paul*, 55. Porter claims that the dating of Paul's stay in Corinth can be determined because it coincides with the reign of the Roman governor Gallio (Acts 18:12–17) (211).

[16] Dating of Galatians tends to depend upon how one decides upon two primary issues; (1) does Galatians refer to North Galatia or South Galatia; and (2) does Gal 2:1–10 refer to the events of the famine visit described in Acts 11:27–30 or the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15. Moo (*Galatians*, 18), Fung (*Epistle to the Galatians*, 28), and Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 193) date the writing before the Jerusalem Council (47–49 CE). Martyn (*Galatians*, 20) and Keener (*Galatians*, 75), and Boer (*Galatians*, 11) date the writing between 50–52 CE after the Jerusalem Council. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 145) dates the writing between 47–52 CE. Fee (*Galatians*, 4) and Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) date the writing between 55–57 CE.

[17] Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 57) claims it is generally agreed that Paul wrote 1 Corinthians from Ephesus (1 Cor 16:8) around 55 CE.

[18] Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 293–4) states that a precise dating is determined by how Rom 16 is handled. If considered original to the letter than Paul most likely wrote Romans while in Corinth on his third missionary journey. Schreiner (*Romans*, 30–31) lists a wide range of opinions on dating and suggests dating should be confined to a period between 55 and 58.

[19] Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 197) deduces that the Galatians were approached by Jewish followers of Jesus, possibly even apostles (Gal 2:11–12).

[20] The Rule of the Community tells of two spirits struggling over the hearts of men (1QS 4:16). Paul offers a spirit that could be equated with the spirit of light, but "fleshly desires" lack the supernatural overtones of a spirit of darkness.

In 1 Thessalonians Paul addresses a community who had turned away from idols (1 Thess 1:9)[21] but who has also experienced severe suffering (1:6). Paul acknowledges that like the churches who suffered under the Jews who killed Christ, they too were suffering because of their own countrymen (2:14–15). Paul claims that Satan has prevented him from visiting again (2:18) and shows concern they may be tempted by the tempter in his absence (3:5).[22] Paul only refers to Satan once, leading readers to dispute his meaning.[23] Like Galatians, Paul urges the Thessalonians to be self-controlled (4:4), lest they be punished by God (4:6).[24] Paul seeks to comfort the Thessalonians by insisting that both those who had died, and those still alive in Christ (jointly referred to as the sons of the light in 5:5) would join Christ upon his return (4:16–17).[25] Destruction would await everyone else.

In Romans, Paul addresses a church which he did not found or previously visit, a church with a mixed population of Jews and Gentiles whose relations had been exasperated by a prior Jewish expulsion from Rome.[26] Romans is known for offering Paul's most fully articulated expression of his theology although Schreiner insists that only topics of dispute were

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[21] Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 211) notes that according to Acts, the converts of Thessalonica were both Jews and Godfearers (Gentiles who respected the moral, ethical, and theological disposition of Judaism, but who resisted full proselytization which would include circumcision).

[22] Commentators show little doubt that the tempter could refer to anything other than Satan himself. See Weima, *1–2 Thessalonians*, 217; Morris, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 72; Johnson, *1 & 2 Thessalonians*, 73; Phillips, *1 & 2 Thessalonians*, lxxxi; Byron, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 103. The fleshly desires of Galatians offer another potential tempter (Gal 5:16–17), yet 1 Cor 7:5 suggests that Satan has some involvement in that process.

[23] Weima (*1–2 Thessalonians*, 201) interprets Satan to be the enemy of God who harms the well-being of the Christian community in deceptive ways, and directly attacks the health and well-being of Paul as God's apostle. Walton and Walton (*Demons and Spirits*, 270) remarks that in Acts 16:7 the spirit of Jesus obstructs Paul's movements, but it is unlikely that any would see malevolent purposes on that occasion.

[24] When urging the Thessalonians to self-controlled lives, Paul tells the people to put on faith and love as a breastplate and the hope of salvation as a helmet. This is similar to the armor described in Eph 6:10–20 intended to stand against the devil's schemes.

[25] This is reminiscent of Mark 13:26; Matt 24:30, Dan 7:13, and the Book of Parables (1 En. 62:3), but Paul's eschatological vision shows the greatest affinity for that of Matthew.

[26] Jews were expelled from Rome by a decree of Claudius in 49 CE and started to return in 54 CE after his death. Schreiner (*Romans*, 43) suggests that a significant number of Jews had returned to Rome, while Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 299) is skeptical that there was enough time for large numbers of Jews to have returned. Schreiner suggests that Jewish/Gentile tensions are reflected in Rom 14:1—15:13 (43).

addressed.[27] Paul envisions a world where evil (in its various forms) plagues humanity but sees hope in a life lived by the Spirit. Like Galatians, Rom 7:7–25 warns of the sinful nature[28] that dwells within a person and speaks of a conflict between the fleshly desires and the Spirit (8:5). Unlike Galatians, Romans speaks of other threats that could each be construed as evil [including Death,[29] angels,[30] demons, people causing division in the church, and even Satan (16:20)] but he does not describe Satan as the orchestrator of all evils, just one of many evils. We learn nothing of his disposition, his behavior, his attributes, or even his affiliation. All we learn is that he would soon be crushed under God's feet. Some see this as a reference to Gen 3:15 and thus connect Satan to the garden serpent, but the reference could be alternatively tied to Ps 110:1 or Ps 8:6 which only envision generalized enemies.[31]

1 and 2 Corinthians are part of as many as five letters that Paul wrote to the Corinthian church.[32] Since his initial visit, the Corinthian churches had been plagued by division, and this draws much of Paul's attention, but it is debated whether this division was due to opposing groups internal to the Corinthian church or instead caused by conflict between the church and its

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[27] Schreiner (*Romans*, 44–45) notes that discussions pertaining to Mosaic Law, circumcision, and the place of Israel were necessary points of concern between the Gentile and Jewish population. Discussions of Christology, ecclesiology, eschatology, and the Lord's supper were not needed because no one disputed Pauline teaching in these areas.

[28] Sin is at times personified (6:12; 7:8, 9, 11).

[29] Tilling ("Paul, Evil," 198) and Löfstedt ("Paul, Sin, and Satan," 114) both suggest Paul is personifying death (5:14; 7:5) much like Rev 6:8; 20:14 and Wis 1:16. Löfstedt suggests that for Paul, sin and death are powers but not spiritual beings (116).

[30] Paul raises the possibility that an angel could preach an errant gospel (Gal 1:8), that one day angels would be judged (1 Cor 6:3), and that angels could potentially tempt one to be drawn away from the love of God (Rom 8:38). These allusions draw to mind the rebellious angels of the Watcher tradition who were to be judged for their adverse affect on humanity through revealed heavenly mysteries or through their fornication with human women.

[31] Löfstedt, "Paul, Sin, and Satan," 122. He points out that Paul never clearly equates Satan with the serpent of the garden.

[32] Kruse (*2 Corinthians*, 36–37) is a supporter of the viewpoint that Paul wrote five letters. He suggests that an initial letter is referenced in 1 Cor 5:9. 1 Corinthians is considered the second letter. The third letter was the severe letter referenced in 2 Cor 2:3–4; 7:8, 12. The fourth letter was 2 Cor 1–9, while 2 Cor 10–13 was the fifth. Keener (*1–2 Corinthians*, 8) claims that most scholars find at least two letters in 2 Corinthians, while most accept the unity of 1 Corinthians.

founder (Paul).[33] Satan takes on a more prominent role within the Corinthian correspondence for he is regarded as a deceptive figure (2 Cor 2:11; 11:14) seeking to thwart the spread of the gospel (2 Cor 4:4) and to play upon the weaknesses of the church community (1 Cor 7:5).[34] Even Paul claims to be tormented by a messenger of Satan (2 Cor 12:7). Paul shows little interest in Satan's fate, his focus lays solely on the condition of the believing community.[35] Paul may think Satan wished to exploit a person's fleshly desires because he expected a future judgment where each will be judged for their time on earth (Rom 2:5; 2 Cor 5:10), for not all would be allowed into the kingdom of God (Gal 5:21). Paul presents Satan as direct opposition to any who would seek to be a part of that kingdom, even though his reasoning for presenting such opposition is not explained.

It is curious that in Galatians and Romans, Paul places so much emphasis on the desires of the flesh as a threat to the believing community and then in his correspondence with the Corinthians he presents a much stronger cosmic influence. Löfstedt speculates that Paul must adjust his language to fit his intended audience[36] for Paul intended to become all things to all people so that he might save some (1 Cor 9:22).[37] This is an argument of silence, but it should raise our awareness to the possibility that Paul's language could be a product of his audience's beliefs as much as it is a representation of his own.

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[33] Schreiner (*1 Corinthians*, 13–15) suggests that opposition could be coming from a Petrine group, Gnostics, or a group with an over-realized eschatology. He thinks it most likely that the church was being affected by the secular world. Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 255–58) lists potential divisive groups but supports a theory of Gordon Fee who suggests that the Corinthian church conflicted with its founder.

[34] Commentators of 1 Thessalonians often point to 1 Cor 7:5 to support their claim that the tempter of 1 Thess 3:5 is Satan. See Weima (*1–2 Thessalonians*, 217); Morris (*First and Second Epistles*, 99); Johnson (*1 & 2 Thessalonians*, 73). Garland (*1 Corinthians*, 221) points to Second Temple writings (CD 4:15–17; t. Reub. 6:3; Asc. Is. 2:4–5) as evidence that Satan (for him synonymous with Belial/Beliar) was believed to inflame people to commit immorality.

[35] Following the lead of Tertullian, some believe that in 1 Cor 11:10 Paul urges women to wear head coverings to ward off any potential advances from the rebellious angels of the Watcher tradition. See Fitzmyer, "Feature of Qumrân Angelology", 54. Fitzmyer finds it more likely that the head coverings were worn as an act of reverence for the angels, who were considered present in their congregation (57).

[36] Löfstedt, "Paul, Sin, and Satan," 126.

[37] As such, Löfstedt ("Paul, Sin, and Satan," 128) suggests that Paul's Roman readers may not have believed in the existence of Satan and that it may have been easier for them to accept the ubiquity of Sin.

Traces of Developing Traditions

Paul's writings are noted for showing similarities to the Wisdom of Solomon, especially their understanding of the Holy Spirit.[38] Wisdom is described as a woman who has a holy spirit within her (Wis 7:22). She is a breath of the power of God, and emanation of his pure glory (7:25). When Wisdom of Solomon recounts history it depicts Wisdom as a guiding force which could direct the paths of the righteous so that they are not overcome by the calamity that is brought through sinfulness (10:1–5). Within this framework, the devil is depicted as the original source of death in the world (2:24) and the wicked see little reason to live with self-control since they understand death to be final (2:3). Paul, like the Wisdom of Solomon, expects eternal life for those who do good (Rom 2:7; Gal 6:8; Wis 3:1–4). Despite these similarities, Wis 1:4 notes that wisdom will not enter a soul that plots evil or resides in a body involved in sin. For Paul, wisdom is available to the sinner through the Holy Spirit, as long as they set their mind upon it (Rom 8:5).

Some suggest Paul presents Adam like the Life of Adam and Eve or the Animal Apocalypse, but this does not affirm he shares their understanding of evil. Levinson sees parallels between Rom 1:18–25 and GLAE for to him they both describe the exchange of human dominion for subservience to animals as a result of the failure in Gen 3:1–6.[39] Paul sees significance in the initial sin of Adam (Rom 5:12; 1 Cor 15:22) and he makes reference to Eve being deceived by the serpent (2 Cor 11:3) yet he stops short of explicitly linking Satan to the serpent's behavior.[40] Instead he links Satan to false apostles who deceive just as the serpent

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[38] Chesnutt ("Wisdom of Solomon," 118) sees striking parallels between 1 Cor 2:6–16 and Wis 7:25–26, 8:5–6, 9:1. He goes onto suggest that Paul's understanding of human depravity (Rom 1:18–27) reflects the argument of Wis 13:1–9 and that his image of a mirror reflecting God's glory resonates with Wis 7:26. See also Goodrick, ed. *Book of Wisdom,* 400.

[39] Levison, "Adam and Eve," 533. Levison also notes how Satan takes the form of an angel (GLAE 17:1) just like Paul suggests is possible in 2 Cor 11:4 (520). Blackwell ("Greek Life of Adam and Eve," 101) points to parallels with Rom 1:18–32 and strongly suggests that Paul holds the same perspective as that of GLAE.

[40] Brown (*God of this Age*, 197) contends that Paul does not assume or imply any specific relationship between Satan and the serpent in 2 Cor 11:3. Heiser (*Unseen Realm*, 74) thinks this connection is clear.

deceived Eve (2 Cor 11:13–14). Nickelsburg and VanderKam note the resemblance of Paul's idea of the second Adam with the presentation in the Animal Apocalypse where both Adam and the figure who sparks the transformation of all humanity are each described as white bulls (1 Enoch 85:3; 90:37).[41] While both GLAE and the Animal Apocalypse bear resemblances to Paul's theology regarding Adam, the two writings present starkly different understandings of evil. In one, Satan influences the actions of the serpent in the garden, while in the other God allows seventy shepherds to rule over sinful Israel. GLAE, as the later writing, may suggest that there was a growing tradition which associated Satan with the serpent.

Paul utilizes a dualistic framework of light and darkness reminiscent of the Two-Way tradition to contrast the kingdom of God against the way of evil. Paul stresses the immanence of the coming kingdom and calls for the Romans to put aside the deeds of darkness and to put on the armor of light (Rom 13:12). He refers to the Thessalonians as children of the light and urges them not to belong to the night or darkness (1 Thess 5:5). This imagery continues when he equates the light to both the gospel (2 Cor 4:4), and the glory of God displayed in Christ (2 Cor 4:6). His strongest expression of dualism comes in 2 Cor 6:14–15 when he contrasts believers against unbelievers, the righteous against the wicked, light against darkness, and Christ against Belial.[42] This is the only occasion within the New Testament where Belial is used as an identification for the Satan figure. While Paul evinces ideas in line with the Two-Way tradition, we may be seeing a late derivation of it as presented in T. 12 Patr. The Testaments of 12 Patriarchs offers a comparable expression where Levi's children are urged to choose for themselves between light or darkness, the Law of the Lord or the works of Beliar (T.Levi 19:1; T. Naph. 2:6).[43] In Paul's version, Jesus Christ is placed in antithesis to Belial rather than the

[41] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 1*, 85. Joseph ("Was Daniel," 286) claims that Paul's association of Jesus with Adam derives from Jewish Christian circles familiar with the Animal Apocalypse's vision of new universal Adamic humanity.

[42] This is found within a section which has led scholarship to doubt the unity of the writing. See Porter, *Apostle Paul*, 269.

[43] Brown, *God of this Age*, 48.

Law of the Lord.[44] This replacement fits nicely into Paul's larger discussion where he urges his Gentile readers to no longer be enslaved by the law but to instead embrace the Spirit of Jesus Christ (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:2).

Marinus de Jonge notes numerous parallels between the writings of Paul and T. 12 Patr. along with two direct quotations (1 Thess 2:16/T. Levi 6:11; Rom 1:32/T. Asher 6:2).[45] Jonge argues that T. 12 Patr. should be understood as a predominantly Christian writing that was influenced by Paul's writings. With regards to the Satan figure, T. 12 Patr. represents a Jewish perspective, in that piety and the law are one's answer for staving off the forces of evil. Paul, urges spirit led behavior as he interprets through the lens of Christ. It seems unlikely that Christian authors (as proposed by Jonge) would in this case remove Paul's use of the Spirit to instead encourage a commitment to the law as a response to Satan.

Paul shows similarity with T. 12 Patr. in the way he understands fleshly desires. Paul presents fleshly desires as something that is not bad in itself, but something that can be exploited by Satan. T. Reub 2–3 tells how the spirits of error can taint God's spirits of creation. Beliar can cause someone to stumble when they fail to control the spirits of error (T. Reub. 4:7). While Paul does not use the spirit language of T. 12 Patr., he positions the Satan figure towards the bodily urges in a similar way.

Another interesting parallel occurs in 2 Cor 12:2 where we hear of a man (thought to be Paul himself) who was brought up to the third heaven and heard inexpressible things. Further influence of T. 12 Patr. could have caused Paul to speak of three heavens (T. Levi 2–3). In its description, the lowest level houses the spirits of those dispatched to achieve the punishment of humanity, the second has armies arrayed for the day of judgment to take vengeance upon the spirits of error and Beliar, and within the third dwells the Great Glory (God) in the Holy of

[44] Gnilka ("2 Cor 6:14–7:1," 66) sees a strong association between Paul's text and that of T. 12 Patr., but he stresses that it has been given a Christian revision.

[45] Jonge, "Light on Paul," 104–13.

Holies along with the archangels. Paul may have had this arrangement in mind when he described his conversion experience.

Pauline (Disputed)

Scholarship is divided over the authenticity of this group of Pauline writings, so they have been considered separately from the undisputed writings. Two dates will be provided for each writing since they are frequently considered both Pauline and deutero-Pauline. When considered Pauline, 2 Thessalonians tends to be dated between 50–52 CE,[46] 1 Timothy between 55–65 CE,[47] Colossians[48] and Ephesians[49] between 52–62 CE, and 2 Timothy between 62–65 CE.[50] When considered deutero-Pauline writings, 2 Thessalonians has been dated between 70–100 CE,[51]

[46] Porter, *Apostle Paul*, 55. Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates to 50–51 CE. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 145) dates to 50–52 CE.

[47] Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates to 55 CE. Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 58) dates to 56 or 57 CE. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 177) dates to 63 or 64 CE. Lea and Griffen Jr. (*1, 2 Timothy*, 33) date between 63–65/66 CE.

[48] Beale (*Colossians and Philemon*, 22b), McKnight (*Letter to the Colossians*, 39), and Wright (*Colossians and Philemon*, xxiii) date Colossians to the Ephesian imprisonment (52–54 CE). The strongest argument for Ephesus seems to be based on geography in that it is the most likely option for Onesimus to have travelled. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 168) and Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) date Colossians to the Caesarean imprisonment (58–60 CE). Bernier thinks it most likely that Paul had expected to travel to Colossae to see Philemon on his way to Rome before he raised his appeal to Caesar and instead bypassed the region by ship (Phil 1:22) (167). See Barth and Blanke, *Colossians*, 127. Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 60), Dunn (*Epistle to the Colossians*, 41), Thompson (*Colossians and Philemon*, xxii), Moo (*Letters to the Colossians*, 46), and Bruce (*Epistle to the Colossians*, 32) who date Colossians to first Roman imprisonment (61–62 CE). The strongest argument for Rome is that it gives more time for Paul's theology to have developed to the level evidenced in Colossians.

[49] Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 168) and Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) date to Caesarean imprisonment (58–60 CE). Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 60), Silva (*Ephesians*, 37), Cohick (*Letter to the Ephesians*, 59), Bock (*Ephesians*, 22), Grizzle (*Ephesians*, 19), and Thielman (*Ephesians*, 19) date to first Roman imprisonment (61–62 CE).

[50] Porter (*Apostle Paul*, 60), Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 177), Lea and Griffen Jr. (*1, 2 Timothy*, 33) each date to the second Roman imprisonment (62–65 CE).

[51] Morris (*First and Second Epistles*, 14) claims that Marxsen (*Introduction*, 44) dated the epistle to 70 CE and that Perrin and Duling (*New Testament*, 209) date to the end of the first century. Furnish (*1 Thessalonians*, 139) suggests that most interpreters who regard 2 Thessalonians as pseudonymous date it either late in the first or early in the second century CE. He personally dates the writing to sometime in the 80s or 90s. Weima (*1–2 Thessalonians*, 47) lists numerous other supporters of deutero-Pauline authorship.

Colossians between 65–80 CE,[52] Ephesians between 70–170 CE,[53] and 1 and 2 Timothy anywhere between 60–135 CE.[54]

Second Thessalonians sees a need for Godly protection from τοῦ πονηροῦ (2 Thess 3:3)[55] and this can be equated to Satan who the letter claims uses all power, signs, lying wonders, and every kind of deception for his purposes (2:9–10). This singular description creates a menacing image because it credits Satan with both power and willful intent to deceive. God had sent a delusion so that people would believe what was false (2:11). Morris interprets this to mean that Satan did not realize God was using him as a means for punishing the people, but it may be easier to interpret Satan in the mold of Job 1–2 or 1 Kgs 22:22 where he acts in subjugation to God.[56]

The Parousia was considered imminent within the first letter (1 Thess 4:15) but is pushed further afield in the second (2 Thess 2:3). Second Thessalonians expects a period of unparalleled evil before God's culminating judgment (like Jub 23:23; Dan 12:10; 1 En. 89:61; CD 4:13) but it goes further to include the expectation of a human tyrant (the lawless one) who is potentially empowered by Satan (2:9),[57] and who would only be revealed at the appropriate time. Both the

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[52] A minority of scholars doubt the Pauline authorship of Colossians. Sumney (*Colossians*, 9) dates between 62–64 CE. Barth (*Colossians*, 122) provides a list of German authors who suspect both Colossians and Ephesians as being spurious. Lohse (*Colossians and Philemon*, 182n17) from that list, suggests that Colossians was likely written from Ephesus around 80 CE.

[53] Grizzle (*Ephesians*, 19) suggests that opponents to Pauline authorship date the epistle anywhere between 70–170 CE. Kümmel (*Introduction,* 258) thinks that the composition cannot be determined more closely than about 80–100 CE.

[54] Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 145) dates to 60–135 CE. Collins (*I & II Timothy*, 9) dates between 80–100 CE. Kümmel (*Introduction,* 272) dates just after the turn of the second century.

[55] This felt need for protection from τοῦ πονηροῦ (evil/evil one) is reminiscent of Matt 6:13 where Jesus' modelled prayer similarly seeks protection from τοῦ πονηροῦ.

[56] Morris, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 135.

[57] The wording of 2 Thess 2:9 fails to clarify that the one who is coming is in accordance with the working of Satan. Wanamaker (*Epistles*, 259) suggests the statement could refer to the lawless one, Christ, or even those being destroyed. The verse suggests that his coming is in accordance with the works of Satan, but it does not say he is endowed with his powers.

identity of the lawless one[58] and the restrainer[59] has garnered much speculation from scholarship. This lawless one would be revealed amid a rebellion, he would be opposed to and exalt himself over every other god, and he would seat himself within the temple declaring himself to be God (2:3–4). While the lawless one is said to be destined for destruction (2:3) along with those who do not know God (1:8–9; cf. Ezek 9–10), there is no indication what future awaits Satan himself, further blurring his relationship to God.

Colossians and Ephesians are often associated with one another because they offer similar historical referents,[60] and because they have a significant amount of shared content.[61] If these writings are considered Pauline, then their audiences would have drastically different relationships to Paul. The Colossians had never met Paul (Col 1:7), while the Ephesians had significant contact with him (Acts 18:18, 19; 19:10). We could expect Paul to have a greater understanding of what the Ephesians already knew with regards to Satan. Like Galatians and Romans, the letter to the Colossians contrasts the impulses of the earthly nature against the things from above (3:1, 5; cf. Gal 5:16–17). Just as their actions are framed within an antithetical contrast so is their qualification as saints in the kingdom of light contrasted with their former place in the dominion of darkness (1:12–13). Ephesians describes similar impulses (4:22–23) and speaks of antithetical groups of light and darkness (5:8), but it goes further to incorporate a Satan figure into its framework.

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[58] Weima (*1–2 Thessalonians*, 514) suggests that past figures such as Antiochus IV, Pompey, or Caligula could potentially fit the description of the lawless one.

[59] Morris (*1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 128) lists potential options for the restrainer (the Roman empire, an angelic being, preaching of the Gospel, Paul, God, the Jewish state, or Satan).

[60] Both Ephesians (Eph 3:1) and Colossians (Col 4:3) are written from imprisonment, and in both Paul is sending Tychicus to the audience of the letter (Eph 6:21; Col 4:9). Colossae is near Ephesus which makes it very possible that Paul could have sent Tychicus to both on the same trip.

[61] deSilva (*Ephesians*, 27) notes that 34% of the words used in Colossians reappear in Ephesians, including numerous phrases (as long as 32 words). He suggests that the default position is that Ephesians represents an expansive reworking of the shorter Colossians. This reworking could have been done by Paul himself, or by a later pseudonymous writer.

The Ephesians used to follow the ways of the world and the ruler of the kingdom of the air (2:2) and now as they move into the future, they are urged to put on the armor of God to stand against the devil's schemes (6:11). While Ephesians envisage numerous cosmic powers which could potentially stand in opposition to its audience, the devil is singled out as their ruler. Of the various passages which speak of principalities and powers (1 Cor 2:6–8; 15:24–27a; Rom 8:38–39; 13:1–3; Col 1:16; 2:9–10, 13–15; Eph 1:20–23; 2:1–2; 3:10) it is only those from Ephesians which clearly give those powers and authorities a cosmic dimension. While commentators will often observe Paul's usage of similar terms across multiple writings to understand his meaning,[62] we could question whether the ideas expressed reflect the belief system of the author or the readers.

Ephesians does not describe the devil's powers or his methods, only that he works within the disobedient of the world (2:2) and targets the believing community (6:16). The letter suggests that its audience can stand firm against the devil by adhering to truth, righteousness, faith, the word of God,[63] and Spirit led prayer (6:14–18). Bock remarks that in Isa 59:16–17 the armor belonged to the Lord, but in Ephesians it is shared by believers.[64]

Unlike Colossians and Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy provide a glimpse of the future and they envision a decline in adherence to sound doctrine prior to Jesus' return (1 Tim 1:3; 2 Tim 2:17). In a vision reminiscent of Isa 30:8–11, a time is envisioned when men will no longer listen to sound doctrine but will instead put teachers around them who tell them what they want to hear (2 Tim 4:3; cf. 1QHa 10:17).[65] Deceitful spirits and demons are thought to be involved in the

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[62] Moses (*Practices of Power*, 4) presents four modern viewpoints regarding the interpretation of Paul's principalities and powers (held by Clinton Arnold, *Powers of Darkness;* Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*; Hendrik Berkhof, *Christ and the Powers*; and Walter Wink, *Naming the Powers*).

[63] Bock (*Ephesians*, 205) claims that word of God should be equated with the word of the gospel rather than the Hebrew Scriptures.

[64] Bock, *Ephesians*, 198. The armor of Wis 5:17–20 is also worn by God and used in his judgment against wickedness upon Earth.

[65] There is not enough information to be sure what groups were behind the false teachings (1 Tim 1:4; 4:3). Towner (*Letters to Timothy*, 238–239) indicates that some scholars attribute the restrictions to Gnostic Dualism,

teaching of the false teachers (1 Tim 4:1) [66] and those who have fallen away are considered to be caught within the devil's trap (1 Tim 3:7; 2 Tim 2:26). As such they open themselves to the same judgment as the devil himself (1 Tim 3:6). We do not know what judgment awaits Satan, but Paul as his antithesis expects a crown of righteousness for his efforts (2 Tim 4:8).

Traces of Developing Traditions

The lawless one of 2 Thess 2:9 is often discussed in correlation with the Johannine antichrist (1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 John 7) or the beast of Rev 13, but 2 Thess is likely the earliest of these writings.[67] Second Temple writings speak of a period of unchecked lawlessness that would precede God's ultimate judgment but rarely do they speak of a human tyrant that must surface prior to the culmination of history.[68] Dan 7:24 is an exception. It is thought to have referred to Antiochus IV, who for a time caused the Jews great oppression, but he soon passed.[69] Jenks finds it notable that neither the Animal Apocalypse nor Jubilees (each written from a similar period) retained much concern for such a character as a precursor to end time events.[70] While 2 Thess seems to mimic Daniel's expectation of a human tyrant, his tyrant is no longer influenced by an angel with territorial responsibilities, but by a singular cosmic figure.

Ephesians 2:2 (ruler of the air) and the military imagery of Eph 6:10–17 can be used to suggest the author was imaging a battle of cosmic scale. This view could be correlated with the War Scroll where history would culminate with a war between good and evil, between the forces

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others point to correlations with the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and he also points out that the Essenes are known to ban marriage.

[66] Collins (*I & II Timothy*, 113) remarks that the idea of God's people being led astray by demonic powers was relatively common in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 3:22; CD 2:17; 1QpHab 10:9) and highlights its prominance in T. 12 Patr. (T. Levi 16:1; T. Dan 5:5; T. Benj. 3:3; T. Reub 2:1–2; T. Sim. 3:1; 6:6; T. Jud. 14:8; 20:1).

[67] Weima, *1–2 Thessalonians*, 513. Morris (*1 and 2 Thessalonians*, 126) thinks it is evident that Paul has the same being in mind as John when he refers to the lawless one. He affirms that the lawless one is not Satan, but rather his instrument, imbued by Satan's spirit.

[68] Jenks, *Origins and Early Developments*, 183.

[69] Jenks, *Origins and Early Developments*, 155.

[70] Jenks, *Origins and Early Developments*, 161–62.

of God and the forces of Belial.[71] But some have noted that the believer's armor (Eph 6:14–17) is defensive in nature, suggesting a battle may not best fit the author's intention.[72] Grizzle insists that the sword of the spirit should be understood as offensive weaponry and that the gospel should be spoken forward into the arena of darkness so that men and women might hear and be delivered from Satan's grasp.[73] It should be noted that even this offensive perspective does not require Satan to be in opposition to God. The Rule of the Community presents a framework where two equal antithetical spirits have been created by God to struggle in the hearts of men (1QS 4:16). Despite the angel of Darkness being created with the intended purpose of inclining people towards sinfulness, God still hates its very impulse for all time (1QS 4:1). This suggests that God may hate the angel because the evil it represents is antithetical to God rather than for acting autonomously from him. Further, within the Rule of Community evil was not intended to harm people, but to test them. An armor of defense would have purpose against a spirit purposed to test one's fealty to God. The Rule of the Community required its leadership to walk with all by the standard of truth (1 QS 8:1–3). The required traits of these leaders have much in common with early Christian leaders like Timothy or the overseers of 1 Tim 3. An argument could be made that the view of Paul's later writings towards the Satan figure lie closer to the Rule of Community than the War Scroll. We are given little information about Satan himself, so the way we preload the term tends to dictate our interpretation.

Another concern of the disputed Pauline writings is false teaching which could itself be influenced by evil spirits and demons (1 Tim 4:1). This idea is prevalent within T. 12 Patr. (T.Levi 16:1; T. Dan 5:5; T. Benj. 3:3; T. Reub 2:1–2; T. Sim. 3:1; 6:6; T. Jud. 14:8; 20:1) but it suggests that apart from the evil influences, one has a conscience of the mind which is separate,

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[71] Duhaime ("War Scroll," 90) makes this connection.

[72] Bock, *Ephesians*, 199. Moses (*Practices of Power*, 14) when speaking of Arnold's theory on principalities and powers notes that Arnold, despite wanting to accept the reality of supernatural forces, insists that believers have been equipped with defensive forms of resistance. See Arnold, *Powers of Darkness*, 154.

[73] Grizzle, *Ephesians*, 173.

and which must incline one's will (T. Jud 20:2). This idea begs a further question of 1 Tim 4:1. Did the author suppose that the false teachers were mindless drones being activated by demonic powers, or were they simply people who had fallen prey to demonic suggestion, and now because of that influence were contributing to the purposes of evil? Ephesians 6:12 would seem to suggest that the latter is likely for it affirms that the struggle was not against flesh and blood but against the spiritual forces of the heavenly realms. These examples suggest that the disputed Pauline writings share ideas of Satan which fit well within the Two-Way tradition.

Hebrews

A date between 60–90 CE seems to be the most convincing.[74] The upper bound is generally based upon a citation of 1 Clement,[75]while the lower bound need be late enough to reflect that the addressees are long time Christians (5:12)[76] and to best account for the reference to persecution (10:32–34).[77] Hebrews only once speaks of the devil and it is implicated in a two-stage victory by Christ (2:14). The devil, along with his power over death, is said to have been destroyed (καταργήσῃ) through Christ's death, but this may be better translated as nullified since it does not immediately lead to the destruction of evil or the end of suffering.[78] Rather, there would be a future event where all Christ's enemies will once and for all be made his footstool (10:13). Hebrews inserts Christ into the prophetic psalm (Ps 110) and awaits the day of

[74] Peterson (*Hebrews*, 23) dates the writing between 64–68 CE. Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates to 67 CE. Bruce (*Epistle to the Hebrews*, 22) thinks it likely that the Hebrews was written shortly before 70 CE. Johnson (*Hebrews*, 40) dates between 45–70 CE. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 193) dates between 50 and 70. Cockerill (*Epistle to the Hebrews*, 72) dates between 50–90 CE. Koester (*Hebrews*, 50) dates between 60–90 CE. A terminus ad quem of 90 CE is generally posited for the writing since it is cited within 1 Clement (from Clement of Rome). Attridge (*Epistle to the Hebrews*, 9) questions the dating of 1 Clement and proceeds to date Hebrews between 60–100 CE.

[75] Peterson, *Hebrews*, 20.

[76] Attridge, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 6.

[77] Koester, *Hebrews*, 54.

[78] BDAG suggests that this verb could mean either to destroy or to make unproductive or powerless. Cockerill (*Epistle to the Hebrews*, 128) suggests that Jesus delivered from the "fear of death" (vv. 14–15) by removing the sin that brings judgment (vv. 16–18). Such an action does not require the destruction of the devil, only the nullification of his attempt to make humanity fearful of dying from their sinfulness.

wrath/judgment. The psalm envisions a day of battle and the destruction of kings, nations, and rulers of the earth (Ps 110:5–6), but never clearly depicts a cosmic adversary, so we are left trying to understand what this prophecy means for the devil whose power over death has been destroyed and what Jesus is doing as he awaits the day of judgment.[79] It is generally understood that Jesus substituted himself for those deserving of death[80] and that his death and resurrection had freed those in slavery to their fear of death (2:15).[81] But how should we envision the devil's association with God? Fuhrmann suggests there are two main tendencies, to understand the devil as either the accuser (in subordination to God) or as the embodiment of opposition to God.[82] If one understands the devil, and his power over death, to have been nullified then it lessens the need for him to be cast as an opponent of God.

Traces of Developing Traditions

There are three different Second Temple writings that are associated with the book of Hebrews, but each offer a distinct understanding of the Satan figure. Hebrews 11:37 could have been influenced by Asc. Is. 5:1 for it describes an unnamed individual being sawed in two for their faith.[83] When Isaiah is described as a prophet who sees more than Moses (Asc. Is. 3:8–9), one may think of Jesus' comparison to Moses in Heb 3:3. If Hebrews was drawing upon Asc. Is. then the devil could be interpreted as one who had the ability to kill people directly through his

[79] Commentators understand Christ's ongoing role differently as he awaits the day of wrath/judgment. Peterson (*Hebrews*, 230) sees him actively ruling his kingdom. As people of Christ proclaim his victory over sin and death, enemies become loyal subjects and his rule is extended. Cockerill (*Epistle to the Hebrews*, 280) sees Christ practicing a ministry of intercession as he awaits his second coming. Johnson (*Hebrews*, 253) pictures Christ passively sitting as he awaits the future day.

[80] Peterson (*Hebrews*, 96) points to the substitutionary nature of Christ's death (Heb 2:9) and the penal aspect of his sacrifice in Heb 2:14–15, 17.

[81] Dyer (*Synoptic Problem*, 86) notes how this phrase could be attached grammatically to either Jesus' death or resurrection.

[82] Fuhrmann, "Devil," 1.

[83] Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 77; Knibb, "Martyrdom," 149.

possession of human vessels (Asc. Is. 4:2; 5:1). By destroying the devil's power over death, people no longer had to fear that such a death would be their end.

Goodrick notes shared language between the Wisdom of Solomon and Hebrews[84] while other scholars see similarity in the way the devil is correlated with death (2:24). Peterson suggests that death entered the world when the devil seduced humankind to rebel against God (as in Gen 3).[85] This runs counter to Wis 10:3 which gives the impression that death came through the envy of Cain. Johnson suggests that the entire apocalyptic framework underlies the Hebrews formulation as though that framework is singular. [86] Bruce explains that the depiction in Wisdom of Solomon comes close to giving Satan the power over death much like (Job 1–2) where he acts as prosecutor in the heavenly court[87] and in 1 Cor 5:5 where a man was delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh.[88]

The Wisdom of Solomon tells how death came through the envy of the devil (2:24) yet it actually comes through the judgment of God (3:5, 10). Humans were created for incorruption (2:23), but because of the devil's influence they were corrupted. During one's life, people could call upon God's heavenly wisdom to guide their path so that they would be deemed worthy of immortality (3:4). Alternatively, they could stick to their wicked ways and be destroyed. If Hebrews draws upon this story, then by inserting the Christ event, death could be overcome by the gracious act of Jesus rather than through a life of choices which earn a favorable judgment by God. The Satan figure would only have power over death as far as he is able to cause people to make bad choices which lead to their negative judgment.

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[84] Goodrick (*Book of Wisdom,* 8) sees common language between Heb 1:3 and Wis 7:26; Heb 12:17 and Wis 12:10; Heb 12:6-11 and Wis 3:5; Heb 13:7 and Wis 2:17; Heb 3:5 and Wis 17:21, Heb 8:2 and Wis 9:8.

[85] Peterson, *Hebrews*, 95.

[86] Bruce, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 86.

[87] Johnson, *Hebrews*, 100.

[88] Johnson, *Hebrews*, 86n80.

A third writing correlated to Heb 2:14 is 11QMelchizedek.[89] Horton lists numerous parallels; (1) Christ and Melchizedek are both eschatological, redemptive figures, (2) both are exalted in the heavens, (3) both make atonement for sin, (4) both overcome the forces opposed by God, (5) both bring the promise of a new age, and (6) the idea of Sabbath rest in Heb 4:4, 9 is paralleled by the last Jubilee of 11Q13 1:2, 7, 9, 7).[90] These parallels do not require Hebrews to draw upon 11QMelchizedek rather than Gen 14, it only suggests that both could have influence. The contribution of 11Melchizedek could be the association of a cosmic adversary with the Melchizedek figure. An association with Belial from 11QMelchizedek would demand that the devil be seen as an antithetical opponent of Christ who had turned utterly wicked after rebelling from the precepts of God (11Q13 2:12). Like Hebrews, humanity required deliverance from their sins (11Q13 2:6) and Melchizedek (like Christ) had to deliver the people from the power of Belial (11Q13 2:13, 25). 11QMelchizedek expected Belial to be devoured by fire (3:7), but this expectation is not repeated in Hebrews. Hebrews looks forward to a second coming of Christ (10:37), wherein 11QMelchizedek the defeat would occur when Melchizedek first arrived (2:10–14).

Mark

The majority dating for the gospel of Mark lies between 65–73 CE.[91] Traditionally,[92] the gospel of Mark is thought to be based on Peter's recollections but others see a greater affinity towards Paul.[93] Mark's theological emphases is placed upon its Christology, its "Messianic Secret,"[94] its

[89] Stuckenbruck ("Melchizedek," 126) lists several elements that has fueled such speculation.

[90] Horton Jr., *Melchizedek Tradition*, 167.

[91] Bernier, *Rethinking the Dates*, 3. Bock (*Mark*, 1–10) provides a detailed review of perspectives held by modern commentators.

[92] Adamczewski (*Gospel of Mark*, 12–13) traces this association back to early patristic writers such as Papias (as contained in Eusebius, *Hist*. eccl. 3.39.15–16) and Ireneaus (*Haer*. 3.1.1; 3.10.5).

[93] Collins, *Mark*, 96. Bauckham (*Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 155) suggests that the tendency in recent scholarship is to deny that the Gospel shows signs of being based on the traditions of Peter. He provides reasoning for supporting an association with Peter. Adamczewski (*Gospel of Mark*, 12) argues for an association with Paul.

[94] Boring (*Mark*, 264) provides a helpful explanation of the "Messianic Secret" within Mark.

negative presentation of the disciples, its notion of discipleship, and the Passion.[95] Within Mark's Gospel, Jesus frequently refers to himself as the Son of Man, while the gospel itself reveals him to be a worker of miracles (healings, exorcisms, and miracles of nature), one with divine authority, and one described as the Son of God.[96]

Like the other synoptic gospels, Mark includes accounts of demon possession[97] but they play a unique role when examined in contrast to his points of emphasis. Mark emphasizes the power and authority of Jesus, with his miracles and his teachings, and this power is both recognized by and demonstrated upon evil spirits. Mark emphasizes the messianic secret, in that the crowds fail to understand who he is, the disciples misunderstand who he is, yet to the demons his identity is clear (the Son of God – Mark 3:11).[98] Satan (or the devil) is mentioned in four passages within Mark (Mark 1:13; 3:20–35; 4:1–20; 8:31–33) but some feel he is presented ambiguously.[99] The brevity of Mark's temptation account (Mark 1:13) fails to develop the same level of antithesis between Jesus and Satan as in the other synoptics.

Mark 3:20–35 gives us the impression that Satan rules over the demons and that he is in direct opposition to Jesus who has been releasing people from his grip (cf. Isa 49:24–26).[100] Jesus speaks of Satan and his kingdom when he defends himself against charges from scribes from Jerusalem[101] who make the accusation that he has been casting out spirits through the

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[95] Stein, *Mark*, 21–34.

[96] Stein, *Mark*, 21–23.

[97] Stuckenbruck, *Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 169. He goes onto explain that Jesus' exorcisms were associated with the beginning of God's rule and that an exorcism indicated that God's power was being made evident.

[98] Boring (*Mark*, 266) suggests that all characters with transcendental knowledge perceive Jesus' identity; (1) the angels (1:13), (2) demons (1:24, 34; 3:11; 5:7), (3) Elijah and Moses (9:2–10), and (4) God himself (1:2–3, 11; 9:7).

[99] Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 160) and Bruin ("Defense of New Testament Satanologies," 444) both express concerns that Satan within the gospel of Mark is presented ambiguously. Wright suggests he appears as an adversary but that he could be both human and heavenly. Bruin suggests he is never called evil, we are told nothing of his beginning and end, he does not deceive or tempt people to sin, and he does not oppose God.

[100] Bock, *Mark*, 169. In Isa 49:24–26, the Lord proclaims through Isaiah, that despite their great strength, he would overcome their captors and rescue his people from the nations.

[101] The scribes, like many others in the early part of the gospel, misunderstand the power and authority demonstrated by Jesus.

power of Beelzebul (the ruler of the demons).[102] Jesus goes onto suggest that the strong man (Satan) would need to be bound for one to plunder his house (or to free those held captive by his demons).[103] Because he has been casting out demons on his travels, Jesus appears to have already overcome Satan. His victory appears earlier than other writings for John 12:31 associates it with Jesus' death and resurrection, and Rev 12:7–12 associates it with the time of the seventh trumpet.[104] This discussion with the scribes is sandwiched by two mentions of Jesus' family (3:21; 31–33) who like the scribes misunderstand his actions. Jesus declares that his true family are those who do the will of God. This idea of an ingroup is continued into the parable which follows in Mark 4.

After Jesus tells a crowd a parable about a sower who throws down seed onto four different soils (4:1–9), he tells his disciples that he speaks in parables so that people would not understand (4:12). This gives the impression that those who understood were part of an ingroup. The four soils of the parable represent four types of people who all respond differently when presented with the word (or gospel).[105] The first group have the word stolen by Satan, the second and third receive the word but fail to act on it because of the threat of suffering or the lure of conflicting desires, while the fourth group hear the word and act upon it bearing much fruit. Three of the four scenarios fit best a person being called to respond, while the first scenario describes one unable to make an appropriate response because of outside influence. Mark 1:13

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[102] Beelzebul never occurs within the Second Temple writings. Bock (*Mark*, 169) notes that a similar name (בעל זבוב) (Baal Zebub) is used in 2 Kgs 1:2 to describe a god associated with Ekron. Collins (*Mark*, Mark, 230) suggests that Baal Zebub is a play on words of Baal Zabul which means Baal the prince. She suggests that this change of names could mean that the ancient deity was still known but now as a demon rather than a deity. The Testament of Solomon describes a demon named Beelzebul who professes to be the leader of the demons and the only one left of the heavenly angels (Watchers) who fell (6:1–2), but this writing is thought to be a third century Christian writing. See Duling, "The Testament of Solomon: Retrospect and Prospect," 91.

[103] The strongman passage shows influence of Isa 49:24–26, where the Lord proclaims through Isaiah, that despite their great strength, he would overcome their captors and rescue his people from the nations. See Bock, *Mark*, 169.

[104] Dochhorn, "Devil," 105.

[105] Collins (*Mark*, 251) points out that the relationship between Mark 1:14–15 and 2:2 and suggests that for Mark, the good news, the gospel, and the word were all equivalent.

and 8:31–33 show Satan influencing both Jesus and Peter, suggesting that no one is immune to his threat.

Traces of Developing Traditions

There are several aspects of the Markan presentation which could be equated to the Watcher tradition. The demons who are confronted repeatedly throughout the gospel could be traced back to the Watcher offspring (1 Enoch 15:9–10) who were left to cause corruption and sorrow upon the Earth. Jesus' binding of the strongman (Mark 3:27) is reminiscent of the bindings of Asael (1 Enoch. 10:4), Mastema (Jub 48:15), and Asmodeus (Tob 8:3). The binding of Mastema offers the best fit for it was only a temporal binding which allowed the Israelites a chance to leave Egypt. Jubilees presents Mastema (Satan in Jub 10:12) as the ruler of the demons like Satan within Mark.[106] Jubilees 11:11 also tells how Mastema sends crows and birds to snatch away the seeds that were being sown to rob humanity of their labors.[107] Mark's offers a different referent for the seeds in his parable of the sower, but the imagery is close enough to suggest possible influence.

The Book of Parables, another writing from the Watcher Tradition is commonly associated with the gospels because of their emphasis on the significance of the Son of Man. The Enochian Son of Man is described as an eschatological judge, as one seated on God's throne, as a human who was preexistent prior to creation, as one who shares a name with the Lord, and as one who would be worshipped.[108] Despite having commonality with the notion of the Son of Man from the Book of Parables, Satan within Mark functions very different, for rather than

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[106] Farrar ("New Testament Satanology," 60) highlights other Second Temple writings where a Satan figure has rule over other demonic or angelic figures (1 En. 54:5–6; CD 12:2–3; 1QM 13:1–6; 1QS 3:24) suggesting this notion was common.

[107] Farrar ("New Testament Satanology," 41) suggests that Jubilees may have influenced the Parable of the Sower in Mark 4:15 and its parallels.

[108] Gieschen ("Importance of the Parables," 56–62) draws attention to each of these features which are associated to the Son of Man within the Book of Parables. Dunn ("Son of Man," 27) suggests the gospel of Matthew may have a greater claim of influence from the Book of Parables.

corrupt humanity through his revelation of heavenly mysteries, he is seen as the orchestrator behind demonic forces which plague humanity.

Matthew

Despite no consensus, Bernier suggests the majority dating for the Gospel of Matthew is 70–75 CE but this fails to reflect how many scholars strongly support an earlier date[109] and how many admit that a firm date cannot be provided.[110] It seems most reasonable to widen the date range to 60–80 CE. Matthew incorporates about 90 percent of Mark[111] but it can be read as either a compliment or an alternative to Mark's gospel.[112] Matthew's gospel is seen to have a Jewish orientation,[113] yet as such, it offers a strong polemic against the dominant Jewish group of the time, the Pharisees.[114] Matthew's identifications of Jesus (Messiah, son of David, son of Abraham - 1:1) are used to support his claim to authority, his royal lineage, his role as eschatological judge, and his relevance for both Jew and Gentile. Jesus takes on the role of a

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[109] Bernier, *Rethinking the Dates*, 3. Bernier supports a date earlier than 62 CE (66). Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 353) dates between 40–60 CE. France (*Matthew*, 18e; *Gospel of Matthew*, 19) favors an early date, like the 60's as suggested by Irenaeus. Luz (*Matthew 1–7*, 59) dates to 80 CE. Culpepper (*Matthew*, 69) dates between 75–100 CE. Sanders and Davies (*Studying the Synoptic Gospels*, 17) date between 90–100 CE.

[110] Turner (*Matthew*, 13–14) refrains from giving a date and instead lists points which could be used to support pre and post 70 dates. He lists numerous scholars who support a pre-70 CE dating, but he suggests they do not tend to be dogmatic about their position (14). France (*Matthew*, 18e) suggests that his dating can only be advanced tentatively.

[111] Culpepper, *Matthew*, 59. Porter and Dyer (*Synoptic Problem*, 7) contrast this against only 50 percent being used within Luke's gospel.

[112] Culpepper (*Matthew*, 77) states that Matthew's alterations of Mark, his elevation of Peter, and his demand for observance of the law suggest contact with Pauline Christians and a concerted effort to construct an alternate path for Matthew's community. In contrast to the Pauline mission, he says Matthew projects a Torah observant mission, calling gentiles to repent and become Jews, observe Torah, and follow Jesus' teachings (64). Pagels (*Origin of Satan*, 64) contrasts the followers of Peter, Matthew, and Paul as distinct worship groups.

[113] Turner (*Matthew*, 17) explains that Matthew's use of the Hebrew Bible is the primary reason for this association. Culpepper (*Matthew*, 58) suggests that Matthew frames Jesus in biblical molds, as an interpreter of Mosaic law and as a healer and miracle worker like Moses and Elijah. He is the Davidic Messiah, the Danielic Son of Man, the Isaianic suffering servant, and the persecuted righteous one of the Psalms and Wisdom literature.

[114] Pagels (*Origin of Satan*, 87) suggests that Matthew dissociates Jesus' followers from those he calls the Jews and tries to account for the hostility and disbelief that he and his fellow Christians encountered from the Jewish majority. She suggests that like the Essenes, the antagonism between Jesus and his enemies is escalated to a point, where it is expressed in cosmic terms (84).

teacher who reinterprets Jewish laws, and who speaks of the coming kingdom of heaven (4:17, 10:7). Throughout Jesus' ministry, he experiences conflict over his authority, and this is portrayed as resistance against the coming kingdom. Matthew provides more references (than Mark) to demons and Satan and gives them a different purpose.[115] His narrative offers a dualistic framework, where people are arranged into two antithetical groups, one aligning with the kingdom of heaven, and the other with Satan and his kingdom of demons. The two groups are in conflict and would face an eventual judgment which would determine their eschatological future (Matt 13:38–39; 25:32–34, 41).

In Matthew's expanded wilderness temptation, Satan (the devil) tempts Jesus after he fasted forty days and nights in the wilderness.[116] Satan's opposition to Jesus bears a resemblance to the opposition he faced from religious leaders, in that Satan questioned Jesus' authority, [117] and Jesus responds with his interpretation of Scripture.[118] In each of these temptations Jesus' response can be compared to Israel in their wilderness wanderings, yet where they failed he provided a proper response.[119] Satan tempts Jesus three times; (1) to command stones to change into bread (4:3; cf. Exod 16:13–15), (2) to throw himself off the temple to prove that God would send angels to protect him (4:6; cf. Exod 14:19; 23:20), and 3) by offering him the kingdoms of the world if he would only worship him (4:9; cf. Exod 32:4; Num 25:3). Both the ordering[120] and the progression[121] within these temptations are frequently noted. The only power that Satan

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[115] Koskenniemi ("Miracles of the Devil," 97) observes that Matthew acknowledges that miracles exist but tries to downplay them.

[116] Orlov (*Dark Mirrors*, 107) speculates why in Matthew the temptation begins after forty days of fasting while Luke and Mark describe the fast as lasting forty days.

[117] Pagels (*Origin of Satan*, 81) remarks that the wilderness temptation turns Satan into a caricature of a scribe, a debater skilled in verbal challenge and adept in quoting the Scriptures for diabolical purposes.

[118] Jesus responds to each temptation with Scripture (Deut 8:2; 6:16; 6:13).

[119] Culpepper (*Matthew*, 116) notes that similarities between Israel and Jesus are not only contained within the wilderness temptations.

[120] The two gospels reverse the order of the final two temptations. Like their respective version of the wilderness temptation, the gospel of Matthew concludes on a mountain (Matt 28:16), and the gospel of Luke at the temple (Luke 24:53).

[121] McMains ("Deliver Us," 139–40) sees an ascension in the setting from the wilderness to the pinnacle of the temple and then to the top of a mountain. He also a progression in the severity of the temptation.

shows is the ability to transport Jesus. Orlov points out that this is a function normally performed by an angel of God.[122] Similar to some Second Temple writings, Jesus's use of Scripture defends him against the trials of Satan and causes him to leave.[123]

Matthew only uses the term Satan in reused material from Mark (Mark 1:13; 3:23; 8:33; Matt 4:10; 12:26; 16:23). In new material, he prefers the terms devil (Matt 13:39; 25:41) and πονηρος (evil or evil one) (Matt 5:37; 6:13; 13:19, 38). The Lord's prayer (Matt 6:5–15) utilizes the term πονηρου[124] but there is debate whether this term makes reference to a personal being.[125] France suggests that the sense of the phrase is not greatly affected by the choice.[126] In ALD 3:9 and Jubilees 12:20 prayers are offered for protection against generalized evil while in Jubilees (10:6; 10:28–29) it specifically seeks help against Mastema and his demons. Wold claims this prayer highlights another distinction between the gospels of Mark and Matthew. In Mark, Jesus' victory over demons is a sign that the new era has arrived, but in Matthew, Jesus must conquer demons until the end of the era.[127]

When Matthew retells Mark's story about Jesus being accused of acting by the power of Beelzebul it comes after the Pharisees were angered by Jesus' actions on the Sabbath. Because they had just held a council on how to destroy Jesus (Matt 12:14) we are given the sense of escalating opposition. It is the Pharisees who raise the charge against Jesus (rather than the scribes as in Mark) so we are given the sense these charges are connected to the council's decision. Jesus remarks that if he were casting demons out by the spirit of God, then the

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[122] Orlov, *Dark Mirrors*, 108.

[123] Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 150) sees a parallel in the Damascus Document (CD 16) where if one would follow Scripture properly and turn to God for their sanctuary, the Angel of Mastema must leave them.

[124] The parallel passage in Luke 11:1–4, as typically presented in English translations, omits Matthew's ending to the prayer which asks for deliverance from πονηροῦ.

[125] Culpepper (*Matthew*, 169) notes that "the adjective ponēros, used substantively, can mean either 'evil' (neuter: KJV, RSV) or 'the evil one' (masculine: NIV, NRSV)."

[126] France, *Matthew*, 152.

[127] Wold, "Apotropaic Prayer," 109. By drawing on the Damascus Document, Wold notes that "unlike the Temptation in Mark, in Matthew Jesus is not so much *defeating* Satan once and for all as *turning him away* with Scripture."

Kingdom of God had come upon them (12:28) and whoever was not with him was against him (12:30).[128] This polarization suggests that all fall within one of two opposing groups. When Jesus later describes his true family as those who do the will of God (12:50), it becomes evident that a Jew could not rely upon genealogy to provide entry into the kingdom of God.

Matthew's use of the parable of the Sower (13:10–23) clarifies that seeds have been sown in people's hearts, and when they do not understand what they have heard, the evil one snatches it away (13:19). Four parables follow, two which highlight the great value of the kingdom of heaven (13:31–35; 44–46),[129] and two which describe the final judgment, the Parable of the Weeds (13:24–29, 36–43) and the Parable of the Net (13:47–52). In the Parable of the Weeds good seed is sown, yet weeds (sown by the devil – 13:39) come up with the wheat. The good seed is identified as the sons of the kingdom, and the weeds the sons of the evil one (13:37–38). Culpepper finds these terms reminiscent of the ethical dualism in 1QS 3:13—4:26.[130] It would not be until the harvest at the end of the age that angels would separate weeds from wheat (13:39) and have them burned in a fiery furnace (13:42). The Parable of the Nets reiterates that at the end of the age, humanity would be divided into two groups, the evil and the righteous, with the evil being destroyed by fire (13:49–50).

In Matt 25:31–46 (unique to Matthew), focus is once again placed upon the judgment at the end of the age, where the Son of Man (Jesus) will come with his angels in glory, sit on his throne (25:31; cf. Dan 7:13–14),[131] and divide humanity into two groups for judgment which would result in either eternal punishment or eternal life (25:46). Culpepper notes that there is sharp debate over whether this judgment was inclusive to Israel or exclusive to mean all

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[128] Culpepper (*Matthew*, 260), contrasts Mark 9:40 (whoever is not against us is for us) with Matt 12:30 and suggests these two statements offer different truths in that Mark illustrates ecumenical openness, and that Matthew demands a confession.

[129] Commonly referred to as the Parable of the Mustard Seed and the Yeast and the Parables of the Hidden Treasure and the Pearl.

[130] Culpepper, *Matthew*, 277.

[131] Culpepper, *Matthew*, 472. The Book of Parables offers a similar scene for in 1 Enoch 55:4 the Elect One (also referred to as the Son of Man) would sit on the throne of glory and judge Azazel and all his company.

gentiles.[132] France rejects the possibility that any humans would be met with eternal punishment, saying that the cursed would receive a fate not meant to be theirs.[133] Luz rejects any universal reconciliation being read into the passage.[134] This passage better supports Luz's position for it clarifies that the two groups would be distinguished by their ethical behavior (13:41). In Matthew we learn very little about the history, nature, or power of Satan. Satan is depicted as an antithetical figure to Jesus, who represents all who fail to respond to the gospel of Jesus.

Traces of Developing Traditions

In the wilderness temptation, Satan personally targets an individual with his trials/temptations like T. Job or the serpent of Gen 3. Naab sees a connection between Matt 4:1–11 and T.Job 27:1–7 in that Satan is not only subjected to God, but also to those who have fortitude and endurance in suffering.[135] Satan retreats from both Job and Jesus, but in Matthew Satan does not cause direct harm like in T. Job. The serpent of the garden story offers a closer match by using words to tempt.

Jesus shows an unwillingness to bow before Satan, just as in LAE, where Satan was unwilling to bow before Adam. Orlov suggests that when the devil asks Jesus to bow down and worship, he appears to be alluding to the Adamic account of the fall of Satan who refused to venerate Adam (Vita 13:3).[136] After Jesus was tempted (Matt 4:11) the angels came to διηκόνουν (minister) to him. The dating of LAE along with Matthew's disinterest in Adam makes it unlikely that it had influence on Matthew's gospel, but the two passages do offer an interesting contrast. Scholars see parallels between the Son of Man in the Book of Parables and in

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[132] Culpepper, *Matthew*, 472. Luz (*Matthew 21–28*, 275) explains that the word ἔθνη (nations) as in 24:9, 14 usually designates the non-Israelite (and non-Christian) Gentiles but thinks that in 25:32 it is meant to refer to all the peoples of the earth, including the church.

[133] France, *Matthew*, 394.

[134] Luz, *Matthew 21–28*, 282.

[135] Naab, "Testament of Job," 152.

[136] Orlov, "Watchers of Satanail," 179.

Matthew.[137] The Book of Parables (1 En. 55:4) depicts the Elect One (Son of Man) sitting on the throne of glory and judging Azazel and all his company but Matthew's expectation of eventual judgment along with its rewards and punishments are shared with writings from both the Watcher and Two-Way traditions.[138]

Matthew offers a strong affinity towards the Two-Way tradition as it is represented in the Damascus Document. Its author saw his group as inheritors of the covenant of Israel despite separating themselves from the mainline religious group over differences in interpretation (CD 6:19). They saw themselves in a time where Belial and his spirits were unrestrained (CD 4:13; 12:2). Matthew distinguishes his own Jewish group from that of the Pharisees by their interpretation of Scripture (Matt 5–7),[139] and he describes the prevalence of wickedness caused by the evil one in his current age (13:38–40). The Damascus document looked forward to the time when God would bring them a righteous teacher to lead them in his ways (CD 6:10–11). Jesus exhibits similar traits in the Gospel of Matthew when he draws upon divine authority and reinterprets Old Testament Scriptures. In the Damascus Document, the Torah served as protection against Belial and that those who entered the covenant and adhered to the statutes would be released from his grips (CD 8:1–2; 16:5). Jesus utilizes Scripture in his responses to Satan and we see at the end of that confrontation, Satan leaves him (Matt 4:1–11). The covenant group of the Damascus Document were identified as the sons of light and contrasted themselves against outsiders who are identified as sons of darkness (4Q266 f1 ii: 1:1-2). Matthew describes

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[137] Moscicke ("Final Judgment," 12) lists numerous points of correspondence between the Son of Man as described in Matt 25:31–46 and 1 En. 62–63. Nickelsburg and VanderKam (*1 Enoch 1*, 84) connect 1 En. 62–63 with Matt 25:31–46. Charlesworth ("Did Jesus Know," 209) points out that in both the Book of Parables and in the Jesus traditions, the Son of Man is enthroned and provides eternal life for the elect. He that Jesus may have debated with Enoch devotees as he debated the Pharisees.

[138] Farrar ("New Testament Satanology," 60) lists parallel passages which correlate to Matthew on eschatological punishment (Matt 25:41; 1 En. 54:5–6; 4QCurses, 4QBerakhot), rule over demonic forces (Matt 25:41; Jub 10:8–11; 1 En. 54:5–6; CD 12:2–3; 1 QM 13:1–6; 1 QS 3:24), and Satan's rule over the present age (Matt 13:38–42; Jub 10:8–11; CD 4:12–19; 1 QM 14:9; 1 QS 4:19–20).

[139] Pagels (*Origin of Satan*, 83) sees a similar antagonism between Jesus and his enemies as in the literature of the Essenes, especially between those whom Matthew's Jesus calls the sons of the kingdom and the sons of the evil one (13:38).

those who follow Jesus as sons of the kingdom and all those who are not with him as sons of the evil one (13:37–38) suggesting he shares a similar dualistic framework. Both the Damascus Document and the gospel of Matthew look forward to the end of their current era, when all those who chose to turn away from God would be destroyed (4Q266 f1 ii:1:3–6; Matt 25:46).

Luke - Acts

Perrin suggests that Luke has been dated into four different time periods (mid first century, early 60's, 75–85 CE, and first half of second century) but that the lower and upper extremes tend to be minority positions.[140] For this study Luke will be dated between 75–85 CE since the argument for Markan priority seems stronger than the argument of silence regarding the cutoff of Acts. Almost all scholars acknowledge that Luke and Acts share the same author[141] and it is reasonable to assume they were both written within the same decade (75–85 CE). [142] To allow the date to slip much further would be to suggest that the author should not be correlated to the "we" of the narrative.[143]

Luke's narrative is described as a salvation history[144] which presents Jesus, the Messiah, as the focal point of all history.[145] The Lukan writings emphasize the continued presence and power of the Holy Spirit throughout its narrative (Luke 1:35, 41; 3:22; 4:14; Acts 2:4), it repeatedly highlights instances of status inversion,[146] and shows how the gentile mission follows

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[140] Perrin, *Luke*, xxxii.

[141] Keener, *Acts*, 48. Pervo (*Acts*, 7) seems to be an exception. As a supporter of a late date (115 CE), he thinks it key that Papias speaks of the gospel of Mark and Luke but not Acts.

[142] Marshall (*Acts*, 38) and Bock (*Acts*, 27) date to 70 CE. Keener (*Acts*, 46) and Polhill (*Acts*, 24) date to the 70s. Holladay (*Acts*, 7) to the 80s or 90s. Bruce (*Book of Acts*, 12) dates between 69–96 CE. Pervo (*Acts*, 5) dates to 115 CE.

[143] Keener (*Acts*, 48) suggests that a second century dating of Acts would force one to accept that the author was not a companion of Paul.

[144] Morris (*Luke*, 44) notes that the term salvation is absent from Matthew and Mark yet occurs repeatedly throughout both Luke and Acts.

[145] Jesus' birth is foretold by angelic messenger (1:31–32) and from the beginning he is depicted as the one who would bring salvation (1:77).

[146] Carroll, *Luke*, 10.

Jewish rejection.[147] Apart from content taken from Mark (the wilderness temptation, the Beezelbul controversy, and the Parable of the Sower), Luke's presentation of Satan and his forces centers around demonic possession and the confrontations that occur between the possessed and those endowed with power by the Holy Spirit. Luke's narrative highlights the empowerment of the 72 disciples and the associated fall of Satan (Luke 10:17–20), it describes Jesus' arrest as the hour that darkness would reign (Luke 22:53), and it describes repeated instances where apostles post-Pentecost are able to discern and overpower individuals possessed by Satan and his evil spirits (Acts 5:1–10; 8:9–25; 13:6–12; 16:16–18). The Lukan narrative highlights the power that comes with the arrival of the Kingdom of God, and the continued conflict that takes place with Satan and his forces of evil.

Satan's presence in Luke's narrative is first evidenced within the wilderness temptation (Luke 4:1–13). Jesus is filled with the Holy Spirit (4:1),[148] and then led by it when confronted by the devil in the wilderness.[149] In the Lukan framework attention is drawn towards the conflict between two powers. The early prophecies signal the coming of a savior who would free his people from their enemies (Luke 1:71) and the wilderness temptation gives the impression this has a cosmic dimension. In Matthew, the devil leaves Jesus after the three temptations, but in Luke he would only depart until an opportune time (Luke 4:13).

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[147] Bock (*Acts*, 24) stresses that Christianity did not seek to be a distinct faith but was forced to become such because of the rejection the movement received from official Judaism. Fitzmyer (*Luke the Theologian*, 164) describes Jesus' experience within Luke as unique, for it includes the opposition, hostility, and rejection he faced during his ministry.

[148] Unlike Matthew and Mark, Jesus' baptism and wilderness temptation is separated by a genealogy which extends from Jesus back to Adam, the first man. Turner (*Matthew*, 31) suggests this genealogy is intended to create a comparison between Adam the first man, and Jesus the second Adam. When Adam was tempted, he failed, but Jesus did not. Turner's suggestion implies that Luke's theology resembled that of Paul, who tells of death entering through Adam, and life through Christ (Rom 5:12–21). Orlov ("Watchers of Satanail," 498) draws a similar association between Luke and Paul and goes onto to suggest that they both had a message of universality of salvation.

[149] Matthew and Mark both note the Spirit descending upon Jesus at his baptism (Matt 3:16; Mark 1:10) and in both it leads him *into* the wilderness. For Luke, it leads him *when in* the wilderness. Carroll (*Luke*, 102) notes how Jesus did not have to face the devil alone, for the Spirit led him through his ordeal of testing.

After his wilderness temptation, Luke describes Jesus' ministry in Galilee (4:14–9:50) through which he continued to be filled with the power of the Spirit (4:14). His Galilean ministry is marked by repeated encounters with individuals possessed by spirits (4:31–37, 41; 7:21; 8:26–39; 9:37–43, 49). People were amazed by Jesus' authority when he cast out demons (4:36) and this authority is further signaled to the reader when the demons identify him as the Messiah (4:41).[150] Jesus sends out his twelve disciples with the power and authority to heal diseases and to drive out demons (Luke 9:1) but on one occasion they were unable to do so (Luke 9:40). Mark and Matthew provide reasons for their failure (Matt 17:20; Mark 9:29) but in Luke we are given the impression that the disciples lacked the necessary strength.

After the narrative transitions to Jesus' movement towards Jerusalem (9:51), Jesus sends seventy[151] disciples ahead of him (10:1) to cure the sick and to tell of the coming Kingdom of God (10:9). When the disciples return, rather than celebrate the response of the people, they show their joy that demons had submitted to them (10:17). This prompts Jesus to say that he had watched Satan fall from heaven like a flash of lightening (Luke 10:18) and he reiterates how he had given them power over the enemy. This not only highlights how the power to battle the enemy was being extended to Jesus' followers but begs the question what Jesus meant when he spoke of Satan's fall.[152] Luke's narrative continues to describe incidents involving those who are possessed, suggesting that what Jesus saw may be in the future (contra Ezek 28 and Isa 14).[153]

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[150] Cserhati ("Binding the Strongman," 113) thinks that Luke has a tendency of drawing attention away from the details of the actual affliction to the healing and liberating activity of Jesus.

[151] Some textual witnesses number the disciples at 70, while others number 72. Morris (*Luke*, 200) describes how this issue determines who the text relates to OT referents. Some think the number may be symbolic of the nations of the world provided in Gen 10 (70 in Hebrew, 72 in Greek), while others associate it with Num 11 where seventy elders (as well as two who were not present) received a portion of the Spirit.

[152] Green (*Gospel of Luke*, 418–19) outlines four potential alternatives; (1) Jesus was referencing a primordial event, (2) Jesus was referencing an event from his own life like his confrontation with the devil in the wilderness, (3) that Jesus is speaking of a future event such as his death and resurrection, or (4) he was looking forward to the culminating victory over Satan.

[153] Russell (*Devil*, 196) suggests that Luke seems to have united the idea of the fallen angels with Lucifer (Isa 14:12) but that the connection of Satan's fall to a primordial event only became a clearly articulated tradition during the third century by Origen (195). Dochhorn ("Devil," 105) likewise suggests that Mark and Luke 10:18

Susan Garret takes Jesus' statement as affirmation that news brought by the disciples demonstrates that inroads were being made into the dominion of Satan.[154] She interprets the death and resurrection of Jesus to mark a turning point in the power balance between the Kingdom of God and the dominion of Satan. This conclusion is based upon the observation that the authority of the disciples pale in comparison to what was demonstrated post-resurrection.[155]

The original reading of the Lord's prayer of Luke (11:2–4) is thought, unlike Matthew, to lack a petition for deliverance from the πονηροῦ.[156] This serves to emphasize that in Luke deliverance comes directly through those empowered by the Holy Spirit. The teaching on prayer is followed by a modified version of the Beelzelbul controversy. The accusation comes from the crowd (11:15), rather than from the scribes or Pharisees. The one stronger than the strongman (Satan) removes his armor (rather than binding him) and divides his plunder (rather than plundering his house) (11:22). In this version, Satan is overcome but not restrained, and that which he has taken has been retrieved. Luke suggests that Jesus is acting by the finger of God (recalling Exod 8:19) and he equates Jesus' power to that of God who overpowered Pharaoh to free Israel. Carroll insists that the intertextual echo makes clear that in Jesus' activity God is powerfully opposing forces that oppress God's people, thus liberating them.[157] This scene establishes Satan as the leader of the demons (cf. Acts 10:38), positions Jesus as a powerful liberator, but shows that while battles are being won, Satan and his forces are still very active (11:24–26).

Luke tells of three further individuals influenced by Satan which give the impression of an escalation in Satan's efforts. These include a woman who had been bound by Satan for

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associate Satan's fall with Jesus' life, John 12:31 associates it with his death and resurrection, and Rev 12:7–12 associates it with the birth and death of Christ.

[154] Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 50.

[155] Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 57.

[156] NA28 notes that multiple manuscripts including Codex Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus include the petition, but its eclectic text (supported by Codex Vaticanus) omits it.

[157] Carroll, *Luke*, 256.

eighteen years (Luke 13:10–17), Judas his disciple (Luke 22:3), and Peter (Luke 22:31–32). The freeing of the woman shows that Jesus can liberate even the most tightly held captives. Luke is the only synoptic gospel to attribute Judas' betrayal to Satan (cf. John 13:2, 27)[158] and this implicates him in the events leading to Jesus' capture and crucifixion.[159] Jesus acknowledges, that even Peter would be prone to Satan's advances. Jesus prays that his faith would endure and that he would be able to recover and strengthen others. Commentators tend to see similarities between Luke 22:31 and Job 1–2, but translations disagree over how strongly Satan sought to sift the disciples like wheat.[160] The ESV and NASB say that Satan "demanded", the NIV and ASV say that Satan "asked", and the KJV and DRC suggest Satan "desired." If Satan desired to sift the disciples like wheat it suggests Satan acted with autonomy and that Jesus was privy to his machinations. It is unlikely that Satan would be shown to have the authority to make a demand of God. If he made a request his behavior would be reminiscent of the adversary of Job 1–2 whose actions were done in subordination to the will of God. Acts 26 would suggest that Satan desired to sift the disciples like wheat for it places God and Satan in opposition.[161]

Luke 22:53 can be read as a climax to Satan's escalating advances, for when Jesus is arrested, it signaled the hour when darkness would reign. Green clarifies that darkness is symbolic of the authority of Satan (Acts 26:18).[162] The image of darkness returns in a more physical form leading up to Jesus' death (23:44) suggesting that Jesus' death is part of Satan's short-lived reign. The end of Satan's reign may be correlated with Jesus' resurrection (Luke 24:46–49) or further to the future (like with Jesus' second coming). Green opts for the future

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[158] Morris (*Luke*, 71–72) suggests the two gospels were relying upon two allied streams of oral tradition (72). Walton and Walton (*Demons and Spirits*, 257) see this as one of the most notable instances of Satan motivating human behavior.

[159] Bruin, "Defense of New Testament Satanologies," 445.

[160] Carroll, *Luke*, 441; Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 772; Bovon, *Luke 3*, 177.

[161] Bruin, "Defense of New Testament Satanologies," 447.

[162] Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 785.

because Satan's forces are still active in Acts.[163] Garrett prefers Jesus' resurrection because disciples act with greater authority against him in Acts.[164]

Acts continues to describe the expansion of the Jesus movement outwards towards the heart of the empire,[165] and as the narrative progresses the apostles are met with continued opposition from Jews, Gentiles, and by individuals influenced by Satan.[166] While Satan's advances continue, the Apostles act with absolute authority over his forces (Acts 5:1–10; 8:6–7; 13:11; 16:18). Their power is contrasted against the seven sons of the High Priest Sceva who were unsuccessful in establishing authority over evil spirits (Acts 19:13–20).

When Paul's conversion is described for the third time by Luke,[167] Paul admits that Jesus had been revealed to him so that he would go to the Gentiles to open their eyes from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God, so that they may receive forgiveness of their sins and be placed among those sanctified by faith (Acts 26:18). Acts concludes by reiterating that the Jesus movement created division within the Jewish ranks but was openly received by Gentiles (28:17, 24). Luke's presentation of division is less severe than Matthew. Commentators tend to see a universalistic message offered by Luke.[168]

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[163] Green, *Gospel of Luke*, 419.

[164] Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 58.

[165] Keener, *Acts*, 65. He points out that Acts leaves the mission unfinished, but that Paul had laid a solid foundation for a model of continuing mission of the church until the return of Jesus (67).

[166] Keener (*Acts*, 57) points out that even in cases where opposition comes from Gentile crowds, Jews are often responsible for the instigation of those confrontations.

[167] Keener (*Acts*, 56) points out that Luke signals points he wishes to emphasize through repetition. He says the gentile mission is highlighted by the Cornelius narrative (Acts 10–11, 15), Paul's conversion (Acts 9, 22, 26), and Roman hearings of Paul all occurring three times.

[168] Morris (*Luke*, 44–45) and Carroll (*Luke*, 11) both draw attention to this aspect of Luke's writings. Carroll points to Peter's speech of Acts 3:11–26 where he refers to God's promise to Abraham that through him all families of the earth would be blessed.

Traces of Developing Traditions

Garrett suggests that Luke's description of Satan's fall (10:18) alludes to Isa 14 but also draws upon 11QMelchizedek.[169] For Garret, the logic of Isa 14 supports Luke's expectation that Satan must be brought down from his position of control, of having the inhabited world at his beck and call.[170] This allusion is signalled first with the woe of Capernaum (Luke 10:15; cf. Isa 14:11–15), and a similar logic is demonstrated in Luke's interpretation of Herod's fall (Acts 12:21–23). Satan overreached when he sought to be worshiped by Jesus during the temptation account (Luke 4:7; cf. Isa 14:13). While interpreters commonly associate Luke's falling passage with that of Isa 14,[171] Garrett suggests 11QMelchizedek is especially important for understanding Luke for in that writing Melchizedek would take his throne in the heights to exact the vengeance of the judgments of God from the hand of Belial and from the spirits of his lot (11Q13 2:10–12; cf. Ps 82:1).[172] The vengeance would deliver God's people, the captives, from the power of Belial and from the power of the spirits predestined to him (11Q13 2:13). Garrett suggests that in Acts 2:22–36, Luke stresses the enthronement of Jesus that took place after his death and resurrection[173] and that this illustrates his view that at the point of Jesus' exaltation he confronted Satan and emerged the victor. Jesus' enthronement did not mark the destruction of Satan, but a deliverance from his power. The narrative of Luke presents a shifting balance of power between the kingdom of God and the forces of evil which reaches a crescendo in Luke 22:53 when the story reaches the hour that darkness would reign.

Luke speaks of the ongoing presence of evil in his world and this evil is manifest primarily through demonic forces, which in his understanding are headed by Satan. This orientation is reminiscent of Jubilees where Mastema and the spirits subordinate to him are left to plague humanity. This connection is strengthened if Satan's action in Luke 22:31 is

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[169] Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 50–52.
[170] Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 50.
[171] See p. 31n20.
[172] Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 53.
[173] Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 53.

interpreted as a request, for this could be likened to Mastema's request to retain spiritual forces at his behest. If interpreted as a desire, then the antithetical framework of Acts 26:18 better reflects the dualistic presentation of the Two-Way tradition. Since Satan is placed in direct opposition to God rather than a high-ranking angel of the Lord, this antithetical contrast offers a closer affinity to a later writing such as T. 12 Patr. (T. Levi 19:1). Leaney sees traces of Two-Way theology in Luke with its usage of light and darkness imagery to contrast the kingdom of God and the oppressed (Luke 1:79), and its further reference to the sons of light (Luke 16:8).[174] While traces of the Two-Way theology may be found within Luke's writings, its dualistic framework is far less pronounced than what was evident in Matthew.

1 Peter

Dating of 1 Peter depends heavily upon whether the writer was acting under the direction of Peter or autonomous from him.[175] Dating ranges between 62–100 CE.[176] First Peter shows great concern over its readers behavior, for their new life is of great importance for winning new converts (3:1; 3:15) who too would win salvation of their souls (1:9). First Peter acknowledges that sinful desires war against the soul, but it urges its readers to resist those desires so that they may live good lives (2:11–12).

While suffering is a prominent concern within 1 Peter (1:6),[177] scant attention is given to cosmic evil within those sufferings. Like Gal 5:16–17, Rom 8:5, Eph 4:22–23, and Jas 1:14 the author shows a concern for the evils associated with sinful desires. In this case they are not

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[174] Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 50.

[175] Jobes (*1 Peter*, 37) lists the stance of numerous scholars. She describes challenges posed against Petrine authorship (27).

[176] Grudem (*1 Peter*, 38) dates between 62–64 CE. Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates to 65 CE. Skaggs (*1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude*, 6) dates to 65 CE. Davids (*First Epistle*, 10) dates between 64–68 CE. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 213) dates 1 Peter between 60–69 CE. Jobes (*1 Peter*, 37) suggests that a pseudonymous date between 70–90 CE has still largely been retained. Donelson (*I & II Peter and Jude*, 15) dates between 85–95 CE. Achtemeier (*1 Peter*, 50) dates between 80–100 CE.

[177] Paschke ("Roman ad bestias," 496) suggests a possible historical referent may be Nero's persecution of Christians.

equated to the body, they are not made the antithesis of the promptings of the Holy Spirit, and they are not made clearly distinct from God, rather they are equated with the pre-Christian behavior (1:14) and said to war against the soul (2:11). This usage could be explained by a concern over purity without having to incorporate cosmic evil, yet 1 Pet 5:8–9 requires the reader to navigate such a possibility when it depicts the devil prowling as a roaring lion as he seeks someone to devour. Burchard suggests that in the Old Testament "lion" is a metaphor for a persecutor but in later times it came to signify the devil (Ps 7:3; 22:14).[178] He suggests 1 Pet 2:11 may be influenced by the Greek version of Ps 7:3, for rather than be torn apart by his pursuers, David is fearful that the lion would seize his soul with no one to redeem him. Thurén notes how strange it is for a lion to roar while on the hunt. She asserts that a lion on the prowl would tend to remain silent so that it can sneak up on its prey. A lion would be more apt to roar when attempting to scatter a herd, because an animal which strays from the herd is an easy victim.[179] The lion imagery suggests that the devil is looking to take advantage of any who should succumb to their sinful desires, but it does not suggest he is also responsible for their sinful desires.

One could understand διάβολος (devil) to refer to a human or a cosmic adversary who either works as a dutiful prosecutor in service to God or acts as his enemy. Paschke suggests one of the common positions for commentators is to interpret the lion as a metaphor for the Christian believer's human enemies (Ps 21:13).[180] A human enemy would be unconvincing since persecution was seen to be a product of one's identification as a believer. If the readers were willing to slip back into their old practices to avoid persecution, then this would hardly be a situation that a human enemy would be looking to exploit. Scholars commonly assert that the devil's prowling is akin to השׂטן moving to and fro about the earth (Job 1:7).[181] Thurén builds upon this point to suggest the author may have in mind the prosecuting divine council

[178] Burchard, "Joseph and Aseneth," 2:221 nc2.
[179] Thurén, "1 Peter and the Lion," 148.
[180] Paschke, "Roman ad bestias," 489.
[181] Davids, *First Epistle*, 191; Jobes, *1 Peter*, 281; Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 122.

member.[182] She concludes this may be the mildest use of lion imagery within the Bible. She further observes repeated judicial references to suggest that the devil is not being vilified or denigrated within the epistle but rather performs an appropriate role in the theological version of the judicial system. She also remarks how the author makes an exact translation of השׂטן (ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος - your adversary the devil) to demonstrate they were envisioning a prosecutor type adversary. Despite Thurén's argument, the most common interpretation of the passage sees the devil as an enemy to God.[183] Byrley takes this stance and argues that New Testament writers consistently follow traditions developed throughout the Old Testament and Second Temple literature, where the people of God are oppressed and persecuted by human opponents, and the primary cause for their suffering is Satan.[184] Byrley gives the impression that all Old Testament and Second Temple traditions are congruent, and that Satan is an umbrella term which encompasses all the varied cosmic enemies who are described therein.[185] This paper challenges this harmonizing tendency.

In 1 Pet 5:9, the readers are urged to resist the devil, much as they were within James 4:7, and in both cases the call to resist follows a citation of Prov 3:34 which speaks of God's grace towards the humble.[186] While the readers are urged to resist the devil, their greatest threat comes from the mighty hand of God (1 Pet 5:6). Earlier in the letter the readers were told that suffering was needed for each to prove their faith genuine (1:7). Being a contributor to the suffering does not require the devil to be an opponent of God.

Cosmic forces may again be mentioned within Jesus' reference to the spirits in prison who in former times (days of Noah) did not obey (1 Pet 3:18–22).[187] Traditionally this passage is

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[182] Thurén, "1 Peter and the Lion," 147.
[183] Asumang, "Resist Him," 26.
[184] Byrley, "Eschatology," 207.
[185] Byrley, "Eschatology," 217.
[186] Donelson, *I & II Peter and Jude*, 147.
[187] Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 256. Donelson (*I & II Peter and Jude*, 112) suggests that by referencing the period during the building of the ark (3:20) the passage may be alluding to 1 En. 67:2.

interpreted as Christ's spirit descending into hell where he preaches the gospel to the deceased of Noah's generation to save them.[188] Donelson suggests it could also refer to the rebellious angels of Gen 6 and 1 Enoch and that Christ was only announcing their final destruction. If the author is in fact referring to the rebellious angels of the Watcher tradition, no indication is given how these figures should be related to the devil.

Traces of Developing Traditions

First Peter uses the light and dark imagery common to the Two-way tradition when referring to his readers (1 Pet 2:9) and like the Community Rule and 4QFlorilegium he compares the community to a temple (2:5).[189] His imagery does not include graded levels of cultic holiness like the sectarian writings and his community is called to live within society as a blessing rather than apart. The Satan figure of 1 Peter is also never affiliated with an outgroup associated with darkness.

Scholars frequently see allusions to the Watcher tradition within 1 Peter, but it is unclear which variation of that tradition is most prevalent.[190] The BW (10:12), the Book of Parables (67:4), and Jubilees (5:6) each speak of the rebellious angels being bound for their transgression, and each also refer to Noah and the deluge although the BW never speaks of the ark being prepared. The Book of Parables may offer the strongest affinity for it offers some thematic parallels with Peter; it adds meaning to the waters (67:7),[191] it tells how these waters would become a poisonous drug for the kings, rulers, and authorities (67:8; cf. 1 Pet 3:22), and how these leaders would believe in the debauchery of their bodies and deny the spirit of the Lord (67:10; cf. 1 Pet 4:4–5). While it seems unlikely that Peter is using 1 Pet 3:19–22 to refer to a

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[188] Donelson, *I & II Peter and Jude*, 112.

[189] Marcar, "Building a Holy House," 41.

[190] Harkins et al., eds. (*Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions,* 75) points to the Book of Watchers, while Donelson (*I & II Peter and Jude*, 112) draws a connection to the Book of Parables.

[191] Westfall ("Relationship between the Resurrection," 112) suggests that baptism be seen as an anti-type to waters of the flood, since one brought life and the other death. The waters of the Book of Parables not only kill everything on earth but burn the rebellious angels for the extent of their imprisonment.

Satan figure, his knowledge of extra-biblical writings could inform his notions of Satan. The Book of Parables brings Azaz'el (Asael) to the foreground by associating him with armies (1 En. 54:5; 55:4) and by identifying him as Satan (54:6). It shows great concern for the oppression caused by the kings, the mighty, and the landowners whose actions were seen as the result of the heavenly mysteries that had been introduced by the renegade angels. It is possible that when 1 Pet 3:22 speaks of angels, authorities, and powers being subjected to Christ, he had in mind the renegade angels, along with various levels of human rule who were involved in the Christian persecution.

Nickelsburg and VanderKam have observed numerous parallels between 1 En. 108 and 1 Peter along with their common use of Ps 34.[192] They claim that both texts use the promise of judgment and future glory already guaranteed in heaven as motivation for faith amid present suffering for the sake of righteousness. This final chapter of 1 Enoch utilizes the light and dark imagery (1 En. 108:11–14) already mentioned to distinguish between the righteous and the wicked. While this final chapter makes no mention of the devil, the earlier references to writings of this tradition make it possible that 1 Peter could have envisioned its devil to be like the rebellious angels of the Watcher tradition.

2 Peter and Jude

Based on a shared literary relationship (Jude 4–13, 16–18 and 2 Pet 2:1–18; 3:1–3) modern commentators tend to assume that 2 Peter is redacting Jude.[193] Jude can be dated anywhere between 50–120 CE depending on whether it associated with Jude the brother of Jesus or some later writer whose theological arguments reflect ideas of early Catholicism.[194] For 2 Peter,

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[192] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 1*, 560.

[193] Donelson, *I & II Peter and Jude*, 207–8.

[194] Green (*Jude and 2 Peter*, 18) dates to the latter 50s and the first half of 60s. Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates to 61–62 CE. Bauckham (*Jude*, 14) dates before 62 CE. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 213) dates prior to 96 CE. Donelson (*I & II Peter and Jude*, 164) dates between 50–120 CE. Neyrey (*2 Peter, Jude*, 30) says that some items in the document are suggestive of an early second century date.

Donelson suggests that the rejection of Petrine authorship is convincing and persuasive because of the letter's obscurity in the early church, its terminology, its rhetorical style, its Gentile setting, and its distinct theology.[195] A date anywhere between 60–140 CE seems possible.[196] Both Jude and 2 Peter are directed towards believers (Jude 1, 2 Pet 1:1) and are primarily concerned with the possibility of them backsliding (Jude 5–7; 2 Pet 3:17). Both letters warn of a group among the believers who are causing division (Jude 4, 8; 2 Pet 2:1–2) and both see this division as an expectation of prophecy (Jude 17–19; 2 Pet 3:3). Both letters see evidence from history that God judges the wicked (Jude 5–7; 2 Pet 2:4–9), and both look forward to a final judgment which could bring eternal life for the righteous (Jude 21, 2 Pet 1:11; 3:7).[197] Second Peter (3:4) makes reference to those among the community who have grown skeptical that the day of judgment will ever arrive.

Jude and 2 Peter both refer to wayward angels who received punishment (Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4).[198] These angels are commonly associated with the Watcher tradition, even though the details provided are vague.[199] The angels in Jude left their position and proper dwelling while in 2 Peter they simply sinned. While the nature of sin is left ambiguous, it does affirm that supernatural beings did rebel against God and that this rebellion was punished. In both cases, the offenders were imprisoned and awaited a final judgment. The rebellious angels are likened to the

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[195] Donelson, *I & II Peter and Jude*, 208.

[196] Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates to 61–62 CE. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 229) dates between 60–125 CE. Bauckham (*Jude*, 158) dates between 80–90 CE. Skaggs (*1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude*, 88–89) dates to the late first century or early second century. Donelson (*I & II Peter and Jude*, 209) dates between 120–150 CE but concedes this is only a guess.

[197] Devivo ("2 Peter 2:4–16," 142) observes that on three different occasions 2 Peter removes reference to eternal punishment for the wicked (Jude 6, 7, 13; 2 Pet 2:4, 6, 17).

[198] Harkins (*Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions,* 71) when discussing Jude observes that Jude 14–15 is a direct quotation of 1 En. 1:9 and sees further allusions in Jude 13 (1 En. 18:15–16; 21:5–6) and Jude 6. In 2 Peter she affirms that the author retained the discussion (from Jude 6) regarding the imprisoned watchers but also notes how it also reflects Greek mythological tradition. Billings ("Angels who Sinned," 533) notes that 2 Peter is more circumspect in citing the OT and has all but expunged any allusions to extra-canonical Judaica.

[199] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 1*, 86; Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 99; Harkins et al., eds., *Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions,* 71, 73; Papaioannou, "The Sin of the Angels in 2 Peter 2:4 and Jude 6," 392. Vanbeek ("Letter of Jude," 24–28) notes that those who reject the association with the Enochian tradition are motivated by their insistence that 1 Enoch is neither Scripture, canon, nor inspired.

wayward believers and false teachers of the present, rather than be made orchestrators of ongoing wickedness.

Jude 9 mentions the devil and since he is depicted in a dispute with the archangel Michael over Moses' body, it is unlikely that he is being correlated with the angels who were imprisoned prior to the flood. We are not told why the devil and Michael are at odds over Moses' body, but we are given the impression that Michael gains the upper hand when he calls on the Lord to rebuke the devil (Jude 9). The dispute is not used to highlight the dangers of Satan or his connection with ongoing evil, rather Michael's unwillingness to slander/blaspheme is contrasted against present day believers who do so repeatedly. Both Jude and 2 Peter speak of scoffers who follow their own evil desires leading up to the final judgment but neither of these writings equate these actions to the influence of the devil. Any such impression comes from a reader's prior understanding of the figure.

Traces of Developing Traditions

The Watcher tradition is most apparent in Jude 14 which cites Enoch's prophecy regarding the coming of the Lord with his ten thousand holy ones (1 En. 1:9).[200] It points forward to the final judgment where the wicked ones would be destroyed. Further connection to the Book of Watchers is made in Jude 6 (cf. 1 En. 10:4, 12) which speaks of the angels leaving their proper position and now being kept in chains as they await judgment in the great day. Second Peter weakens the association with 1 Enoch by not speaking of Enoch's prophecy and by omitting reference to the broken order and the binding. It still mentions the sin of the angels (unlike Gen 6), their impending punishment, and seemingly orders their infraction prior to the flood (2 Pet

[200] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 1*, 86. Bock and Charlesworth ("Date and Provenance," 45) indicate that Jude's introduction to Enoch as the seventh from Adam only occurs in this way within 1 En. 60:8.

2:5).[201] Despite reference to the Watcher tradition, neither Jude nor Peter gives any indication that they see demonic influence behind the actions of either the wayward believers or the false teachers/prophets.

Jude 9 is commonly thought to allude to a lost narrative from the Assumption of Moses, but interpreters draw different conclusions regarding the devil from this reference.[202] Richard Bauckham discusses fourteen later writings which refer to an earlier tradition where the archangel Michael and the devil have a dispute over the body of Moses.[203] When reconstructing the original narrative, he sees evidence of multiple variants. In one, Michael is sent by God to take the body of Moses for burial but the devil challenges Moses' right to honorable burial because of his murder of the Egyptian. In another, the devil wished to give Moses' body to the people so that they could bury it and make a god out of it, but Michael contests this by calling on the Lord to rebuke him. In a third variant, the devil claims that the body of Moses belongs to him because he is the master of matter.[204] Michael rejects this claim by arguing that the material world including human bodies was created by the Holy Spirit of God and thus belongs to God. Bauckham hypothesizes that there may be two versions of the narrative that are being referenced by later writers.[205] Ryan Stokes rejects all of these reconstructions, and uses Jubilees and Zech 3:2 as a guide to hypothesize that the devil is most likely contesting Moses' living fleshly body from being allowed access to God's presence.[206] In two of these variations, the devil could be working in subordination to God, seeking to prevent an inappropriate person from receiving either honorable burial or access to God's presence. In the other two variations, the devil is

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[201] Papaioannou ("The Sin of the Angels in 2 Peter 2:4 and Jude 6," 400, 405) insists that the three examples of punishment in 2 Peter (angels, flood, Sodom and Gomorrah) have been listed chronologically, while in Jude they are not (Exodus, angels, Sodom and Gomorrah).

[202] Charlesworth (*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 77) is a notable scholar who is unconvinced that Jude quoted from the lost ending of the Testament (or Assumption) of Moses.

[203] Bauckham, *Jude*, 67–74.

[204] Bauckham (*Jude*, 76) likens the devil of this third variant to a kind of gnostic demiurge.

[205] Bauckham, *Jude*, 76.

[206] Stokes, "Not over Moses," 206. Stokes's argument depends on one accepting his prior argument that השׂטן should be seen as an executioner rather than as an adversary.

placed in greater opposition to God either in his attempt to corrupt the people or through his claim upon matter. While opposition between Michael and a Satan figure is often correlated with a cosmic battle leading to the destruction of evil, the context of Jude and 2 Peter do not fit with the Assumption of Moses.[207] While each envisions increased tribulation, Jude and 2 Peter envision internal division within the believing community while the As. Mos. expects a tyrant king who would assault God's people because of their religious beliefs.

Johannine

Considerable diversity exists among scholars for the dating of the Gospel of John (60–100 CE).[208] Most would suggest that 1 John was written after the Gospel of John, but it receives the same date range from scholarship (60–100 CE).[209] The Gospel of John proclaims that it has been written so that people may come to believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and through belief in him they may have life in his name (John 20:31). Throughout the gospel people are confronted with signs[210] and testimonies[211] which require them (along with the reader) to

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[207] Farrar ("New Testament Satanology," 51) correlates Jude 9 with the opposition between Michael and Belial in the War Scroll (1QM) and to Rev 12:7–9. Stokes ("Not over Moses," 202) refers to these as well but adds confrontations between Mastema and the angel of presence in Jubilees (Jub 17:16; 48:2–3, 9–19) and the two angels who vie for influence over Amram in 4QVisions of Amram.

[208] Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates between 40–65 CE but few seem willing to accept a range so early. Kruse (*John*, 17) suggests that Robinson's arguments are largely arguments from silence. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 87) dates between 60–70 CE. Morris (*Gospel According to John*, 30) dates pre-70 CE. Michaels (*Gospel of John*, 38) suggests the gospel could be dated anywhere between 50–100 CE but the rumour of 21:23 makes it likely that it was authored nearer the end of that period. Beasley-Murray (*John*, lxxviii) dates to 80 CE. Kruse (*John*, 17) dates between 80–100 CE. Thompson (*John*, 45, 48) suggests the gospel was written by John the Elder and that it can be reasonably dated to the latter part of the first century (90–100 CE). Keener (*Gospel of John*, 140) suggests the author is John, son of Zebedee, and dates to mid-nineties. Brown (*Gospel According to John*, lxxxvi) dates between 90–100 CE.

[209] Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates between 60–65 CE. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 113) dates between 60–100 CE. Marshall (*Epistles of John*, 39) dates between 60–90 CE. Yarbrough (*1–3 John*, 17) dates between 70–100 CE. Burge (*Letters of John*, 40) dates between 70–90 CE. Smalley (*1, 2, and 3 John*, chapter 1.5, para. 1) dates between 90–100 CE. Campbell (*1, 2, & 3 John*, 8) dates to early 90s. Thomas (*1 John*, 10) dates between 97–103 CE, near the end of the beloved disciple's life. Brown (*Epistles of John*, 101) dates to 100 CE.

[210] John 1:48, 49; 2:11; 2:22; 2:23; 4:18–19; 4:48, 53; 6:2; 14, 26, 30; 7:31; 9:11; 10:38; 11:15, 43; 12:11; 20:8; 21:7.

[211] John 1:32; 3:11; 3:32; 4:39; 5:31; 8:13: 8:30; 9:18; 15:26, 27; 20:17; 20:25.

make a choice about his true identity. First John lacks the narrative of the fourth gospel but shares many of its other features.[212] It affirms that believers have eternal life (5:13) because of their belief in God but shows great concern for their behavior.

The Gospel of John lacks the stories of demon possession which were frequently included within the Synoptic gospels, but various characters still accuse Jesus of being demon possessed in response to his claims (7:20; 8:48; 10:20). These accusers are identified as the crowd on one occasion (7:20) and as Jews on others (8:48; 10:20).[213] When addressing Jews who had believed him,[214] Jesus makes the accusation that they are unable to hear him because they belong to their father, the devil (8:44).[215] This contributes to the Johannine framework whereby humanity is divided into two groups, those of God who believe in him, and everyone else who belongs to the devil.[216]

The Fourth gospel portrays the devil as a menacing adversary when Jesus describes him as a murderer from the beginning and the father of lies (8:44). He is shown to be directly at work in the actions of Judas (6:70–71; 13:2, 27) whom he possesses and leads to betray Jesus.[217] Jesus has full knowledge of Satan being at work in Judas (6:70; 13:11) but allows his influence to continue for it fulfilled Scripture (13:18) and served God's purposes (1:29; 8:21; 12:27; 14:28: 16:7). Missing from the narrative is any mention of the devil's influence over Peter (Mark 8:33;

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[212] Campbell (*1, 2, & 3 John*, 1) notes that 1 John offers no mention of Israel and only offers a few ambiguous allusions to the OT quotations. It is however engaged in an intense conversation with John's gospel.

[213] Kruse (*John*, 41) observes that the term "Jews" is used 70 times within the gospel and that most negative references refer to the Jewish leaders who were antagonistic towards Jesus. Porter (*John, His Gospel*, 150) argues that Jews are best understood as a group identified by their religion rather than their race or region.

[214] Hakola ("Believing Jews," 116) suggests that believing Jews were selected as the target of an attack because they represented a group that was like John's own group and thus challenged the sense of distinctiveness among the Johannine Christians.

[215] Llewelyn ("John 8:44," 15) points out that this verse has been translated in a way to suggest that the "Jews" were from the father of the devil, and that the devil is a liar just like his father. This can be linked to gnostic beliefs. Llewlyn argues against this reading (23). Porter (*John, His Gospel*, 168) suggests that when the context identifies those who are trying to kill him (vv. 37, 40) that the Pharisees have come into view.

[216] Yi ("You Have a Demon," 118) suggests that possession by spirits may have been used polemically throughout the gospel as a means of enhancing status.

[217] Löfstedt ("Ruler of this World," 72) notes that in the Synoptic gospels, the person possessed by a demon is a victim rather than an accomplice as in this instance.

Matt 16:23) and this further delineates Satan's sphere of influence. The domains of God and the devil are further clarified through a series of antithetical comparisons such as light vs. darkness (1:4–9; 3:19-21; 8:12; 9:5; 11:9-10; 12:35, 46), above vs. below (8:23), of this world and not from this world (8:23), freedom vs. slavery (8:32, 34), truth vs. falsehood (8:40, 44), death vs. life (5:24), love vs. hate (3:16; 13:34; 7:7; 15:18), and salvation vs. condemnation (5:29, 34).[218] Despite these contrasts there are no firm boundaries between the two groups since Jesus seeks to call people from darkness to light (12:46; cf. 3:17).[219]

The devil is on multiple occasions referred to as the prince/ruler of this world (12:31; 14:30; 16:11)[220] and he would have no power over Jesus (14:30) who at the time of his death would drive him out (12:31).[221] Jesus' prayer for protection for his disciples (17:15) suggests that he did not win a final victory but began a process which would be continued by his followers.

The gospel confirms that all judgment has been given to the Son by the Father (5:22), but that those who believe in him will not come under judgment (5:24), but would be given eternal life (3:16; 3:36; 5:24, 38; 6:29, 37–40, 47; 7:37-39; 10:9, 28; 14:6; 18:37). In contrast he tells how the devil (16:11) and those who do not believe are condemned (3:18) suggesting that only they will be judged and that through that judgment they would cease to exist.[222]

First John reiterates the delineation between believers and non-believers (1 John 2:11; 3:10), that the devil has been active since the beginning (3:8), and that Christ had achieved a victory over him (3:8). It goes further to clarify Satan's ongoing impact after Christ's victory. First John emphasizes that God's power is greater than that of the devil (4:4) and that believers in Christ are given continued protection against the evil one, who is unable to touch them (5:18).

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[218] Oudtshoorn, "Demons," 68. See also Kovacs, "Now Shall the Ruler," 233.

[219] Oudtshoorn, "Demons," 69.

[220] Löfstedt ("Ruler of this World," 56) notes that this identification is unique to John.

[221] Kovacs ("Now Shall the Ruler," 246) sees Christ's death as a decisive salvific event where he achieves a decisive victory in a cosmic battle over Satan. Oudtshoorn ("Demons," 80) interprets Jesus' death as an exorcism of the devil from the world. Morris (*Gospel According to John*, 531) observes that Satan was defeated in what appeared outwardly to be the moment of his triumph.

[222] Charlesworth ("Critical Comparison," 97) compares this judgment to that of 1 Enoch 10:15; 11:1.

The devil's continued power is exerted over the world (5:19) which suggests that through an act of belief, followers of Christ are provided with protection against the continued influence of the devil. In 1 John antichrists are those who have withdrawn from the believing community (2:19), but rather than be identified as apostates it suggests they were never believers. They were liars (2:4) and deceivers (2:26) who could be identified by their actions. False believers could be identified through testing since they were incapable of confessing that Jesus Christ came in the flesh and was from God (4:2). First John looks forward to an eventual judgment (4:17) upon Christ's return (2:28), but it is less explicit in its expectation for non-believers suggesting only that they will be shamed.

Traces of Developing Traditions

The Johannine writings both acknowledge the devil's existence from the beginning (John 8:44; 1 John 3:8) and this has led some to suggest that he was actively involved in the temptation of Eve within the garden (Gen 3).[223] Others think it more likely that John is referring to the murder of Abel by Cain especially since Cain is from the evil one (1 John 3:12).[224] Löfstedt ("Ruler of this World," 68) suggests that an advantage of relating 8:44 to the garden narrative is that it introduced mortality and the first lie but he does note that an allusion to Gen 4:1 would be fitting since the Jews, that Jesus is criticizing, had likewise turned against their brothers.[225] We need to remember how vague this reference is, for the spirits of light and darkness were created by God to be the cornerstone of every deed (1 QS 3:25), and the rebellious angels were at work from primordial times (Gen 6:1–4; 1 En. 6:1–6), even in the temptation of Eve (1 En. 69:6). When the

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[223] Payne, *Satan Exposed*, 131; Canright, *Ministration of Angels*, 69; Waltke and Yu, *An Old Testament Theology: an Exegetical, Canonical, and Thematic Approach*, 272; Morris, *Gospel According to John*, 411; Marshall, *Epistles of John*, 185; Boyd, *God at War*, 242.

[224] Keener (*Gospel of John*, 760–61) suggests that the devil is commonly associated with both the serpent and Cain. Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 170) points to the Targum (Pseudo-Jonathan) which claims that the father of Cain was the evil angel Samael who fathered Cain with Eve (Gen 4:1). Levison ("1 John 3.12," 469) notes works which emphasize the actions of Cain.

[225] Löfstedt, "Ruler of this World," 68.

author indicates that the devil was active from the beginning we should not be so quick to associate it with the garden tradition.

The Johannine writings are commonly associated with writings from the Two-Way tradition like the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll.[226] Points of similarity include their use of the light/darkness dualism, their shared themes of determinism, their conception of conflict between good and evil, and even with their terminology.[227] The Johannine writings use light and darkness to describe the two sides of good and evil like the sectarian writings (1QS 3:20–21; 1QM 1:1; 13:10–12; 11Q13 2:8; 4Q280 1:1; 4Q174 f1-2i:9; 4Q177 2:7) but with modifications to incorporate the Christ event (John 1:9; 8:12; 9:5; 12:35). In the sectarian writings antithetical spirits/angels internally war over the hearts of humanity (1QS) or lead their respective sides in a cosmic battle (1QM). In the Johannine writings, Jesus opposes the devil, but through an external petition, rather than through an internal prompting.[228] The Rule of Community and the Johannine writings place the responsibility upon the individual to choose sides (light or darkness). Tukasi suggests that both John and the Rule of Community employ the theme of determinism to make an exclusive claim of divine origin upon their respective communities, but he sees a difference in how that is done.[229] In the Rule of Community, the cosmic order is predetermined to act in a particular way, while in John the human act of believing is a predetermined decision of the Father.[230]

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[226] Anderson, "John and Qumran," 16; Charlesworth, "Critical Comparison," 77; Leaney, *Rule of Qumran*, 50; Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 248.

[227] Charlesworth ("Critical Comparison," 101–2) lists 11 shared expressions between the Rule of Community and the Gospel of John including terms such as the Spirit of Truth, the Holy Spirit, sons of light, and eternal life.

[228] Duhaime ("War Scroll," 90) points out that in the Gospel of John, Jesus rather than angel is said to be the light of the world, the Johannine paraclete is said to be the spirit of truth (John 14:16-18) whereas at Qumran it is the commander of light who is the angel of truth and who leads the spirits of truth (1QM 13:10; 1QS 3:19-20, 24).

[229] Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer*, 141.

[230] Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer*, 139.

Bauckham sees similarity in the world views of the Ascension of Isaiah and the Gospel of John.[231] In the previous chapter it was observed that over time the Satan figure's level of autonomy from God increased and tended to be targeted against individuals. The Asc. Is., as one of the latest Second Temple writings, was found to be on the extreme for both these facets. John's depiction of Judas being controlled by the devil to bring about the death of Jesus is reminiscent of Beliar controlling King Manasseh (Asc. Is. 1:9; 2:2; 3:11; 5:1).

Revelation

Dates for the Book of Revelation tend to revolve around two primary options, one towards the end of the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE) and another shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem (pre-70 CE).[232] Reasonable arguments can be made for either option, as well as a third alternative which suggests the time of composition spanned between the two periods.[233] Following this idea a dating of 70–100 CE will be considered.[234] The thematic flow of Revelation presents its listeners with a warning, followed by judgment, then conflict, and finally the hope of a new beginning. Those who oppose God are to expect destruction, and those who follow him are to expect times of persecution and struggle, but eventually will be vindicated with a life of blessing while living in the presence of God.

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[231] Bauckham, "Ascension of Isaiah," 389. Hall ("Ascension of Isaiah," 303) points to John 3:13 to suggest that the Johannine schools were embroiled in prophetic rivalry against other prophetic schools who claim to see God in heavenly accents.

[232] Wall (*Revelation*, 5) suggests that the end of Domitian's reign would be the majority position and a dating to the late 60s is a minority position. Koester (*Revelation*, 78) points out that there has even been small support for later dates between 96–135 CE but he does not give support to these options.

[233] Aune (*Revelation 1–5*, lviii) suggest that there were multiple editions of the text. The final he says could be dated to the end of the reign of Domitian while an earlier edition could have been written a full generation earlier. He seems to promote this alternative because support can be found for both an early and a late date.

[234] Robinson (*Redating the New Testament*, 352) dates to 68 CE. Smalley (*Revelation to John*, 3) dates to 70 CE just prior to fall of Jerusalem. Bernier (*Rethinking the Dates*, 127) dates pre-70 CE. Aune (*Revelation 1–5*, lviii) suggests a multi-stage composition which spanned from the 60s through to end of reign of Domitian. Paul (*Revelation*, 16) dates to the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE) following the testimony of Irenaeus. Koester (*Revelation*, 71) thinks it best to date the writing to a general time period between 80–100 CE. Blount (*Revelation*, 8) accepts a dating of 95 CE. Morris (*Revelation*, 43) dates between 90–95 CE. Wall (*Revelation*, 5) dates to the mid 90s.

Several of the references to Satan within Revelation occur within the seven letters to the congregations. These references imply that he is somehow associated with the Jewish synagogues of Smyrna and Philadelphia (2:9; 3:9),[235] his throne is in Pergamum (2:13),[236] and he is correlated with the false teachings of Jezebel in Thyatira (2:24). In these references Satan is not being associated with a singular belief, but rather to multiple alternative beliefs. While persecution could lead to imprisonment or death (2:10), the greatest threat was being lured away from a belief in Christ. The one who was ready to exact punishment for apostasy was not Satan, but Christ (2:5, 11, 16, 23; 3:3, 11, 16).[237] Those who did not repent and hold firm to their faith were under the threat of destruction from the second death (20:14; 21:8).

Satan is next mentioned within a mythical narrative where a dragon (identified as Satan, devil, ancient serpent, great deceiver, and accuser)[238] intent on devouring the newborn child of a woman (12:4)[239] engages in battle with Michael and his angels (12:7–8), loses and is cast down from heaven (12:9),[240] and then later proceeds to pursue the woman (12:13) and eventually all

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[235] Paul (*Revelation*, 107) remarks that the two cities that receive no rebukes are the two living in tension with the Jewish community. Blount (*Revelation*, 54) suggests that before the Neronian persecutions, the Romans were either unable or did not care to distinguish between Christians and Jews. He goes onto speculate that synagogue members may have been pointing out Christians for persecution.

[236] Commentators tend to speculate why Pergamum may be highlighted as the home of Satan's throne. See Paul, *Revelation*, 88; Blount, *Revelation*, 57.

[237] Gulaker (*Satan*, 4–15) notes the difference between a monistic and a dualistic approach to the character of Satan and comes to conclude that Revelation presents him in a monistic way. He observes that God is never threatened by Satan, and Satan is never a primary character within the narrative. The main question of the narrative is how the saints and humankind in general respond to the hour of trial, not whether Satan will succeed in usurping the throne of God (230).

[238] The ancient serpent has been equated to the serpent of Gen 3 (Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 278), the Leviathan of Isa 27:1 (Walton and Walton, *Demons and Spirits*, 143), and the serpent from both the Python-Leto-Apollo and Seth-Isis-Horus myths (see Collins, *Combat Myth*, 66; Henten, "Dragon Myth," 186). Reference to the accuser conjures memories of the accuser of the divine counsel pictured in Job 1–2 and Zech 3. The imagery of seven heads and ten horns has led some to see a combination of the four beasts from Dan 7 (Paul, *Revelation*, 216), the seven headed Greek hydra, or the Ugaritic monster Shilyat (See Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 252).

[239] The woman could be referring to Mary, who gave birth to Jesus, and who when he was a baby fled to Egypt to avoid Herod's attack on the babies of Bethlehem (Matt 2:13) or Israel, who as a nation birthed those who follow the commands of God and those who hold the testimony of Jesus.

[240] Numerous authors observe different timings associated with the falls presented in Isa 14:12, Ezek 28:17, Luke 10:18, John 12:31, and Rev 12:9. See Dochhorn, "Devil," 105; Payne, *Satan Exposed*, 132; Russell, *Devil*, 241–42. Russel (*Devil*, 241) goes even further to suggest that the fall also has ambiguity with regards to its

her offspring (12:17). The dragon then gives his power to a beast from the sea (13:1–2), who survives a death-blow (13:3), and who comes to be worshipped (along with the dragon) by the world (13:3–4). It is given authority over every nation and it is allowed to make war on the saints (13:7). A second beast rises from the earth. It uses authority from the first beast and miraculous signs to deceive the inhabitants of the earth to create an image of the first beast and to take his mark. A contrast between the seal of God (7:3; 9:4; 14:1) and the mark of the beast (13:16; 14:9; 20:4) provides a clear demarcation between those who serve God and those who do not.

After the Son of Man (Jesus) comes on a cloud, the earth is reaped (Rev 14:16; cf. Matt 13:40–43; 24:30–31), and seven plagues are brought down upon the earth. The reaping suggests that the saints had been removed prior to the plagues.[241] The dragon takes part in the release of demonic spirits who assemble an army of followers for a final battle (16:13–14). After the great city is destroyed (18:18) and the army led by the beast and false prophet are defeated (19:20–21) the dragon is seized by an angel and bound for a thousand years (20:2). After the thousand-year reign of Christ (20:4), the dragon (Satan) is released again to deceive the nations and to gather a force for another battle. This force is destroyed by fire from heaven (20:9), and the devil is thrown into a lake of fire (20:10), like the beast and false prophet. After his destruction, the dead are raised and judged according to their works (20:13).

Stokes believes Satan acts autonomously from God because he is depicted so differently from הַשָּׂטָן of Job and Zechariah.[242] In contrast, Gulaker argues that Satan's function within Revelation is a subordinate one. Gulaker supports his case by suggesting that the primary issue

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geography (from heaven to earth, heaven into the underworld, from earth to the underworld), and even its meaning (a moral lapse, a loss of dignity, an ejection from heaven, a voluntary departure from heaven).

[241] Smalley (*Revelation to John*, 372–73) notes that commentators tend to take this passage in two ways. Some interpret 14:15–16 and 14:17–20 as two distinct actions, one a redemptive assembling of the righteous, and the other a judgment of the wicked. Others see both as a single act of judgment. He sees a likely allusion to Joel 3:13 since it is the only passage in the OT that links a harvest with sickle with treading the wine press. In Joel, both acts are part of the same judgment.

[242] Stokes, *Satan*, 11. In the Old Testament, הַשָּׂטָן was not a serpent or dragon, he commanded no army of evil angels, he did not deceive the world nor engage in battle, he was not a rebellious enemy of God, but rather an agent of God, executing the divine will among humankind.

within the writing is how the saints and humankind respond in the hour of trial, not whether Satan will succeed in usurping the throne of God.[243] While this is true, Satan is cast from heaven (rather than sent) and destroyed (rather than spared) giving the impression that he is acting autonomously from God.

Traces of Developing Traditions

Revelation is known for having a great deal of biblical allusions, but it has also drawn on Second Temple writings. To discuss how it compares to earlier traditions, this section will be arranged into three time periods, past, present, and future. The internal timeline of the writing begins with the pregnant woman of Rev 12:2 for it predates the birth of Christ, and in turn the letters to the seven congregations (Rev 2–3).[244] The dragon (Satan) is pictured in the heavens (12:3) with loyal angels (12:7) and is identified as the ancient serpent, and the deceiver of the world. Prior to his attack on the woman, he is credited with swiping down a third of the stars (12:4). The stars are commonly understood to be angels (Rev 1:20) who fall from heaven.[245] These stars can be equated to the events of the fourth trumpet (Rev 8:12)[246] or with imagery from Dan 8:10 but Collins suggests the falling stars motif was known in ancient eastern Mediterranean apart from Daniel.[247] The Animal Apocalypse uses stars to refer to rebellious angels (1 En. 86:1, 3) but it is unlikely to have influence on this passage since its stars came down willingly. The dragon's

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[243] Gulaker, *Satan*, 229–30.

[244] Payne (*Satan Exposed*, 132) suggests Rev 12:7–9 refers to past events for the one who was cast down led the whole world astray, but he tries to equate this to a primordial fall.

[245] Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 252. The Animal Apocalypse uses stars to refer to the rebellious angels within its historical narrative. It tells how one star came down first to live among the cows (1 En. 86:1), and then how many other stars followed (1 En. 86:3). It is unlikely that Revelation is alluding to this writing because the stars in the Animal Apocalypse ascend willingly and under much different circumstances. Rev 1:20 interprets angels as stars, but in Rev 8:12 the trumpet blast of the fourth angel darkens a third of the stars suggesting that they were just a source of light. When the dragon sweeps 1/3 of the stars from heaven it could refer to either angels or sources of light. It is unlikely that they refer to rebellious angels however, because Michael is responsible for them being cast from heaven, not the dragon.

[246] Paul, *Revelation*, 217.

[247] Collins, *Daniel*, 332–33.

attack of the pregnant woman results in a cosmic conflict where he is defeated by Michael and his angels. His expulsion from heaven coincides with the death and resurrection of Christ (12:9, 11). Satan's identification as the ancient serpent has caused him to be associated with the serpent of Gen 3, with Leviathan of Isa 27:1, and with ancient dragon myths (Python-Leto-Apollo and Seth-Isis-Horus).[248] While canon shaping further contributes to an association with Gen 3,[249] Wright reminds us that connections can also be made with later garden traditions.[250] Wright sees numerous connections with the Life of Adam and Eve because both accounts refer to Satan as deceiver (Rev 12:9; Vita 9), in both he makes war against the children of the woman (Rev 12:17; Vita 17:1–2), both texts present the Satan figure as a rebellious angel, and both texts present a hierarchy of angelic beings who work with the sovereignty and authority of God.[251] Ultimately the reference to the ancient serpent is vague and open to interpretation. The conflict against Michael and his angels is reminiscent of numerous texts (Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; 1 En. 9:1–4, 1 En. 54:6, 1 QM 13:10; 17:6; Vita 13:3; 16:1), but the timing and circumstances of this conflict are unique. This conflict occurs much later than primordial events as in the Book of Watchers, the Book of Parables, and the Life of Adam and Eve, but prior to the culmination of history as in the War Scroll. The timing of Satan's cosmic defeat in Rev 12 corresponds well with the defeat described in John 12:31, but unlike the gospel of John, Revelation does not describe Satan's activity prior to his fall (when operating from heaven).

The letters to the seven churches reflect the authors present (after Christ's resurrection), and they associate Satan with the Jews of the synagogue (within Smyrna and Philadelphia) along

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[248] The ancient serpent has been equated to the serpent of Gen 3 (Heiser, *Unseen Realm*, 278), the Leviathan of Isa 27:1 (Walton and Walton, *Demons and Spirits*, 143), and the serpent from both the Python-Leto-Apollo and Seth-Isis-Horus myths (see Collins, *Combat Myth*, 66; Henten, "Dragon Myth," 186).

[249] Forsyth, *Old Enemy*, 306. Genesis talks of the beginning while Revelation points to the end. The Tree of Life at the end balances the Tree of Knowledge at the beginning. The enemy who started the trouble in the beginning is seen to be defeated at the end.

[250] Wright (*Satan and the Problem of Evil*, 190) points to 1 En. 69:6; 2 En. 31:6; Apocalypse of Moses 17:1; LAE 16:3; Wis 2:24.

[251] Wright, "Life of Adam and Eve," 109, 113.

with other false teachings. A similar period may be described by the wars of the dragon (12:17) and the first beast (13:7) but on these occasions Satan is thought to be associated with the imperial power of Rome.[252] The Life of Adam and Eve tells of Satan menacing Adam and Eve after his expulsion from heaven (Vita 11), but his attacks are limited to Adam and Eve. Revelation has expanded Satan's activity to all believers as he threatens their faith and their lives. This sort of scope likens itself to the tribulations of Dan 12:1 where the משׂכלים (wise) had to endure both attacks on their faith (11:30–33) and their lives. On that occasion Satan had not yet developed into a singular cosmic enemy. A singular cosmic figure who leads a wide-ranging attack of this magnitude falls closer to Belial from the War Scroll who targets all the tribes of Israel.

Revelation emphasizes the culminating events of history which it delineates into multiple stages. People of the earth are marked with the seal of God (7:3–5) and the mark of the beast (14:9) prior to the Son of Man coming on a cloud, at which time the earth is reaped (14:14–15). A war ensues, and a great city is destroyed (18:21) along with the two beasts and their followers (19:20–21). Satan is bound only to reappear a thousand years later (20:2) to lead another war where he and his new followers are destroyed (20:9). The judgment of humanity follows his destruction (20:12). Revelation tells of two battles and two divisions of humanity. The Book of Ezekiel never pictures Satan or any other cosmic adversary, but it tells of God's loyal followers being marked with a seal (Ezek 9:4; cf. Rev 7:3) so that they would be spared from the destruction of Jerusalem (Ezek 10:2; cf. Rev 14:19).[253] It looks forward to a future day where God's judgment would befall the forces led by Gog of Magog (Ezek 38:22; cf. Rev 16:13–14; 20:9) who sought to make war against Israel.[254] The book of Daniel tells of a king who occupies

[252] Paul, *Revelation*, 235.

[253] Boxall ("Exile, Prophet, Visionary," 149–150) reviews several authors who see structural similarities between Ezekiel and Revelation. He describes John as someone who understood himself to be a prophet like Ezekiel who saw what he saw (162).

[254] Evans ("Jesus, Satan," 343) suggests that war texts like (Sib. Or. 3:657–731, 1 En 56:5–8, Rev 20:7–10, and 4 Ezra 13:5-11) all appear to be influenced by Ezek 38–39.

and profanes the temple, and who deceives those who violate the covenant (Dan 11:31–32; cf. Rev 11:2; 13:14).[255] His death would lead into a period of great anguish for God's people, but Michael would arise to deliver them (Dan 12:1; Rev cf. 12:7). Those of the dust would then arise to either everlasting life or everlasting contempt (Dan 12:2; cf. Rev 20:12). The Book of Watchers tells of rebellious angels who have been deemed guilty of wickedness upon Earth. Archangels are sent to bind them for seventy generations (1 En. 10:12; cf. Rev 20:2) The demons who come from the mouth of the dragon are reminiscent of the demonic offspring of the Watchers (1 En. 15:9; cf. Rev 16:14). The War Scroll envisages a two-stage eschatological war like Revelation (1QM 1:12; 2:10; cf. Rev 16:13–14; 20:9), with two wars against forces acting in the name of Belial. Michael and his angels war on behalf of God's followers against Belial's forces (1QM 17:6; cf. Rev. 12:7).[256] The gospel of Matthew in its prophesy of the end times tells of increasing tensions between nations, the persecution and backsliding of believers (Matt 24:9–10; cf. Rev 2:9–10), the desolation of the temple (Matt 24:15; cf. Rev 11:2), the coming of the Son of Man, and the gathering (reaping) of the elect (Matt 24:30–31; cf. Rev 14:16). Matt 25 continues to tell of the ensuing judgment of humanity (Matt 25:32; cf. 20:12), and the destruction of Satan and his followers by fire (Matt 25:41; cf. Rev 20:10).[257] Matthew's prophecy only includes a single stage and lacks any specifics regarding wars. Each of these writings offer similarities to the events of Revelation but none can speak to the whole episode.[258] The cosmic events of Revelation read like an assimilation of numerous end time traditions which seeks to honor elements of each. It frames its narrative around the Christ event and casts the resolution of history far off into the unknown future.

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[255] Beale ("Influence of Daniel," 413) notes shared dominant themes between Daniel and Revelation. He suggests that John viewed the death and resurrection of Christ as inaugurating the long-awaited kingdom of the end times that Daniel had predicted.

[256] Duhaime ("War Scroll," 90) provides an in-depth comparison of the two writings.

[257] Rand and Song ("Partial Preterist," 29) see Matt 24:16–26 as a prominent source of Rev 12–13.

[258] Duhaime ("War Scroll," 90) acknowledges that Revelation borrows many patterns and motifs from the holy war traditions and arranges them in its own way.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the writings of the New Testament within eleven different groupings which were ordered chronologically,[259] seeking to isolate the distinctive voices of its authors regarding Satan. After explaining how Satan was presented in each of these groupings, traces of developing traditions were detected. The previous chapter had divided writings into three groupings, the Watcher Tradition, the Two-Way tradition, and a Miscellaneous grouping. The Watcher tradition was most evident in the writings of Mark, 1 Peter, and 2 Peter and Jude. These later two grouping saw the Watchers as a concern of the past, but Mark brings their impact into the present with continued concerns of demons and allusions to the Son of Man. The Two-Way tradition could be detected in Hebrews, the Disputed Pauline writings, 1 Peter, the Johannine writings, and Matthew. While dualistic contrasts of light and darkness are evidenced within 1 Peter and the Johannine writings, Matthew offers the strongest dualistic expression showing a great deal of similarity with the Damascus Document. Influence of the miscellaneous group was detected within the Undisputed Pauline writings, James, Hebrews, Luke-Acts, 2 Peter and Jude, and Revelation. The Wisdom of Solomon and T. 12 Patr. were especially evident in the earlier groupings especially in their understandings of the internal forces working within an individual, but the later writings showed more similarities to the individual possession of the Ascension of Isaiah.

The ordering of the groupings helped to magnify shifts in the understanding of Satan across the New Testament corpus. The earlier writings (Hebrews, both the Undisputed and Disputed Pauline writings, James, and 1 Peter) presented Satan as a cosmic force who passively sought to exploit the desires of believers. It is very possible that he could do this while acting in subordination to God. His efforts could be repelled by pious believers who showed control of their internal desires whether that be through their own efforts or with the help of the Holy Spirit.

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[259] Undisputed Pauline, James, Hebrews, Disputed Pauline, Mark, Matthew, Luke-Acts, 1 Peter, 2 Peter and Jude, Johannine, Revelation.

The influences of evil seem to be heightened in Mark, Matthew, and Luke-Acts especially through demon possession. In Matthew, the reaction of this evil to Jesus and the coming kingdom elicits a choice from people for it looks forward to a coming judgment. In Luke-Acts the focus shifts by placing more emphasis on a power struggle between Satan and Christ. The later writings (Johannine and Revelation) amplify the destructiveness of Satan. He is presented as a cosmic power whose authority and strength has grown to a point where he can afflict believers despite their response. Believers are required to endure his attacks until God finally determines to overcome his forces.

Until this point, the contents of the various writings have been examined for their different expressions of Satan. The variations of these expressions have been grouped and traced across time. Each writing in its own way is speaking to a concern of its time, seeking to make sense of the world or to instigate change in its readers. The following chapter will seek to interpret these expressions considering potential historic referents.

CHAPTER 4: SATANOLOGY IN RELATION TO HISTORICAL EVENTS

Introduction

Moments that have the greatest impact on the development of the Satan figure are those events which reorient ones understanding of the elect and the opposition, like changes in leadership, swings of power, or incursions of rival ideologies. This chapter will seek to achieve two objectives; (1) it will provide a concise historical recount spanning from ca.1030 BCE–135 CE delineated into ten distinctive periods,[1] (2) it will organize each of the priorly reviewed writings into these periods so that prominent events can be correlated with thoughts and ideas pertaining to the Satan figure.[2] On occasion, potential date ranges for writings will spread into multiple periods. In these cases, the study will seek to understand how each setting may have uniquely shaped the writing.

Early Monarchy (ca. 1030–931 BCE)[3]

The early monarchic period can be associated with the reigns of Saul,[4] David,[5] and Solomon.[6] It is a period of great transition (from decentralized tribal society to centrally governed state), a period that witnessed both political and religious division, and a period of scribal development. It is a time of prosperity and a time of national independence. The details of the early monarchic

[1] The limits of the historical recount have been based upon the dates of the writings determined within the previous chapters.

[2] Each of the writings have been dated within the previous three chapters. This chapter relies upon those dates to understand how the writings correlate with historic events of their time.

[3] Provan et al. (*Biblical History*, 202) suggests a date of 1030 BCE for the beginning of Saul's reign, but they do so with hesitance. The divided monarchy is considered to begin in 931 BCE upon the death of Solomon. See Arnold and Hess, eds., *Ancient Israel's History,* 21.

[4] Archaeological support for the reign of Saul is minimal although there are signs of centralized government evidenced by that time. See Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 343.

[5] The Tel Dan Stela (ninth century BCE) offers an early external witness to King David.

[6] Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 349) claims that there is no supporting archaeological evidence regarding Solomon nor his grandiose capital. He does admit however that excavations in Jerusalem are limited because it is a living city. He adds that excavations of the temple mount have never taken place, nor will they (277).

period are recounted by six biblical books,[7] but these accounts show signs of compositional development and differing points of view. External witnesses to the period affirm the urbanization and centralization of the nation during this period but call into question its level of grandeur.

The earliest biblical texts are associated with this period because this is when the Hebrew nation was thought to have developed the scribal capacity to first put their history and ideas into writing.[8] Some stories may date to an earlier time, but they would have been transmitted orally. Since our oldest witnesses to these biblical writings only date to about 200 BCE, there exists differing points of view as to how the construction of the text (both composition and compilation) was sequenced. This means that when we read the biblical account of the early monarchy, the tensions we observe may be the product of later editorial activity. Archaeology can offer both support and challenges to the biblical narrative, but it is unable to speak to many of the more intricate details of the biblical narrative.

The biblical narrative presents two intertwined transitions, one from a theocracy to a monarchy, and another from a decentralized tribal society to centrally governed state. The book of Judges offers differing opinions as to whether a shift to a monarchy was appropriate. Its later tales reiterate that the calamities of the day were the result of Israel having no king (Judg 17:6; 18:1; 19:1; 21:25), but earlier in its narrative kingship is refused (Judg 8:23) and abused (Judg 9:6). Samuel's speech of 1 Sam 8 reiterates the fact that a transition to human kingship would not be beneficial for Israel, yet the institution is allowed. As a theocracy, authority was given to

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[7] Dietrich ("Israelite State Formation," 94) suggests that Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, and 1 and 2 Chronicles each deal with the early monarchy.

[8] Rollston ("Inscriptional Evidence," 37) asserts that there is weighty evidence demonstrating that professional scribes were functioning in the southern Levant during the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries BCE, but mostly within administrative contexts associated with governments. Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 496) acknowledges that literacy began in the tenth century, but he suggests that not until the eighth century and especially the seventh century do we have evidence of widespread writing. He does admit that our perception could be skewed because many writings could have been made of perishable materials (491). Amihai Mazar agrees that the dearth of Hebrew inscriptions from the tenth and ninth century is more likely caused by perishable writing materials than a lack of literacy. See Finkelstein and Mazar, *Quest for the Historical Israel*, 105.

successive judges through the empowering of God. God also anoints the first kings of the monarchy (1 Sam 10:1; 16:13), but this pattern gives way to hereditary claims and seditious overthrows.

The book of Judges presents stories of localized leaders who through the empowering of the Lord deliver their people from oppression under foreign rule. Within the early monarchy we observe the centralization of government and establishment of a cult center in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:5; 1 Kgs 3:1),[9] and eventually the establishment of districts for governance (1 Kgs 4:7). This transition is corroborated archaeologically for it has been observed that there is evidence of a major shift from a peripheral isolated agro-pastoral culture in the twelfth-eleventh century to a highly centralized urban culture by the tenth century, one that was capable of unifying and governing large areas of both Judah and Israel.[10] The scope and scale of the early Israelite kingdom as described in the biblical testimony has been challenged by archaeological evidence which suggests that urban centers were small and lacking grandiosity.[11] While the development of a tenth century urban culture would support the notion of a monarchy developing under Saul, David, and Solomon, some dispute this notion, seeing greater likelihood of an Israelite kingdom developing nearly a century later under the Omride dynasty.[12]

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[9] Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 325) reasons that the government in Judah could have been sought to respond to the Philistine threat by forming a deliberate and self-conscious ethnic identity.

[10] Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 361. Dever suggests that there would have been builders, shopkeepers, purveyors of goods and services, artisans, metalsmiths, owners of farms in rural areas, potters, petty administrative officials, scribes, cult personal (298).

[11] Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 271) lists six tiers of urban sites evidenced in the period. Jerusalem and other administrative centers such as Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, and Beth-Shemesh are estimated to have very modest populations between 1,000–2,500 people. The biblical text often refers to much larger numbers like Saul mustering 300,000 men at Bezek (1 Sam 11:8), David's census listing 800,000 fighting men in Israel, 500,000 in Judah (2 Sam 24:9), and Solomon employing 70,000 carriers and 80,000 stonecutters in the construction of the temple (1 Kgs 5:15).

[12] Finkelstein suggests that the first great Israelite state if there ever was one, developed in the ninth century and was ruled by the Omride dynasty. He sees the biblical story of the United Monarchy as the product of a later Josianic ideal to unite the two states under a southern or Judahite capital in Jerusalem. See Finkelstein and Mazar, *Quest for the Historical Israel*, 103.

The early monarchal period could be interpreted as a period where a power vacuum was created by the weakness of the world powers of the age.[13] This could be used to explain how Israel was enabled to consolidate and expand their kingdom. They battle with Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Aram (1 Sam 14:47), but their greatest rival of the period was from the Philistines (1 Sam 17).[14] Egypt is little mentioned within this period apart from their apparent marriage alliance with Solomon (1 Kgs 3:1). Prominent within the accounts of these early national rivalries is how God's direct influence is often seen to be the cause of military victory (1 Sam 14:15). When an Israelite king was in step with God, they succeeded in war, when they were out of step, they would suffer defeat. Foreign nations were equated with foreign gods,[15] but Yahweh was thought supreme. This is especially prominent when the Philistines capture the ark of the Covenant and place it within the temple of Dagon (1 Sam 5:2). In the narrative, even the Philistines recognize the great power of the Israelite god.

Internal to Israel, the early monarchic period evinces two swings in power. Signs of priestly corruption (1 Sam 2:12; 8:3) may have triggered the first shift from the priestly class (represented by Samuel) to the king. With the inception of the kingship, prophets periodically speak for God to offer guidance (1 Sam 22:5) and to keep kings in check (2 Sam 12). The second shift in power comes as Saul's house (the tribe of Benjamin) is eventually overcome by David's (the tribe of Judah). The rivalry between the two houses is first depicted between Saul and David, but also with Ish-Bosheth (2 Sam 2:10), and Shimei (2 Sam 16:5) who each challenge the leadership of David. The biblical narrative suggests this shift occurred because of a swing in

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[13] Ortiz ("United Monarchy," 228) describes the period this way to explain why smaller nations such as Edom, Moab, Aram, Philistia, and Israel were vying for control of the southern Levant.

[14] Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 347) claims there is no archaeological evidence to support David's wars with Ammon, but the accounts of his battle with Hadadezer and the Philistines are thought plausible, although not to the scale and scope indicated within the biblical accounts.

[15] Dagon is associated with the Philistines (1 Sam 5), Chemosh with Moab (1 Kgs 11:7), Molech with Ammon (1 Kgs 11:5, 7), Astarte with the Sidonians (1 Kgs 11:5). Asherah and Baal are associated with the Canaanites (Jud 3:7) who the Israelites displaced.

divine favor although it is also possible to see David as a usurper.[16] Even within David's own house there is internal division evidenced when his own son (Absalom) tries to take power, and again between rival sons who vie for rule of the kingdom to succeed David. The monarchal succession of Solomon not only reveals a division within the house of David, but also division within the military (between Joab and Benaiah son of Jehoida) and religious spheres (between Abiathar and Zadok) as rival groups lend support to different claimants (1 Kgs 1:7–8).

Early Monarchic Writings

Five texts have the potential of being authored within this period: Gen 2:4b—3:24, Gen 6:1–4, Deut 32:8–9, 1 Sam 16:14–23, and Judg 9:23. The Genesis narratives may be best read as an alternative world view to those generally accepted in the ANE.[17] When contrasting Gen 2–3 against the Adapa myth (ANET 100–103) Wenham suggests that rather than demonstrate wisdom by obeying God, Adam showed sinfulness by doing what was forbidden.[18] This is part of the pessimistic view that marks the primeval history of Genesis, and one that further emphasizes the need for a new beginning.[19] Wenham sees Gen 6:1–4 as a statement against Babylonian and Caananite practices of cult prostitution and sacred marriage.[20] If the main concern of the Genesis narratives were to delineate the beliefs and practices of Israel from those of its foreign counterparts by adapting older tales of primeval times (like the Gilgamesh Epic, Atrahasis epic, etc.) than it is possible that the serpent and rebellious angels were figures solely introduced to drive those narratives. Rather than teach us about the forces of evil, these narratives may have intended to teach about humanity and its reliance upon God for redemption. This could explain why no attempt was made to explain the origins of the serpent, why there is

[16] Grabbe, *Ancient Israel*, 142.
[17] Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, xlv.
[18] Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, l.
[19] Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, xlv.
[20] Wenham, *Genesis 1–15*, xlix.

little attempt to show how the different forces of evil relate to one another, and why the serpent and rebellious angels fade away from the story line.

The Song of Moses (Deut 32:1–43), emphasizes the debt that Israel owed to God in light of his election of them as his people (Deut 32:8–9), yet it tells how Israel had strayed to worship false gods and idols (32:21). These false gods (Deut 32:21), the sons of god (Deut 32:8), and the foreign deities listed throughout the Deuteronomic History (DtrH)[21] could have originally been interpreted synonymously. Israel was being urged to remain loyal to the God who had chosen them. The later Greek translation of Deut 32:8 interprets the sons of God as angels which may highlight a shift towards stronger monotheistic views.

First Sam 16:14–23 and Judg 9:23 differ from the previous three texts because the harmful spirits come from God and are intended to impede an individual. Abimelech (Judg 9) attempts to move his people away from a Theocracy but he lacks legitimacy.[22] The harmful spirit shows that Abimelech lacked divine approval (9:23) and could offer a (priestly) polemic against the monarchy although it is also possible that the writing was only discouraging a particular type of monarchy.[23] The inclusion of the harmful spirits within 1 Sam 16 elevate the Davidic house over and against the Saulide house and this contrast is enhanced by the anointing of an antithetical spirit of the Lord (16:13).[24] While offering a contrast against Saul, this anointing of David also suggests that the narrative was not seeking to further delegitimize the monarchy (like 1 Sam 10:19).

Scholars have noted similarities between the narratives of Abimelech and Saul which has led them to suspect influence from one to another although they disagree over the direction of

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[21] See ch.4 note 15.

[22] Steinberg, "Social–Scientific Criticism," 58. Abimelech was born to a concubine (8:31), murdered his seventy brothers (9:5), and lacked divine support.

[23] Oeste (*Legitimacy*, 232) asserts that the issue may be that this was only a monarchy supported by a local alliance rather than a centralized monarchy.

[24] McCarter, *Textual Criticism*, 28.

that influence.[25] The relationship between these two texts suggest that what may have been observed as a statement about two rival houses could instead be about two rival kingdoms. Both Abimelech[26] and Saul (tribe Benjamin) hail from northern territories which suggests that we may be detecting a polemic against the northern kingdom. If this is the case, then the two texts may fit better within the following period.

Divided Kingdom (931–722 BCE)[27]

The divided kingdom period covers the full reign of the Israelite kingdom from Jeroboam through to Hoshea, and the Judahite kingdom from Rehoboam through to Ahaz. Over this period each kingdom had times of strength and times of weakness, they fought against each other and as allies, and they both faced foreign invasion. Key events include political upheaval, religious divide, along with urbanization and population movements. The most important aspect may be identification of the authoring group for their affiliation may be most responsible for shaping the polemic of the writings.

The period of the divided kingdom begins with ten of the twelve tribes breaking away from the united kingdom under the rule of Jeroboam (1 Kgs 10:31). They resented the heavy yoke of Solomon and his son Rehoboam (12:4, 11), and the split was further affirmed on religious grounds by Solomon's support of foreign god worship (10:33). Despite the religious impetus behind the split, the worship practices of the northern tribes become a great offense with Jeroboam's introduction of worship sites in Bethel and Dan. They become an ongoing source of vitriol from the Deuteronomist (1 Kgs 12:28–30; 14:9; 15:30, 34; 16:2, 19; 22:52; 2 Kgs 10:29; 13:2; 14:24; 15:9, 24; 23:15). The great offence of Jeroboam is contrasted against the loyal worship of Yahweh by David. A primary point of importance within the account of 1 and 2 Kgs

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[25] See Wong, *Compositional Strategies*, 210; Smith and Bloch-Smith, *Judges 1*, 1, 23.

[26] Both Abimelech's father (Ophrah - Judg 6:11) and mother (Shechem – Judg 9:1) come from northern regions.

[27] Arnold and Hess, eds., *Ancient Israel's History,* 21.

is the fidelity that the two kingdoms showed towards Yahweh, with kings being measured by their likeness to either Jeroboam (1 Kgs 15:34; 16:19, 26; 22:52; 2 Kgs 3:3; 10:29; 13:2, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 24) or David (1 Kgs 15:11; 2 Kgs 14:3; 16:2; 18:3; 22:2) who represented paradigms of wicked and righteous worship. First and second Chronicles places its focus upon the Judahite kingdom and praises any who show support of the temple or its cult.[28] These two narratives give the impression that fidelity to Yahweh, and proper worship were of the utmost importance during the period of the divided kingdom. This perspective is challenged by those coming from an archaeological perspective because they find strong evidence of religious pluralism.[29] Dever suggests that religious pluralism was most common in the typical family.[30] He suspects that the Sinai tradition as well as the traditions of the centrality of the Jerusalem temple may have been relatively late constructs. In his opinion, few people could have ever visited the Jerusalem temple, and fewer could have read the Pentateuch or DtrH. For most people, even in urban centers, religious beliefs and practices were focused on family rituals.[31] Dever suggests that the impression that is given to the historian is that the literary tradition with its ideal of orthodoxy, made every attempt to suppress the reality.[32]

The prophetic books of the period make mention of inappropriate worship practices such as idol worship and foreign god worship (Hos 4:12–13, Amos 3:13; Mic 1:3, 7; 2:8; Isa 11:11) or a lack of faithfulness to God or his laws (Hos 4:1; Amos 2:4; Isa 9:17) but they also show a

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[28] A major point of interest within scholarship concerns the differing points of emphasis within the accounts of the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler. Greenwood ("Late Tenth," 287–88) cites three significant differences between Chronicles and Kings as described by Rodney Duke. Kings focuses on consequences of sin while Chronicles attempts to account for both curses and blessings, explaining both successes and failures. The DtrH emphasizes idolatry as the chief sin of Israel and Judah, while for the Chronicler the most important act of unfaithfulness was the failure to seek the Lord. In the DtrH sin was cumulative thus sealing the fate for future generations, while for the Chronicler restoration was possible through humility and seeking Yahweh.

[29] Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 503) acknowledges that the triumphant national deity was Yahweh, although Gods both male and female were venerated.

[30] Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 499.

[31] Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 503.

[32] Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 526. He goes so far as to suggest that the real religion of ancient Israel and Judah consisted of everything the biblical writers rejected (531).

strong ethical concern. While there is mention of general ethical problems like adultery, stealing, and falsehood (Hos 4:2) there seems to be more concern shown for the oppression of the marginalized population who are being exploited by the rich and powerful (Hos 12:7; Amos 2:7; 3:11; 4:1; 5:11–12; 8:4–6; Mic 2:12; 2:8–9; 3:2, 5; 6:12; 7:3; Isa 1:17, 23; 3:12, 14; 5:8, 23; 10:1–2). The upper classes are called out for their perversion of justice and for taking the land and riches of the poor. This could be seen as a necessary evil of urbanization for once a population develops to the point that it outstrips its ability to feed and supply its needs, it becomes dependent upon the support of the surrounding countryside.[33] Dever adds that "the rise of complex society led to disparities in wealth and status: some prospered, while others did not."[34] The biblical narrative seems to suggest that wealth disparity was caused by more than just individual fortune. With the center of power being located within the urban centers, support or gain could be acquired through dominance and exploitation.[35]

While many of the issues experienced by the people of the divided kingdom were caused internally, they also faced the threat of foreign invasion and control. Shortly after the period of the divided kingdoms began, Shoshenq (thought to be Shishak of the biblical narrative), the Egyptian king, campaigned into the Southern and Northern Levant (c.920 BCE). The biblical narrative draws a close association between Shishak and Jeroboam (1 Kgs 11:40) and tells of Shishak's campaign into Judah. First Kgs 14:25–28 minimizes the scope of the campaign suggesting that it was only an attack on Jerusalem, and that the temple was pillaged of its treasures.[36] Second Chr 12:1–12 suggests that all the fortified cities of Judah were captured in addition to the attack on Jerusalem and that the entire campaign was due to Judah's abandonment

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[33] Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 296.

[34] Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 508. Dever sees disparity between the upper and lower classes, as well as between the urban and rural dwellers.

[35] An example of this can be seen when Ahab covets and eventually seizes control of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kgs 21). Richter ("Eighth Century Issues," 325) suggests that one of the issues of this time was the peasantry losing their lands.

[36] The attack of Shishak is described in four verses, with the prominent note being his pillage of the temple treasures. The mounting military buildup between Rehoboam and Jeroboam draws much more attention.

of the law. Archeological evidence suggests that Shoshenq's campaign swept through the southern Levant (missing Jerusalem) before extending into the north.[37] This may not have had a lasting effect on the two kingdoms for both show signs of thriving shortly thereafter.[38]

The next major foreign invasion comes from the Arameans. The lead up to the Aramean incursion seems to begin when king Asa pays Aram to help them fight against the northern kingdom of Baasha (1 Kgs 15:19; 2 Chr 16:2). Aram had waged further warfare with the northern kingdom during the reign of Ahab (1 Kgs 20:1), but on that occasion they were bested (1 Kgs 20:21). Ahab would be killed in conflict with the Arameans (1 Kgs 22:35; 2 Chr 18:34) who did not reach their zenith of power until the reigns of Jehoahaz (Israel) and Joash (Judah). The kingdom of Israel was kept under the power of Aram for a long time (2 Kgs 13:3) while the kingdom of Judah was conquered and made to pay tribute (2 Kgs 12:18; 2 Chr 24:23). Archaeological evidence affirms conflicts between Aram and the divided kingdoms, but this evidence also attributes actions of Jehu to King Hazael of Damascus.[39]

The greatest foreign threat during the period of the divided kingdoms comes from the Assyrians who ultimately conquered and displaced the people of the northern kingdom (722 BCE).[40] Assyria is first mentioned in the biblical account when Assyria invades during the reign

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[37] A topographic list carved into the southwest wall of the Karnak temple in Luxor lists the cities raided during the campaign of Shoshenq of the Egyptian Twenty-Second Dynasty. See Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 332. Dever goes on to explain that evidence of destruction layers exists in numerous cities from that list (365). He provides a map illustrating Shoshenq's likely movements on this campaign (333) and suggests that it provides good evidence that there was a well-organized polity existent within the tenth century warranting such a raid (329).

[38] Greenwood, "Late Tenth," 301.

[39] The Tel Dan Stela witnesses to strife between Aram and the northern kingdoms. Rollston ("Inscriptional Evidence," 22) associates the stela with King Hazael of Damascus (842–806 BCE) and suggests it was placed on Israelite soil as a reminder to the Israelites of a major defeat. While the stela acknowledges the house of David, it also challenges a point from biblical history. Rather than credit Jehu with the deaths of King Ahaziah of Judah and King Jehoram of Israel, it acknowledges Hazael for the act. See also Greenwood, "Late Tenth," 307; Provan et al., *Biblical History*, 198.

[40] Evans ("Later Monarchy," 110) notes that the biblical and deuterocanonical sources all ascribe the capture of Samaria to Shalmaneser III as does the Babylonian Chronicle, while Assyrian inscriptions credit Sargon II with the victory. Evans suggests that Sargon likely led the army on the campaign as an Assyrian prince, and in or around the time of the three-year siege of Samaria usurped the throne after Shalmaneser's III death.

of king Menahem (Israel) who pays tribute (2 Kgs 15:19).[41] Assyria campaigns again during the reign of king Pekah (2 Kgs 15:29) this time taking a number of Israelite cities while also receiving fealty and tribute from King Ahaz of Judah (2 Kgs 16:7). Israel continued to pay tribute to Assyria until Hoshea tried to seek aid from Egypt at which time Assyria campaigned against them for a final time (2 Kgs 17:4–6). While the biblical account places great emphasis upon the Assyrian threat, it actually underplays their role, for external evidence suggests Assyrian dominance in the region began as much as a century earlier, first at the battle of Qarqar (853 BCE), and again during the period of king Jehu (Israel) (841 BCE).[42]

While the biblical account affirms internal strife between the northern and southern kingdoms it generally gives the impression that the two kingdoms were evenly matched. Archaeological evidence paints a different picture first in its reduced estimates of population, but also in the disparity it sees between north and south. It is generally posited that the north had superior numbers (likely due to its superior land fertility),[43] and that its rise and development

[41] Thiele (*Mysterious Numbers*, 205) dates the reign of Menahem between 752–742/741 BCE. This dating is based upon his attempt to make sense of the chronology issue within kings. This paper will not attempt to describe or take a position on this issue.

[42] Greenwood ("Late Tenth," 300) explains that from 853 to 838 BCE Shalmaneser III formally adopted a foreign policy of western expansionism. His exploits are recorded in numerous inscriptions such as the Kurkh Monolith Inscription, Ashur Clay Tablets, Calah Bulls, Marble Slab Inscription, Kurba'il Statue, Black Obelisk, Ashur Basalt Statue, and the Black Stone Cylinder. In his sixth regnal year he faced a coalition of forces at the battle of Qarqar that included both Hadadezer of Damascus (Aram) and Ahab the Israelite, and during his 18th regnal year he received tribute from Jehu of the house of Omri. The biblical narrative makes it difficult to locate an alliance between Aram and Israel, and totally overlooks any Assyrian involvement during the reign of Jehu. Richter ("Eighth Century Issues," 337) suggests that the principal reason for the success of Jeroboam II and Uzziah's kingdoms in the first half of the eighth century was a period of extended and internal disarray in Assyria. This suggestion could not be made if one relied solely upon the biblical account.

[43] Grabbe (*Ancient Israel*, 76) suggests that geographical factors such as topography, geology, soil, rainfall, and climate would make it extraordinary for the Judean highlands to dominate the north. Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 397) also sees a region's carrying capacity as critical in determining a nations potential population. Many of his reduced population estimates are based upon an assumed population density of 100 per inhabited area (450).

occurred earlier than the south.[44] Some believe that the Bible distorts the picture because it represents the viewpoint of the southern kingdom who outlasted their rivals to the north.[45]

Divided Kingdom Writings

Five writings could be ascribed to this period: Gen 2:4b—3:24, Gen 6:1–4, Judg 9:23, 1 Kgs 22:19–23, and Job 1–2. Sweeney offers a hypothesis which suggests that the DtrH was composed through a series of editions. He posits that there may have been an exilic edition, a Josianic edition, a Hezekian edition, a dynastic history of Jehu, and a Solomonic history which are each written to express varying interests.[46] In his view the narrative of Abimelech (Judg 9:23) serves the interests of a Josianic edition by promoting Judah and the house of David as the source for desperately needed leadership in Israel.[47] Sweeney would include 1 Kgs 22:19–23 within the dynastic history of Jehu which seeks to portray Jehu as the means to address the problems of the northern monarchy.[48] From this perspective, the inclusion of a harmful spirit to bring the downfall of Ahab could be seen as a northern perspective. Such a perspective could also be held from someone of the south for they would also have reason to discredit northern monarchies. If the Jehu edition was instead concerned with the role of prophets in establishing and

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[44] Finkelstein sees the emergence of a settlement hierarchy developing in the northern highlands prior to development in the south. See Finkelstein and Mazar, *Quest for the Historical Israel*, 143. He goes onto suggests that if there was ever a united Israelite kingdom, then it was the Omride dynasty who ruled from Samaria rather than Jerusalem (103). See also Grabbe, *Ancient Israel*, 71.

[45] Fleming (*Legacy of Israel*, 9) suggests that one of the biggest shifts in the past generation has been the abandonment of the notion that key biblical collections were created in the tenth century, under the United Israel of David and Solomon. The consequence of this is that the Hebrew bible can be seen as a creation of Judah, with its key stages of formation taking place just before the fall of Judah's kingdom and then in the generations afterward, as a Judahite and Jewish people struggled to maintain an identity against various forces of dispersion and assimilation (5). Fleming accepts this understanding to some degree but thinks it more likely that the Judahite scribes constructed their grand narrative from the remains of Israel's own heritage, often obscuring the distinct tones of the Israelite tales that they had taken on (7).

[46] Sweeney, *1 & 2 Kings*, 4–31.

[47] Sweeney, *1 & 2 Kings*, 24.

[48] Sweeney, *1 & 2 Kings*, 29.

overthrowing the royal houses of Israel,[49] then the vision of Micaiah becomes a proof of prophetic legitimacy. Micaiah purports to have a vision which foretells of Ahab's downfall through the influence of a harmful spirit, and this vision is proven true through the events of Ahab's death. In both cases, the harmful spirit was sent to influence a king, which suggests that the writer was not here addressing a concern against widespread religious pluralism. While Judg 9:23 and 1 Kgs 22:19–23 could be seen as a polemic against the northern monarchy, 1 Kgs 22:19–23 could also be interpreted as a polemic against the upper class, since Ahab typifies a primary concern of the prophets when he plots to steal Naboth's vineyard.

Foreign invasion was a repeated concern of this period, but supernatural beings had not yet been associated with the actions of foreign nations. Writings which could be dated to the period have more to offer in their understanding of suffering which could have come through class exploitation or foreign invasion. Genesis 2:4b—3:24, Gen 6:1–4, and Job 1–2 each provide a different understanding for why Israel suffered. Genesis 2:4b—3:24 points to divine retribution. Israel, like Adam, has been sinful, and now find themselves being punished for their past failures. Genesis 6 suggests that suffering was the result of external supernatural disorder, while Job 1–2 suggests that conditions could be part of a divine test. The DtrH shows the strongest affinity towards Gen 2:4b—3:24 and its conception of divine retribution but its idea of a harmful spirits sent by God would provide a poor explanation for the actions of the serpent. Adam and Eve had done nothing to warrant God sending such a spirit, and God would be providing the impetus for the tarnishing of his own good creation.

[49] Sweeney (*1 & 2 Kings*, 26) attributes this perspective to Campbell and O'Brien who proposed a stage of the DtrH known as the Prophetic Record.

Kingdom of Judah (722–586/87 BCE)[50]

The period of the kingdom of Judah extends from the reign of Hezekiah through to Zedekiah. For much of this period Judah operated as a vassal to larger nations such as Assyria, Egypt, and Babylon. Prominent events within the period are the reforms of Hezekiah, the Assyrian invasion, the reforms of Josiah, and the ultimate collapse to Babylon. A primary concern of the biblical narrative is Judah's covenant disloyalty due to foreign god worship.

Following the collapse of the northern kingdom (722 BCE), Judah would enjoy a period of nearly twenty years before they too were invaded by Assyria (701 BCE).[51] During this period, there was a large influx of migrants from the north to the south, so a key activity of Hezekiah was to centralize his power in Jerusalem and to build the economy.[52] Aster suggests that Isaiah encouraged a general revolt against Assyria after the death of Sargon in 705 BCE.[53] This notion is corroborated by evidence which suggests Hezekiah was preparing the nation for a future invasion by Assyria.[54] This invasion would come in 701 BCE resulting in the capture of all Judah's fortified cities (2 Kgs 18:13),[55] but Jerusalem would withstand the campaign and

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[50] Arnold and Hess, eds., *Ancient Israel's History,* 21.

[51] Judah was afforded this time because Assyria was dealing with an uprising of the Babylonians to the east (Babylonian Chronicle ii 12–23). Evans ("Later Monarchy," 114) suggests that due to Hezekiah's known ties to Merodach-Baladan (2 Kgs 20:12) it is possible that the Babylonian and Judahite rebellions were coordinated (2 Kgs 18:7).

[52] Evans, "Later Monarchy," 113. Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 548) says that evidence suggests that a large number of refugees came south and that Jerusalem swelled from 15 acres in the early eighth century, to as much as 150 acres by the last years of the century. He suggests that during the seventh century a large portion of Judah's population lived in the vicinity of Jerusalem (580). Finkelstein and Mazar (*Quest for the Historical Israel*, 144) suggests that with this influx of population there was also an influx of northern traditions. Finkelstein suggests that these traditions would come to be subverted by pro-southern writers.

[53] Aster, *Reflection of Empire*, 239. Isa 14:24–27 would support such an inference.

[54] Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 550–55) explains that preparations included the construction of a 23-foot wide, 700-yard-long broad wall, the Siloam tunnel for improved water distribution to the city, and the distribution of lmlk jars (filled with provisions) to seventy sites throughout Judah.

[55] Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 556) points out that the Assyrian Annals attest to 46 walled towns of Judah being destroyed but Dever suggests that this claim is greatly exaggerated (563). According to archaeological evidence the only region that was largely destroyed through the invasion was the Shephelah. Other regions showed continuity and would go onto experience a time of great prosperity.

Hezekiah would retain his reign despite paying tribute.[56] The biblical account celebrates Hezekiah's reforms and reliance upon God and credits his cultic fidelity with God's deliverance of the nation (2 Kgs 19:35). Alternatively, one could interpret Hezekiah as a defiant rebel who endured the onslaught of a dominant empire, and who was allowed to hold onto his position in return for his nation's subjugation. From this viewpoint, Hezekiah could have been celebrated because his rebellion allowed for the nation's cultic ideals to be maintained.

Manasseh would succeed his father, but he is vilified despite his long peaceful reign. Evidence suggests that Manasseh was a loyal vassal to Assyria[57] and that during his time Judah experienced great prosperity as part of the Pax Assyriaca,[58] yet he is held responsible for the eventual fall of Judah (2 Kgs 23:26; 24:3). There are signs that Manasseh may have attempted to rebel against his Assyrian overlords for 2 Chr 33:11 speaks of Manasseh being imprisoned by the king of Assyria and taken to Babylon. Evans suggests this may have been done in conjunction with a Babylonian revolt against Ashurbanipal in 648 BCE.[59] Such a behavior may suggest his accommodation of foreign gods was pressured but the biblical writers castigate him as though he was fully complicit in the act (1 Kgs 21:2–5). Manasseh is also blamed for the shedding of innocent blood (1 Kgs 21:16) during his reign.

Josiah is the next prominent Judahite king, and like Hezekiah, the Bible reveres him as a great cultic reformer. He is remembered for taking great measures to restore the land to loyal

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[56] Evans ("Later Monarchy," 118) in his reconstruction of the events of the invasion suggests that Hezekiah's first offer of tribute was declined by Assyria (2 Kgs 18:14), but after suffering a setback against Egyptian forces, they grudgingly accepted it.

[57] Evans ("Later Monarchy," 119) notes that Manasseh is listed twice within Assyrian texts, once for supplying construction materials for the rebuilding of Nineveh, and again for contributing forces towards an Assyrian invasion of Egypt.

[58] Faust and Finkelstein (Arnold and Hess, eds., *Ancient Israel's History,* 365) describe the time of Manasseh as the peak of settlement and development in the history of the southern kingdom. Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 581) describes the Pax Assyriaca as a period of relative stability and even prosperity throughout the southern Levant as the entire region came under Assyrian hegemony. He notes that during this period Ekron grew to be the largest of Iron Age cities likely because it served as logistical support in the Assyrian war effort, and the maritime trade of Tyre flourished because they were coopted by the Assyrians (584).

[59] Evans, "Later Monarchy," 120.

worship of God after the book of the Law was rediscovered (2 Kgs 22:8) but many equate this period with the writing of the DtrH.[60] It is suggested that his reforms were possible because Assyrian power was on the decline due to uprisings in the east.[61] Despite his reforms, the offenses of Manasseh were not forgiven, and destruction was still imminent (2 Kgs 23:25–26). Prophetic accounts from the period suggest that despite Josiah's reforms, the people's response was not heartfelt (Jer 3:10; 5:3).[62]

Josiah's reign ends with him dying in an effort to obstruct Egyptian forces from heading north to assist Assyrian forces against Babylon (2 Kgs 23:29).[63] He is replaced by Jehoiakim, a puppet king of Egypt (23:34). Later in his reign after an invasion of Babylon, Jehoiakim became a vassal to Babylon but before long he rebelled (24:1).[64] Babylon would go onto exile large groups of the Judean population[65] and destroy Jerusalem and its temple (25:9). Within the biblical portrait, the exile was foreseen from the days of Moses (Deut 29:28), equated with the actions of Hezekiah (Isa 39:6), and the waywardness of Manasseh (2 Kgs 23:25). Babylon is portrayed as the instrument of God's judgment upon his people for their covenant disloyalty.

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[60] Dever (*Beyond the Texts*, 203) is an example of those who associate the reign of Josiah and the decline of Assyria with the writing of the DtrH. He, like others, see this as an ideologically driven endeavor. Fleming (*Legacy of Israel*, 28) describes the Bible as something that belongs to Judah, for their writers contribute to the shape and current form of every biblical book. He suggests that Judahite scribes constructed their grand narrative from the remains of Israel's own heritage, often obscuring the distinct tones of Israelite tales they had taken on (7).

[61] Evans ("Later Monarchy," 121) suggests that ever since withdrawing from Egypt, Assyria struggled with persistent challenges to the north, which weakened their hold in other areas of the empire. Around the time Ashurbanipal died (ca. 630 BCE), Babylon challenged Assyrian hegemony and began a rebellion that inevitably led to the fall of the Assyrian capital (612 BCE).

[62] Zephaniah shows a concern for foreign god worship (1:4–6) and suggests that the people do not think the Lord will judge them for their offenses (1:12). Joel 2:12 calls for the people to return to the Lord, and Hab 1:13 suggests that the people had turned a blind eye to the treachery of the wicked. In repeated cases, impending judgment of God is expected to come through the invasion of a foreign nation (Jer 4:6; 5:15; Hab 1:6; Joel 2:2, 20).

[63] Josiah's obstruction to Egypt seems unprovoked but Sweeney suggests it may be evidence that Judah's ties to Babylon went deep (Evans, "Later Monarchy," 120).

[64] Arnold and Hess (*Ancient Israel's History,* 382) note that in 601 BCE the Babylonian army attempted to invade Egypt but were repelled. They suggest that Egypt's apparent resurgence likely led Jehoiakim to rebel.

[65] Jeremiah tells of people being carried off into captivity on three different occasions (Jer 52:28–30). His numbers are much less than those cited in 2 Kgs 24:14.

Kingdom of Judah Texts

Four texts may be associated with this period: Isa 14:4–21, Deut 32:8–9, 1 Kgs 22:19–23, and Job 1–2. Scholars who date the Song of Moses (Deut 32:1–43) to this period see similarities of thought with various prophets like Jeremiah, Isaiah, Micah, and the oracle of Huldah (2 Kgs 22:16–17).[66] In this case the Song of Moses would provide an interpretation of current events, where Judah's suffering was caused by their lack of fidelity to God (Deut 32:19). Isaiah 14:4–21 could be dated to this period through an association with Sargon II.[67] For this passage to refer to a Satan figure it requires that one equate the events of the physical world with those from the cosmic realm. Deut 32:8–9 places foreign nations under the oversight of supernatural beings. If read in conjunction with Isa 14, this could mean that when a powerful empire was brought low, their supernatural backer was also humiliated. This could mean that Isaiah was referring to a supernatural being who was solely responsible for Assyria rather than Satan as the leader of all cosmic evil.

If Job 1–2 is dated to this period, it could represent an attempt to understand why suffering was being experienced when Judean cities fell during the Assyrian invasion of Judah. This would suggest that the invasion was the product of a divine test. This would however counter the thoughts of Deut 32 which would suggest that Judah's infidelity was the cause of their situation. Job 1–2 could have been intended to refer more narrowly to innocent suffering. The innocent victims of Manasseh would have no opportunity to be restored, but if the nation under Josiah saw themselves to be innocent like Job, then there could have been reason for hope. Micaiah's vision (1 Kgs 22:19–23) could have been created by southern authors to suggest the north fell due to a loss of divine support. Northern migrants could have been unified during Hezekiah's reign by convincing them that Hezekiah's reforms had earned continued support from God.

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[66] Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 852–53.

[67] See p. 30n15.

While each of these writings can be associated with events of the period, their ideas of a Satan figure do not easily harmonize. Isaiah 14 describes a supernatural being who is brought low, and this can be understood within the framework offered in Deut 32 for it places the supernatural being and its associated nation in direct conflict with Judah and God. The harmful spirit of 1 Kgs 22:19–23 and השׂטן of Job 1–2 are both associated with the divine council but both seem to be performing functions in service to God and neither demonstrate the sort of hubris that would necessitate a fall. By all indications no attempt had yet been made to harmonize the variant pictures of the Satan figure.

Babylonian Exile (587/86–539 BCE)[68]

Technically, the Babylonian exile occurred in stages with the first deportations starting in 605 BCE during the reign of Jehoiakim (Dan 1:1; 2 Kgs 24:12; Jer 52:28; Ezek 40:1).[69] For the purposes of this paper, this period will begin with the fall of Jerusalem and extend until Cyrus's edict. This period is considered formative in the production of biblical literature[70] despite the Judahite population being significantly reduced due to an array of factors related to their defeat at the hands of Babylon. The biblical narratives associate the reduction with war time sources such as the sword, famine, and plague (Jer 21:7) and post-war effects like execution (2 Kgs 25:18–21), forced population displacement (2 Kgs 25:11; 2 Chr 36:20), and refugee movements (Jer 44:12).[71] The key historical discussions from this period consider the degree of destruction inflicted by the Babylonians, the proportion of population displacement, the expected lifestyles

[68] Arnold and Hess, eds., *Ancient Israel's History,* 21.

[69] Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 264.

[70] Kelle ("Interdisciplinary Approach," 5) claims that since the 1960's scholars have asserted that within the exilic period a large portion of the material within the Hebrew Bible either came into being or received editorial shaping.

[71] Faust ("Deportation and Demography," 96–99) lists numerous mechanisms that could be contributing to demographic decline. A key contributor not listed in biblical accounts is the impact war would have on the life support systems of a territory. Key agricultural activities such as tilling, planting, and harvesting could be obstructed by enduring hostilities.

of the populations in Judah, Babylon, and Egypt, and the impacts of trauma that would be correlated with these events.

Scholarship is divided in its opinion of how much destruction one should associate with the Babylonian conquest. The prominent position seems to be that much of the Judahite territory (including Jerusalem) was devastated by the attacks.[72] The alternative position would suggest that Jerusalem along with the other urban centers (apart from the region of Benjamin) were devastated but that the rural areas were largely untouched.[73] Scholars have also noted discrepancies within the biblical accounts, for 2 Kgs 25:9–12 gives the impression that Jerusalem was destroyed while the poorest people were left to work the vineyards and fields.[74] 2 Chr 36:17–21 gives the impression that devastation was total and that the land was left empty.

Similar divergences can be observed in estimates for displaced population. Lemche notes that the poor were left in the land and that they made up as much as 90 percent of the population.[75] In contrast, Faust asserts that archaeological evidence suggests that Judah's population in the sixth century was only about 10 percent of what it was in the seventh century.[76] Even biblical accounts disagree, for Jer 52:28–30 tells of three deportments totaling 4,600 people while 2 Kgs 24:14 speaks of a single deportment totaling 10,000.

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[72] Faust (*Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 9) suggests that the common view among archaeologists is that the Babylonian conquest was a significant event that led to the collapse of Judah and left the area in desolation. He suggests that almost every seventh century city and central fort in Judah and Philistia that has been excavated was destroyed and abandoned during the time of the Babylonian campaigns and that almost all sites had evidence of destruction and a settlement gap (31).

[73] Faust (*Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 3–9) provides a history of research for the alternative position which he titles the continuity school. The position which downplays the significance of the exile was first trumpeted by C. Torrey and further supported in modern times by Lemche, Barstad, Lipschits, and Finkelstein and Silberman. Lipschits ("Shedding New Light," 62–64) identifies a particular type of pottery that he believes can be used to identify the sixth century, and he suggests it proves there is a continuity of material culture. He uses this to assert that the region of Benjamin along with the Rephaim valley to the south of Jerusalem were largely undisturbed by the Babylonian campaign. Faust suggests that the methodology of Lipschits is problematic because he has compared forms of pottery rather than assemblages (14).

[74] Kelle, "Interdisciplinary Approach," 8.

[75] Faust, *Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 6.

[76] Faust, *Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 169.

These discrepancies leave us with two ways of viewing the exilic period. If the devastation was massive, we could expect the remaining population to struggle with the effects of diminished resources and security as well as a fracture in social networks and community infrastructure.[77] This experience of suffering would lead to destabilizing recalibrations of their social and theological identity.[78] If we view the devastation as minimal than we may instead view the period as a time of widening divide, between the undisturbed poor who remained in the land and continued to work and worship as before, and the displaced elite who had sought to set the terms of proper Yahweh worship.

Shortly after the fall of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar launched a campaign against Tyre.[79] Josephus (*Ant.* 10:228; *Ag. Ap*. 1:156) as the main source for the event tells how the siege lasted thirteen years (585–572 BCE). Ezekiel's oracle against Tyre (Ezek 26:1—28:19), which includes his prophecy that the king of Tyre would fall (28:17–18), is dated prior to that siege (587 BCE). Ezekiel's following oracle (29:1–16), dated to 588 BCE, looks forward to the sword being brought against Egypt (v. 8). Josephus notes that five years after the fall of Jerusalem (582 BCE), Nebuchadnezzar would campaign against Egypt (Ant. 10:181–182). Jeremiah dates his final deportation to this same year (Jer 52:30) suggesting the two events may have been connected. Ezekiel gives a third oracle (29:17–21) in 571 BCE, telling how Babylon was unable to get anything from Tyre to pay for their labor (v. 18) and how they would be given wealth by plundering Egypt (v. 19). This would seem to corroborate Josephus's tale of a long siege and according to Babylonian tablets (BM 33041 and 33053), Nebuchadnezzar would again go to war against Egypt in his 37th year (568 BCE).[80] This illustrates that Ezekiel's prophecies did pertain

[77] Ames, "Cacading Effects of Exile," 175. He notes that mortality during the acute emergency phase of a displacement can reach sixty times normal rates (177).

[78] Kelle ("Interdisciplinary Approach," 15) notes that when faced with realities of deprivation, subjugation, and lack of access to resources and power, the community would be inclined to develop coping strategies which may include adaptation of patterns of ritual practice and the development of new folklore literature and heroes.

[79] Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 268.

[80] Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 269.

to events of his time and that his oracle describing the fall of the king of Tyre seems to have never materialized.[81]

Babylonian Exile Writings

Four writings could be correlated with this period: Isa 14:4–21, Ezek 28:12–19, Ps 82, and Job 1–2. Patmore notes that various Patristic writers, like Jerome, Augustine, and Hippolytus, understood Ezek 28:12–19 to be speaking of Satan but it is very likely that the passage was originally authored to foretell the fall of Tyre at the hands of the Babylonians.[82] Another possibility is represented by Origen who suggests the passage may be referring to an angel[83] who was responsible for caring for the Tyrians (*Princ*. 1:5.4). This draws upon the ideas of Deut 32:8–9 and could parallel an interpretation that was possible within the exilic period. If Isa 14 (Babylon) and Ezek 28 (Tyre) were both correlated to supernatural beings who were responsible for a territory, then Deut 32 would suggest they be different beings rather than a singular supernatural being (like Satan) who ruled over lesser demonic beings. Psalm 82 takes this idea one step further.[84] It tells how YHWH has taken on responsibilities formerly given to other supernatural beings because they had failed in their role (82:8; cf. Deut 32:8). This suggests that the downfall of Assyria and Tyre was associated with the failure of the supernatural being responsible for them. Jerusalem's destruction could have caused many to lose hope in YHWH if people similarly linked the destruction to a failure or weakness of God. Prophetic texts try to overcome this idea by describing the defeat as a judgment of YHWH against his own people (Hab 1:6; Jer 20:4).

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[81] Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20*, 14) suggests that Ezekiel lived to see his prophecy fail for he later admits that Babylon's invasion of Tyre was unsuccessful (29:18).

[82] Patmore, *Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre*, 77.

[83] Origen refers to an angel being responsible for the Tyrians which reflects an update in the LXX which takes the "sons of God" within the Hebrew and translates it as "angels of God" within the Greek.

[84] Psalm 82 is dated to this period because of its stronger shift towards monotheism. See Frankel, "El as the Speaking Voice," 455n23.

הַשָּׂטָן of Job does not appear to have any responsibility for a particular nation like the other passages of this period. If anything, he serves God as his eyes and ears on earth (Job 1:7). Job's suffering (as a foreigner) does not occur because of a failure of הַשָּׂטָן, but because of the challenge הַשָּׂטָן raises against Job's motives for acting blameless (Job 1:9). Job's suffering differs from the exiled community because his suffering came despite his innocence while Judah's long history of waywardness had earned their punishment. If Job's story was authored during the exilic period, it would be better understood from a perspective which equates the period with great devastation. In that case, it could have given survivors a hopeful message, offering them restored blessing should they demonstrate perseverance like Job.

Persian Rule (539–ca.331 BCE)[85]

The Persian period extends from the rule of Cyrus (539–530 BCE) through to the reign of Darius III Codommanus (336–331 BCE).[86] Persian conflicts during this period focus upon Egypt and Greece, with occasional revolts in Babylon. The Judean population was scattered among communities in Babylon, Egypt, and Samaria but most of the biblical attention focuses upon the return of the exiles to the province of Yehud.[87]

The book of Ezra begins with Cyrus, the king of Persia, issuing an edict (538 BCE) which would allow the exiled Judean population to return to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple (Ezra 1:1–3).[88] The Cyrus Cylinder suggests that the policy of restoring foreign cults extended

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[85] Persian control of the Yehud came to an end when Alexander the Great's armies swept eastward through Asia Minor and southward through Syria, the Palestinian Coastlands, and Egypt (334–331 BCE). See Arnold and Hess, eds., *Ancient Israel's History,* 427.

[86] Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 1*, 265, 290, 322) provides descriptions of each of the Persian rulers from the sixth through to the fourth century.

[87] Leith ("New Perspectives," 151) suggests that all the various YHWH worshipping groups merit consideration as heirs of ancient Israelite religion and culture and as potential contributors to its subsequent growth and development.

[88] A group of exiles including Zerubbabel and Joshua return when the edict is first given. Ezra returns with another group (Ezra 7:7) in the seventh year of Artaxerxes (459 BCE) and Nehemiah comes in the 20th year of Artaxerxes (446 BCE) to repair the temple gate and city walls (Neh 2:8).

beyond Judah to encompass other nations as well.[89] Considering the Persians did not battle with the Judeans but instead offered them freedom to worship, they tend to be depicted favorably in the biblical texts. The people who are vilified are the people of the land (Ezra 4:4),[90] the Samarians (4:10),[91] and Haman the Agagite (Esth 3:1).[92] In each case, the enemies are depicted as foreigners. Archaeologists find the size and makeup of the returning remnant hard to believe[93] and reject the notion that the people of the land were foreign occupants.[94] Faust goes further to suggest that there was a sharp decline in Persian period settlement numbers and that a significant recovery was not experienced until the Hellenistic period.[95] Those from the continuity school see only minor reductions in population during this period.[96] The biblical texts of Ezra and Nehemiah celebrate the pure Israelite who is devoted to God and ostracizes the foreign outsider.[97] This perspective seems fitting if we understand the remaining population to be like

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[89] Provan et al., *Biblical History*, 287. Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 1*, 274) acknowledges that the Persians were willing to accommodate foreign gods and could very well have been supportive of the temple being rebuilt, but he rejects the idea that they would have paid for it.

[90] The people of the land are later referred to as Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and Amorites (Ezra 9:1).

[91] The Samarians are described as the population who was deported to the region (by the Assyrians) and who were comprised of Persians, the people of Erech, the Babylonians, and the Elamites (Ezra 4:9). Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite (2:10) are personally identified as opponents of the returning remnant, but like the others their foreignness is highlighted.

[92] Haman is linked to a people group that King Saul had earlier destroyed (1 Sam 15:8) and it seems likely that his attempt to have Jews killed was an act of vengeance.

[93] Ezra 2:64 tells that 42360 people returned and that those numbers included priests, Levites, singers, gatekeepers, and temple servants. Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 1*, 274) thinks a mass return as presented in Ezra-Nehemiah is unlikely because there is no archaeological evidence which affirms a large increase in population during the Persian period. Faust (*Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 128) suggests that population estimates for the Persian period in Yehud would only be around thirty thousand and even this he considers a high estimate. A returning exilic group of 42,000 would be significant considering this estimate.

[94] While Ezra-Nehemiah emphasizes the nativeness of the returning remnant against the foreignness of the people of the land, archaeologists like Lipschits ("Shedding New Light," 76) are observant of the fact that those left in the land were also native to Judah (like the poor of the land from 2 Kgs 25:12). Leith ("New Perspectives," 159) goes further to assert that Yahwists in Persian period Samaria were neither foreigners nor a breakaway group but for the most part descendants of northern Israelites.

[95] Faust, *Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 121.

[96] Faust, *Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 9. Lemche suggests that as much as 90% of the population remained while Finkelstein and Silberman suggest 70%.

[97] Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 1*, 356) notes how even Nehemiah's construction of the wall has no defensive purpose but that its value was in protecting Jerusalem from outside influence. He suggests that in the latter part of the fifth century there seems to have been "a religious reaction to many of the practices of the people and

that left in the northern territories after the Assyrian exile (2 Kgs 17:29–34). If the voice of archaeology is to be heard, then it is possible we are instead hearing the polemics of an exiled elite Yahwist group who is trying to influence the worship beliefs of the mixed lower classes.[98] There is also the possibility that there exists distinct groups within the Jewish population who hold differing beliefs of worshipping Yahweh, for while Ezra and Nehemiah promote exclusivism, other writings thought by some to be contemporary, such as Third Isaiah, Ruth, and Jonah offer more inclusive views.[99]

Haggai and Zechariah place great emphasis on the rebuilding of the temple, and the book of Ezra highlights how many of the returning remnant were comprised of temple workers. During the Persian period there existed worshipping communities within Egypt,[100] Samaria,[101] and Babylon[102] and we are aware that temples devoted to Yahweh were present in both Samaria and Egypt, but the biblical texts show no knowledge of these rival temples. Rather it places great importance on the temple of Jerusalem being rebuilt so that prosperity could return to the land (Hag 1:7–11). This suggests that the authors of these biblical texts were either unaware of the other worshipping communities or that they refused to legitimize their variant expressions of YHWH worship. Josephus tells of a fracture within the priestly ranks towards the end of the

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serious attempts to restrict its social and commercial relations with those outside a very narrowly defined community."

[98] Leith, "New Perspectives," 157.

[99] Leith, "New Perspectives," 151.

[100] Leith ("New Perspectives," 157–58) calls the Yahwist community of Elephantine (Egypt) our best documented. She claims that they would not be considered monotheistic, yet they are still close enough to other worshipping communities to petition both the governor of Yehud and the Governor of Samaria in 407 BCE for support in rebuilding their temple of YHWH after it was sacked by Egyptians.

[101] Leith ("New Perspectives," 160) notes that excavations on Mount Gerazim have confirmed the fifth-century construction of a temple and goes further to suggest that the text types of the Samaritan and Jewish versions of the Pentateuch were the same and could not have diverged before the first century BCE (159).

[102] The book of Ezra celebrates the godliness of the remnant who were willing to return to Yehud to construct the temple, but this could also tarnish one's view of those who stayed in Babylon. Esther offers a differing voice when it suggests that those remaining in exile could also cling to their identity as God's people by maintaining careful genealogies, and by pursuing pious activities like prayer and fasting that did not depend on a sanctuary. See Leith, "New Perspectives," 161.

Persian period,[103] perhaps reflecting growing animosity between rival worship groups. Leith suggests, that in the Persian period, Yahwism began a long shift to a new religious orientation based on authoritative writings that was controlled by expert interpreters.[104] Ezra represents both groups being named both priest and scribe (Ezra 7:5–6).

Persian Period Writings

Three writings could be dated to this period: Job 1–2, Zech 3, and 1 Chr 21:1. It is noteworthy that all three texts from this period utilize the term שׂטן to describe their Satan figure although it is not clear that any intended for the term to act as a personal name.[105] In Zech 3 God allows Joshua to be made clean (Zech 3:4) so he can perform his temple duties for the purposes of restoring purity among the people (Zech 5:3). It is conceivable that the accusation of השׂטן against Joshua reflects the views of a rival priestly group.[106] The story could have been used to demonstrate that the returning priesthood was fit to resume their temple duties. The passage places importance on the restoration of temple worship within Jerusalem paying no mind to worship communities within the diaspora. First Chronicles 21 seems to reflect a similar concern for its version of the narrative places great emphasis on David's purchase of the land and its use for the temple foundation (1 Chr 21:22; 1 Chr 22:1). This suggests the writing could have been authored by a priestly group, but it does not require it to be a rival priestly group.

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[103] Josephus (*Ant*. 11:297–301) tells how the high priest John kills his own brother (who was supported for high priest by a Persian general) in the temple during the reign of Artaxerxes. Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 1*, 295) describes this as one of a few trustworthy events told by Josephus. It suggests that later in the Persian period, foreign influence was beginning to be exerted upon the high priesthood, and that internal rifts were developing.

[104] Leith, "New Perspectives," 149.

[105] Day (*Adversary in Heaven*, 128–32) makes the case that since there was so much time between the writing of Chronicles and the first occurrences of שׂטן as a proper name, that it must be using the term as an indefinite common noun.

[106] Boda (*Book of Zechariah*, 229) lists proponents of hypotheses suggesting tensions between priestly groups.

Dell suggests that Job can be dated to this period by those who see him as a type of Israel from the post-exilic period.[107] This interpretation fits poorly with the historic setting. If one accepts populations provided by the continuity school then there was little need for restoration. If one agrees that there was a much greater reduction in population than the Persian Period had yet to witness a significant rebound. The restoration of the exilic community would have seemed paltry in comparison to Job who received two times the blessings after his suffering. Job seems to better reflect an author of the exilic period who looks forward to God's restored blessing rather than one who is already experiencing restoration on a diminished scale.

While the שׂטן targets an individual in the three texts of this period, on two of those occasions the impact is experienced by the whole community whether that mean all Israel (1 Chronicles) or the entire returning remnant (Zecheriah). This suggests that the Satan figure was still understood as opposition to the entire Jewish community rather than only the righteous portion of that community as in the later writings.

Hellenistic Period (ca. 331–167 BCE)

This period begins with the eastward expansion of the Greeks under the leadership of Alexander the Great and ends just prior to the Maccabean revolt. While Judah remained a vassal nation throughout this period, they steadily grew back to population levels that existed prior to the Babylonian destruction.[108]

The Early Greek Period (331–281 BCE) began when Alexander overcame the Persian forces. Most accepted his rule peacefully for he took measures to ease the transition over the

[107] Dell, *The Book of Job as Sceptical Literature*, 162.

[108] Faust (*Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 121) suggests that there was a settlement peak in the late Iron Age II, followed by a decline in the Persian period, and a significant recovery in the Hellenistic period.

Persians[109] and Egypt was taken without a fight.[110] After Alexander unexpectantly died, a lack of succession plan led to his generals vying for control of the empire (period of the Diodochi). Alexander's generals fought for control of the empire, but after the Battle of Ipsus (301 BCE) the lands were portioned between three groups (the Antigonids, the Seleucids, and the Ptolemies).[111] Most of the historic account centers on the various battles between these generals but it is likely that Palestine suffered from various conflicts that took place in and around their soil. Many Jews migrated to Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy I, but it is unclear whether the Jews moved voluntarily or were forced to migrate.[112] The period of the Diodochi ended with the death of all the original claimants to the Greek empire.

The Ptolemaic period (280–200 BCE) is marked by five Syrian Wars, where the Ptolemies and Seleucids wrestled for power and influence. While these wars would have taken their toll on the Judean people, there were other key happenings which distinguish the period, such as the development of opposing power groups within Jerusalem, the translation of the LXX, and the rise of the synagogue. The Ptolemaic period saw the rise of two opposing Jewish families who vied for power within Jerusalem (the Tobias and Oniads). This rivalry seems to begin because of a power vacuum that was left following Persian rule. Grabbe believes the power vacuum existed because the Ptolemies did not continue the governor system employed by the Persians.[113] With the absence of a governor, the Oniads (a priestly family) stepped in to represent the province of Judah, meaning that the high priest was responsible for collecting taxes and

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[109] Tomasino (*Judaism before Jesus*, 112) notes that after conquering Persia, Alexander elevated a number of Persian generals and attempted to intermarry many of his soldiers with Persian wives in an attempt to fuse the two nations.

[110] Rainey and Notley (*Sacred Bridge*, 297) suggest that after suffering under harsh rule, the Egyptians were just happy to be free of the Persians. Tomasino (*Judaism before Jesus*, 107) says that Alexander sold himself as a liberator rather than a conqueror. Josephus tells a tale of Alexander's first meeting with the Jewish high priest, but most modern scholars dismiss this account. See Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 278.

[111] Sandy ("Alexander," 323) notes that Antigonus controlled Macedonia and Greece, Seleucus controlled Babylonia and northern Syria, and Ptolemy controlled Egypt, Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Palestine.

[112] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 282.

[113] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 296.

sending them to the Ptolemies. During the reign of Ptolemy III, Onias II refused to pay these taxes, so the responsibility of tax collection was given to Joseph Ben Tobiah.[114] This began a rift amid the Jewish elite, which would become entangled with the ongoing rivalry between the Ptolemies and Seleucids.

The translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek and the rise of the synagogue are both associated with the Jewish diaspora in Egypt. It was mentioned within the discussion for the Persian period that there began a transition from the temple towards the written texts, and that a set of texts had begun to be recognized as authoritative.[115] Grabbe suggests that the significant size of the diaspora community under the Greeks started to create changes in perception about how to practice religion when the temple was not easily available.[116] He suggests that the Jewish diaspora turned to three substitutes, prayer, the written word, and the synagogue.[117]

The Seleucid Period (200–167 BCE) begins with Jerusalem offering a warm reception to Antiochus III after his defeat of Ptolemy V,[118] but their relationship with the Seleucids sours under Seleucus IV who attempts to raid the temple of its riches, and grows detestable under Antiochus IV who begins to sell the high priesthood and who attempts to outlaw the practice of Jewish laws and customs. After receiving a warm welcome into Jerusalem, Antiochus III gave gifts for repairing the temple and exempted the leadership and those active in the temple cult from having to pay taxes.[119] He also restored the high priesthood as the civil authority in thanks for Onias II assisting the Seleucids in their fight against the Ptolemies in the fourth Syrian war.[120]

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[114] Silva, "Hellenistic Period," 429. Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 294) describes the Oniads as a family who owed their power base to the temple and the hereditary office of priesthood, while the Tobias took it from its noble inheritance of societal position and land.

[115] See p. 211n104.

[116] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 305.

[117] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 334. He says that the LXX translation (vernacular langauge) facilitated the process of Judaism becoming a religion of the book.

[118] Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 318) suggests that Coele-Syria was finally in the hands of the Seleucids after the battle of Panium in 200 BCE.

[119] Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 304.

[120] Tomasino, *Judaism before Jesus*, 126.

Antiochus III would eventually run into trouble when the Romans stifle his aspiration of westward expansion. The terms of their victory placed Antiochus III into great financial difficulties which would lead to his demise and future problems for Seleucus IV.[121] Because of the poor financial situation that Seleucus IV inherited, he attempts to acquire funds by sending Heliodorus to raid the riches of the temple in Jerusalem. Seleucus IV is assassinated by Heliodorus shortly after he was repelled from completing his task.[122]

The reign of Antiochus IV saw a widening divide between enthusiasts of Hellenization and those who wished to remain loyal to the Jewish ways. The divide was opened when Antiochus IV stripped the high priesthood from Onias III and awarded it to his brother Jason in exchange for payment (2 Macc 4:7–8).[123] Jason was interested in making Jerusalem a Hellenistic *polis* which would require the revocation of the previous standard which allowed Jerusalem to be governed by Jewish laws.[124] Jason was outbid for his position as high priest three years later by Menalaus (supported by the Tobias aristocracy) (2 Macc 4:23).[125] Further issues between these rival priests and their followers would cause a rebellion which would draw the anger of Antiochus IV.[126] In his anger, Antiochus IV stamped out the rebellion, desecrated the temple,

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[121] The Treaty of Apamea (188 BCE) required Antiochus III to lose his lands in Asia Minor, to relinquish his fleet and battle elephants, and applied serious war reparations. He would later be killed attempting to sack a temple treasury in Elymais. See Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 305.

[122] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 319. 2 Macc 3 tells that an angelic encounter prevented Heliodorus from entering the temple. Grabbe points out that the Heliodorus Stele confirms that Heliodorus was a historical figure who held an office like that described, but it does not affirm the angelic encounter (328).

[123] Instone-Brewer ("Temple and Priesthood," 201) notes that the hereditary high priesthood ended with Onias III in 174 BCE.

[124] Tomasino (*Judaism before Jesus*, 125) says that each polis had a patron god, temples and statues to the patron god, schools, theatres, and a gymnasium. Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 2*, 333) suggests that Jerusalem became a consequential city of the region when it was transformed into a polis in about 175 BCE.

[125] Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 305. Menelaus stole treasures from the temple to pay taxes and paid off anyone seeking to blame him for the murder of Onias III (306).

[126] Antiochus IV had invaded Egypt but was stopped by a Roman emissary who insisted that by attacking Egypt, Antiochus would be declaring war with Rome. While exasperated by this event, Antiochus heard that Jason and his supporters had taken control of Jerusalem from Menelaus (2 Macc 5:5–10). See Rainey and Notley, *Sacred Bridge*, 306.

and later outlawed the practice of Jewish laws and customs.[127] These actions would go on to trigger the Maccabean revolt.

Hellenistic Period Writings

Five writings are dated to the Hellenistic period: Book of Watchers, Tobit, Genesis Apocryphon, Aramaic Levi Document, and 4QVisions of Amram.[128] These writings introduce the idea of an ongoing evil presence in the world, they begin to introduce the idea of eternity, and they also begin to show an expectation of judgment for wicked beings. The BW is the only writing of this group dated to the early Greek period. Nickelsburg likens the image of divine begetting to the claims that some of the Diadochoi had gods as their fathers.[129] They, like the giants of the BW, killed one another (1 En. 10:9). In Nickelsburg's view, this would make the BW a parody since the offspring of the Watchers are equated to demons rather than gods. Nickelsburg reads the Diadochoi wars into the text of 1 Enoch and one might expect this in the other writings of the period as well since the Hellenistic period was a time of repeated wars. This does not seem to be the case, however. Rather than describe evil forces within the present context of war, each of these writings look back to earlier periods. The BW and Genesis Apocryphon see spiritual forces active in primordial times, the ALD and 4Q Visions of Amram place it within the Patriarchal period, and Tobit describes evil activity within a Persian context. Absent from these stories is any sense of national strife. The writers of the period demonstrate the belief that spiritual forces were responsible for ongoing evil in the world and that these forces had been active for some time. The BW, Tobit, and ALD picture demonic spirits who work autonomously from God,

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[127] There are varying accounts of these events (1 Macc 1:29–40; 41:50; 2 Macc 5:11—6:11; Josephus, *Ant*. 12:246–254; Josephus, *War* 1:32–35). In some cases, Antiochus acts directly and in others he sends officials to act on his behalf.

[128] The Testament of Twelve Patriarchs is dated as early as this period but that is because of its correlation with the Aramaic Levi Document. Discussion of T. 12 Patr. will be reserved for the Roman periods of the common era.

[129] Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 1*, 223.

while the Genesis Apocryphon and 4QVisions of Amram describe spiritual forces that are very much part of God's plan. Despite the writings describing ongoing evil in the world, there is an expectation that God offers protection, albeit not directly. The BW and Tobit tell of angels being sent to deal with evil forces and in the ALD he is called upon for protection. There is no sense that the evil is the result of God's punishment as with later writings (Animal Apocalypse, Damascus Document). It is possible that this underlining optimism reflects the fact that the population was moving past the defeated state they experienced after the Babylonian destruction.

The writings of this period begin to expect the eventual destruction of the wicked, but the writings lack a strong polemic against any specific group. The context of the period gave reason to suspect that the writings might reflect the Oniad/Tobias tensions, the Ptolemaic/Seleucid divide, or the disagreement between Hellenizers and purists. One of the stronger messages that occurs within these writings is a concern for endogamy (marriage within a singular community or tribe) as evinced by ALD, 4QVisions of Amram, and the book of Tobit.[130] This concern would have been at home during the Persian period (like with Ezra/Nehemiah) but it may represent an affinity towards either a priestly group[131] or towards purists. Endogamy is given import in the BW and Genesis Apocryphon, but in their cases the concern was contamination from cosmic beings. Despite the concern for endogamy throughout these writings, there is no suggestion that evil would be experienced differently by those who failed to practice purity.

Across these writings there is no consistent way of identifying either the form or name of the Satan figure. The BW depicts numerous transgressing angels who each have different names, the book of Tobit identifies a troublesome demon with yet another name (Asmodeus), and the 4QVisions of Amram presents two antithetical angels with the angel associated with darkness being named (Melkiresha). Most of the names provided in these early writings have little usage in the later writings of the Second Temple period. The term satan occurs in the ALD but it is

[130] Goldman, "Burial of the Fathers," 241.
[131] Perrin ("Visions of Amram," 131) suggests Amram materials clearly draw upon priestly traditions.

only used as a common noun to generally refer to any adversarial spirit which may potentially lead Levi astray.

167–63BCE - Hasmonean Rule

The Hasmonean period begins with the Maccabean revolt (167–164 BCE)[132] where an independent Jewish nation was forged through the uprising of a militant priestly family (Maccabees) and extends until the fall of Jerusalem to the Roman general Pompey (63 BCE).[133] Much of the focus of historians through this period is placed upon the battles and political movements of the Hasmoneans, the Seleucids, the Ptolemies, and the Romans. Much of the autonomy that was enjoyed by the Hasmoneans came because the Seleucid empire had divided interests[134] or was weakened by internal division and because political ties between the Romans and Hasmoneans restrained either Seleucid or Ptolemaic expansion into the region.[135]

The Maccabean revolt created a drastic power shift within the Judean nation for the leading family driving the revolt were from a priestly family not associated with the high priesthood,[136] and this family not only claimed this new role, but coupled it with military control, and governance (and eventually kingship). Atkinson suggests that Matthias's example of

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[132] The end of the revolt is marked by Judas's recapture of Jerusalem, his cleansing of the temple, and the reinstitution of sacrificial rites. His family would continue to war against the Seleucid rules for more than twenty years afterwards. See Atkinson, *A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, 25–27.

[133] The Hasmonean family continued to have an influence on events after the fall of Jerusalem, first through repeated revolts led by Alexander (the son of Aristobolus II), then by Aristobulus II who was backed by Caesar during his internal struggle against Pompey, and then finally by Alexandra (the sister of Antigonus) who captured and held the fortress of Hyrcania from 37–31 BCE. See Atkinson, *A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, 158–65.

[134] When the Maccabean revolt began, only half of the army of Antiochus IV was focused upon the uprising. The other half was occupied with an unsuccessful campaign into Persia (1 Macc 3:27–37; Josephus, *Ant*. 12:293–97). After the death of Antiochus IV, rival claimants for the Seleucid crown would battle for control.

[135] The Hasmoneans first made a treaty with Rome through Judas (167–161 BCE). This treaty was renewed by Jonathan (high priest from 152–143 BCE) in 144 BCE. See Atkinson, *A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, 31. Simon (high priest from 143–135 BCE) again sent a delegation to Rome to acquire backing (37). John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE) sent delegations to Rome on three different occasions (60). Atkinson suggests that expansion of the Hasmonean kingdom benefited the Romans because they were no threat to the Romans and because their expansion weakened a potential rival to the republic (the Seleucids) (61).

[136] Josephus, *War* 1:36.

religious zealotry and military resistance became the foundational ethos of the entire Hasmonean dynasty.[137] John Hyrcanus demonstrates this zealotry by destroying the Samaritan Jewish community (along with their temple) once he had established stability in the area[138] and by forcing the Idumaeans to convert to Judaism.[139] Egypt was also home to a foreign Jewish community who had their own temple.[140] The two epistles that front 2 Maccabees (1:1–10a; 1:10b—2:18) give the impression that this community was on peaceful terms with those in Jerusalem, but the Jews of Jerusalem were calling upon the Egyptian group to celebrate the feast of tabernacles as in Jerusalem (1:9–10) and to be purified like those in Judea (2:16–18). Some of the writings of the Qumran community also give the impression that the religious viewpoints of the Maccabeans were not universally shared for the Damascus Document (CD 6:5) and the Hodayot (1QHa 10:32; 12:9; 13:7) tell of a community who moved away from Jerusalem over interpretive differences and 1QpHab 8–10[141] and the Apocryphon of Jeremiah (4Q385 f5 1:7; 4Q387 f3 1:4; 4Q388a f7ii 1:8)[142] describe wicked priests that are associated with the Hasmonean leaders.

The Hasmonean period sees the beginning of religious groups vying for political power. They first appear when John Hyrcanus switches his allegiance from the party of the Pharisees to the Sadducees.[143] The Hasmonean leaders seem to maintain their allegiance to the Sadducees

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[137] Atkinson, *A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, 27.

[138] After the death of Antiochus Soter (Sidetes), Hyrcanus took the opportunity to move against Shechem and Gerizzim (Josephus, *Ant*. 13:254–55). During this campaign he destroyed the Samaritan temple that had been built on Mount Gerizzim. The Samaritans are depicted as a syncretistic population comprised of the regions indigenous inhabitants as well as foreigners that the Assyrians brought there (2 Kgs 17). Josephus (Ant. 11:340) emphasizes its Jewish nature by describing it as a location which was inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation. Atkinson (*A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, 78) suggests that evidence supports the idea that the Hasmoneans considered any challenge to the holiness of Jerusalem and to the validity of their version of the Tanakh an intolerable situation.

[139] Josephus, *Ant.* 13:257–58.

[140] After the murder of Onias III (the last hereditary high priest of the Jerusalem temple cult), his son Onias IV fled to Egypt where he founded a temple (Josephus, *Ant*. 12:387–88). Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 3*, 237) suggests that the temple was justified by Isa 19:18–22.

[141] Steudel, "In the Texts from Qumran," 237.

[142] Dimant, "From the Book of Jeremiah," 455n10.

[143] Josephus, *Ant*. 13:296.

until the reign of Alexandra where political control is once again given to the Pharisees.[144] Apart from their political rivalry these groups were said to support distinctive views regarding fate,[145] authoritative biblical texts,[146] and the afterlife[147] and each had very different relationships with the people.[148] When Pompey conquered Jerusalem he was resolving a rivalry between two Hasmonean claimants whose disagreement could very well have been based upon religious allegiances.[149]

Josephus tells of a third religious group (*Ant*. 18:18–22; *War* 2:120–61), the Essenes, who were not vying for power, but who are associated with many of the extant writings that witness to the period.[150] When we consider that there were different Jewish communities, multiple temples, and multiple religious groups even within Jerusalem, we come to see that religious differences are becoming widespread.

Hasmonean Period Writings

Nine writings are dated to the Hasmonean period: Dan 10–12, Jubilees, Animal Apocalypse, 4Q Apocryphon of Jeremiah, Damascus Document, Rule of the Community, Hodayot, War Scroll, and 11QMelchizedek. The writings of this period associate the Satan figure with different

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[144] Josephus, *Ant*. 13:405.

[145] Josephus (*War* 2:162–64) contrasts the conceptions of fate held by the Pharisees and Sadducees. The Pharisees believe that man can choose right or wrong actions, yet fate (or divine providence) cooperates in every action. The Sadducees have no belief of fate. For them, God is not concerned with one's choice to do good or evil.

[146] The Saducees restrict their observances to the laws of Moses while the Pharisees have added many observances from their fathers (Josephus, *Ant*. 13:297).

[147] The Pharisees believe in the afterlife while the Sadducees do not.

[148] The Sadducees are closely associated with the priesthood and said to be close with the societal elites. Pharisees are said to have the support of the populace. See Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 3*, 138–140.

[149] Atkinson (*A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, 136) suggests that Hyrcanus II was likely a Pharisee and Aristobulus II a Sadducee. He sees this as motivation behind Aristobulus's usurpation of Hyrcanus's reign.

[150] Schofield (*From Qumran to the Yahad*, 23) shares the consensus view that the Yahad of Qumran were related to the Essenes. She claims that the Yahad defined themselves against the Jewish other but also imaged themselves in continuity with Jewish history and tradition.

portions of the Jewish community and they show that attempts to predict the end of wickedness were futile.

Jubilees (Jub 23:20), Daniel (Dan 11:32–33), and the Animal Apocalypse (1 En. 90:6–7) each give the impression that there was division among God's people, but one group (the Maccabees) arose to return to the ways of God.[151] There was an expectation that their uprising would trigger a reversal of fortunes (Jub 23:27; Dan 12:1; 1 En. 90:18–19). Each of these writings describe the Satan figure(s) differently but in each case the Maccabees overcome their efforts. Each of the pro-Maccabean writings are dated early within the Maccabean period so it is not surprising that they are optimistic that their awakening would bring an end to evil. Josephus tells how the Maccabean leaders aligned themselves with the Sadducees from the time of John Hyrcanus (135–105 BCE) through to Alexandra (76–67 BCE). Before and after that period they were aligned with the Pharisees. The Pharisees and Sadducees had differing views regarding the afterlife. The pro-Maccabean writings are all dated before Hyrcanus which would suggest a connection to the Pharisees, but only Dan (12:2) shows a belief in the afterlife.[152]

4Q Apocryphon of Jeremiah sees a period where Israel would fall under the control of a gentile nation led by a blasphemous king (Antiochus IV Epiphanes), and instead of being under the control of God, they would be given into the hands of the angels of Mastema. This is an idea which accords well with Jubilees and the Animal Apocalypse, but rather than experience a reversal of fortunes after an uprising, it speaks of seventy years of infighting highlighted by three priests (possibly the first three Maccabean priests) who would violate the covenant.[153] This writing shares its understanding of the Satan figure with Jubilees, but it does not retain its

[151] Pagels (*Origin of Satan*, 53, 55) suggests that both Jubilees and the Book of Daniel were written by authors who sided with the Maccabean party.

[152] Jub 23:27 shows an expectation of lengthened lives but not everlasting lives. 1 En 90:26 expects the destruction of the blind sheep but does not mention eternal lives for those who see.

[153] See p. 66n68. See also Hanneken, "Status and Interpretation," 408n4.

optimism for the Maccabean leadership. Rather, the angels of Mastema are credited with having ruled in that period.

The Damascus Document and Hodayot tell of a group who moved away from Jerusalem because of interpretive differences (CD 1:12–13; 1QH^a 10:35). The Hodayot gives the impression that the previous community no longer wanted true instruction from the Lord (10:17, 34; 13:13, 19, 25). These two writings, associated with the Yahad,[154] oppose Maccabean leadership and associate their former communities with Belial. The pro-Maccabean writings celebrate their wisdom and adherence to God's ways in contrast to others who may have been swayed by Hellenization. The Yahad celebrate their true interpretation of Scripture and their adherence to covenant in contrast to the pro-Maccabean group. In both cases, adherence to the ways of God was paramount and all who fell short of this call would be subject to destruction along with the forces of evil.

The Rule of the Community, Hodayot, War Scroll, and 11QMelchizedek see their readers as a part of a covenant group, and all but the War Scroll see themselves within an era of wickedness. Each of these writings have been associated with the sectarian group of the Yahad and each identify Belial as the primary figure of evil who works in direct opposition to a supernatural figure aligned with God. The Damascus Document (proto-Yahad) shares this framework with the Yahad writings. The Damascus Document and 11QMelchizedek attempt to predict the end of the era of wickedness. According to Steudel they expected this era to end around the year 72 BCE.[155] She observes in 1QpHab that twenty years later the date had been given up by the community.[156]

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[154] Based on the Groningen Hypothesis, the Qumran community (the Yahad) broke away from the larger Essene movement. See Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 39.

[155] Steudel, "In the Texts from Qumran," 238.

[156] Steudel, "In the Texts from Qumran," 241.

63 BCE – 7CE – Early Roman Period

The early Roman period extends from the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey through to the end of kingship of Archelaus (the son of Herod), who was replaced by the Roman governor Coponius.[157] During the early Roman period, Rome worked to solidify their control over Judea while they also endured a battle for control over their own empire. Judea was in turmoil because there remained Hasmonean claimants who were able to find enough support to revolt against the newly established Roman governorship. Alexander (one of the sons of Aristobulus II) led a revolt which had to be quelled,[158] Aristobulus II backed Caesar against Pompey,[159] and Antigonus (another son of Aristobulus II) through the backing of the Parthians was for a time able to hold Jerusalem (40–37 BCE).[160] Each of these claimants would be killed to make way for a new dynasty. When Rome conquered Jerusalem they were led by a triumvirate comprised of Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Caesar.[161] The shared leadership would devolve into a civil war between Pompey and Julius Caesar, with Caesar prevailing. Antipater would distinguish himself by supporting Caesar's capture of Egypt and this would earn him Roman citizenship, exemption from taxes, and the governorship of Jerusalem and Galilee.[162] His son (Herod the Great) would later be named king of Judea (40 BCE) and his reign would usher in a formative period for the Jewish nation.[163]

Herod is regarded as an ideal client king[164] of Rome who stabilized the region, invested in its prosperity through several significant construction projects, and who fostered a friendly

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[157] Josephus, *Ant*. 18:2.

[158] Atkinson, *A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, 159.

[159] Atkinson, *A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, 162.

[160] Atkinson, *A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, 163.

[161] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 3*, 430.

[162] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 3*, 439–40.

[163] Herod was declared king of Judaea by the Romans and with their assistance he would retake Jerusalem in 37 BCE. See Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 3*, 449.

[164] Ferguson, "Herodian Dynasty," 58. Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 3*, 462) explains that client kingships were useful to Rome because they served as buffers to areas not under Roman control and could be called upon to provide military aid when needed.

relationship between Rome and the Jews both home and abroad.[165] Herod has long been maligned for his family issues, his supposed decree to kill innocent children (Matt 2:16–18),[166] and for his crippling taxation policies.[167] Ultimately, Herod's close relationships with the Roman elite allowed for the Jewish people to live in relative peace where they were free to worship the God of Israel.[168] After Herod's passing, his kingdom was divided into a tetrarchy, with his son Archelaus given responsibility for Judaea, Samaria, and Idumea.[169] After a decade in office, his atrocities led a delegation of leading men to bring charges against him with the emperor.[170] His territory was once again placed under the rule of a Roman governor. This switch to a Roman governor came with a new Roman taxation and the formation of a zealot group who opposed these new changes.[171]

Evidence suggests that this early Roman period was a positive time for the Jewish diaspora although there were the makings of future animosity within Egypt. Caesar Augustus imposed a poll tax upon the Egyptians (24/23 BCE) which divided society by class, effectively degrading the status of most Jews and leaving them envious of the privileged status of the Greeks.[172] Collins suggests that this social tension in addition to the distinctiveness of the Jewish religion created a tradition of anti-Jewish polemic.[173] This places the diaspora Jews in a difficult position for their beliefs discouraged syncretism while to improve their quality of living they required acceptance by the Gentiles. Collins believes this tension led the diaspora Jews to create

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[165] Richardson and Fisher (*Herod*, 1–3) provide a long list of Herod's achievements.

[166] Richardson and Fisher (*Herod*, 390) list several points which suggest Matthew fabricated this story.

[167] Josephus repeatedly highlights Herod's lavish gifts on the political scene and his extraordinary building projects like the Jerusalem temple and the port of Caesarea. Despite these large expenditures it has been argued that this may not have been crippling on the region because Herod developed other sources of income by improving the arability of the Jordan valley through irrigation, by income generated from the Cyprus copper mines, and through interest on loads given to the Arabs. See Richardson and Fisher, *Herod*, 7, 10.

[168] Richardson and Fisher (*Herod*, 2) note that because of friendships with Augustus and Marcus Agrippa, decrees were passed in numerous cities guaranteeing rights and privileges for the Jews.

[169] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 3*, 482.

[170] Ferguson, "Herodian Dynasty," 66.

[171] Josephus, *Ant*. 18:4.

[172] Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 117.

[173] Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 117.

new ways of expressing their faith which highlighted shared values and downplayed distinctive elements.[174] By observing numerous Second Temple Writings associated with the Jewish diaspora, he concludes that this was achieved in three different ways, by emphasizing a common ethic which could be respected by enlightened Gentiles,[175] by providing a deeper philosophical basis for its teachings,[176] and by appealing to a higher revelation of a transcendent world.[177]

Early Roman Period Writings

Seven writings are dated to the early Roman period: 4Q Ages of Creation A and B, Book of Parables, Songs of the Sage, 4Q Curses, 4Q Florilegium, 4Q Catena A, and Wisdom of Solomon. Each of the writings from this period seem to share the expectation that the final judgment would have eternal ramifications. For the wicked this would mean destruction, but for the righteous eternal life. There is no indication given that the dead would be raised, just that the righteous (or perhaps better, the righteous community) would live into eternity without the presence of evil in their midst. Three of the writings from this period are classified as pesher, so they give an indication how the authors were arriving at their ideas. 4Q Catena A took up similar causes with the laments of Jeremiah (like in Jer 18:19–23) and David (from Ps 17) who were suffering from the acts of the wicked and who looked forward to God's vindication. 4QFlorilegium (4QFlor f1–3, 2:4) understands the purging and refining of Dan 12:10 to refer to their time of suffering and the eventual destruction of evil. It interpreted the anointed of Ps 2:1–2 to be the chosen of Israel, their own covenant community (4QFlor f1–2, 1:19). The Book of Parables has quite a different understanding of the chosen or anointed of Israel with its interpretation building upon the idea of

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[174] Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 210.

[175] Collins (*Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 158) suggests that beliefs such as monotheism, prohibition of idolatry, and various sexual laws such as the prohibition of homosexuality were emphasized. He goes further to stress the importance of the synagogue preaching which reduced the law into two heads, (1) duties to God (piety and holiness), and (2) duties to humanity (humanity and justice) (184).

[176] Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 186.

[177] Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 210.

the Son of Man expressed in Dan 7. Rather than come before the Ancient of Days on his throne (as in Dan 7:9, 13), the anointed in the Book of Parables is given the throne (1 En. 61:8) and proceeds to judge the righteous and the wicked within both heaven and earth. Rather than interpreting the anointed as a community, the anointed is on this occasion identified as Enoch himself.

Within the previous period religious division was a prominent concern, but the Book of Parables marks a shift. It repeatedly speaks of the kings, the mighty, and the landowners whose actions had been influenced by the hidden mysteries of the renegade angels of the past. These referents correlate well with a description given by Josephus (*Ant*. 17:304–14) who claims that many Jews lost their lands to Herod and his aristocrats, not only the small landholders, but also many estate owners.[178] This bitterness towards the elite could also reflect the loss of status associated with Augustus Caesar's new poll tax. The division which was once envisioned across religious lines was now developing between the rich and powerful and the poor and marginalized.

While the writings of this period share a common expectation for the eschatological future and see wickedness active in their time, they place different faces on the Satan figure. 4Q Ages of Creation and the Book of Parables show concern for Azazel and effects of revealed heavenly mysteries. The Songs of the Sage is concerned with demons. 4Q Curses speaks of Melkiresha, 4Q Florilegium and 4Q Catena A and B with Belial, and the Wisdom of Solomon refers to the devil.

7–70 CE Roman Rule Prior to Destruction of Jerusalem

This period begins with the reign of Augustus and ends with a Jewish revolt during the reign of Nero. Within this period tensions between Jews and their imperial rulers increased but these

[178] Charlesworth, "Date and Provenance," 51.

tensions were often instigated by other groups. There are numerous literary witnesses for this period which includes much of the New Testament and the writings of Josephus.

We know little of the twenty years that follow the transfer to Roman governorship,[179] but after that point issues of contention seem to arise when Romans offend Jewish customs. Pontius Pilate (26–36 CE) triggers a standoff with the Jews when he sends his men, who bear standards with the image of Caesar attached to them, into Jerusalem.[180] Caligula sparks an even greater response when he tries to have a statue of his image erected in the temple (41 CE).[181] Another uprising occurs in 50 CE when one of the soldiers posted at the temple exposes himself and insults the celebrating Jews.[182] The Jews show themselves to be very reactive to offenses made against their religion so they leave themselves prone to violent responses from their oppressors especially in times when Rome is represented by intolerant leaders.

Tensions also arose over distinctions in status between the Greeks and the Jews. Collins explains that the Greeks were exempt from paying the poll tax instituted by Augustus (24/23 BCE) while the Jews were not.[183] Distinctions between Greek and Jews continued to be a source of friction within Alexandria, a city with a large Jewish population. Jews occupied an intermediate position between the privileged Greek citizens and the unprivileged native Egyptians.[184] Jews aspired for Greek privileges, but Greeks resented them for it, especially since the Jews assisted the Romans in overthrowing Greek rule.[185] When Caligula replaced Tiberius as emperor (37CE), the Egyptian prefect Flaccus became unsettled in his position for fear of reprisal from the emperor and allows himself to be manipulated by the Greeks who proceed to

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[179] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 326.
[180] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 329.
[181] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 344.
[182] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 368.
[183] Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 115–16.
[184] Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 230.
[185] Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 230.

exact violence upon the Jews.[186] Greek and Jewish delegations went to Rome to illicit a judgment by Caligula but he was assassinated before a decision could be rendered. Caligula's successor, Claudius, would reinstate the Jews's former status in part because of his close friendship with Agrippa I (son of Herod the Great).[187] This ruling in Alexandria would be extended to other Jews in Syria and then applied universally to all Jews within the empire.[188] Agrippa I was granted kingship over a large region which came to include Judaea (41–43 CE) and despite its sordid past, his respectful attitude towards Judaism rapidly won him popularity.[189] Agrippa I would die unexpectantly and since his successor (Agrippa II) was deemed too young to take on his territory, Roman governors were once again appointed to Judaea.[190]

Despite the widespread edicts imposed by Claudius, Jewish-Roman relations would continue to deteriorate, largely because of repeated civil unrest among their numbers. Acts 18:2 speaks of the Jews being forced to leave Rome by order of Claudius (49 CE). Smallwood suspects that issues may have been triggered by the arrival of Christian missionaries.[191] The ministry of Jesus in the early 30's created a religious movement which began within the Jewish population but later began to splinter away as it gained popularity amid both Jewish and Gentile populations.[192] Scholarship has struggled to define the Jewish/Christian separation for it is a

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[186] The Jews were restricted to a single district within the city and had their property seized. This forced restriction was accompanied by torture and murders and led to widespread poverty for the Jewish community. Smallwood (*Jews Under Roman Rule*, 235–40) describes in detail the Alexandrian events and their impact on the Jewish population.

[187] Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 246.

[188] Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 247.

[189] Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 193. Smallwood suggests that Agrippa I was likely granted kingship over Judaea so that he could ease tensions which had built when Caligula attempted to have his image erected in the temple.

[190] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 348.

[191] Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 211.

[192] Rosik (*Church and Synagogue*, 467) describes Christianity as a religious movement within the time of Jesus because it drew upon shared traditions, habits, and beliefs as other Jewish groups. Through the ministry of Paul, it came to reject elements of Jewish belief (such as circumcision, kosher food laws, etc.) which drew greater conflict from orthodox Jews. Rosik suggests that once orthodox opposition pushes the members of the religious movement outside the religious mainstream, they effectively become a new religion (468). He suggests this did not happen fully until 90 CE.

long-lasting, multi-layered, and diversified process.[193] The New Testament highlights Jewish/Christian tensions through Jesus's repeated confrontations with Jewish leadership and through its descriptions of Jewish opposition which followed Paul on his missionary journeys. Christians may have been involved in the incidents leading up to the Jewish expulsion from Rome, but it is not until the reign of Nero that they are clearly distinguished from the mainline Jews. When Nero began to be blamed for a large fire in Rome (64 CE)[194] he instead casts blame upon Christians and proceeded to have them persecuted.[195] Not only did Nero persecute the Christians but he also appointed two successive governors, Albinus (62–64 CE) and Florus (64–67 CE), whose wickedness induced the general populace into revolt.[196]

Nero was emperor when the Jewish revolt began, but he would not live to see its conclusion.[197] While the revolt could be used to suggest that there was great animosity between the Jewish people and Rome, this notion may be too simplistic. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl*. 3.5:3) tells us that the Christians left for Pella prior to the revolt suggesting that they did not share the views of the mainline Jews. While the remaining Jews generally seemed to support the resistance, the severity of the destruction seems to have been largely the fault of a few groups of bandits, whose

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[193] Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 16. Rosik asserts that the discussion cannot be confined to theological issues, but must also consider social, historical, and political areas as well.

[194] The fire lasted nine days and destroyed three out of fourteen districts of the capital. See Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 202.

[195] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 362. Smallwood (*Jews Under Roman Rule*, 217) notes that Tacitus is the only historian to link the fire to Christians. It is not clear why Nero singled out the Christians, but it is quite possible they had grown a reputation for riling up the Jews. When Suetonius explains the reasoning behind the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, he suggests that it was because of their constant rioting at the instigation of Chrestus (thought to refer to Christ's followers) (210). Both Peter and Paul are thought to have been martyred during Nero's persecutions. See Sanders and Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels*, 7.

[196] Josephus describes the wickedness of Albinus (*War* 2:272) and claims he sowed the seeds which brought the city to destruction (*War* 2:276). Florus is said to be worse than Albinus (*War* 2:277) and he, according to Josephus, purposely induced the people into rebellion (*War* 2:283).

[197] Vespasian, the general leading the initial conflict would eventually win the throne (Josephus, *War* 4:601), and his son Titus would lead the Roman army to its final victory (*War* 6:440).

infighting not only harmed their own people but also invoked the wrath of Rome.[198] Jerusalem would be destroyed along with the temple (70 CE).

Writings from Roman Period Prior to the Destruction of Jerusalem

Five Second Temple writings are dated to this period: 4Q Blessings, Testament of 12 Patriarchs, Testament of Job, Assumption of Moses, and Wisdom of Solomon along with seven authorship groups from the New Testament (Undisputed Pauline; James; Hebrews; Disputed Pauline; Matthew; Mark; 1 Peter). Many of the writings from this period (T. 12 Patr., Undisputed Pauline, James, Disputed Pauline, 1 Peter) are concerned with resistance to temptation, for each person has urges that could lead to sinfulness (Gal 5:16–17, Rom 8:5, Eph 4:22–23, Jas 1:14, 1 Pet 1:14, T. Reu. 2–3). The Satan figure is frequently cast as a being who could exploit these urges to turn people towards wickedness (1 Thess 3:5, 1 Cor 7:5, 2 Cor 2:11). There seems to be little difference in the way New Testament authors and other early first century Jewish writings framed the involvement of the Satan figure in this period. He was one who exploited the desires of an individual and he would retreat if resisted (Jas 4:7, T. Iss 7:7; T. Dan 5:1; T. Naph 8:4). For much of this period religious beliefs were not condemned, but the Jewish people were of secondary status and their civil unrest was met with intolerance. As long as they lived with self-control, they would neither draw the ire of the Romans nor would they allow the Satan figure to exploit their weakness. Despite mention of suffering and persecution (1 Thess 1:9, 1 Pet 1:6, Jas 5:7, 2 Thess 1:4) the Satan figure is not described as its source. This suggests that his influence was still distinct from the actions of Rome. He is a cosmic being largely in the background who

[198] Josephus (*War* 5:1–28) notes that Jerusalem was divided into three factions led by Eleazar, son of Simon, John of Gischala, and Simon, son of Gioras. He claims that these three groups were responsible for burning the storehouses of food which made the city ill equipped to withstand a siege, and that their atrocities so hurt the populace that the common people wished for the Romans to prevail so that they could be delivered from their domestic miseries.

is attempting to draw people into sin. God's prompting is seen as a counter against one's bodily urges whether that be through his Spirit or through his revealed wisdom.

Some of the writings from this period show a shift in Satan's role. Rather than exploit bodily urges he acts more directly by influencing behavior. He and his demons take possession of people (common in Mark and Matt) or influence their thoughts (Mark 8:33; Matt 16:23) and teachings (1 Tim 4:1). Mark and Matthew bring the impression that Christ has come to rescue people from the grips of Satan (Mark 3:27; Matt 12:29). They give the impression that willful resistance and Spirit leading were not enough to resist the direct action of Satan and his demons. Matthew also brings the sense that Jewish leaders were starting to join the cause of Satan for they begin to resist Christ's message rather than join his ranks. The dualistic framework of Matthew likens the Jewish leaders to Satan himself in that they both resist the coming kingdom of Jesus (Matt 12:30). This polemic could reflect a widening divide developing between Christians and Jews towards the end of the period. T. Job presents a Satan figure who can inflict harm directly on a person (7:12; 18:1; 20:6), yet his actions are not associated with any particular people group. He is seen as an opponent to an individual (Job) who sought reward in God's kingdom (4:6–9), and he was overcome by persistent piety rather than divine rescue (27:6). This suggests a greater affinity towards the earlier writings of the period which stress self-control.

70–135 CE Roman Rule After Destruction of Jerusalem

This period begins in the wake of a destroyed Jerusalem, but the period would see two further Jewish revolts, one coming from several regions within the diaspora (115–117 CE), and then a final revolt in Judaea which would leave the region decimated (132–135 CE). Amid these

revolts, two groups would endure (the Pharisees and the Christians), but they become increasingly distanced from one another.[199]

In the period immediately following the fall of Jerusalem, Jews were left with no protection from the law, their property was confiscated, and many were punished.[200] Judaea was put under the command of a senatorial legate (who personally had command of a Roman legion)[201] and a new, more stringent temple tax (Fiscus Iudaicus) was placed upon the people.[202] Formerly, synagogues had been led by priests, but with the fall of the Temple and the priest's diminished status, Pharisaic rabbis began to take control.[203] By 90 CE Johanan ben Zakkai had obtained permission from Roman authorities to create the Jabneh academy.[204] This academy would go onto become an institution of considerable religious and moral authority where the Hebrew canon was established, legal dilemmas were resolved, the ritual of prayer was transformed, the final version of the 18 benedictions were created, and apostates from the Synagogue (including Christians) were excluded.[205] By requiring the Canon to be comprised of Hebrew texts, the academy effectively barred the use of the LXX which was the Bible of the Christians.[206]

The first two leaders from the Flavian family, Vespasian (69–79 CE) and Titus (79–81 CE), were popular but the third and final, Domitian (81–96 CE) was reminiscent of Caligula and

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[199] Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 433) notes that the Pharisees and Christians survived and flourished because they each had built-in mechanisms allowing them to provide substitutes for the temple and its cult. He suggests that the Essenes were wiped out, and the Sadducees had little influence without the temple (434).

[200] Rosenfeld, "Liminal Time," 142.

[201] Eck, "Position and Authority," 94. A second legion was added to Judaea during the reign of Hadrian (117–138 CE) (96).

[202] Fiscus Iudaicus was the replacement of the tax paid for the Temple of Jerusalem with a tax for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It required a yearly payment of two drachmae, but rather than be paid by men between the ages of 20 and 50, this tax would be required of all Jews throughout the empire including women, children, and slaves. See Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 242–43.

[203] Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 259.

[204] Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 262.

[205] Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 266. The 12th blessing of the 18 would come to have significance for it called for the blotting out of apostates from the book of the living (269). The Palestinian version would include Christians among the apostates (271).

[206] Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 283, 286.

Nero and was ultimately assassinated.[207] Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl*. 3:17) claims that Domitian started a persecution against the Christians but according to Tertulian (*Apol.* 5) it was short lived.[208] He was replaced by Nerva, a pick of the senate, who required the Jewish tax to be paid solely by Jews (96 CE).[209] Grabbe calls the reign of Trajan (98–117 CE) a period of relative order and peace where the Roman empire reached its greatest limits.[210] It also saw the famous request by Pliny the Younger who sought further direction for administering justice to the Christians,[211] the martyrdom of Ignatius of Antioch,[212] and a series of revolts from the Jewish diaspora.[213]

Much of the reign of Hadrian (117–38 CE) was also peaceful,[214] but his actions towards the end of his reign sparked the Bar Kochba revolt (132–135 CE) which was named for a messianic pretender which led the rebellion.[215] Grabbe suggests that two causes are generally attributed to the revolt although common issues such as economic pressures, strong feelings of nationalism, and resentment against Roman Rule persisted.[216] Hadrian issued a decree against circumcision and also intended to rebuild Jerusalem as a Roman City named Aelia Capitolina

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[207] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 436.

[208] The severity of persecution is often tied to discussion regarding Revelation. See Aune, *Revelation 1–5*, lxx; Bernier, *Rethinking the Dates*, 120.

[209] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 440–441. Rosik (*Church and Synagogue*, 242–48) asserts that with the new changes only Jews practicing Sabbath and observing other customs of their fathers were obligated to pay the tax.

[210] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 441.

[211] Pliny the Younger sought direction from Trajan on how to deal with the Christians who would gather before the dawn to raise hymns praising Christ and to take oaths to avoid crime, adultery, theft, and to keep their word. See Rosik (*Church and Synagogue*, 335) for excerpts of the letters between Pliny and Trajan. Trajan instructs that Christians were not to be sought out and that they were only to be punished if they failed to denounce their God (335).

[212] Rizzi ("Jews and Christians," 119) points out that the date of Ignatius's death (10th year of Trajan) is often doubted by scholars and that it may have actually been tied up with events of the revolts.

[213] Grabbe (*History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 459) notes that revolts broke out in four locations (Cyrenaica, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, and Egypt). These revolts seem to have been the result of continued Greek/Jewish tensions. Casualties were large for both Jews and Romans for the Egyptian Jews managed to defeat a full legion prior to falling to the second (460), and in Cyprus Jewish casualties are said to have reached 240,000 (461).

[214] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 443.

[215] The Bar Kochba revolt is named after the leader of the rebellion who purported to be a light bringer from heaven who had come to cast marvelous light on the miserable. See Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 467.

[216] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 478.

which included a temple to Zeus planned for the former Jewish temple site.[217] The revolt was costly to the Romans but it was devastating for the Jews for it took a greater toll than even the first Jewish revolt.[218] After the revolt, Hadrian forbade Jews from coming within the vicinity of Jerusalem (Eusebius *Hist. eccl*. 4, 6:4). Rainey and Notley suggest this created a significant shift in language use within the area and that moving forward the Christian church within the region was to be led by non-Jews (Eusebius *Hist. eccl*. 4, 5:2).[219]

Writings from Roman Period After the Destruction of Jerusalem

Four Second Temple writings are dated to this period: T. 12 Patr., LAE, LAB, and Asc. Is. along with six authorship groups from the New Testament (Disputed Pauline, Hebrews, Luke-Acts, Jude-2Peter, Johannine, Revelation). Some of the writings from this period present a more severe picture of Satan by describing him as a murderer (John 8:44), showing how his direct influence has caused harm and continues to do so (Asc. Isa. 5:1; 4:2–4), and by describing him as a dragon who would wage war against God's angels and all believers (Rev 12:9; 18:21; 20:9). This would seem fitting for the period if Satan was solely associated with the Romans. The city of Babylon is commonly interpreted to be Rome and the imagery of the beasts (13:1–2) reflects that of Dan 7:3–8 and suggests that Rome is the final empire to be conquered before being replaced by the divine kingdom.[220] Revelation also associates him with Jews (Rev 2:9; 3:9) further reflecting the persecution of Jewish believers by the local synagogues. The LAB, a Jewish writing from the

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[217] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 474–75. Dio Cassius (69.12.1) claims that Hadrian's intention to rebuild the temple was cause for the revolt while Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl*. 4.6:4) claims the city was not rebuilt as Aelia until after the Jewish defeat. Grabbe claims that scholars see these to be complimentary claims. Hadrian's intention to rebuild the city sparked the revolt, while the defeat of the Jews allowed for the works to proceed (476).

[218] Grabbe, *History of the Jews Vol. 4*, 467.

[219] Rainey and Notley (*Sacred Bridge*, 398) claim that many Jews previously living in the land emigrated to the diaspora while Babylonian Jews were among the influx of new inhabitants. Prior to the revolt inhabitants in the region could understand the Scriptures in Hebrew without translation into Aramaic but afterwards there was a shift towards Aramaic. Sáenz-Badillos (*History of Hebrew Language*, 170) suggests Rabbinic Hebrew was the primary language spoken in Judaea and that after the collapse of the Bar-Kochba revolt led to a dispersal of the people of Judaea, although he admits that Hebrew speakers among the lower classes may have remained.

[220] See Bauckham, *Climax of Prophecy*, 343.

period, neither amplifies the severity of Satan nor associates him with Rome. Instead, he is a figure who is witness to the righteous judgment of God (LAB 45:6) who explains his reasoning for punishing the Benjamites. This first set of writings interpret painful historic events as the work of Satan, while LAB interprets them as God's discipline.

The situation was dire for both unbelieving Jew and Christian within this period, yet they continued to look forward with hope, either for the awaited return and judgment of Christ (Asc. Isa. 4:15; 2 Thess 2:8; Heb 10:13; John 3:16; 1 John 4:17; Rev 14:16) or for their reward in the afterlife (GLAE 41:3; LAB 3:10; Jude 21; 2 Pet 1:11; Rev 21:3). This moment of victory tends to be associated with the destruction of evil (Asc. Isa 4:14; 10:12; LAB 3:10; 2 Pet 3:7; John 16:11; Rev 20:14; 21:8). 2 Pet 3:4 gives the impression that some were skeptical that Christ's return would even happen but 2 Thess 2:3 tells that the coming would not occur until the man of lawlessness was revealed. Rev 13:4, 1 John 2:18, and Asc. Isa. 4:2–4 equate the arrival of a tyrant with the end times just like 2 Thessalonians. This is reminiscent of Dan 7:8, 24–25 which interpreted Antiochus IV to be an indication that the end times had come. Authors from that period predicted when evil would be destroyed (Dan 9:24; CD 20:13–15, 11Q13 2:15–25) but when those dates passed, the prophetic texts had to be reinterpreted. For instance, Jerome equates the tyrant of Daniel with Titus of Rome[221] and when these events did not mark the end of evil, they could be used to point forward to a future antichrist who has not yet been seen.[222]

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a historical recount for ten periods spanning from ca. 1030 BCE–135 CE so that the prominent events of history could be used to interpret ideas pertaining to the Satan figure which have been expressed across time. This process can be quite speculative, and this

[221] Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary*, 134. Josephus (*Ant*. 10:276) equates Daniel's prophecy with both Antiochus Epiphanes and the Roman government of his own day.

[222] Young, *Commentary on Daniel*, 246–47.

was on display in the early periods where the Satan texts (like Gen 3, Gen 6) could be understood as an attempt to delineate the beliefs of Israel from foreign nations or they could be seen as attempts to explain disorder whether it be through divine retribution, divine testing, or caused by supernatural forces. Texts like 1 Sam 16:14–23 and Judg 9:23 could be making polemical statements with its use of good and harmful spirits but those statements may have been made against individuals, houses (Benjamin and Judah), or kingdoms (north and south). A resolution on this issue can be impacted by how writings are dated.

A group of writings from around the exilic period (Isa 14, Deut 32:8–9, Ezek 28, Ps 82) promote the idea of supernatural beings being responsible for individual nations with their influence being read into political events. These texts treat nations as a unity and this continues through the Persian period where the actions of השטן have impact on the full community (Zech 3, 1 Chr 21). This is a trend that would shift markedly by the Hasmonaean period. The Hellenistic period writings appear to be making attempts to explain ongoing evil in the world rather than offer reflections of current events. Rather than give hint to sides within a time of war and division, they set their narratives in times of the past. These texts lack consistency in the way they describe ongoing Satanic involvement.

The Hasmonean period writings show division within the people of God and they represent views of differing groups and show shifts in perspective with time. The early Hasmonean authors (Daniel, Jubilees, Animal Apocalypse) appear to be pro-Maccabean and show an optimism that their revolt against the Greeks and their sympathizers would bring an end to evil. 4Q Apocryphon of Jeremiah shares a similar view to events leading up to Antiochus Epiphanes IV but no longer holds a positive view of Maccabean leadership for their rule is seen to be influenced by the angels of Mastema. The Yahad writings stand against the Maccabeans on religious grounds and align the Maccabeans with Belial and his wicked followers.

The Early Roman period showed great variance in its depiction of the Satan figure and showed division across boundaries of wealth and power rather than religion (Book of Parables).

Wickedness was shown by the rich and powerful whose behavior was influenced by revealed heavenly mysteries. During the Roman period leading up to the destruction of Jerusalem, Satan was largely described as a being who could exploit people if they failed to control their responses to bodily urges. In some writings of this period Satan could exert control over people, leaving them in need of divine rescue. Matthew presents a polemic against those who stand against Christ (12:30) while writings from after the destruction of Jerusalem offer polemics against both Jews and Rome (Rev 2:9; 13:1). The conditions after the destruction of Jerusalem seem to conjure more severe Christian depictions of Satan who is now pictured as a murderer (John 8:44). Several of the writings of this final period show increased expectation of an end time tyrant and are living in hope as they await the end time judgment.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation set out to show that distinct conceptions of Satan have developed from the time of the Old Testament through to the New Testament and that these conceptions were not harmonized by New Testament authors. An examination of Old Testament texts showed that there was potential for at least four distinct expressions of Satan. These expressions were formed by grouping similar texts together. The rebellious serpent of Gen 3 offers an origin story for evil. When coupled with Isa 14 and Ezek 28 that serpent can be correlated with a supernatural being who was punished for their pride. Genesis 6:1–4, Deut 32:8–9, Ps 82, and Dan 10: 13–14, 20–21; 12:1 develop the idea of formerly good supernatural beings turning rogue. These four texts can be used to offer an alternative origin story from Gen 3. They depict multiple offenders who were originally tasked with leading foreign nations but who were found derelict in their duties. These offenders ("sons of God") could have originally been understood to be foreign deities but later they came to be understood as angels. First Samuel 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:9, Judg 9:23; and 1 Kgs 22:19–23 shared the idea of good and troublesome spirits influencing humanity in subordination to God. Troublesome spirits were sent to influence people who had already violated God's purposes in some way. Job 1–2, Zech 3, and 1 Chr 21:1 identified a singular figure (שׂטן) who attended YHWH's divine council and who with the approval of God could influence nature, large groups of people, and even inflict harm directly to one's body. This figure acts as an adversary raising charges against humans.

Twenty-seven Jewish writings from the Second Temple period were surveyed to see if and how these four expressions of Satan may have been extended into the intertestamental period. Two expressions were prominent, that of the rebellious angels and the good and troublesome spirits. The Watcher tradition built upon the notion of rebellious angels and was

represented by nine writings.[1] These writings link two violations to the rebellious angels, fornication with human women as in the Old Testament, and the revelation of heavenly mysteries which is unique to the Second Temple period writings. The writings of the Watcher tradition shared an expectation of judgment for the rebelling angels and for any humans that are impacted by their influence, they saw piety as a protection against evil, and heroes of their stories were generally given divine knowledge to help them understand the cosmic influences lying behind historic events. Despite these similarities, this tradition identifies numerous different evil figures, it describes multiple sources of continued evil [demons (1 En. 15:9–10), overzealous angelic rulers (1 En. 89:59–60), heavenly mysteries (1 En. 64:2)], and it showcases a developing idea of who would be impacted by these evil forces [all humanity (1 En. 15:11—16:1), foreign nations (Jub. 15:31), Israel (1 En. 89:59–60), and the rich and powerful (1 En. 53:5)].

The Two-Way tradition, which builds upon the notion of good and harmful spirits, was represented by eleven writings from the Second Temple period.[2] These writings employ a dualistic framework, where the heavenly spiritual realm and all humanity are divided into two polarized groups characterized by light and darkness. The authors of these writings distinguished themselves from the Hasmonean priesthood and understood that they would have to endure the era of wickedness, after which evil would be destroyed.[3] The prominent figure of evil within the Two-Way tradition was Belial but there was disagreement over how his reign would conclude. Within the Rule of Community, Belial served the purposes of God by offering an evil alternative to people whose fidelity was being tested (1QS 3:18; 4:25). His reign would end by God's judgment. In the War Scroll he was presented as a rival whose evil forces would be defeated by God and his heavenly host in battle (1QM 1:14–15).

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[1] Book of Watchers; book of Tobit; Genesis Apocryphon; Jubilees; Animal Apocalypse; 4Q Apocryphon of Jeremiah; 4Q Ages of Creation A and B; Book of Parables; Songs of the Sage.

[2] Aramaic Levi Document; 4Q Visions of Amram; Damascus Document; Rule of the Community; Hodayot; War Scroll; 11Q Melchizedek; 4Q Curses; 4Q Florilegium; 4Q Catena A; 4Q Blessings.

[3] See p. 87n175 and p. 215.

Seven late writings of the Second Temple period showed an awareness of the Watcher tradition (which was downplayed) and the Two-Way tradition (which was further nuanced), but they also showed signs of other traditions developing around השׂטן of the divine council and the serpent of the garden narrative.[4] In T. 12 Patr., neither the Watchers nor the giants are feared, but rather the spirits of Beliar, who had the ability to taint the creative spirits of God (T. Reu. 2–3). Like the Two-Way tradition, choosing to succumb to one's inclination was a choice to follow Beliar but in T. 12 Patr. there was room to grow. Someone may succumb to their inclinations in their youth but if they learned to stand firm in maturity then they could be judged righteous (T. Ash. 6). While T. Job's Satan figure operated with more deception and power to harm, he too could be resisted and repelled much like Beliar of T. 12 Patr. (T. Job 27:6; cf. T. Dan 5:1).

The Assumption of Moses and LAB provide depictions of a Satan who continues to operate as a prosecuting divine council member. He is a figure who continues to be privy to God's decision-making process (LAB 45:6) and who shows a vested interest in preventing unqualified humans from attaining eternal life.[5] This seems to be a role that was correlated with the Satan figure moving forward into the Rabbinical writings.

While the Book of Parables associated the temptation of the serpent with a rebellious angel name Gader'el (1 En. 69:6), the Wisdom of Solomon and the Life of Adam and Eve help to associate the serpent's actions with Satan. The Life of Adam and Eve paints Satan's temptation of Eve as retribution for being punished when he refused to worship Adam, a being made after himself (Vita 14:3). Satan and his following angels operate with autonomy as they repay Adam and Eve and this same quality is on full display within Asc. Is. when the Satan figure takes control of humans to attack followers of God (Asc. Is. 1:9; 2:2; 3:11; 4:2–4; 5:1).

[4] Testament of Twelve Patriarchs; Testament of Job; Assumption of Moses; Wisdom of Solomon; Life of Adam and Eve; Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum; Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah.

[5] See p. 107.

New Testament writings were divided into eleven different authorship groups. The Watcher tradition was most evident in the writings of Mark, 1 Peter, and 2 Peter and Jude. While some of these writings only view the Watchers as a concern of the past, Mark brings their influence into the present through its concern for demons and allusions to the Son of Man. The Two-Way tradition could be detected in Hebrews, the disputed Pauline writings, and 1 Peter but the a stronger dualistic expression is offered in the Johannine writings and Matthew where those in opposition to Christ are associated with Satan (Matt 13:37–38; John 16:8–11). The chronological ordering of the New Testament texts helped to magnify shifts in understanding across the New Testament corpus. The earlier writings (Hebrews, both the Undisputed and Disputed Pauline writings, James, and 1 Peter) presented Satan as a cosmic being who passively sought to exploit the desires of believers. His efforts could be repelled by pious believers who showed control of their internal desires. The influences of evil were heightened in the synoptic gospels and Acts, especially through demon possession. The later writings which include the Johannine writings and Revelation amplify the destructiveness of Satan who can inflict harm regardless of the response of believers. In these later writings, believers were called to endure until the time when God would finally overcome the forces of evil.

When the writings of the Old Testament, Second Temple period, and the New Testament were divided into periods and correlated with events of history it became evident that the Satan figure could serve different functions within writings. He could function as a tool to make theological claims or demands,[6] he could be used to make polemical statements against opposing groups,[7] and his cosmic influence could be used to explain wickedness in the world.[8] There is a great deal of speculation inherent in matching texts to historical periods for one's dating affects how one might interpret texts against their background. Numerous texts examined in this study

[6] See p. 187.
[7] See p. 195.
[8] See p. 212.

had date ranges that spanned over multiple periods (like Job and T. 12 Patr.). One of the interesting trends, that was observed was how the community threatened by the Satan figure shifted with time. Early on, all Israel was threatened, but later there began to be signs of internal division. The Hasmonean period was especially enlightening for there was evidence of rival groups each equating the Satan figure with their opposing groups. Writers within this period also attempted to determine when the era of wickedness would come to an end, but when those expectations went unmet, these expectations had to be discarded and adapted to new contexts. Other interesting shifts were observed as concerns switched from foreign deities to rebelling angels, and how the severity of the Satan figure oscillated across time. The Hasmonean period and the Roman period, after the destruction of Jerusalem, offered similar historical settings and in each the Satan figure appeared to be more menacing.

Contributions

This study began by surveying the history of interpretation over the past thirty years for the topic of Satan and has endeavored to overcome limitations highlighted within these earlier studies. One of the limitations that was highlighted was the need for a fuller set of texts to be considered so that we could have a greater understanding of how conceptions changed from the Old Testament through to the New Testament and to better appreciate what information would be known by successive generations of ancient audiences. This study has examined twenty-seven writings from the Second Temple period which speak of a Satan figure to enhance our awareness of the ideas that were developing between the Old Testament and New Testament.

By viewing texts diachronically this study has displayed how conceptions of the Satan figure shifted with time. Within the Old Testament texts, we examined four developing traditions of the Satan figure rather than one singular tradition. These four traditions were each represented within the Second Temple texts, but the Watcher and Two-Way traditions were prominent. By resisting the reductionist tendency of assimilating the various names of the Satan figure this

study was able to recognize a great variability of thought. For instance, within the Watcher tradition emphasis shifted from fornicating angels to revealed heavenly mysteries, the Watchers could be seen as an example of ancient rebellion or a source of ongoing evil, and fault could be placed on either the angels or humans. The source of evil could be envisioned in rebellious angels, demonic spirits, or overzealous angels while the wicked could be associated with foreign nations, foreign sympathizers, apostates, the rich and powerful, or even other believing groups who disagree on points of interpretation.

Scholars have at times attempted to articulate a singular worldview of the ancient reader as though this would make it clear what an author was trying to communicate. This study has placed great emphasis on accounting for a wide range of ancient writers to acquire a more well-rounded sense of what ancient readers may have thought. There are numerous reasons why ancient writers may have written texts involving a Satan figure (to make theological claims, to explain the unseen world, for polemical purposes) and even more reasons why they may express different understandings (shifts in understanding, new reflections based on changing contexts, re-interpretation of texts through new revelation).

Rather than simply survey New Testament texts to see whether the Satan figure exhibited certain characteristics within each author's writings, this study tried to compare and contrast New Testament texts with earlier writings associated with the Satan figure. This process helped to show how points of ambiguity could be read to fit distinctly different frameworks. For instance, the spiritual armor of Eph 6:14–17 need not conjure images of cosmic war like that envisioned in the War Scroll. It could also fit a framework where antithetical spirits battle over the hearts of men as part of a divine test. In both cases humanity was to be on guard against forces of evil, but evil could have very different associations with God. Some New Testament authors showed concern over bodily desires, but Satan could be seen as either the source of those desires (John 8:44) or only as one who exploited them for his purposes (1 Cor 7:5). It was also unclear how one was meant to overcome those desires, was it an act of determination (1 Pet

2:11–12), was it Spirit guided behavior (Rom 8:5), or did it require divine protection (1 John 5:18)? Some New Testament authors place emphasis on the threat of the demonic world, but was that threat operating under the auspices of God or was it operating autonomously from him? Was the threat intended to evoke a choice out of people cognizant of the coming judgment (as in Matthew) or was there an actual battle of power being waged in the cosmos (like in Luke-Acts)? These variances suggest that Jewish writings, and even biblical writings, provide no singular teaching about Satan. It is more likely that ancient authors had differing ideas on how to interpret the invisible world that laid behind the evil they observed around them. Some notions were widely accepted, like the expectation of the eventual destruction of evil, but whenever these expectations became too defined, they would be contradicted, discarded, or adapted to fit some new context.

This study has attempted to trace the progression of thought, regarding the Satan figure, by examining writings as part of a tradition and by comparing them to other contemporary works. A point of emphasis has been to understand how conceptions of the Satan figure shifted with time and to understand how those shifts may have been impacted by historic events. It was interesting to see how prominent the Watcher and Two-Way traditions were within the Second Temple period and how little had been done to connect Satan with the garden serpent. The New Testament became more consistent with its use of the term Satan, but it showed no consistency in its affinity for any singular tradition. Satan appeared to become more menacing towards the end of the first century, but this corresponds to a historical backdrop that became more destructive as tensions mounted between the Jewish nation and Rome.

Directions for Future Study

This study attempted to relate writings to historic periods, but it became evident that a delineation of time would, at times, leave us wondering what group was behind the writing. A further consideration of provenance would have been helpful to distinguish the thinking of the

mainline Jewish community of Judah from those of a particular group from the Jewish diaspora. I think there could also be value in expanding the study further to observe early writings of the church fathers, the Rabbinical writings, and the Gnostic writings. This study drew the conclusion that beliefs pertaining to the Satan Figure had not yet cemented within the New Testament, so it would be valuable to see when and how that happened within the early church community. This process would be enhanced by contrasting it against rival communities (like the Rabbis, or the Gnostics) who may have developed their Satanology in a different direction.

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