integrity and oneness of the God. Both attracted to and shrinking from dualism, the thought of the Israelites manifests an ambivalence that persisted into Christian thought.

The Hebrew position stands between the monism of the Hindus and the dualism of the Zoroastrians. It refuses to acquiesce in the idea that evil as well as good proceeds from the divine nature; on the contrary it shuns and fiercely rejects evil. But it also declines to adopt the severing of the two principles, equally fiercely insisting that one god and one god alone can be worshiped and that one god and one alone exists. It may be that the confusion and ambiguity of the Hebrew position, rather than being inferior to the clarity and consistency of the other two, mark it as superior, because it is founded in a creative tension. It allows us to sense the hidden harmony of the cosmos while urging us at the same time to spurn the blandishments of evil. That myth may be most true which presents reality under a number of aspects at one and the same time.

The movement of Hebrew thought was an effort to obtain a satisfying theodicy. So long as the evil principle was dependent upon the divine nature, the God was in some way responsible for wars, plagues, and tortures. And when the good Lord is confounded with the God, theodicy buckles under the strain. So long as the inherent inconsistencies were expressed mythologically and taken mythologically, the problem was not acute. With the efforts of Christian and Rabbinic theologians to elucidate it rationally, it became unmanageable.

6 The Devil in the New Testament

> Yet there is One who holds all this falling in his hand, gently and without end.
>
> —Rilke

The ideas of the New Testament derive in part from Hellenistic thought and in part from that of contemporary Judaism, especially the Apocalyptic and Rabbinic traditions.[1] Christianity synthesizes Greek and Jewish concepts of the Devil, and the New Testament's diabology and demonology are essentially those of Hellenistic Judaism. The New Testament was composed by a number of writers over a period of half a century, and its point of view is not homogeneous. I shall point out differences between the synoptic, Pauline, and Johannine interpretations of the Devil. These variations are not great; as always, the motion of the development is what is essential.[2]

1. It is generally recognized that the earliest Christian writings as we now have them spring from even earlier oral, and possibly also written sources. The books of the New Testament were written over a period from about 50 to about 100 A.D. Those of the Christian Apocrypha are of diverse origin and chronology, some originating as early as the second century and some dating as late as the fifth.

2. The dominant thrust of biblical criticism in the past half-century has been to scrutinize the New Testament with the tools of historical criticism in order to discover the historical Jesus. The success of this enterprise is open to question, considering the vast disagreement in which the critics find themselves. It is the thrust and motion of the concept, its development, that constitutes reality for the historian, who feels puzzlement at the assumption that the truth about Christianity is to be found only in its most primitive origins. Rather, the truth about Christianity is the history of Christianity. And so with the Devil. The "demythologizing" of Scriptures, which has yielded a Jesus who did not consider himself divine, has left critics in a curious posture.

monly, Iran.[96] Of the influences that may have existed, the Iranian is usually considered most likely on two grounds. First, Ahriman and Satan show certain intrinsic similarities, and second, these similarities become striking in Hebrew thought following the exile, when Hebrew writers could easily have come into contact with Zoroastrian ideas in Babylonia. But much of the development of Mazdaist thought took place in the post-exilic period, and there may have been some influence in the other direction—of Jewish ideas upon Iran—as well. In any event, all must rest upon speculation. There is no conclusive evidence of wide external influence upon the Hebrew concept, and it is possible to explain it as a natural development within Yahwism itself.

Nonetheless a consensus exists among historians that Iranian influence can be seen in the Apocalyptic and Qumran literature if not in the Old Testament, and certain similarities are indeed remarkable.[97] In the Apocalyptic and Qumran documents on the one hand and in Zoroastrianism on the other, the Devil is the head of a host of evil spirits who, like the good spirits, are arranged in orders and ranks. Both the Hebrew and the Persian Devil are associated with the serpent. The chief functions of

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precise meaning and function of the snake in the story are unclear, but it was probably meant to symbolize human guile and cunning. See Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem, 1961–1964), I, 140–142. The term *'arum*, "cunning," used of the serpent in Gen. 2–3, also means "naked."

96. For a strong argument for Greek influence on the Jews in the Hellenistic period see T. F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology, with Special Reference to the Apocalypses and Pseudepigraphs* (London, 1961). Cyrus Gordon has argued for the influence of Canaan, and Rivkah Schärf Kluger for the derivation of the accuser concept from Babylonia, where each individual had a personal accuser god and accuser goddess. See Kluger, pp. 134–135.

97. For this argument, see Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 78, and David Russell, pp. 238–239. In the Old Testament, Zechariah was written immediately after the exile, and Job certainly existed then in its present form. The image of Satan here, and the role of the Satan of 2 Chronicles as opponent of God, may have been influenced by Iranian thought. A strong indication of such influence appears in the Book of Tobit, where the demon Asmodeus appears to be a form of Aeshma Deva. But even this influence has been questioned.

the Hebrew Devil, to seduce, accuse, and destroy, are also those of Ahriman. The cosmos is divided into two forces of light and darkness, which are locked in deadly combat. The children of light war against the children of darkness. Toward the end of the world, the Prince of Darkness seems for a while to increase his power, and there is a dark and miserable age, but that age is followed by the triumph of the Prince of Light and the perpetual imprisonment (if not destruction) of the Prince of Darkness. The fundamental discrepancy between the doctrine of Israel and that of Iran lies in the limited nature of Hebrew dualism. But though the Hebrews, even the Qumran sect, never completely divorced the Devil from the God, the Apocalyptic Satan or Belial often acts *as if* he were a principle of evil independent of the God. The concept of the Hebrew Devil approaches dualism, and it is fair to say that to at least some Apocalyptic minds such dualism would have seemed within the framework of tradition. On their side, Zervanism and other Zoroastrian movements edged away from the complete separation of the God from the Devil. If the mainstreams of the two religious traditions remained different, the tributaries often ran close together, and may have mingled.

Whether parallel to the movement of vectors in Iran or whether under Iranian influence, the concept of the Devil moved strikingly in Hebrew thought, particularly in that of the Apocalyptic period. This motion had already begun powerfully in the post-exilic period of the Old Testament, when the relentless courage of the Hebrews in insisting that there was no other god than Yahweh forced them to consider their theodicy very carefully. In the pre-exilic period, all things in heaven and earth had been attributed to Yahweh, including destruction and violence. Yahweh was a divine antinomy, both good and evil. During and after the exile, when the trials of the Hebrews forced them into a deeper consideration of the meaning of their religion, the God twinned and became a divine doublet consisting of a good and an evil principle. Neither in the Old Testament nor in Apocalyptic literature was that twinning complete; always some sense was retained of the underlying

names may merely be the common names of natural evils.[90] Sheol is not only a dwelling-place for the dead but a voracious being with mouth gaping to devour souls, an image that later appears in Christian iconography as the hell-mouth.[91] In the Apocrypha the spirit Sammael bears a spear tipped with gall and is preceded by howling dogs as he goes about spreading death.[92] Leviathan, derived from the Canaanite Lotan and related to the Babylonian Tiamat and the Greek Hydra, was a seven-headed dragon that haunted the sea. The monster Behemoth, a spirit of the desert, is associated with Leviathan.[93] The Hebrew demons could cause illness, death, pollution, and sins both moral and ritual.[94]

Some of these beings, such as Leviathan, could represent a diffused concept of evil, but the influence of these lesser demons on the figure of the Devil was limited mainly to the transfer of some demonic attributes—the goat shape of the *se'irim*, for example. Such a transfer is the result of a vague but nonetheless real similarity between the demons and the Devil: both are perceived as supernatural forces of evil. Satan "stands

90. Cf. the *'alukah* of Prov. 30:15 and the *shedim* of Deut. 32:17 and Ps. 106:37–38.

91. Isa. 5:14. 92. Sir. 25:24; cf. also 3 Baruch 4:8; 9:7.

93. For Leviathan, see Job 3:8; Ps. 74:12–17; Isa. 27:1; 51:10; Ethiopic En. 60:7; 4 Esdras (Ezra Apocalypse) 6:49. See Gaster, *Myth*, p. 577, Kluger, pp. 43–44, and Cyrus H. Gordon, "Leviathan; Symbol of Evil," in Alexander Altmann, ed. *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), pp. 1–9. For other conflicts of Yahweh with the sea, cf. Hab. 3:8; Ps. 74:13–14; 89:9–10; 93; Job 7:12; 26:12–13. For Behemoth, see Job 40:15; Ethiopic En. 60:8; 4 Esdras 6:49. The term may be derived from the Egyptian for "water buffalo." See Kluger, pp. 43–44. For another monster, Rahab, see Isa. 51:9; Job 9:13; 26:12–13; Ps. 89:10. Various interpretations of all these monsters exist in Rabbinic literature. G. R. Driver, "Mythical Monsters in the Old Testament," *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (Rome, 1956), I, 234–249, shows that both Leviathan and Behemoth are imaginary monsters corresponding to no known animal. See also A. Caquot, "Sur quelques démons de l'Ancien Testament: Reshep, Qeteb, Deber," *Semitica*, 6 (1956), 53–68.

94. The spirits of the dead were called up to predict the future. Possession was ambivalent: it might be the spirit of the Lord or an evil spirit who takes hold of a person, as when Saul was possessed during his search for David and compelled to stand and prophesy (1 Sam. 19:20–24).

in a dialectical confrontation with God. The animal attributes 'grew' on him only later."[95]

By the end of the Apocalyptic period, then, the Devil was more firmly and more permanently than ever associated with the following characteristics found in Hebrew demonology and folklore: darkness, the underworld and the air, sexual temptation and molestation, the goat, the lion, the frog or toad, and the serpent or dragon. Only one common mythological aspect of the serpent fails to adhere to the Hebrew Devil: the feminine.

The development of the idea of the Devil in Hebrew thought, particularly in the Apocalyptic period, is striking. The historiography dealing with the origins of the idea is, however, anything but united. Scholars have found traits of the Hebrew Satan or Belial in Canaan, Babylonia, Greece, and, most com-

95. Kluger, p. 51. Azazel: Lev. 16:8–26; Ethiopic En. 6:7; 8:1; 9:6. For a thorough discussion of the symbolism of good and evil in Old and New Testaments, see Otto Böcher, *Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr* (Stuttgart, 1970). Water means life but may also be associated with destruction (Leviathan; the story of Noah). Blood can confer both life and death (Lev. 3:17 and 7:26). Air can symbolize the spirit of the individual or of God (*ruach*) but it can also be a destroying whirlwind (Job 1:19). The fallen angels of Apocalyptic literature dwell in the air. Fire as well as air can be an instrument of the anger of the God (Nah. 1:2–3; Jer. 7:20). A mountain is the frequent location of theophanies, either of the Lord or of an evil deity (1 Kings 12:31; 2 Kings 21:3). The desert is usually a place of fear, but it can also be a place where the Lord manifests himself as when he led the people through Sinai to the promised land. Night is often a time of demonic visitation (Job 4:13–15), and in the Apocalyptic and Qumran literature darkness becomes the chief symbol of evil (Ethiopic En. 108:11–12). The color black (as opposed to absence of light) is not a symbol of evil in the Old Testament or in the Apocalyptic period. Rather, the symbolism of the three basic colors of the Ancient Near East, red, black, and white, is ambiguous. Even where color symbolism is striking, as in the Book of Enoch, neither red nor black becomes symbolically fixed as evil as both would do in Christian iconography (see Ethiopic En. 85). Animals, notably the bull, the lion, the wolf, the goat, the frog, and the serpent, appear as symbols of evil (bull: Ps. 22:12; 68:30; lion: Ps. 22:14–22; Jer. 5:6; wolf, Jer. 5:6; Si. 13:21; goat: identified with *se'irim* and with the apocalyptic beast in Dan. 8; frog: Exod. 8). Though the serpent may be equated through the dragon with Leviathan, the abyss, and chaos, the evil of the serpent in the story of Eden has been exaggerated in tradition. In Apocalyptic literature, Satan uses the serpent as his tool; sometimes the serpent and the Devil are equated. None of this appears at all in the original story of Gen. 3. The

dawn in which pure goodness and light will reign. For the Lord of Light has never lost control of the evil *mal'ak*. "The Angel of Darkness leads all the children of righteousness astray," and "all their unlawful deeds are caused by his dominion," but it is "by his dominion *in accordance with* the mysteries of God."[82] "[God], Thou hast created Satan, the Angel of Malevolence, for the Pit; his [rule] is in Darkness and his purpose is to bring about wickedness and iniquity."[83] The Lord has created Satan and has used him as an instrument of his vengeance against sinners.[84] But the Lord, having created him, will now cast him down, and forever "in the darkness bind him." The Messiah will save the righteous elect, the children of light, and will lead them into an earthly kingdom of peace, happiness, and prosperity. But the others—the Gentiles and the faithless Jews—will remain with Satan and his angels to be punished with them and by them for ever and ever.[85] And so the old Eon, the age of Satan, comes to an end, and the new eon dawns, the age of the Lord. The use to which the Christians put this concept is evident. More important for present purposes, Qumran in the end shrinks from the absolute dualism of Iran and insists that even the Prince of Darkness is the creature of the Lord and inhabits a universe that the Lord has made, including the principles of light and darkness. This theodicy has the same ultimate weakness as the previous solutions offered by the Hebrews: for if the Lord creates darkness and allows it to rule, for whatever length of time, he must have ultimate responsibility for it. Satan is still the *mal'ak Yahweh*, no matter how headstrong, envious, and hostile. For the people of Qumran, however, the weakness of their theodicy was obscured by their immediate conviction that the Messiah would come at any moment and that their salvation from the hands of Satan was imminent. In such a state of mind, when the Lord was tarrying no longer, they did not think to reproach him for the long reign of Satan

82. Community Rule, 3 (Vermes, p. 76). Italics added.

83. War Rule, 13 (Vermes, p. 141). See also War Rule, 4 (Vermes, p. 128) and 11 (Vermes, p. 138).

84. Damascus Rule, 2; 8 (Vermes, pp. 98, 105).

85. Vermes, p. 48.

now soon to vanish into the past. The hopes of Qumran were high and its trust firm in the Lord. The historian can only reflect with sadness that its history ended not with the coming of the Messiah and the kingdom of God, but rather with the coming of the legions of the emperor Titus and the destruction of the Temple. The old eon seems, two thousand years later, still to be with us.

The minor malicious spirits that appeared from time to time in Hebrew religion resemble those of other cultures and were in large part derived from those of Canaan. Some were personifications of single evils, such as pestilence, plague, and famine. These nature-demons were partly autochthonous, partly borrowed from Canaan and Mesopotamia (the name of pestilence, Resheph, derives directly from Canaan).[86] There were the hairy and goatlike *se'irim*.[87] Lilith and her followers roamed the world seducing men and attacking children with murderous intent, and other she-demons went about at night strangling sleeping men.[88] Asmodeus appears in Tobit; his name may be derived from the Iranian Aeshma Daeva, but he does not seem to act in Aeshma Daeva's role as prince of the host of demons.[89] There are a number of presences who may have been thought of as demons in the sense of personifying certain evils or whose

86. The host of Hebrew demons owes much to Babylonian and Canaanite influence, and possibly some to Iranian. The Septuagint translates the Hebrew *shed* as *daimonion*, deliberately avoiding *daimōn*, which has some positive associations, in favor of a term that connotes the destructive. The Latin and English *demon* has retained an exclusively negative connotation. See Gaster, *Myth*, pp. 574–576; 764.

87. The *se'irim:* Lev. 16:1–23; 17:7; 2 Chron. 11:15; Isa. 13:21; 34:14. The word is derived from Heb. *sa'ir;* "hairy one" or "he-goat." See Kluger, pp. 43–44.

88. Lilith appears in Isa. 34:14. Related typologically to the Greek Lamia and Empousa, she derives directly from the Babylonian Lilitu. See Gerschom Scholem, "Lilith," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2, 245–249. See also Harry Torczyner, "A Hebrew Incantation against Night-Demons from Biblical Times," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 6 (1947), 18–29. On the Ugaritic background of these female night-demons, see Theodore H. Gaster, "A Canaanite Magical Text," *Orientalia*, N. S., 11 (1942), 41–79.

89. Tob. 3:7–9; 6:14–19; 8:2–3. Here the demon slays the seven husbands of a Persian woman.

more."[73] Only the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch introduces a new element, which did not have lasting influence: the tree that led Adam and Eve astray, says this peculiar work, was the vine, for "from the drinking of wine come all evils."[74] Of all the sins of the flesh, only drunkenness and lust have been associated with the fall of man, and only the latter becomes a part of the tradition.

The Qumran literature, which is a part, though a distinct one, of the Apocalyptic tradition, helped to move the concept of the Devil in the direction of dualism. The dualism of the Qumran documents is not merely a psychological conflict within the individual between the good inclination and the evil inclination. It is a dualism in which good and evil people are led by good and evil spirits of cosmic dimensions.[75] "From the God of knowledge comes all that is and shall be. . . . He has created man to govern the world and has appointed for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of his visitation: the spirits of truth and falsehood. Those born of truth spring from a fountain of light, but those born of falsehood spring from a source of darkness. All the children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light; but all the children of falsehood are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness."[76] This passage from the Common Rule expresses the fundamental anthropology of Qumran. Two opposing spirits, one goodness and light, the other evil and darkness, are warring for the world and for the individual soul. Nor are the spirits abstractions, but individual entities of terrible power: the Prince of Light, the Lord of Israel on the one hand, and on the other hand the Prince of Darkness, the Destroying Angel. Those who follow the Lord of Light are

73. Assumption of Moses 10:1. See also the Sybilline Oracles; the Martyrdom of Isaiah; the Acts of Abraham; the Hebrew Apocalypse of Baruch (2 Baruch); the Acts of Abraham; the "Zadokite Fragment."

74. The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch) 4:17.

75. Herbert G. May, "Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 82 (1963), 1–14.

76. The Common Rule, 3, in Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 75–76.

the children of light; those who follow the Angel of Darkness are the children of darkness. The merciless war between the two spirits and their followers is in deadly and ageless earnest. Yet, terrible though the conflict is, it is not absolute; the two principles are not wholly divorced as in Iran, and their conflict affects the will of mankind, not that of nature. For "from the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be" and later, "[The Lord] establishes all things by his design, and without him nothing is done."[77] The Lord of Light has created all things and directs all things, even the Prince of Darkness himself. Attenuated though it has now become, a sense of the ancient role of the Devil as the *mal'ak Yahweh* still remains.

The conflict between the two armies is eternal, but in the latter day it has become more sharp. The legions of darkness are now active as never before, and for forty years fierce battles shall rage over the earth.[78] The present age has been delivered over to the Devil: it is the age of Satan or Belial, an "age of tribulation and war during which Satan would do his utmost to lead astray the chosen of God."[79] The end of the world is shortly to come, and Satan is expending his utmost energies to destroy the universe before the inevitable triumph of the Lord of Light. These latter days are thus the worst that the world will ever know, for now Satan's power is at its height and his malice at its most cruel. "During all those years Satan shall be unleashed against Israel."[80] "As long as the dominion of Satan endures . . . the Angel of Darkness leads all the children of righteousness astray": all the sins of Israel are the result of Satan's dominion, and Satan is made manifest in the evil inclination, the *yetser ha-ra*, within men.[81]

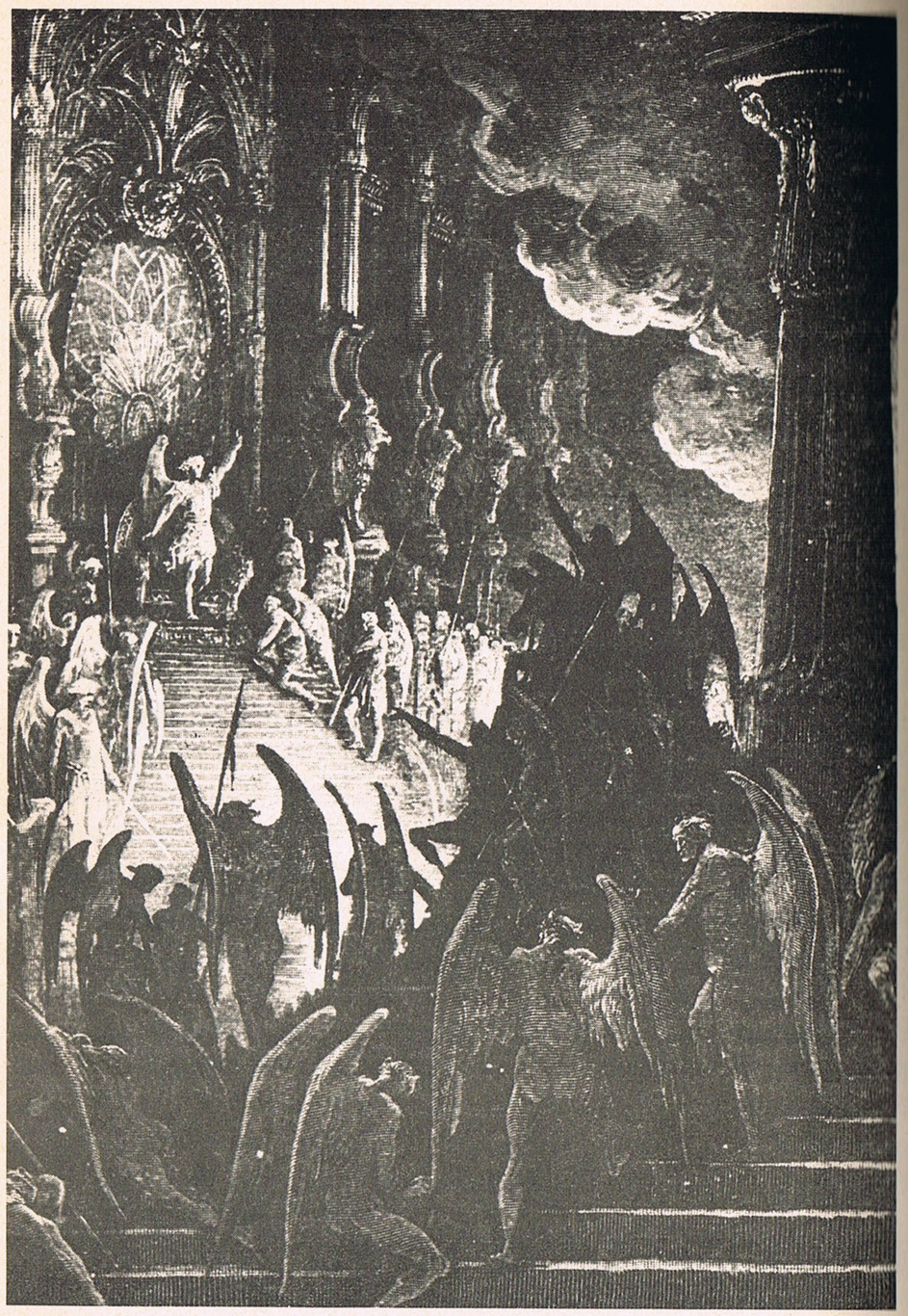
Yet the message of Qumran is optimistic. Because this is the worst of all ages, because Satan now walks the earth in brazen triumph, the Lord will arise and smite him, and a new age will

77. Common Rule, 11 (Vermes, p. 93). 78. Vermes, p. 48.

79. Vermes, p. 47. For Satan as the leader of the host of darkness see the War Rule 4, 11, 13 (Vermes, pp. 128, 138, 140–141).

80. Damascus Rule, 4 (Vermes, pp. 100–101).

81. Community Rule, 1–3 (Vermes, pp. 73–76).



Gustave Doré, "Satan Enthroned in Hell," 1866. Having fallen into the pit with the other evil angels, Satan encourages them to further resistance.

comes not your mind, neither can Beliar overcome you."[67] He rules the souls of the wicked, who "cleave unto Beliar," but at the end of the world the Messiah will free mankind from captivity to the Devil.[68]

The ethical conflict between the Lord and the Devil brings the two into a cosmic opposition that is almost completely dualist. As in the strongly dualist Qumran documents, the works and will of the Lord are contrasted with those of Belial. Each has his own kingdom; that of the Lord is light while that of Belial is darkness.[69] Those who attend Belial cut themselves off from the Lord, and it is the Devil's plan to lure Israel away from Yahweh to serve Belial; but at the end of the world Israel will repent, and the Messiah will bring the kingdom of the Devil to an end.[70] Satan now rules a wretched world nearing its doom, but that evil kingdom will itself come to an end when the Messiah saves Israel by establishing in its place the kingdom of the Lord upon the earth.[71] The end of the individual, like the end of the world, is the occasion of a mighty struggle between the angel of the Lord and the "angel of Satan," a struggle that becomes a theme of medieval art and homiletic.[72] The use of the term "angel of Satan" indicates how far the Apocalyptic literature had moved from the concept of Satan as the *mal'ak Yahweh*, for the Devil is now so independent of his father that he has his own *mal'ak* or angel. The Lord and the Devil stand each at the head of a heavenly host girded for the final conflict at the end of the world.

The other Apocalyptic works add little to the concept: the forces of evil, led by Belial, Sammael, Satan, Mastema, or Azazel, prevail for a little while but at the end of the world will be shattered by the Messiah, "and then Satan shall be no

67. Test. Reub. 4:11; Test. Jos. 7:4; Test. Ash. 1:8; 3:2.
68. Test. Iss. 6:1; Test. Zeb. 9:8. This motif became very important in Christian theology.
69. Test. Lev. 19:1; Test. Naph. 2:6; 3:1; Test. Jos. 20:2; Test. Dan. 6:2–4.
70. Test. Dan. 6:1–7. 71. Test. Lev. 18:12. 72. Test. Ash. 6:4.

Adam joins Eve in her complaint, and Satan obliges the first pair with an explanation.

> And with a heavy sigh, the Devil spake: "O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory. . . . When thou wast formed, I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made [us] worship thee in the sight of God; and God the Lord spake: 'Here is Adam. I have made thee [Adam] in our image and likeness.' . . . I will not worship an inferior and younger being [than I]. I am his senior in the Creation; before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me."[59]

As in the story of the Watchers, the Devil's fall occurs after the creation of human beings. Now, however, it is not the beauty of the daughters of men that tempts the angels. It is not a matter of lust but one of pride. The Devil, being an angel, stands above Adam in the order of nature and was created before him. Adam is made in the image and likeness of the Lord in a way that the angels are not, and so the angels must worship him. In his pride the Devil refuses. The Devil falls in pride and envy, but envy of man, not of God.[60]

Michael rejects the Devil's arguments, warning him that unless he joins the other angels in worshiping Adam, the Lord will be angry. And Satan said, "If he be [wroth] with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest." Satan has now translated his envy and hatred of man into envy and hatred of the Lord.[61] The Lord, filled with wrath,

59. In what way Adam might be more similar to the Lord than are the angels continued to bother theologians for centuries. See Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness* (Chicago, 1970).

60. There is more than a hint in this of the common conflict in myth between the elder and the younger brother, where the elder, who works long and hard to please his father, is hurt and outraged by the father's preference for the younger son. Note that the Qur'an follows this version of the myth, saying that Iblis fell because of his envy of Adam.

61. Lat. 15:3. Again there is evidence of the intrusion of the Lucifer myth in the reference to the stars of heaven.

banishes Satan and his angels, hurling them to the earth.[62] Cast down from heaven, the Devil envies the joy of Adam and Eve in the Garden, "And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her [doing] from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory." Adam, appalled at the power of his great enemy, prays to the Lord to banish "this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul."[63]

This version of the myth presents Satan as one of the greatest and earliest creations of the God, a creature who falls through envy and pride from his high estate, a creature whose love of the God is turned to hatred by the God's preference for his younger offspring. The Devil appears less as an *Urprinzip* of evil than as a being hurt by and alienated from his parent. Once having rebelled, however, he is thrust by the sheer weight of his power further into enmity against the Lord. The division between the two steadily widens. The Devil threatens to raise up his throne against the God, and he attempts to divide the universe with him, informing Adam that "Mine are the things of earth, the things of heaven are God's"; when the God in anger casts him and his followers down to earth he continues to work his wiles against man and against him in whose likeness man was created.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs name Belial or Satan as chief of the evil angels. These are but two names for one concept, a concept to which no better name can be assigned than that of "the Devil."[64] The Lord is closely associated with ethical good, and the Devil with ethical evil. The Devil is the personification of sin, and he commands at his right and left hands the spirits of wrath, hatred, and lying.[65] He is lord also of fornication, war, bloodshed, exile, death, panic, and destruction.[66] He tempts humankind to error, and "if fornication over-

62. Note that the fallen angels are hurled *onto* the earth, and not under it. This is usual in the Apocalyptic literature: the fallen angels are punished in *this* world; only at the end of time are they bound under the earth.

63. Lat. 12–17.

64. For Belial as evil see Test. Jud. 25:3; Test. Iss. 7:7.

65. Test. Sim. 5:3; Test. Gad. 4:7; 5:1–2; Test. Dan. 3:6; 5:1.

66. Test. Ben. 7:2.

Ethiopic Enoch refers to "*satans*" in the plural as well as to a singular Satan,[52] and some critics have argued that the *satans* are a class of angels one of whose functions was to tempt the Watcher angels and to cause them to fall.[53] In fact there is no convincing evidence that Enoch thought of the *satans* as a class apart from the Watchers, or that the sin of the Watchers was the result of their temptation by *satans* or by Satan. The only indication to this effect is in 54:6, which speaks of the Watchers' "unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those on the earth." But here subjection to Satan seems to mean subjection to the power of evil. The functions of the *satans* and of the Watchers blur, and in effect *satans* and Watchers are mingled as one group of fallen angels. Thus Satan and Azazel are to be taken as two names for the same prince of evil: both are the Devil.[54]

The evil angels function both as the tempters of men (65:6; 69:6) and as their accusers (40:7) and punishers (53:3). They are opponents of humanity, but as in Jubilees, their opposition to the God is more ambiguous. As accusers and punishers, they are the tools of the Lord, but as tempters they stand against him. Azazel is set in marked opposition to the deity, for he has "taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal

52. See W. O. E. Oesterley's Introduction to Charles's translation of The Book of Enoch (London, 1917), p. xiv. Ethiopic Enoch was in its original form composed by a number of writers over a period from about 200 to about 60 B.C.

53. Ethiopic En. 40:7; 65:6. Reference is made particularly to 69:4 in which it is written that "Jeqon" is the "inciter who led astray all the sons of God, brought them down to earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men." But the context makes it clear that Jeqon is a leader of the Watchers and one of the Watchers himself, not a member of a different class of angels.

54. Semyaza appears as the prince of the Watchers in Ethiopic Enoch 6:3, but otherwise plays a subsidiary role. By assuming that Satan and Azazel are both one Devil we can resolve the discrepancies in Enoch, where sometimes Azazel and sometimes Satan is named as the prince of evil. The Azazel passages appear throughout Ethiopic En., but the Satan passages occur only in chapters 37 to 71, the section probably written last. Apparently the later writer preferred the name of Satan, which was gaining in popularity in the first century B.C., to that of Azazel, used a century earlier in the Book of Noah section of Ethiopic En.

secrets," and "the whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azazel: to him ascribe all sin."[55] To Azazel—not to Yahweh, nor yet to mankind—ascribe all sin. Here is the strongest expression of dualism found in Hebrew religion to that time.

As in Jubilees, the wicked angels suffer punishment. They are tormented with fire in the valleys of the earth, and at the end of the world when the Messiah comes they will be cast down under the earth to be bound in darkness for eternity.[56]

In the Books of Adam and Eve, Satan, or the Devil, successfully tempts Adam and Eve to fall, appearing to Eve in the shape of a beautiful angel.[57] When Satan has successfully tempted her, Eve cries out and says, "Woe unto thee, thou devil. Why dost thou attack us for no cause? . . . Why dost thou harry us, thou enemy [and persecute] us to the death in wickedness and envy?"[58] The displacement of evil from Yahweh to the Devil is clear. No longer does Abraham or Job seek to understand the inscrutable will of the God; now it is the Devil whom one must ask why there is evil in the world.

55. Ethiopic En. 9:6; 10:8.

56. Ethiopic En. 10:4; 12; 21; 55:3–56:8; 64:1–2; 67:4–7; 88.

57. The Books of Adam and Eve, conjoined with the Apocalypse of Moses, exist in a Latin and in a Slavonic version. They were written before 70 A.D. by a Jewish author, though there are some later Christian interpolations. The Devil's ability to take the form of a beautiful angel was explained by later theologians in terms of his angelic nature. Angels have no bodies, or spiritual bodies merely, so that in order to communicate with human beings they assume a form of their choice. They are able to change their apparent forms, and Satan and the evil angels use this ability in order to deceive, taking a handsome form, or a humble one, or whatever they please. Historically speaking, the Devil's assumption of the shining form is probably in part due to the assimilation of the figures of Lucifer and Satan that was already under way. The Devil's ability to change forms later reinforced the idea, derived from folklore, that witches could shift their shapes. In another passage (Apoc. Moses 15–23) it is the serpent who tempts Eve, but the serpent is merely the tool of Satan, who, as a shining angel, tempts the serpent to share his envy of the happy first couple. This version introduces a hitherto unusual emphasis upon sex in the fall: the serpent "poured upon the fruit the poison of his wickedness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin."

58. Lat. 11.

This crucial development in the history of the Devil was to be further advanced in the Apocalyptic period.

In the Book of Jubilees the evil *mal'ak* is wholly independent of the Lord. The prince of the evil spirits, Mastema, and his followers tempt, accuse, destroy, and punish mankind, taking onto themselves all the evil characteristics once attributed to Yahweh. They lead astray "the children of the sons of Noah . . . to make them err and destroy them." Where the *mal'ak Yahweh* or Yahweh himself had in the Old Testament slain the firstborn of Egypt, that carnage is now Mastema's work.[48] And where Yahweh's power had mysteriously worked against his own followers, that power is now ascribed to Mastema. In Jubilees, Mastema, rather than Yahweh, meets Moses in the desert purposing to kill him.[49] Mastema puts Abraham to the test, rather than Yahweh's doing it himself: "And the prince Mastema came and said before God, 'Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will do this command.' "[50] Kierkegaard perceived that the original tale of Mount Moriah (Genesis 22:1–19) was one of the most powerful in the Old Testament in revealing the inscrutability of the divine nature. As in the Book of Job, a just man is put sorely to the test and proves faithful. The author of Genesis 22 did not hesitate to ascribe this variety of temptation to the God himself, but Jubilees has both cut it away from Yahweh and given it to the evil *mal'ak*.

Yahweh does not himself do evil; evil is done by the *mal'ak*. Yet Yahweh has created him and even specifically grants him the power to tempt and to destroy. Why? The Apocalyptic literature moves in the direction of a new answer: that the Lord permits evil only for a while. As in Iran, where after eons of struggle Ohrmazd finally destroys Ahriman, so after eons of struggle the Lord will destroy the evil angels. At the end of the

48. Bk. Jub. 48:9–15; 49:2.
49. Bk. Jub. 48:1–3; cf. Exod. 4:24.
50. Bk. Jub. 17:15–18:12. The prince Mastema has an interesting afterlife in the Midrashim. See Shalom Spiegel, *The Last Trial* (New York, 1967).

world the Messiah will come and judge Mastema. The power of the evil angels will be destroyed, and they will be bound and imprisoned forever so that they may no longer accuse the children of Israel.[51]

The chief problem with this Apocalyptic theodicy is the question with which Friday puzzled Robinson Crusoe: if the Lord has the power to destroy the Devil and wishes him destroyed, why does he wait till the end of the world? This is a version of the question that has always tormented theologians: why does the God permit so much evil? For if the God permits, even authorizes, another spirit to destroy in his service, is not the God responsible for the destruction? Does he not ultimately will it himself? The efforts of the Hebrews and the Apocalyptic Jews to remove the responsibility from the God only blur the question. What Mastema does, that also Yahweh does.

The solution proposed by Apocalyptic and Christian literature is dualist. At the end of the world, evil will be negated. Now, since no part of the divine can be negated, it follows that evil is not part of the divine nature. And as the divine nature is ultimately that which is, evil has no real being of its own. Drawing upon converging arguments in Greek philosophy, the Christian theologians would argue that evil is nonbeing, literally nothing, no thing, a mere lack of goodness. Evil exists in the cosmos like holes in a Swiss cheese: the holes are there, but they are there only as noncheese and have no existence apart from the cheese. As one cannot eat a cheese and discard the holes into a box, one cannot remove good and put evil into another category. Evil is merely the absence of good. These later theological assumptions are not explicit in the Apocalyptic literature, but they are implicitly present. They thus pose a paradox: evil is done by the *mal'ak* who is a subject (if not a part) of Yahweh; evil must therefore be willed, if only indirectly, by Yahweh; and yet evil is eradicated by Yahweh at the end of the world and has no eternal being. Evil is part of Yahweh and yet not part of him.

51. Bk. Jub. 10:8; 23:29; 48:15–16.

God's messenger or angel. In this action Satan is much more the *mal'ak Yahweh* than one of the *bene ha-elohim*. It is in the development of the *mal'ak* that the decisive movement occurs in the development of the Devil of the Israelites.

A spirit behaving like the *mal'ak* appears in Judges 9:22–23: "After Abimelech had been prince over Israel for three years, God sent an evil spirit to make a breach between Abimelech and the citizens of Shechem." In 1 Samuel, an evil spirit from the Lord vexes Saul, causes him to prophesy against his will, and incites him to hurl a javelin at David.[43] The equivalence of Yahweh and his murderous *mal'ak* is even more clear in 2 Samuel 24:13–16: "Is it to be three years of famine in your land," Yahweh asks David through the mouth of the prophet, "or three months of flight with the enemy at your heels, or three days of pestilence in your land?" David in desperation chooses pestilence as the least evil, "so the Lord sent a pestilence throughout Israel . . . [and] 70,000 of the people died. Then the angel stretched out his arm towards Jerusalem to destroy it, but the Lord repented of the evil and said to the angel who was destroying the people, 'Enough, stay your hand.' "[44] Here the destroying *mal'ak* almost gets out of control, and the Lord restrains him at the last moment. Another way of saying the same thing would be that the Lord repented. But the imputation of evil to the *mal'ak* rather than to Yahweh himself enabled the Hebrews to shirk the problem of theodicy. On one level, they knew that the *mal'ak* was Yahweh, but on another they could begin to imagine the *mal'ak* as a separate entity. The separation of *mal'ak* from Godhead is clearer in the dialogue of 1 Kings 19–22. Michaiah says, "I saw the Lord seated on his throne, with all the host of heaven in attendance on his right and on his left. The Lord said, 'Who will entice Ahab to attack and fall on Ramothgilead?' One said one thing and one said another; then a spirit came forward and stood before the Lord and said, 'I will entice him.' 'How?' said the Lord. 'I will go out,' he said, 'and

43. 1 Sam. 16:14–16; 18:10–11; 19:9–10.

44. This passage is repeated almost verbatim in the later 1 Chron. 21:11–15.

be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.' 'You shall entice him,' said the Lord, 'and you shall succeed; go and do it.' "[45] The similarity of this passage to the prologue of Job is striking.[46] The evil spirit appears in the company of the *bene ha-elohim* but then goes out over the earth as a *mal'ak*. Here the *mal'ak* does not have to persuade Yahweh to destroy Ahab, for that is already the God's intent. But if in this way he is less independent than the Satan of Job, in another way his independence of Yahweh is even more distinct: "I will go out," he said, "and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets." The evil *mal'ak* is not only an opponent of the human race, but he is a lying opponent, the prince of lies and the lord of deceit.

The Hebrews were at least on one level aware of the gradual distinction that was being made between Yahweh and his *mal'ak*. In 2 Samuel there is an account of David's sin in taking a census of the Israelites: "Once again the Israelites felt the Lord's anger, when he incited David against them and gave him orders that Israel and Judah should be counted." Yahweh had declared such a census a sin, but now he commands David to take one in order that he might have reason to punish the people of Israel. This text is wholly understandable in terms of the original ambivalence of the God. But the redactor of the Books of Chronicles, which derived from Samuel and Kings and were compiled in the fourth century B.C., could no longer understand this ambiguity. The Lord, he reasoned, could not have willed his people to sin, so he revised the passage to read: "Now Satan, setting himself against Israel, incited David to count the people."[47]

Gradually the *mal'ak* obtained its independence from Yahweh; gradually its destructive aspect was emphasized; finally it became the personification of the shadow of the Lord, of the dark side of the divine nature. The *mal'ak* was now the evil angel, Satan, the obstructor, the liar, the destroying spirit.

45. The passage is repeated almost identically in the later 2 Chron. 18:18–22.

46. They may be almost contemporaneous.

47. 2 Sam. 24:1; 1 Chron. 21:1.

still one of the heavenly court and does nothing without the God's consent and will. Yet, also as in Zechariah, there are hints here of an opposition between Satan and the Lord. Rather than simply acting as an instrument of the Lord's will, Satan must persuade the God to work evil upon his faithful servant Job. The God agrees only reluctantly and with reservations, later reproaching Satan for having tempted him. Satan is the shadow, the dark side of the God, the destructive power wielded by the God only with reluctance. Further, it is Satan himself who goes down to smite Job. Satan "ranges the earth," and when the God makes the decision to put Job to the test, he says to Satan, "All that he has is in your hands." Later Satan leaves the God's presence and smites Job "with running sores from head to foot." Satan now is the personification of the destructive power of the God.[41]

Later, in the Hellenistic Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, Satan has even more evidently become the opponent, not only of man, but of the Lord: "God created man for immortality, and made him the image of his own eternal self; it was the devil's spite that brought death into the world, and the experience of it is reserved for those who take his side."[42] This is another dimension of the development of the word *satan*: Satan as the opponent of the Lord as well as of humanity. The Wisdom passage contains another important element: death, that natural phenomenon most feared by the Hebrews, is now linked with Satan and attributed to him. It is not the Lord who willed death for mankind, nor is it the folly of people that has brought it upon them, but rather the wicked will of the Devil. The destructive power once wielded by the God now belongs

41. But the poet of Job is not satisfied with shifting the burden of destruction to Satan, for he knows that the God still bears the responsibility for it: "Wherefore do the wicked live and why are they raised up and comforted with riches?" he asks (21:7). And, "Behold the Lord is on high in his power and none is like unto him in his acts. Who shall ponder his ways, or who can say to him: Hast thou done iniquity?" (36: 22–23). The poet recognizes that ultimately his theodicy must be a mystery.

42. Wis. 2:24; LXX: *diabolos*; Vulg.: *diabolus*.



Eugène Delacroix, "Jacob Wrestling with the Angel," 1856. The *mal'ak Yahweh* is a spirit sent out from the God, or the manifestation of the God in his dealings with men. In his origins, Satan, like the angel wrestling here with Jacob, was a *mal'ak*. Courtesy Bureau des Monuments, Paris.

in the hands of the Devil, while the God's good aspect has become the Lord.

In Job, Satan is clearly one of the *bene ha-elohim*, for he was there in the court of heaven in the presence of the God. Yet Satan does one thing in Job that the *banim* do not ordinarily do: he leaves the presence of the God and roams the world as the

vice.[39] The *mal'ak* is the voice of the God, the spirit of the God, the God himself. That the *mal'ak* is identical with the God is seen in Exodus, where Moses is addressed from the thornbush in Exodus 3:2 by the *mal'ak* and in Exodus 3:4 by Yahweh himself. The concept of the *mal'ak* was meant to represent the side of Yahweh turned toward men, or the aspect of Yahweh that men perceive, or the manifestation of Yahweh in his relationship with human beings. The term *mal'ak* is invariably translated in the Septuagint as *angelos:* "messenger." It is usually singular, though occasionally the plural *mal'akim* appears. It is possible that the *mal'ak* tended to become plural by attraction of the concept of the *bene ha-elohim*. In the Apocalyptic period, the idea that there were a number of angels was fully established. In the Old Testament the *mal'ak* was clearly an aspect of the God himself.

The God was ambivalent, and so was the *mal'ak*, who could be either good or evil. In Exodus 12:23, when Yahweh is slaughtering the firstborn of Egypt, it is also the *mal'ak*, "the destroyer," who does the job. Yahweh in his relationship to mankind can be terrifyingly cruel.

The elision of the concept of the *mal'ak* with that of the *bene ha-elohim* and the tendency of both to become identified with evil are most clearly illustrated in the Book of Job.[40] The more the *banim* and the *mal'ak* were seen as distinct from the God,

40. It is insufficient to dismiss the framing story of Job—Job 1–2 and 42:7–17—as a mere folktale artificially joined to the poem. The probable order of composition is (1) the tale, about 550 B.C.; (2) the poem, about 450 B.C.; (3) the combination of the two in the present form of Job, about 450–350 B.C. But even if the tale is substantially older than the poem, the poet used it, and it cannot be dismissed as foreign to his thought any more than one can dismiss the stories that Shakespeare consistently utilized in his plays as foreign to the playwright. Clearly the writer of Job found the idea of the heavenly court germane to his purpose. At least a minor part of that purpose was to suggest an alternate theodicy, which he found in the concept of a heavenly court of which at least one member might act as an adversary to man. To be sure, the author rejects that theodicy as ultimately insufficient: the responsibility of Yahweh remains, and it is absolutely and forever unfathomable by human reason. The Book of Job at any rate is markedly later than the passage of Zechariah. The Septuagint translates "Satan" by *diabolos*, and the Vulgate by *Satan*.

the more it was possible to thrust upon them the evil elements in the divine character that Yahweh had discarded. In Job, that process is manifestly incomplete; Yahweh and Satan are still working closely together:

> The day came when the members of the court of heaven took their places in the presence of the Lord, and Satan was there among them. The Lord asked him where he had been. "Ranging over the earth," he said, "from end to end." Then the Lord asked Satan, "Have you considered my servant Job? You will find no one like him on earth, a man of blameless and upright life, who fears God and sets his face against wrongdoing." Satan answered the Lord, "Has not Job good reason to be God-fearing? Have you not hedged him round on every side with your protection, him and his family and all his possessions? Whatever he does you have blessed, and his herds have increased beyond measure. But stretch out your hand and touch all that he has, and then he will curse you to your face." Then the Lord said to Satan, "So be it. All that he has is in your hands; only Job himself you must not touch." And Satan left the Lord's presence.

Job's family and possessions are destroyed, and

> Once again the day came when the members of the court of heaven took their places in the presence of the Lord, and Satan was there among them. The Lord asked him where he had been. "Ranging over the earth," he said, "from end to end." Then the Lord asked Satan, "Have you considered my servant Job? You will find no one like him on earth, a man of blameless and upright life, who fears God and sets his face against wrongdoing. You excited me to ruin him without a cause, but his integrity is still unshaken." Satan answered the Lord, "Skin for skin! There is nothing the man will grudge to save himself. But stretch out your hand and touch his bone and his flesh, and see if he will not curse you to your face."
>
> Then the Lord said to Satan, "So be it. He is in your hands; but spare his life." And Satan left the Lord's presence, and he smote Job with running sores from head to foot, so that he took a piece of a broken pot to scratch himself as he sat among the ashes.

As in Zechariah, Satan is now a personality with the function of accusing, opposing, and harming human beings. He is not yet the principle of evil, which remains with the God. He is