

**“BETTER TO  
REIGN IN HELL,  
THAN SERVE  
IN HEAVEN”**

SATAN’S METAMORPHOSIS FROM  
A HEAVENLY COUNCIL MEMBER  
TO THE RULER OF PANDAEMONIUM

**Allan Edwin Charles Wright**



VERNON PRESS

SERIES IN PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

Copyright © 2017 Vernon Press, an imprint of Vernon Art and Science Inc, on behalf of the author.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Vernon Art and Science Inc.

[www.vernonpress.com](http://www.vernonpress.com)

*In the Americas:*  
Vernon Press  
1000 N West Street,  
Suite 1200, Wilmington,  
Delaware 19801  
United States

*In the rest of the world:*  
Vernon Press  
C/Sancti Espiritu 17,  
Malaga, 29006  
Spain

Series in Philosophy of Religion

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017948464

ISBN: 978-1-62273-287-6

Product and company names mentioned in this work are the trademarks of their respective owners. While every care has been taken in preparing this work, neither the authors nor Vernon Art and Science Inc. may be held responsible for any loss or damage caused or alleged to be caused directly or indirectly by the information contained in it.





# Abstract

In this thesis, I argue that Satan was not perceived as a universal malevolent deity, the embodiment of evil, or the “ruler of Pandaemonium” within first century Christian literature or even within second and third-century Christian discourses as some scholars have insisted. Instead, for early “Christian” authors, Satan represented a pejorative term used to describe terrestrial, tangible, and concrete social realities, perceived of as adversaries. To reach this conclusion, I explore the narrative character of Satan selectively within the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental literature, Mark, Matthew, Luke, Q, the Book of Revelation, the Nag Hammadi texts, and the Ante-Nicene fathers.

I argue that certain scholars’ such as Jeffrey Burton Russell, Miguel A. De La Torre, Albert Hernandez, Peter Stanford, Paul Carus, and Gerd Theissen, homogenized reconstructions of the “New Testament Satan” as the universalized incarnation of evil and that God’s absolute cosmic enemy is absent from early Christian Orthodox literature, such as Mark, Matthew, Luke, Q, the Book of Revelation, and certain writings from the Ante-Nicene Fathers. Using Jonathan Z. Smith’s essay *Here, There, and Anywhere*, I suggest that the cosmic dualist approach to Satan as God’s absolute cosmic enemy resulted from the changing social topography of the early fourth century where Christian “insider” and “outsider” adversaries were diminishing. With these threats fading, early Christians universalized a perceived chaotic cosmic enemy, namely Satan, being influenced by the Gnostic demiurge, who disrupts God’s terrestrial and cosmic order. Therefore, Satan transitioned from a “here,” “insider,” and “there,” “outsider,” threat to a universal “anywhere” threat.



# Table of Contents

Abstract i

Introduction 1

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Chapter 1 Near Eastern Narratives which<br>Influenced the Development of Satan | 7  |
| Mesopotamia  | 8  |
| Canaan   | 13 |
| Egypt  | 15 |
| Greek  | 17 |
| Germanic   | 21 |
| Persian  | 25 |
| Conclusion   | 36 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Chapter 2 Satanic Figures within the Hebrew Bible<br>and Intertestamental Literature | 41 |
| Hebrew Bible   | 42 |
| Intertestamental Literature  | 49 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Chapter 3 New Testament Representations of Satan | 71 |
| Mark   | 72 |
| Matthew  | 81 |
| Luke-Acts  | 91 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| John                                   | 102 |
| Paul                                   | 109 |
| The Book of Revelation                 | 113 |
| Conclusion                             | 118 |
| <br>                                   |     |
| Chapter 4 Second and Third Century     |     |
| Representations of Satan               | 121 |
| The Nag Hammadi Texts and the Demiurge | 121 |
| Ante-Nicene Fathers                    | 128 |
| Conclusion                             | 137 |
| <br>                                   |     |
| Conclusion The Decisive Malevolent     |     |
| Metamorphosis                          | 141 |
| <br>                                   |     |
| Bibliography                           | 153 |
| <br>                                   |     |
| Index                                  | 167 |



# Introduction

*An apology for the Devil: It must be remembered that we have heard only one side of the case. God has written all the books.*

--- SAMUEL BUTLER, Note Books

The Satan of John Milton's epic poem *Paradise Lost* is a familiar character. He leads a group of angels in a rebellion against God which results in their expulsion from heaven. With the rebellious group of angels banished below to the dark void of chaos, Satan has now become the ruler over "Pandaemonium." "Pandaemonium" is a term Milton coined by combining the Greek terms *pan* and *daimones* simply meaning "all," or "every," demons. In response to God's punishment, Satan tempts Eve to eat the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden; this, of course, leads to the "fall of man." This portrayal of Satan has become the dominant perception of Satan within popular discourse. However, the notion of an "evil" figure within the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental, and early Christian literature is much more complex than Milton's characterization.

I will discuss the narrative character of Satan in these ancient texts in order to show that Satan was not perceived as a universal malevolent deity, the embodiment of evil, or the "ruler of Pandaemonium" within first century Christian literature or even within second and third-century Christian discourses as some scholars have insisted.<sup>1</sup> For example, Jeffrey

---

<sup>1</sup> See Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1977), 221-249. Miguel A. De La Torre & Albert Hernandez, *The Quest for the Historical Satan*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 74-92. Peter Stanford, *The Devil: A Biography*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996), 55-71. Paul Carus, *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, (New York: Land's End Press, 1969), 157-193. Gerd Theissen as summarized by Nienke Vos, "Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity," In *Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity*, (Eds. Nienke Vos and Willemien Otten; Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011), 8-17.

Burton Russell claims that the Devil within the New Testament is not a peripheral character and is not a symbolic representation in any manner. He states that Satan is God and Jesus' chief opponent and the ultimate "principle of evil."<sup>2</sup> Peter Stanford claims that a central emphasis for the entire New Testament is the conflict and hostilities between Jesus and the Devil.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, Gerd Theissen's reconstruction of Satan relies heavily on the narrative of Jesus' temptation within the desert.<sup>4</sup> The dependence upon the temptation narrative to reconstruct Satan does specifically apply to Matthew and Luke, but other texts such as John and any of the Pauline letters lack any mention of the temptation narrative. Therefore, applying the temptation narrative to reconstruct an overall caricature of Satan is misleading. Scholars such as Russell, Stanford, Miguel A. De La Torre, Albert Hernandez, Paul Carus, and Gerd Theissen combine various narratives from different and diverse sources to form a conglomerate character. Their chapters, books, and essays about Satan within the New Testament do not differentiate between Satan in Mark, Satan in Matthew, etc. Therefore, their reconstruction of Satan within the New Testament is a homogenized one.

This perception of Satan is more indicative of contemporary discourses as seen in popular films, books, music, and certain Protestant and Catholic theologies. For example, Russell writes: "the devil is a creature of God, the chief of the fallen angels... He is lord of this world, chief of a vast multitude of powers spiritual and physical, angelic and human, that are arrayed against the Kingdom of God."<sup>5</sup> Instead, I argue that for early Christian authors, Satan represents a pejorative term used to describe terrestrial, tangible, and concrete social realities, perceived as adversaries. Additionally, Satan is occasionally portrayed as a peripheral celestial tester and/or stumbling block to the narratives' main characters, such as Jesus. I explore the narrative character of Satan within the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental literature, Mark, Matthew, Luke, Q, John, Paul, the Book of Revelation, the Nag Hammadi texts, and the Ante-Nicene Fathers. By examining each text separately, I can focus on how each portrays

---

<sup>2</sup> Russell, 247.

<sup>3</sup> Stanford, 55.

<sup>4</sup> See Theissen as summarized by Nienke Vos, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Russell, 247.

Satan. The result of such an examination is that the Satan figure varies throughout various literary works.

Some scholars tend to ignore the Satan figure while conducting hermeneutical examinations of various periscopes. Others often project their contemporary notion of Satan onto the ancient literature they are examining. This type of anachronistic reading dealing with any type of critical assessment is problematic. Of course, scholars know that anachronistic readings are problematic, but somehow this problem still persists when it concerns the narrative character(s) of Satan. Henry Ansgar Kelly notes:

As an introduction to the New Testament, let me say that in spite of the fact that practically every Scriptural topic under the sun has been subjected to much critical evaluation, most exegetes are remarkably uncritical when it comes to satans and Satan. They are content to show that various sinister figures, like Belial and Beelzebub, were linked to a personal Satan in Jewish and Christian sources, never mind how late, and they assume that this Satan had become the all-evil enemy of God by the time that the Christian Scriptures were written, never mind how or when.<sup>6</sup>

In contrast, the data suggest that the narrative character of Satan within the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental, and early Christian literature was not the “incarnation of evil,” or God’s absolute celestial enemy. I will eventually suggest that this universalized notion of Satan developed within Christian discourse as a result of a changing social topography not until the beginning of the fourth century.

The first chapter will be dedicated to examining Satan’s possible “roots” within Near Eastern, Greek, and Germanic mythologies. In this chapter, I will discuss the characters of Humbaba from the epic of Gilgamesh; Mot from Canaanite mythology; Set or Seth from Egyptian mythology; Hades and certain elements of Orphism from Greek

---

<sup>6</sup> Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 53.

mythologies; and Angra Mainyu or Ahriman from Zoroastrianism. After examining these characters, I will suggest three common characteristics.

The second chapter will be an examination of various discourses surrounding Satanic figures within the Hebrew Bible and Intertestamental literature. This chapter will attempt to explain the discursive transition which enables Satan to eventually become a predominant representation of evil for Christianity. To begin, I will examine how the term “*satan*” is utilized within the Hebrew Bible, namely in 1 Samuel 29:4, 1 Kings 11, Numbers 22:22, 1 Chronicles 21:1, Zechariah 3:1-2, and Job 1 – 2. Then I will provide a brief outline of the social circumstances during the Second Temple period focusing on the Intertestamental Period. This background information is important because it was during this timeframe that the various discourses of “evil” appeared to transition into a single dominant discourse of evil centered on Satan. Next, I will discuss the numerous “evil” figures during the Intertestamental period, namely Semyaz, Azaz’el, Mastema, and Belial. For each “evil” figure, I will examine the meaning of their name, the texts they appear in, and the possible social discourses which shaped them. Finally, I will explore three possible explanations of how the numerous discourses of evil shifted towards a single predominant discourse of Satan being the ultimate personification of evil.

The third chapter will consist of an examination of Satan within first century Christian literature. For this examination, I will discuss the Satan narratives within Mark, Matthew, Luke-Acts, John, the Pauline letters, and finally the Book of Revelation. Each text represents Satan in a different manner. For example, in Matthew Satan is predominantly associated with the Pharisaic social group whereas in Paul he is more of a hindrance and obstacle to Paul’s proselytizing. However, it is evident within every text I examined that Satan is not considered a primary threat to the authors. In general, within first century Christian literature, Satan is not the primary antagonist and, for the most part, the authors do not concern themselves to develop or emphasize him.

The fourth and final chapter will be dedicated to second and third-century Christian representations of Satan. To begin this chapter, I will discuss the Nag Hammadi texts and the Gnostic notion of the demiurge representing a Satan-like figure. Lastly, I will examine Satan within the literature of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. This section will not consider all the representations of Satan in all the Ante-Nicene fathers; instead, it will offer an overall general frame of their rhetoric about Satan as directed against

perceived “outside” and “inside” threats to their ecclesiastical institutions, structures, and their desire for Christian unification.

To conclude, I will argue that certain scholars’ homogenized reconstructions of the “New Testament Satan” as the universalized incarnation of evil and God’s absolute cosmic enemy are absent from early Christian literature. Using Jonathan Z. Smith’s essay *Here, There, and Anywhere*, I will suggest that the cosmic dualist approach to Satan as God’s absolute cosmic enemy resulted from the changing social topography of the early fourth century where Christian “insider” and “outsider” adversaries were diminishing. With these threats fading, Christians, influenced by the concept of the Gnostic demiurge, universalized a perceived chaotic cosmic enemy, namely Satan, who disrupts God’s terrestrial and cosmic order. Therefore, Satan transitioned from a “here,” “insider,” and “there,” “outsider,” threat to a universal “anywhere” threat.



## Chapter 1

# Near Eastern Narratives which Influenced the Development of Satan

*All things truly wicked start from an innocence.*

---Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast*

Without question, the biblical character of Satan did not originate within a vacuum; external mythic narratives aided in the discursive development of this character. Mesopotamian, Canaanite, Egyptian, Greek, Persian, and perhaps even Germanic mythologies all encompass some form of a mischievous, trickster, or malevolent deity, demi-god, or monster. I am not suggesting, however, that these mythologies provide the only characters or conceptions that contribute to the development of Satan.<sup>1</sup> I am selecting these mythologies due to the fact that the cultures that produced them were extremely influential as “Israel’s closest

---

<sup>1</sup>For example, the character of Mara in Buddhism is seen demonic tempter of Siddhartha Gautama. James W. Boyd, “Symbols of Evil in Buddhism,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 31.1 (Nov., 1971), 63-75 argues that Mara is employed for the purpose of understanding the notion of evil within Buddhism (desire, rebirth, attachment, etc.). Mara is seen as a personification of human hindrances causing suffering. Another example being the Asura “demons” from post-Vedic literature. The Vedas describe certain deities, such as Agni and Indra, and Asura. Later, however, as demonstrated by Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1977), “the elder gods, the Asuras, were defeated and overthrown by the Devas, who became ‘the gods’ and relegated their ancient enemies the asuras to the level of demons.” (104).

neighbours.”<sup>2</sup> As a result, Israel and/or Judea’s, social contexts for the composition of the literature contained in the Hebrew Bible would have had significant dealings with these cultures. In this chapter, I will discuss the characters of Humbaba, Habayu, Mot, Set or Seth, Pan, Hades, Orphism, and Angra Mainyu or Ahriman within Mesopotamian, Canaanite, Egyptian, Greek, and Persian narratives respectively. I will examine these characters to identify common elements found in discourses surrounding Satan. After examining these characters, I will suggest three common characteristics.

## Mesopotamia

The extant copy of the Epic of Gilgamesh was written on twelve clay tablets in Akkadian.<sup>3</sup> During an excavation at Megiddo, a fragment of the epic, which was dated to 1550-1150 B.C.E., was discovered in addition to the twelve tablets.<sup>4</sup> There have been numerous debates regarding the Gilgamesh epic. Certain scholars, such as Morris Jastrow and Noah Kramer, do not find Gilgamesh appealing and disregard it because they view the narrative as too pessimistic, meaning Gilgamesh fails to achieve immortality.<sup>5</sup> However, disregarding an ancient piece of literature because it is too pessimistic is indeed puzzling. By contrast, other scholars such as Hope Nash Wolf, Gerald K. Gresseth, and George F. Held “make Gilgamesh appear to be a heroic and humanistic figure of exemplary significance.”<sup>6</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith states that the Gilgamesh epic “is not the possibility of ‘everyman’ escaping death ... Rather, the question is whether Gilgamesh ... might escape the common lot of humankind, a question already explicitly formulated and negatively answered in the

---

<sup>2</sup> T.J. Wray & Gregory Mobley, *The Birth of Satan: Tracing the Devil's Biblical Roots*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 75.

<sup>3</sup> Wray & Mobley, 76.

<sup>4</sup> Wray & Mobley, 76.

<sup>5</sup> See Benjamin Caleb Ray, “The Gilgamesh Epic: Myth and Meaning,” In *Myth and Method*. (Eds. Laurie L. Patton and Wendy Doniger; Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 302.

<sup>6</sup> See Ray, 303.



Sumerian ‘Death of Gilgamesh.’”<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Caleb Ray provides another plausible scenario; he states that

The Gilgamesh story never became standardized and was constantly altered through contact with a continuing oral tradition. ... The general purpose for which the Gilgamesh epic and its folk-tale elements existed in both oral and written form appears to have been entertainment in the contexts of royal courts, private houses, encampments along the desert caravan routes, or aboard ships sailing the rivers of the Indus Valley.<sup>8</sup>

For my purpose, I will focus on the character of Humbaba in the Gilgamesh story. Humbaba is described as a terrible ogre, with unusually large eyes and nose,<sup>9</sup> who “had been appointed by Enlil, the lord of the gods, as the guardian of a distant and almost boundless cedar forest.”<sup>10</sup> A combat myth occurs within a narrative when a “hero’s victory over a powerful monster typically embodies a triumph of good over evil, order over chaos, civilization over nature.”<sup>11</sup> When Gilgamesh and Enkidu encounter Humbaba, a combat myth motif is present. According to Bruce Loudon, “monsters are typically figured as representing, or integrally connected with, a natural, uncivilized state of existence.”<sup>12</sup> Loudon illustrates “the combat myth” by comparing Odysseus’ encounter with Polyphemos, or the cyclops, in Homer’s epic the *Odyssey* to Gilgamesh’s clash with Humbaba.<sup>13</sup> Overall, Loudon argues that “Odysseus’ victory over Polyphemos and Gilgamesh’s defeat of Humbaba share a

---

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 122.

<sup>8</sup> Ray, 305.

<sup>9</sup> Bruce Loudon, *Homer’s Odyssey and the Near East*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 187.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1949), 6.

<sup>11</sup> Loudon, 180.

<sup>12</sup> Loudon, 185.

<sup>13</sup> See Loudon, 180-196.

considerable number of common motifs, occurring in roughly the same sequence.”<sup>14</sup>

T.J. Wray and Gregory Mobley suggest that the epic of Gilgamesh makes three contributions to the development of Satan. First, there is a motif of a supernatural opponent to the hero. This is important because the Gilgamesh epic is “one of the oldest examples of a supernatural adversary in literature.”<sup>15</sup> Additionally, there are Humbaba echoes in Genesis 3:24 where YHWH assigns a frightening cherub to guard the gates of Eden<sup>16</sup>; it states “he drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life.” The second contribution is the epic’s “description of the permeability of the border that separates out the terrestrial landscape from a terrifying and fantastic netherworld.”<sup>17</sup> The third contribution of the Gilgamesh epic is witnessed through the trickster character of Enki/Ea. Enki displays a motif of a divine council member “with a mind of his own, artfully adept at circumventing the divine will.”<sup>18</sup> This motif is strikingly similar to the *Satan’s* role in Zechariah 3:1-2 and Job 1 – 2.<sup>19</sup>

It is also worth mentioning that Humbaba is not the sole supernatural threat to Gilgamesh and Enkidu. In the Akkadian version, the goddess Ishtar also threatens them. Ishtar requests that the other gods and goddess release the Bull of Heaven against Gilgamesh and Enkidu. However, the impact of this request would disrupt the fragile cosmic order. An upset cosmic order violates the demarcations of the established cosmic realms resulting in social (and perhaps heavenly) chaos.<sup>20</sup> Another myth surrounding the goddess Inanna/Ishtar (Sumerian and Akkadian version respectively), specifically deals with the realm of the dead, or the underworld. Both versions (especially the Akkadian one) deal with fertility,

---

<sup>14</sup> Louden, 183. See Louden, 184 for his extensive list.

<sup>15</sup> Wray & Mobley, 77.

<sup>16</sup> See Wray & Mobley, 77.

<sup>17</sup> Wray & Mobley, 77.

<sup>18</sup> Wray & Mobley, 78.

<sup>19</sup> I shall discuss Zechariah 3:1-2 and Job 1-2 in Chapter 2.

<sup>20</sup> Glenn S. Holland. *Gods of the Desert: Religions of the Ancient Near East*, (New York & Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 155.

PAGES MISSING  
FROM THIS FREE SAMPLE

# Bibliography

Abram, Christopher Abram. *Myths of the Pagan North: The Gods of the Norsemen*. London: Continuum, 2011.

Argyle, A.W. "Accounts of the Temptation of Jesus in Relation to the Q-Hypothesis." In *Expository Times* 64.64 (1952-53); 382.

Arnal, William. "The Collection and Synthesis of 'Tradition' and the Second-Century Invention of Christianity." In *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 23 (2011): 193-216.

Arnal, William. "The Gospel of Mark as Reflection on Exile and Identity." Pages 57-67 in *Introducing Religion: Essays in Honour of Jonathan Z. Smith*. Edited by Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon. London and Oakville: Equinox, 2008.

Arterbury, Andrew E. "The Ancient Custom of Hospitality, The Greek Novels, and Acts 10:1-11:18." In *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 29.1 (Spring 2002): 53-72.

Augustine. *The City of God*. Translated by Gerald G. Walsh, et all. New York: Image Books, 1958.

Augustine of Hippo. *The City of God*. Translated by Marcus Dods, D.D. New York: The Modern Library by Random House, 1950.

Bhayro, Siam. *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary with Reference to Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Antecedents*. Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005.

- Bondi, Richard A. "John 8:39-47: Children of Abraham or of the Devil?" In *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 34.4 (Fall, 1997): 473-498.
- Bottero, Jean. *Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Translated by Teresa Lavender Fagan. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Boyce, Mary. *Zoroastrianism: Its Antiquity and Constant Vigour*. Costa Mesa, California & New York: Mazda Publishers, 1992.
- Boyce, Mary. *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Boyd, James W. "Symbols of Evil in Buddhism." In *The Journal of Asian Studies* 31.1 (Nov., 1971): 63-75
- Breytenbach, Cilliers and Peggy Day. "Satan." Pages 726-732 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Host. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999.
- Broadie, Sarah. *Nature and Divinity in Plato's Timaeus*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Brown, Derek R. "The Devil in the Details: A Survey of Research on Satan in Biblical Studies." In *Current in Biblical Research*. 9.2 (2011): 200-227.
- Brown, Peter. *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*. London & Boston: Faber & Faber, 1967.
- Brown, Raymond E. *The Community of the Beloved Disciple: The Life, Loves, and Hates of an Individual Church in New Testament Times*. New York & Toronto: Paulist Press, 1979.

- Brown, Schuyler. "Gnosis, Theology, and Historical Method." Pages 279-292 in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World*. Edited by Wendy Helleman. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994.
- Busch, Austin. "Questioning and Conviction: Double-Voiced Discourse In Mark 3:22-30." In *Journal of Biblical Literature* 125.3 (2006): 477-505.
- Carus, Paul. *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. New York: Land's End Press, 1969.
- Charlesworth, James H. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1. New York: Doubleday & Company, INC., 1983.
- Charlesworth, James H. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 2. New York: Doubleday & Company, INC., 1985.
- Choksy, Jamsheed K., "Zoroastrianism." Pages 246-263 in *How Different Religions View Death and the Afterlife, 2nd Ed.* Edited by Christopher J. Johnson and Marsha G. McGee. Philadelphia: Charles Press, 1998.
- Chrysostom, John. *Commentaries on the Sages: Volume One, Commentary on Job*. Translated by Robert Charles Hill. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2006.
- Clark, R.T. Rundle. *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1959.
- Collins, Adela Yarbo. "The Book of Revelation." In *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Vol. 1: The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, Edited by John J. Collins. New York: Continuum, 1998.

- Collins, John J. *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London & New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Coyle, J. Kevin. "Augustine and Apocalyptic: Thoughts on the Fall of Rome, the Book of Revelation, and the End of the World." In *Augustine and Apocalyptic*, Edited by John Doody, Kari Kloos, and Kim Paffenroth. New York & Toronto: Lexington Books, 2014.
- Culpepper, Alan R. "The Gospel of John and the Jews." In *Review and Expositor* 84.2 (Spr. 1987): 273-288.
- Davidson, Gustav. *A Dictionary of Angels: Including the Fallen Angels*. New York: The Free Press, 1967.
- Davidson, H.R. Ellis. *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe*. London: Penguin Books, 1964.
- Day, Peggy L. *An Adversary in Heaven: Satan in the Hebrew Bible*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.
- De La Torre, Miguel A., and Albert Hernandez. *The Quest for the Historical Satan*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011.
- Dixon-Kennedy, Mike. *The Encyclopedia of Russian and Slavic Myth and Legend*, Santa Barbara & Denver: ABC-CLIO, 1998.
- Edmonds, Anna G. *Turkey's Religious Sites*. (Istanbul: Damko Publications, 1997).
- Eslinger, Lyle. "Judas Game: The Biology of Combat in the Gospel of John." In *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 77 (March 2000): 45-73.
- Filoramo, Giovanni. *A History of Gnosticism*. Translated by Anthony Alcock. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

- Fisher, Mary Pat. *Living Religions*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1997.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph. *The Gospel According to Luke*, AB, 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1981-85.
- Foltz, Richard. *Religions of Iran: From Prehistory to the Present*. London: Oneworld Publications, 2013.
- Forsyth, Neil. *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Fowden, Garth. *Empire To Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Frankfurter, David. "Jews or Not? Reconstructing the 'Other' in Rev. 2:9 and 3:9." in *Harvard Theological Review* 94.4 (Oct. 2001): 403-425.
- Friedrich, Nestor Paulo. "Adapt or Resist? A Socio-Political Reading of Revelation 2:18-29." In *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 25.2 (December 2002): 185-211.
- Garrett, Susan R. *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989.
- Gathercole, Simon J. "'Jesus' Eschatological Vision of the Fall of Satan: Luke 10:18 Reconsidered." In *ZNW* 94.3 (2002): 143-163.
- Geva, Hillel. "The Camp of the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem: An Archaeological Reconsideration," In *Israel Exploration Journal* 34.4 (1984): 239-254.
- Goldstein, Jonathan A. "The Date of the Book of Jubilees." In *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 50 (1983): 63-86



- Grabbe, Lester L. *Judaism From Cyrus to Hadrian. Volume One: The Persian and Greek Periods*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Harrill, J. Albert. "Divine Judgement against Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1-11): A Stock Scene of Perjury and Death." In *Journal of Biblical Literature* 130.2 (June 2011): 351-369.
- Harrington, Daniel J. "What's New(s) about the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Cross Currents*. 44.4 (Wint 1994-1995): 463-474.
- Harrington, Wilfrid J. *Understanding the Apocalypse*. Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1969.
- Heidel, Alexander. *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1949.
- Henson, Don. *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxons*. Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2006.
- Holland, Glenn S. *Gods of the Desert: Religions of the Ancient Near East*. New York & Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.
- Hoskins, Paul M. "Freedom From Slavery to Sin and the Devil: John 8:31-47 and the Passover Theme of the Gospel of John." In *Trinity Journal* 31.1 (Spring 2010): 47-63.
- Izady, Mehrdad R. *The Kurds: A Concise Handbook*. Washington & London: Taylor & Francis International Publishers, 1992.
- Jackson, A.V. Williams. *Zoroastrian Studies: The Iranian Religion and Various Monographs*. New York: AMS Press INC., 1965.
- Janowski, Bernd. "Azazel." Pages 128-131 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Host. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999.

- Jobling, David. *1 Samuel: Berit Olam Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry*. Edited by David W. Cotter. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1998.
- Johnson, Lee A. "Satan Talk in Corinth: The Rhetoric of Conflict." In *Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Theology* 29.4 (Winter 1999):145-155.
- Kelly, Henry Ansgar. *Satan: A Biography*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Kertzer, David I. *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Kloppenborg, John S. *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. "The Structural Study of Myth." In *The Journal of American Folklore* 68.270 (Oct. – Dec., 1955): 428-444.
- Liebeschuetz, Wolf. *East and West in Late Antiquity: Invasion, Settlement, Ethnogenesis and Conflicts of Religions*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Lincoln, Bruce. "Culture." Pages 409-422 in *Guide to the Study of Religion*. Edited by Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon. London & New York: Continuum, 2000.
- Lincoln, Bruce. *Death, War, and Sacrifice: Studies in Ideology and Practice*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Lincoln, Bruce. *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

- Logan, Alastair H.B. *The Gnostics: Identifying an Early Christian Cult*. London & New York: T & T Clark, 2006.
- Louden, Bruce. *Homer's Odyssey and the Near East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Lucas, Ernest. *Daniel*. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2002.
- Malpas, Simon. "Historicism." Pages 115-126 in *The Routledge Companion to Critical Theory*. Edited by Simon Malpas and Paul Wake. London & New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Martin, Dale Basil. "When Did Angels Become Demons?" In *Journal of Biblical Literature* 129.4 (2010): 657-677.
- Matthews, Warren. *World Religions*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Toronto: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1999.
- Maynard, John A. "Sheol and Belial: Critical Notes." In *Anglican Theological Review* 1.1 (May 1918): 92-93.
- Messadie, Gerald. *A History of the Devil*. Translated by Marc Romano. New York: Kodansha International, 1996.
- Meyer, Marvin. *The Gnostic Discoveries: The Impact of the Nag Hammadi Library*. New York: HarperCollins, 2005.
- Meyer, Marvin Ed. *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures*. New York: HarperOne, 2007.
- Moore, George Foot. "Zoroastrianism." In *The Harvard Theological Review* 5.2. New York: Cambridge University Press. (1912): 180-226.
- Newsom, Carol A. "The Development of 1 Enoch 6-19: Cosmology and Judgement." In *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980): 310- 329.

- Neyrey, Jerome. *Paul, in Other Words*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990.
- Nielsen, Arhus K. "Satan." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Vol. 14. Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004.
- Nicklesburg, George W.E. "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11." In *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96.3 (1977): 383-405.
- Noss, John B. *Man's Religions*. 5<sup>th</sup> Ed. New York & London: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. & Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1974.
- Pagels, Elaine. *The Origin of Satan: How Christians Demonized Jews, Pagans, and Heretics*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Pearson, Birger A. *Ancient Gnosticism: Traditions and Literature*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007.
- Petersen, David L. *Haggai and Zechariah: A Commentary*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984.
- Pinker, Aron. "A Goat to go to Azazel." In *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 7.8 (2007): 2-25.
- Ray, Benjamin Caleb. "The Gilgamesh Epic: Myth and Meaning." In *Myth and Method*. Edited by Laurie L. Patton and Wendy Doniger. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996.
- Riches, John K. "Conflicting Mythologies: Mythical Narrative in the Gospel of Mark." In *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 84 (2001): 29-50.

- Roberts, Alexander and James Donaldson. Eds., *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004 (1884).
- Royalty Jr., Robert M. "DON'T TOUCH THIS BOOK!: Revelation 22:18-19 and the Rhetoric of Reading (in) the Apocalypse of John." In *Biblical Interpretation* 12.2 (2004): 282-299.
- Rudwin, Maximilian. *The Devil in Legend and Literature*. Chicago & London: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1931.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Saldarini, Anthony J. "The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish-Christian Conflict." In *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches*. Edited by David L. Balch. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
- Schams, Christine. *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Schiffman, Lawrence. *Who Was a Jew? Rabbinic and Halakhic Perspectives on the Jewish-Christian Schism*. Hoboken, N.J.: Ktav, 1985
- Schneider, Tammi J. *An Introduction to Ancient Mesopotamian Religion*. Grand Rapids & Cambridge: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011.

- Scholer, David N. "The God of Peace Will Shortly Crush Satan Under Your Feet' (Romans 16:20a): The Function of Apocalyptic Eschatology in Paul." In *Ex auditu* 6 (1999): 53-61.
- Segal, Alan F. "Matthew's Jewish Voice." In *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches*. Edited by David L. Balch. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
- Segal, M.H. "The Religion of Israel before Sinai." In *JQR* 53 (1962/63): 251-252.
- Seltzer, Robert M. *Religions of Antiquity*. London & New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1989.
- Smart, Ninian. *The World's Religions: Old Traditions and Modern Transformations*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago, 1982.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. *Map Is Not Territory*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Sperling, S. David. "Belial." Pages 169-171 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Host. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999.

- Stanford, Peter. *The Devil: A Biography*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996.
- Stausberg, Michael. "From Power to Powerless: Zoroastrianism in Iranian History." Pages 171-193 in *Religious Minorities in the Middle East: Domination, Self-Empowerment, Accommodation*, Edited by Anh Nga Longva and Anne Sofie Roald. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Stokes, Ryan E. "The Devil Made David Do It... Or Did he? The Nature, Identity, and Literary Origins of the *Satan* in 1 Chronicles 21:1." In *Journal of Biblical Literature* 128.1 (2009): 91-106.
- Tacitus. *Agricola Germania*. Trans. Harold Mattingly. London: Penguin Books, 1948.
- Tate, Marvin E. "Satan in the Old Testament." In *Review & Expositor* 89.4 (Fall 1992): 461-474.
- Tiessen, Terrance. "Gnosticism as Heresy: The Response of Irenaeus." Pages 339-360 in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World*. Edited by Wendy E. Helleman. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994.
- Todd, Malcolm. *The Northern Barbarians: 100BC – AD 300*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975.
- Tyson, Joseph B. *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Uddin, Mohan. "Paul, the Devil, and 'Unbelief' in Israel (with Particular References to 2 Corinthians 3-4 and Romans 9-11)." In *Tyndale Bulletin* 50.2 (1999): 265-280.
- Van Der Toorn, Karel. *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*. Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007.

- Vos, Nienke. "Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity." Pages 3-37 in *Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity*. Edited by Nienke Vos and Willemien Otten. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011.
- Warner, Elizabeth. *The Legendary Past: Russian Myths*. London: The British Museum Press, 2002.
- Willem, Jan. "Mastemah." Pages 553-554 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Host. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999.
- Wray, T.J. & Gregory Mobley. *The Birth of Satan: Tracing the Devil's Biblical Roots*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Yamauchi, Edwin M. "Gnosticism and Early Christianity." Pages 29-62 in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World*. Edited by Wendy E. Helleman. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994.
- Zaehner, R.C. *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1961.





# Index

## A

Ahriman, 4, 8, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33,  
34, 36  
Ahura Mazda, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32,  
34, 37  
Angra Mainyu, 4, 8, 28, 31, 32,  
33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 97  
Antichrist, 145  
apostasy, 59, 61, 115, 133  
Atrahasis, 12  
Augustine, 139, 140, 143, 144,  
145, 146, 153, 154, 156  
Augustine of Hippo, 139, 140,  
144, 146, 153, 154  
Aurelian, 143  
Azaz'el, 4, 17, 41, 55, 56, 57, 61,  
65, 66, 68, 69, 116

## B

Baal, 13, 14, 67  
Balaam, 44, 46, 110  
Beelzebub, 3, 38  
Beelzebul, 74, 75, 81, 82, 83, 92,  
93, 95, 97, 101  
Belial, 3, 4, 41, 59, 60, 61, 66, 68,  
69, 88, 160, 163

## C

Caiaphas, 109  
Canaanite, 3, 7, 13, 14, 36, 37, 38,  
39, 141  
Caracalla, 143

Celsus, 133  
Chrysostom, 146, 155  
Clement, 105  
Constantine, 143

## D

demiurge, i, 4, 5, 121, 127, 135,  
138, 141, 142, 145, 152  
Demiurge, 121, 122, 123, 124,  
126, 127, 128, 137, 138, 139,  
140, 142  
*diabolos*, 62, 67  
Diadochi, 50, 57  
Dionysus', 19  
Donar, 22  
*druzman*, 35

## E

Edict of Milan, 144, 147  
Egyptian, 3, 7, 15, 17, 36, 37, 39,  
132, 141  
Enki, 10, 12  
Enlil, 9, 12, 37  
*Enuma elish*, 11  
Essenes, 53, 60, 88, 107  
Eusebius, 143

## G

*Gathas*, 29, 30, 31  
Gehenna, 19  
Germanic, 3, 7, 21, 22, 23, 24, 39  
Gilgamesh, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 37,  
158, 161

Gnostics, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127,  
128, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139,  
160  
Greek, 1, 3, 7, 17, 18, 19, 20, 36,  
37, 38, 39, 42, 50, 51, 54, 56, 62,  
63, 67, 100, 122, 141, 153, 158

## H

Habayu, 8, 14  
Hades, 3, 8, 18, 19, 37, 38  
Hasmoneans, 52  
Horus, 15, 16, 37  
Humbaba, 3, 8, 9, 10, 37, 38

## I

Ignatius, 129, 135  
Irenaeus, 122, 129, 133, 134, 136,  
137, 143, 144, 164  
Ishtar, 10  
Isis, 15

## J

John Chrysostom, 146  
Joshua, 42, 46, 47, 73  
Judas, 52, 94, 98, 99, 100, 103,  
107, 108, 127, 156  
Justin, 129, 130, 131

## L

Leviathan, 117, 133  
Loki, 22, 23, 24

## M

Maccabeus, 52  
Malak Tawus, 27  
Marcion, 91, 136, 139, 140, 164

Marduk, 11, 12  
Mastema, 4, 41, 58, 61, 62, 66, 68,  
69, 94, 116  
Mesopotamian, 7, 11, 12, 36, 39,  
55, 141, 162  
Mithra, 26  
monasticism, 147  
Mot, 3, 8, 13, 14, 37, 38

## N

Nag Hammadi, i, 2, 4, 121, 122,  
123, 124, 125, 127, 134, 141,  
160  
*nephilim*, 54  
Nero, 145  
Nicene, i, 2, 4, 121, 128, 129, 131,  
132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138,  
139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 146,  
147, 162

## O

Origen, 129, 132, 138, 139, 140,  
144  
Orphism, 3, 8, 19, 20  
Osiris, 15, 16, 17

## P

Pan, 8, 18  
Pandaemonium, i, 1, 91, 102  
Paul, i, 1, 2, 4, 29, 71, 91, 100,  
101, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112,  
113, 118, 119, 154, 155, 158,  
160, 161, 163, 164  
Pergamum, 115, 116  
persecution, 52, 114, 115, 129,  
131, 132, 137, 142, 147, 152  
Persian, 7, 25, 28, 29, 30, 39, 42,  
47, 49, 50, 63, 141, 158

Peter, i, 1, 2, 30, 48, 57, 71, 76, 86,  
87, 98, 99, 100, 118, 144, 154,  
164  
Pharisees, 53, 78, 79, 81, 83, 85,  
90, 134  
Plato, 29, 124, 125, 154  
Pontius Pilate, 78  
Ptolemaic, 50, 52  
Pythagoras, 19

## Q

Q, i, 2, 74, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86,  
90, 92, 93, 95, 101, 141, 153,  
159  
Qumran, 45, 65, 66, 94

## S

*sedim*, 67  
Seleucid, 50, 52, 57  
Semyaz, 4, 41, 53, 54, 56, 57, 62,  
65, 66, 69  
Set, 3, 8, 15, 147  
Seth, 3, 8, 15, 16, 17, 37, 38

## T

Tacitus, 21, 23, 164  
Tatian, 129, 131  
Tertullian, 129, 135, 136, 139,  
140, 143  
Tiamat, 11  
Tiwaz, 22, 39

## V

Veles, 24

## W

Watchers, 53, 54, 58  
Woden, 22, 39

## Y

Yaldabaoth, 125, 126, 127, 128  
Yazdanism, 27

## Z

Zarathustra, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34  
Zoroastrianism, 4, 25, 27, 28, 29,  
30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 97, 128, 154,  
155, 160, 164, 165