

*Note: this is the accepted version of an article that appeared in the Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Volume 39, Issue 1 (2016), published by Sage. The published version of the article can be accessed at <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0142064X16660914>. Significant revisions were made before publication, so please cite the published version only.*

### **Talk of the Devil: Unpacking the language of New Testament Satanology**

**Thomas J. Farrar, Cape Peninsula University of Technology; King's Evangelical Divinity School**

**Guy J. Williams, Wellington College**

#### **Abstract**

This article builds from the count of NT Satan references produced in 'Diabolical Data'. Linguistic-statistical tools unveil the literary distribution of Satan language across NT writings, showing Satan to be 'topical' in 13/27 NT books and following a fairly even distribution, correlated to word count. Satan is a consistent feature within NT discourse, characterised by very rich language but also a consolidation of that language through the use of synonyms. The coherence of the NT portrait of Satan stands out from the inconstant and loosely connected Satan language of Second Temple Judaism, suggesting a new departure in early Christianity. The implications of this 'Satanology' are considered for wider projects in NT studies, for the history of religion and hermeneutics. The problem this study sets for future interpreters is that of exploring and explaining the distinctive nature of NT Satanology both in its context and for today's readers.

**Corresponding authors:** Thomas J. Farrar, Cape Peninsula University of Technology, PO Box 1906, Bellville, 7535, South Africa. Email: [farrart@cput.ac.za](mailto:farrart@cput.ac.za); Guy J. Williams, Wellington College, Crowthorne, RG45 7PU, United Kingdom. Email: [GJW@wellingtoncollege.org.uk](mailto:GJW@wellingtoncollege.org.uk)

## Keywords

devil, Satan, statistics, hermeneutics, history of religions, linguistics

### 1. Introduction

The first article in this two-part study counted all references to Satan in the NT, creating a comprehensive list and sorting it according to type and probability. This yielded 147 *potential* references (i.e. having some traditional and/or scholarly support) of which 135, in our judgement, *do* refer to Satan. Alternatively, using the statistical notion of expectation to deal with uncertainty, we gave a probability-weighted estimate of 127.6 references. The aim of the first article was to create a condensed and comprehensive summation as a reference point and tool for scholarship.<sup>1</sup> This article discusses the implications of those results.

To begin, certain simple outcomes immediately emerge from the first study. The 135 references identified far exceed a naïve summation of singular uses of σατανᾶς and διάβολος (69). Moreover, these references are spread over the majority of NT documents and exhibit significant literary variety. Perhaps most striking is the sheer richness of language, from proper

---

<sup>1</sup> Various studies of Satan in the NT/Bible are in print (e.g. Kelly 1968; Russell 1977; 1981; Böcher 1972; Pagels 1996; Bell 2007; Fröhlich and Koskeniemi 2013), but a comprehensive count of the literary distribution is lacking, condensing all possible references to a single, succinct point. This is further to be distinguished from a survey of research, e.g. Brown (2011a).

nouns ('Satan'), to abstract epithets ('accuser'), and visual metaphors ('serpent'). The extent and power of this language will be unpacked below.

The structure of this article is as follows. Firstly, we use linguistic-statistical tools to identify patterns in literary distribution, focusing especially on the notion of 'topicality'. We conclude that Satan is a consistent feature of NT language *as a whole*.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, we identify the coherence of this language and argue for a *distinctive* NT 'Satanology' that stands out from the diversity of Second Temple Judaism. Thirdly, we consider the implications of those arguments for historical and hermeneutical approaches to Satan in the NT. To clarify, it is not our intention here to produce an exhaustive account, but rather to sharpen current analytical approaches and merely sketch out a proposal for a holistic understanding of Satan as a common theme in emergent Christianity.

## **2. Linguistic-statistical analysis**

### **2.1 Topicality**

The term 'topicality' is used technically in linguistics and information science. In the former, topicality is 'the general organizing principle of discourse structure' inasmuch as the 'the topic associated with a discourse unit is provided by the explicit or implicit question it answers' (van Kuppevelt 1995: 109). In the latter, 'topic' signifies simply 'document contents' (Borlund and

---

<sup>2</sup> We thus take up Brown's call for further studies of Satan in biblical texts, which move beyond single verses or pericopae and rather 'consider all of the references within given writings and/or authors, or even from a canonical viewpoint' (2011a: 214). We disagree with Lochman's (1990: 137) assessment that it would be a mistake to 'catalogue' the devil as an independent theme.

Ingwersen 1997: 235), and ‘topicality’ (synonymous with ‘topical relevance’) is the relatedness between the topic of a query (e.g. keyword search in a library catalogue) and the topic of the assessed documents (Cosijn and Ingwersen 2000: 539).

We are interested in the topicality between Satan (under any designation) and the NT documents. To what extent is NT discourse organised around Satan? How relevant is Satan as an NT topic? We aim to answer these questions quantitatively using word frequency and distribution. The previous article provided a basic measure of topicality through a reference count (135).<sup>3</sup> This is a crude measure, however, and it is important to consider the distribution of language and topicality within individual authors and books. We will use ‘frequency’ here for the number of references to Satan within a particular book.

It seems a ‘simple fact’ (Baayen 2001: 2) that the frequency of a particular word/phrase in a text will increase proportional to the size of the text. Accordingly, we might expect that the frequency of Satan references in a NT book would be approximately proportional to its length. Generally, it is: the Spearman correlation between Satan frequency and book length (measured by word count in the NA27 Greek text<sup>4</sup>) is 0.73.<sup>5</sup> However, the matter is not so simple. Linguists classify

---

<sup>3</sup> To contextualise, this is about equal to the number of references to the concept of resurrection (125) and occurrences of forms of εὐαγγέλιον/εὐαγγελίζω (125).

<sup>4</sup> A method for deriving these word counts in Logos Bible Software is described on the web at <http://overviewbible.com/bible-word-counts-logos-word-lists/>

<sup>5</sup> *p*-value: 1.37x10<sup>-5</sup>. This is a correlation coefficient whereby 1 represents perfect association between two variables and 0 represents no relationship.

words and phrases into two broad categories in terms of roles played in texts. Content words or phrases 'name corresponding notions and concepts', whereas function words (prepositions, conjunctions, etc.) 'interconnect them, making text formation possible' (Katz 1996: 17). If content words are the bricks of language then function words are the mortar (Black 1995: 98). Obviously, NT designations for Satan are content words/phrases. We will treat all of these designations together since, despite varying connotations, they are referentially equivalent.

The distinction between function and content words/phrases is important to analysis of textual phenomena because it affects the probability distributions which model their occurrence. The frequency of function words tends to be approximately proportional to document length, and can thus be reasonably modelled as a Poisson process.<sup>6</sup> However, Katz has shown that this is generally *not* the case with content words/phrases. Instead, the frequency of a specific content word in a particular document is 'a function of how much this document is about the concept expressed or named by that word' (Katz 1996: 18).

Katz offered a simple but ingenious system for classifying the topicality of content phrases, which he validated experimentally. A content phrase is classified as 'unrelated' if it does not occur within a document, 'nontopical' if it occurs once, and 'topical' if it occurs multiple times.

---

<sup>6</sup> A Poisson process is a sequence of random variables following the Poisson probability distribution, which gives probabilities for frequency of random events in space or time, assuming a fixed average rate commonly denoted  $\lambda$ .

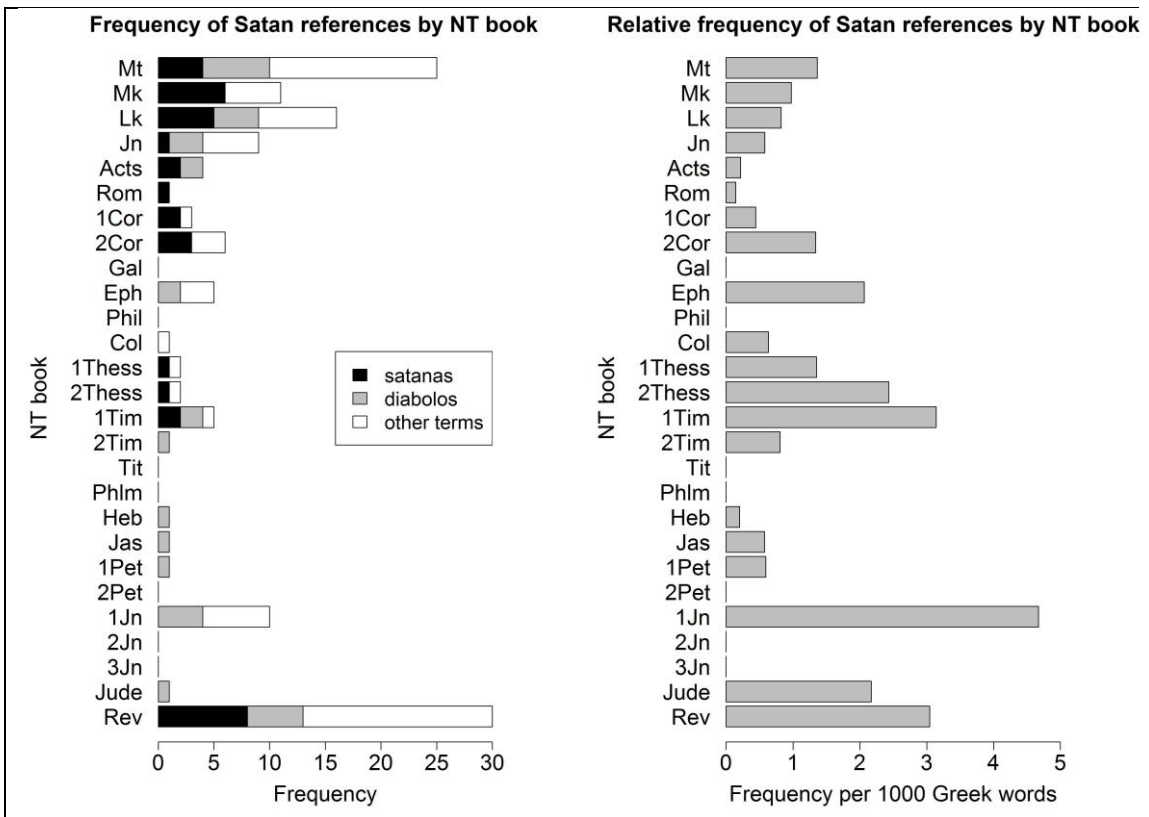
There are limitations to this schema: a word occurring once may in fact be topical,<sup>7</sup> and a nontopical word may occur multiple times by accident. However, Katz's system is a still useful for objectively rating the topicality of Satan within individual NT books.

## **2.2 Data set and topicality**

The basic data set of Satan language is represented in Figures 1(a) and 1(b).

---

<sup>7</sup> Even a lone reference to Satan may be rich in traditional content, and presuppose considerable understanding on the part of the reader (e.g. Heb. 2:14; Jas 4:7; 1 Pet. 5:8; Jude 9). Hence, *contra* Allison (2013: 626), that James mentions Satan only once does not indicate this writer's 'scant interest' in Satan.



**Figure 1: Literary distribution of NT Satan references**

We observe that 74% (20/27) of NT books refer to Satan.<sup>8</sup> While issues of authorship lie beyond our scope, we divide the NT into eleven authorial groups: Matthew, Mark, Luke-Acts, Johannine (John, 1-2-3John), Paul (Rom., Gal., 1-2 Cor., 1 Thess., Phlm.), deutero-Pauline (Eph., Phil., Col.,

<sup>8</sup> This assumes we are correct that Col. 1:13 implicitly refers to Satan. Even if not, it is uncontroversial that 70% (19/27) of NT books refer to Satan.

2 Thess., 1-2 Tim., Tit.), Hebrews, James, Petrine,<sup>9</sup> Jude, and Revelation.<sup>10</sup> Satan is mentioned in *all eleven* of these corpora.

Using Katz's classification system, Satan is 'unrelated' in seven books (Gal., Phil., Tit., Phlm., 2 Pet., 2 Jn, 3 Jn), 'nontopical' in seven (Rom., Col., 2 Tim., Heb., Jas, 1 Pet., Jude) and 'topical' in thirteen (Mt., Mk, Lk., Jn, Acts, 1-2 Cor., Eph., 1-2 Thess., 1 Tim., 1 Jn, Rev.). Moreover, Satan is probably 'topical' within all known and hypothetical Synoptic sources: Mark,<sup>11</sup> Q,<sup>12</sup> M,<sup>13</sup> and L.<sup>14</sup>

What can be said of the eight books 'unrelated' to Satan? We should resist arguing from silence for a marginalization of Satan in the writer's worldview. In all cases except 2 Peter, such a claim is undercut by other documents from the same authorial category in which Satan is topical. As

---

<sup>9</sup> Most scholars today doubt the authenticity of 2 Peter and/or 1 Peter, and many regard them as the work of different authors. While not minimizing the differences, we may justify treating them as a single authorial category on the grounds that '2 Peter appears to refer to 1 Peter and to claim that both letters were written to the same readers and with the same purpose (2 Pet. 3:1-2)' (Hultin 2014: 41). The author of 2 Peter may be reasonably assumed to have read and understood 1 Peter and, most significantly here, both writings make use of the Enochic Watchers tradition with its mythology of evil (1 Pet. 3:18-22; 2 Pet. 2:4; see Dalton 1989: 128).

<sup>10</sup> By 'authorial category' we mean a writing or set of writings emanating from a common milieu or tradition (though the deutero-Pauline category is judged large and recognizable enough to stand apart from Paul). Defenders of different views (e.g. all Paulines authentic, Petrines unrelated, Revelation attributed to John the Evangelist) may adapt our analysis accordingly.

<sup>11</sup> Mk 1:13; 3:22-27; 4:4-15; 8:33.

<sup>12</sup> Q 4:1-13; 11:14-22. Kloppenborg (2000: 100) classifies both passages as 'highly probable' Q texts, except for 11:21-22 which are 'probable'.

<sup>13</sup> Mt. 5:37; 6:13b?; 13:25-39; 25:41; cf. Powell (1998: 62).

<sup>14</sup> Lk. 10:18-19; 13:16; 22:31-32; cf. Powell (1998: 86-87).



for 2 Peter, the earlier Petrine letter has a non-topical reference to Satan. Moreover, 2 Peter's author shows some affinity with mythological concepts of evil (2 Pet. 2:4).<sup>15</sup>

Texts in which Satan is absent or non-topical include seven of the eight shortest NT books. All have fewer than 2000 words except for Galatians (2230), Romans (7111) and Hebrews (4953). On the last two, see the discussion of 'outliers' below. Probably the strongest conclusion we can draw from Satan's absence in seven books is that this concept was not so central that mentioning it was *obligatory* (contrast Christ, who is 'topical' in every NT book except 3 Jn). However, that Satan is topical in nearly half the NT books and is mentioned in over 70%, covering every strand of tradition reflected in the NT, suggests broad topicality in early Christian discourse overall.

### **2.3 Burstiness and word count correlation**

Further complicating matters is the notion of within-document burstiness: multiple occurrences of a topical content phrase often occur in rapid succession, i.e. in bursts (Katz 1996: 18). This means that occurrences are not distributed at a constant mean rate throughout the document, and hence the total frequency does not directly depend on document size. Katz argues that the causality works in the *opposite* direction: an author tends to utilize 'a larger document form when there is more to say about a particular content word' (Katz 1996: 19-20). Burstiness

---

<sup>15</sup> While he appears to have removed a reference to Satan found in his source (Jude 9), this more likely reflects reluctance to cite apocryphal traditions or ignorance of this tradition than reluctance to mention Satan (Bauckham 2004/2015: 279; Green 2008: 272).

certainly occurs in the case of the NT Satan.<sup>16 17</sup> This tendency thus reveals a conundrum in the NT data. We saw that Satan frequencies in the NT correlate strongly to document length. However, it is unlikely that any NT book (except, possibly, Revelation) has been lengthened because the author had more to say about Satan. How then can this correlation be explained?

By our count, the five narrative books (Gospels and Acts) contain nearly half (65) of NT references to Satan. Revelation singlehandedly accounts for over one-fifth (30), and the other 40 are distributed among the 21 NT epistles. It might therefore be argued that the narrative books and apocalypse refer to Satan more frequently because of their *genre*, not because these books are longer. The length of a book is related to genre, so the relationship between document length and Satan frequency would be coincidental rather than causal. This explanation has merit, but does not tell the whole story. Satan actually appears *more* often in the epistles than the narrative books in terms of relative frequency (every 1124 words vs. every 1280). Besides, Satan frequency correlates with document length even *within* the epistles.<sup>18</sup>

To reconcile our conundrum with Katz's theory we must realize that his data set consisted of technical literature covering a range of academic disciplines, whereas the NT is a relatively

---

<sup>16</sup> A burst is defined in this instance as two or more references to Satan within a single context, where the subsequent references seem to be closely related to the first. Obvious bursts of Satan references occur in Mt. 4:1-11; 12:24-29; 13:4-19; 13:25-39; Mk 3:22-27; Lk. 4:1-13; 10:18-19; 11:15-21; Jn 8:44; Eph. 2:2; 1 Tim. 3:6-7; 5:14-15; 1 Jn 2:13-14; 3:8-12; 5:18-19; Rev. 2:9-10; 2:13; 12:3-13:4; 20:2-10. We also classify the following as bursts: Jn 13:2-27; 2 Cor. 11:3-14; Eph. 6:11-16).

<sup>17</sup> One statistic proposed by Katz for measuring burstiness is 'topical burstiness', the average number of references to a content word/phrase among those documents in which it is topical. In the NT the topical burstiness value for Satan terms is 9.8.

<sup>18</sup> Spearman correlation coefficient = 0.52; *p*-value = 0.015

homogeneous corpus written by a few representatives of a nascent religious sect. We have, therefore, some justification for claiming that Satan is almost uniformly topical throughout the NT. While allowing for nuances and preferences of individual writers, Satan occurs regularly but 'randomly' throughout. Writers do not refer to Satan systematically out of some premeditated desire to emphasise this concept, but make recourse to this aspect of their worldview as their sources and rhetorical purposes dictate.

References to Satan in the NT actually do behave almost like a Poisson process: they are events occurring 'randomly' but with a fixed average rate. It is only the 'burstiness' phenomenon which causes the data to deviate from the Poisson distribution. If we control for burstiness by considering a burst of references to Satan within a passage as just one reference, a Poisson regression model relating Satan references in each NT book to word count fits the data well.<sup>19</sup>

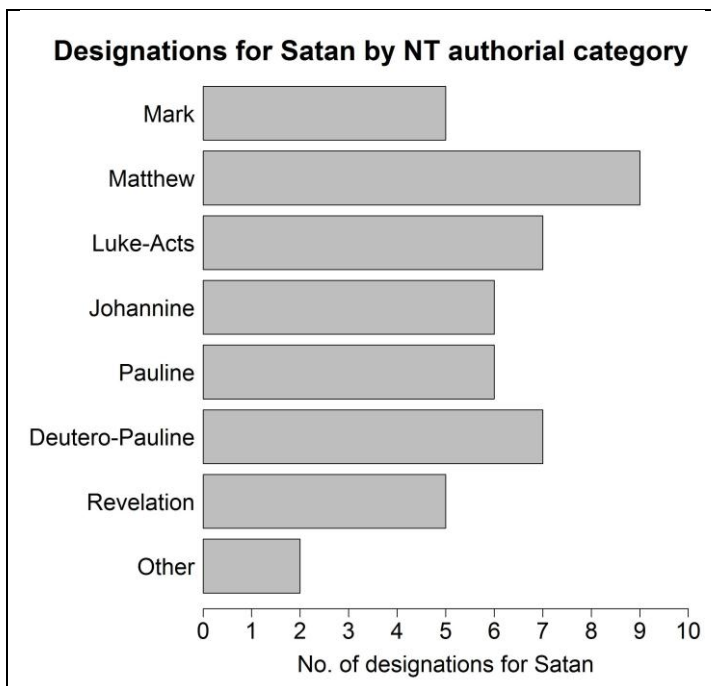
This model suggests that, once 'burstiness' is controlled for, references to Satan in the NT are approximately Poisson-distributed with average rate proportional to word count. This result supports the hypothesis that Satan was uniformly present in early Christian discourse.

## 2.4 Designations and synonyms

---

<sup>19</sup> A Poisson regression model predicts a dependent variable which is assumed to follow the Poisson distribution (in this case Satan reference count, adjusted for burstiness) to one or more independent variables (in this case, word count). The model enables inferences on the relationship between word count and number of Satan references as well as calculation of the expected number of Satan references for a book of a specified length. In this case the estimated model equation is  $\log(\hat{\lambda}) = -5.0451 + 0.7163 \log x$  where  $\hat{\lambda}$  is expected Satan reference count and  $x$  is word count. The coefficient of the  $\log x$  term is statistically significant ( $p$ -value= $1.44 \times 10^{-10}$ ), suggesting that number of Satan references is related to book length.

Beyond basic topicality and distribution, the linguistic relevance and development of Satan is also evident in the variety of synonyms and functions. In the previous article we found that there are 23 different designations for Satan in the NT.<sup>20</sup> Apart from God and Christ, there is no NT figure with so many titles and aliases.



**Figure 2: Designations for Satan by NT authorial category**

Every NT authorial category which contains more than 5000 Greek words uses at least five different designations for Satan.<sup>21</sup> This language is rich and varied, but ironically reflects a kind

<sup>20</sup> ὁ σατανᾶς; ὁ διάβολος; ὁ πειράζων; ὁ πονηρός; ὁ ἄρχοντας τῶν δαιμονίων; βεελζεβούλ; ὁ ἰσχυρός; τὰ πετεινὰ [τοῦ οὐρανοῦ]; ὁ ἐχθρὸς; ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους; ὁ πατήρ [ψευδῶν]; ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ κόσμου [τούτου]; ὁ ὀλοθρευτὴς; ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου; βελιάρ; ὁ ὄφις [ὁ ἀρχαῖος]; ὁ αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου; ὁ ἄρχοντας τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος; ὁ ἀντικείμενος; ὁ ἀντίδικος; ὁ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; ὁ δράκων [μέγας πυρρός]; ὁ κατήγωρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν

<sup>21</sup> Mark: ὁ σατανᾶς, βεελζεβούλ, ὁ ἄρχοντας τῶν δαιμονίων, ὁ ἰσχυρός, τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; Matthew: ὁ σατανᾶς, ὁ διάβολος, ὁ πειράζων, βεελζεβούλ, ὁ ἄρχοντας τῶν δαιμονίων, ὁ ἰσχυρός,

of consolidation toward a consistent theme: there is a discernible willingness among NT writers to make the terms equivalent. Beelzeboul *is* Satan (Mk 3:22-29). The dragon *is* the serpent, the devil, Satan (Rev. 20:2). In some respects, this linguistic feature sets the NT apart – a point to which we shall return.

### 3. Outliers

The linguistic-statistical analysis suggested that Satan is broadly topical across the NT, a significant (though not indispensable) feature of early Christian discourse, distributed ‘randomly’ throughout the texts, and characterised by rich, developed language. Nevertheless, there are a couple of anomalies which do not fit the statistical model well, namely Romans and Hebrews.

Our model predicts Romans (7111 words) to contain 3.7 distinct references to Satan. In fact, there is only one. The expectation of Satan references only increases when we consider the discussion of sin and death, and the emphasis on condemnation: part of Satan’s domain elsewhere. Some (e.g., Dunn 1998: 109) argue that Romans represents a ‘pinnacle’ for Paul’s thought and thus includes a humanistic appraisal of values and behaviour, diminishing Satan’s

---

τά πετεινά, ὁ πονηρός, ὁ ἐχθρὸς; Luke-Acts: ὁ σατανᾶς, ὁ διάβολος, βεελζεβούλ [ὁ ἄρχοντας τῶν δαιμονίων], ὁ ἰσχυρός, τά πετεινά τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὁ ἐχθρὸς, ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκοτους; Johannine: ὁ σατανᾶς, ὁ διάβολος, ὁ πονηρός, ὁ πατήρ [τῶν ψευδῶν], ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου [τούτου], ὁ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ; Pauline: ὁ σατανᾶς, ὁ πειράζων, ὁ ὀλοθρευτής, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου, βελιάρ, ὁ ὄφεις; deutero-Pauline: ὁ σατανᾶς, ὁ διάβολος, ὁ πονηρός, ὁ αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ὁ ἄρχοντας τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκοτους, ὁ ἀντικείμενος; Revelation: ὁ σατανᾶς, ὁ διάβολος, ὁ δράκων [μέγας πυρρός], ὁ ὄφεις [ὁ ἀρχαῖος], ὁ κατήγωρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν; Other: ὁ διάβολος, ὁ ἀντίδικος.

role. However, such arguments cause more problems than they solve. For instance, why would Paul emphasise Satan in the Corinthian correspondence and then change his mind? Additionally, the tradition-rich reference to Satan in 16:20 undermines the notion of this material being consciously eliminated.<sup>22</sup> It may be that the unfamiliar audience for this letter in part explains the limitation of Satan by Paul, who might have avoided emphasising a concept he had not taught personally. Nevertheless, one can only speculate concerning what motives – if any – Paul had in referring to Satan only once in this lengthy letter.<sup>23</sup> It could be merely accidental: our Poisson model estimates a 12% probability of a book this size containing one or no references to Satan.

Similarly, the model predicts Hebrews (4953 words) to include 2.9 references to Satan, but there is only one. This reference (2:14) comes early in the letter, attributing the power of death to the devil but using καταργέω to describe his nullification by Christ. Within the lengthy discussion of atonement, the reader might expect further connections to the devil's defeat, but there are none. Nor is Satan blamed for the persecutions facing the readers (10:32-34). Could the writer have a realised eschatology in which Satan is no more? This seems unlikely since s/he looks forward to the 'world to come' (2:5) only after the shaking of heaven and earth (12:26-29 cf. 1:10-12). Meantime, the struggle against sin continues (12:1-4). Hence, we should interpret καταργέω not as consummate destruction but as causing something 'to lose its power or

---

<sup>22</sup> On the background of this allusion see Dochhorn (2007b).

<sup>23</sup> For suggestions, see Brown (2011b: 116-125) and Löfstedt (2010: 126-128).

effectiveness' (Arndt et al 2000: 525). Thus, the writer may be saying that Christ's death 'broke the devil's grip on his people' (Bruce 1990: 86). *Possibly*, the writer's confidence in Christ's victory over Satan leads him to diminish his ongoing significance. Or, Satan's absence from the Torah may render him insignificant to the main argument of the letter. Here too we may only guess the author's motives. It may again be mere accident; there is, by our model, a 22.2% chance that a book of this size would contain one or no references to Satan.

Overall, while these 'outliers' are challenging, contextual understanding of the documents and the recognition that Satan still features in them, together with some allowance for random variation, suggests that they can be incorporated into our proposals.

#### **4. A developing coherence**

Thus far, we have shown the general linguistic topicality of Satan across the NT and considered two apparent exceptions. Now, we seek to conceptualise this language holistically. Looking at the data, it becomes apparent that the NT reflects the consolidation of strands and themes in emerging Christianity. The earliest texts display consistency and definition on the topic of Satan, implying some standardisation in teaching, belief, and practice: hence, *NT Satanology*. By 'Satanology' we do not mean a systematic doctrine or self-conscious intellectual production. Rather, we mean a coherent perspective, an amalgamation of threads of tradition that are distinctive in their presence across NT texts and in the context of diffuse teaching in Second Temple Judaism.

#### 4.1 NT coherence concerning Satan's functions

**Table 1: Coherence of NT functions of Satan**

Feature	Matt	Mark	Luke-Acts	Johannine writings	Pauline epistles	Deutero-Paulines	Other epistles	Revelation
Seduces, deceives, devious	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tempts, tests	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Oppresses, persecutes, destroys			X	X	X		X	X
Rules: the age, evil spirits/men	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cosmic dualism vs. God/Christ	X		X	X	X		X	X
Eschatological defeat	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Accuses humans			X				X	X

It would be difficult to find another body of Jewish texts from the Second Temple period that could check so many boxes, at least without being very selective. Satan is an inconstant and less developed figure in Jewish texts, and there are major corpora from which Satan is absent (e.g. Philo, Josephus, and arguably the OT Deutero-Canon/Apocrypha).<sup>24</sup> Satan barely features in

<sup>24</sup> Sir 21.27 may refer to Satan but is regarded by some as a polemic against such a concept (Sacchi 1990: 223; Boccaccini 2002: 138-139; Sacchi 2004: 350-351; Kelly 2006: 75). Wis 2.24 may refer to Satan but some recent studies have suggested otherwise (Levison 1988: 51-52; Kelly 2006: 78; Zurawski 2012; Clifford 2013: 21). Recent defenders of the 'devil' interpretation include Dunn (1998: 86n26) and Dochhorn (2007a: 150f).



rabbinic literature.<sup>25</sup> Even in collections of texts in which a leading figure of evil features significantly (e.g. the DSS), references are intermittent and inconsistent. The inter-relatedness of terms can be questioned, as there is *not* the overt consolidation of Satan language, as in the NT.<sup>26</sup> In that sense, NT coherence witnesses to a new departure in its own right, the roots of what would become a distinctly Christian concept.

#### 4.2 NT coherence and later developments

NT coherence helps explain the consistent patristic interest in Satan. The Apostolic Fathers, for example, regularly engage with Satan. Applying Katz's nomenclature, Satan is topical in Barnabas,<sup>27</sup> Hermas,<sup>28</sup> three Ignatian letters,<sup>29</sup> Polycarp,<sup>30</sup> and Martyrdom of Polycarp,<sup>31</sup> nontopical in three more Ignatian letters<sup>32</sup> as well as 1 Clement<sup>33</sup> and 2 Clement,<sup>34</sup> and unrelated

---

<sup>25</sup> Satan is 'mentioned in only a few passages in rabbinic literature from the fifth century onwards' and 'almost completely absent' in earlier literature (Reeg 2013: 71).

<sup>26</sup> So Stuckenbruck (2013: 61) on 'chief demonic beings' in the DSS: 'It is not clear how much the different texts allow us to infer that any of the different writers identified a figure designated by one name with a figure identified with another.' Similarly, in rabbinic literature, it is unclear whether the two main Satan-like figures (Satan, Sama'el) are the same or independent characters (see Reeg 2013: 81-82).

<sup>27</sup> Barn 2.1; 2.10; 4.10; 4.13; 15.5; 18.1; 18.2; 20.1; 21.3.

<sup>28</sup> HermMan 4.3.4; 4.3.6; 5.1.3; 6.2.1-10; 7.2-3; 9.9-11; 11.3; 11.17; 12.2.2; 12.4.6-7; 12.5.1-4; 12.6.1-4; HermSim 1.3-6; 8.3.6; 9.31.2.

<sup>29</sup> IgnEph 10.3; 17.1; 19.1; IgnTral 4.2; 8.1; IgnRom 5.3; 7.1.

<sup>30</sup> PolPhil 7.1.

<sup>31</sup> MartPol 3.1; 17.1.

<sup>32</sup> IgnMag 1.2; IgnPhld 6.2; IgnSmyrn 9.1.

<sup>33</sup> 1Clem 51.1.

<sup>34</sup> 2Clem 18.2.

in one Ignatian letter.<sup>35</sup> Topicality in the Didache,<sup>36</sup> Papias,<sup>37</sup> and Diognetus<sup>38</sup> is debatable.<sup>39</sup>

Ascens reflects a strong Christian interest in Satan during the same period.<sup>40</sup> This trajectory suggests that NT language set the tone for what was to become mainstream Christian tradition.

Accepting this characterisation of 'NT Satanology' also helps us to make sense of a widely recognised phenomenon in later literature: the important role played by Satan in medieval Christian culture (in stark contrast to medieval Judaism).<sup>41</sup> Later generations of Christians did not invent the idea of Satan; they found it in their sources. We are thus able to see these developments as forming an important episode in the history of ideas. When the language is broken down, what Kovacs writes of John rings true for the whole NT: "the devil" is not a mere figure of speech, or a "faded mythological conception." Satan is an effective power who is active on the stage of human history' (Kovacs 1995: 234). Acknowledging further that the NT Satan is

---

<sup>35</sup> IgnPoly.

<sup>36</sup> Did 8.2; 16.4.

<sup>37</sup> Papias fragments 13, 23 (Holmes 2007).

<sup>38</sup> Diog 12.3-8.

<sup>39</sup> We leave exegesis of Satan references in the Apostolic Fathers for another occasion. The standard work is still Gokey (1961).

<sup>40</sup> Knight (2015: 155) notes the dominant view that Ascens 6-11 was written in the late first century CE with chs. 1-5 added in the early second century. The document contains about 30 references to Satan using numerous terms, some of them also found in the NT: Satan (2.2, 2.7, 5.16, 7.9, 11.24, 11.41, 11.43), Beliar (1.8-9, 2.4, 3.11, 3.13, 4.2, 4.4, 4.14, 4.16, 4.18, 5.1, 5.15; cf. 2 Cor. 6:15), prince/ruler/king of this world (1.3, 4.2-3, 10.29; cf. Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11), god of that/this world (9.14; cf. 10.12; 11.16; 2 Cor. 4:4), and adversary (11.19; cf. 1 Tim. 5:14). Terms not found in the NT include Sammael (1.8, 1.11, 2.2, 3.13, 5.15-16, 7.9, 11.41), if this is 'merely another name for Beliar', as Knibb (1983/2011: 157nu) asserts, Matanbukus (2.4), and angel of iniquity (2.4 cf. 4.2-4). This analysis is based on the translation of Knibb (1983/2011). Note Bauckham's (1993: 121) assertion, 'There are few indications that Ascension of Isaiah is dependent on any New Testament writings' (cf. Massaux 1993: 54-62; Gregory 2003: 75-77; Lindgård 2005: 134n105; but also Knight 1996: 20, 277-281; Knight 2003; Barker 2014: 408-409).

<sup>41</sup> See, with references to a selection of other works, Russell (1981: 29).

not a lone wolf, but leads a pack of demons and angels, and wicked humans, we see that he sits in a web of language and ideas about cosmic evil. This language proved to be highly influential.

### **5. Implications for history of religion**

Recent years have seen something of a flurry in history of religion studies of the topic of Satan.<sup>42</sup>

These have generally been characterised by analytical approaches which pay attention to the specific themes and nuances of individual texts. While such research has crucial value, we propose here a synthesis of the whole NT.<sup>43</sup> If the arguments above are accepted – that Satan is broadly topical and coherent across NT literature – what are the implications for our understanding of the ‘history of Satan’?

Arguably, that question is insufficiently precise and is matched by some generalised treatments of a complex topic. For example, there is a body of work (not confined to biblical studies) that seeks to write the biography of Satan, from ancient ideas about evil, to medieval folklore, and beyond.<sup>44</sup> Such works are helpful for understanding the lasting impacts on historical cultures.

---

<sup>42</sup> See e.g. the various essays gathered in Fröhlich and Koskenniemi 2013. There is also a forthcoming WUNT volume of historical studies on Satan and evil: Dochorn, Rudnig-Zelt and Wold.

<sup>43</sup> This is offered to an extent in the broad and brief overviews of Jewish and Christian Satan concepts provided by Schreiber 2007 and Theissen 2011. We depart from those studies in arguing for a distinctive coherence in emergent Christian Satan language.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. Carus (1900); Forsyth (1987); Stanford (1996); Kelly (2006); Almond (2014).

However, they implicitly offer a linear, homogenised sense of progression (from Persia, to Judaism, to Christianity).<sup>45</sup>

There are a number of problems with that model for understanding Satan. Firstly, there is genuine uncertainty over the origins and causes of the idea in Judaism. There is undoubted development in the Second Temple period, from a minimal presence in later OT books. However, that this was a product of Persian dualism has recently been challenged.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the progression of Jewish views is disputed. Secondly, it is dubious to say that there was a 'Jewish Satanology'. As explained above, the patterns found across a majority of NT texts do not reflect a standard Jewish doctrine.<sup>47</sup> In that sense, the example of Satan may lend some weight to the pluralist ('Judaisms') view of the Second Temple period as an age of religious diversity.<sup>48</sup>

The real historical problem is therefore not where Satan came from, but how the peculiar emphases of the NT emerged from a marketplace of concepts. We might ask whether the relatively consistent 'Satanology' identified in this study set Christianity apart as an incipient movement. Perhaps, ideas that seemed distinctive in the context of Judaism became crystallised

---

<sup>45</sup> This linearity is also assumed in some standard NT works, e.g. Boring and Craddock (2009: 127).

<sup>46</sup> Hultgren (2007: 320), for instance, argues for the complexity of the origins of Qumran dualism, describing as 'inadequate' the older view that its development was unilinear or that it derived from a single source such as Zoroastrianism. See the different arguments from: Davies (2010); Heger (2010).

<sup>47</sup> *Contra* Noack: 'Das N.T. übernimmt im grossen und ganzen die jüdische Dämonologie' (1948: 49). Similarly Dibelius (1909: 37). For the diversity of Satan in the Second Temple period, Williams (2009: 87-92). Perhaps, the Sadducees had no concept of Satan at all (Acts 23:8). Satan is absent from large swathes of 2T literature (see above). This contrasts with some, but not all (e.g., 4Ezra), apocalyptic works.

<sup>48</sup> As argued for, perhaps most exhaustively, by Anderson. In historiography, the era is 'victim of strongly confessional overgeneralizations' (Anderson 2002: 1).

in what became normative Christianity.<sup>49</sup> We cannot attempt any detailed response to that problem here. However, we shall briefly set out some of the sub-problems that might contribute to an historical understanding of NT Satanology.

Firstly, to what extent did the historical Jesus initiate early Christian Satanology? Obviously, this question is subject to the extensively debated problems of reconstructing the historical Jesus in general. Nevertheless, that Satan is topical in all four Gospels (including all known or hypothesised Synoptic sources), Paul's letters, etc., leads one to consider how far back the chain goes. A link to Jesus himself arguably has considerable explanatory power in accounting for a coherent Christian Satanology. So, it might be that some sayings concerning Satan could be judged as 'authentic'.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, it is at least possible that the wilderness temptation narratives in Mark and Q originate from some experience reported by Jesus to his disciples.<sup>51</sup> Or, if we are unsure of ascertaining the 'historical' words and deeds of Jesus, we might consider whether Satan features in the earliest discernible 'collective memory' of his teaching.<sup>52</sup> One

---

<sup>49</sup> At a relatively early stage, Christian Satanology became a kind of identity marker in relation to outsiders. Note the comments of Celsus (second century), that the Christians made an error in 'creating an adversary to God' (Or Cels. 6.42).

<sup>50</sup> E.g. one might consider the Beelzeboul controversy, note that it is in the triple synoptic tradition, assign it to Q (11:15, 19), and reason that it is linked to primitive oral tradition (Robinson, Hoffmann and Kloppenborg 2000: 222-233). This episode features in Crossan's reconstructed 'Gospel of Jesus' (Crossan 1991: xix). Moreover, Lk. 10:18 'has usually been regarded as an authentic saying of the historical Jesus' (Gathercole 2003: 143).

<sup>51</sup> So Allison (1999: 213); Bird (2010: 639-640). Borg notes that 'the *sequence* of initiation into the world of Spirit (the baptism) followed by a testing or ordeal in the wilderness is strikingly similar to what is reported of charismatic figures cross-culturally' (2005: 306).

<sup>52</sup> Some see collective memory as an alternative reconstruction, after the 'demise' of authenticity criteria hailed in Keith and Le Donne (2012). A clear statement of this approach would be Allison (2010). Note his comments specifically about Satan, 'The pertinent material is sufficiently abundant that removing it all

avenue of current scholarship that implicitly engages with this question is the attempt to set Jesus in the religious-historical context of miracle workers and exorcists.<sup>53</sup> His work against Satan in this field might explain why his followers preserved such language in the oral tradition and, eventually, the earliest texts.

Secondly, were the first Christians influenced by specific and identifiable Jewish traditions? Evidence for such influence may occur to some extent in suggestive parallels, such as in Jude 9<sup>54</sup> or 2 Cor. 6:15.<sup>55</sup> The issue is also addressed in part by attempts to define a relationship between Qumran and Johannine dualism.<sup>56</sup> However, it might be possible to go beyond isolated cases and look for wider trends. Tentatively, the semantic range and implicit concepts of NT Satanology suggest links to legendary and midrashic traditions of expanded Scripture.<sup>57</sup> It is even

---

should leave one thoroughly sceptical about the mnemonic competence of the tradition' (2010: 47). For a different perspective on memory and the sayings of Jesus: Kloppenborg (2012).

<sup>53</sup> E.g. Smith (1978); Twelftree (1993); Craffert (2008); Witmer (2012).

<sup>54</sup> The most detailed treatment of the source of Jude's allusion is Bauckham (2004/2015: 235-280). He holds that Jude depended on the ending of TMOs, a work extant in one incomplete manuscript, which he distinguishes from the Assumption of Moses which Alexandrian fathers (CI Adumbr. Jude 9; Or Princ. 3.2.1) state to be Jude's source. Jude quotes 1 Enoch in Jude 14-16, suggesting broader engagement with apocalyptic. Jude 9 depends indirectly on Zech. 3:1-2.

<sup>55</sup> Beliar is the standard term for the devil in the T12P (Williams 2009: 92n20, 149). Cf. TJob 3.3. See our earlier article, section 4.2.

<sup>56</sup> A discussion explored in-depth in Charlesworth (1972). Although his thesis about the link between Persian dualism and Qumran is now questioned (see above), the link between Qumran and Johannine dualism is still widely acknowledged (Lieu 1991: 83; Barton 2008: 14; Stuckenbruck 2011; Jobes 2014: 65-67).

<sup>57</sup> There are contested cases for this trend also, e.g. in the implicit 'Satan in Paradise' myth (i.e. = the serpent in Gen. 3:15) in Rom. 16:20 (cf. Ps. 91:13; TSim 6:5-6; TLevi 18:12) and 2 Cor. 11:3-14 (cf. LAE 17:1; 29:15; *Vita* 9:1). This also emerges in rabbinic Judaism (e.g. PirqeREI 25A.i) and some Fathers (Diog 12.3-8?; *Ir Haer.* 1.30.7). See Williams 2009: 93-95. Another case of 'expanded Scripture' in NT Satanology could be the 'war in heaven' myth, derived from an interpretation of Isa. 14:12 as the fall of Satan (Lucifer), implicit in Rev. 12:7-12 (cf. Lk. 10:18). This can be compared with the unsuccessful angelic rebellion led by Satanael, who is also 'thrown down' in 2En 29.

possible that earliest Christianity possessed a primeval Satan myth which has not survived,<sup>58</sup> and an eschatological Satan myth preserved in Ascens 4.<sup>59</sup> However, the NT also reveals considerable Christian innovation concerning Satan's theological significance<sup>60</sup> and perhaps also the conscious abandonment of certain existing Jewish ideas.<sup>61</sup>

Thirdly, was there a ritual context for early Christian Satanology? One possible example is 'handing over to Satan' (1 Cor. 5:5; 1 Tim. 1:20). This is equivalent to expulsion from the community and understood as an *action*,<sup>62</sup> rather than a metaphor for a state of affairs. It closely parallels expulsion of apostates by the Qumran community.<sup>63</sup> Satan in this case arguably stands for the ritually impure space outside the community: 'the evil age'. Another example could be the use of the Lord's Prayer, understood as including an apotropaic petition for deliverance from

---

<sup>58</sup> Such material might possibly have been in the expanded Creation account which prefaced Papias' work, as recently argued by Bauckham (2014: 474). One or possibly two extant fragments of Papias' work describe an angelic apostasy, which later students of Papias (if not Papias himself) linked to Lk. 10:18 and Rev. 12:7-9. See Fragments 13 and 23 of Papias as discussed in Shanks (2013: 229f and 248f).

<sup>59</sup> This portion of the text is now widely agreed to be a Christian composition dating from the early second century CE, or possibly earlier (Bauckham 1998: 389; Stuckenbruck 2004: 308-309; Knight 2015: 154-155).

<sup>60</sup> Note especially the prevalence of texts linking Satan to the cross-event and Christ's soteriological work (Lk. 22:3, 53; Jn 12:31; 13:2, 27; 14:30; Heb. 2:14; 1 Jn 3:8; Rev. 12:10-11).

<sup>61</sup> In rabbinic literature, 'Accuser' is Satan's most pervasive role, 'common to all classical rabbinic sources' (Reeg 2013: 73). Prosecution seems to be the role of שָׂטָן in Job 1-2 and Zech. 3 (Pedersen 1984: 186f; Fokkelman 2012: 37; White 2014: 54; but cf. Stokes 2014). By contrast, NT writers refer to this role rarely, and then usually to undermine it (Rev. 12:10; Lk. 22:31-32; Jude 9; possibly 1 Tim. 3:6; 5:14).

<sup>62</sup> I.e. when the Corinthians are *gathered* (1 Cor. 5:4) they are to *hand over* the offender (παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ, 5:5), linking community assembly to the verb. By contrast, 1 Tim. implies that the action is performed by Paul, perhaps reflecting a later concern for apostolic authority.

<sup>63</sup> Delivery 'to the hand of Belial'. See Yarbrow Collins (1980).

the Evil One, Satan.<sup>64</sup> Such examples suggest, perhaps, that early Christian beliefs were shaped in part through concerns to separate and protect from evil spiritual influences.

Finally, what is the sociological context for Satanology and the community? This unites certain strands of the previous questions: the role of exorcism in Judean society, the dynamic of Christian groups emerging with Gentile and Jewish cultural identities, and the function of ritual separation from an external threat of Satan. The wider question about the role of social psychology in explaining beliefs about evil and demonology is still relevant to our own times.<sup>65</sup>

As for identifying a mentality in the earliest Christian communities, we might tentatively suggest that feelings of isolation and alienation could have sharpened some of the dualistic rhetoric we have found in our language study. There may also be some aspects of the early Christian Satan that functioned for 'making sense': of events, reality, and relationships. This could be seen in a kind of everyday theodicy used by Paul on occasion,<sup>66</sup> or in the Parable of the Sower's attempt to explain unbelief. The idea of Satan is thus socially defining, for what lies outside of or is opposed to the body of Christ.

To summarise, then, it is necessary to put early Christian Satanology into some historical context that is not understood in a simple, linear way. The wealth and distribution of NT language about

---

<sup>64</sup> It was argued in the previous paper that the Lord's Prayer liturgical tradition probably influenced Matthew's designation of Satan as 'the evil one', and may be in the background of other NT usage of this term as well (Jn 17:15; Eph. 6:11-18; 2 Thess. 3:3; 1 Jn 5:18).

<sup>65</sup> See for example Beeman's (2008) study of 'demonization of the other' between the US and Iran.

<sup>66</sup> Why did Paul fail in Thessalonica? Because of Satan (1 Thess. 2:18). Why do false apostles oppose Paul? Because of Satan (2 Cor. 11:14). Why is there sexual sin? Because of Satan (1 Cor. 7:5). See Williams (2009: 314).



Satan stands out among the varied approaches of Second Temple Judaism. How did the specific emphases of the NT emerge? We have made four tentative suggestions: (a) considering the impetus given by the career of Jesus himself, especially as an exorcist; (b) seeing the early Christians as engaged in wider Jewish traditions of expanded Scripture; (c) identifying ritual practices for protection from evil; and (d) linking Satan to the social definition of inside/outside groups. By developing the sub-problems identified, it may be possible to produce a detailed and nuanced understanding of early Christian Satanology.

## **6. Implications for hermeneutics**

There are diverse contemporary reading strategies that seek to engage with the NT Satan from particular intellectual, cultural and political perspectives. We now consider how the results of this study might impact upon such hermeneutical trends.

### **6.1 Demythologisation**

The traditional, 'mythical' Satan has become something of an embarrassment in post-Enlightenment Western Christianity. The unfashionable nature of this idea is evident in recent controversies in the Church of England.<sup>67</sup> Demythologisation is designed to assist the modern reader – assumed to have a non-mythological worldview – in interpreting the Bible's mythical language. Satan is an obvious target for this approach, which aims to find the core 'message' hidden within the mythical mode of presentation. This has two possible angles: (a) a

---

<sup>67</sup> E.g. the exorcism debate in the 1970s (see the 'Open Letter' cited in Bell 2007: 320n2), and more recently the debate over the renunciation of the devil in the baptismal rite (Gledhill 2015).

hermeneutic which the reader applies to the NT, or (b) a hermeneutic which NT writers apply to religious traditions. Bultmann saw some evidence for (b),<sup>68</sup> but not in the case of Satan (Bultmann 1941/1989: 1). Here, he was chiefly concerned with (a), namely with interpreting this dualistic mythology existentially (Bultmann 1941/1989: 15).

However, other scholars view Satan through (b), asserting that the NT writers themselves reduce the mythology of apocalyptic Judaism and anticipate modern theology by trying to see beyond the supernatural.<sup>69</sup> Demythologisation can be motivated by an ethical concern that attributing evil to Satan 'obscures' or 'suspends' moral thinking,<sup>70</sup> or an apologetic concern to avoid a less-than-orthodox interest in the power of evil.<sup>71</sup>

Whether 'looking beyond' Satan is seen as meritorious depends on one's worldview. However, the latter approach of imputing demythologisation to the NT itself seems to conflict with the linguistic data. The NT writers do *not* minimise Satan language relative to their Jewish contemporaries; if anything, they intensify it! Bultmann's suggestion that demythologisation is chiefly something the modern reader brings *to* a text seems more convincing.

## 6.2 African readings

---

<sup>68</sup> Bultmann (1941/1989: 11). Specifically, he refers to the embodiment of NT eschatology in the historical person of Jesus as implicit demythologization (1941/1989: 32-33).

<sup>69</sup> E.g. Ling (1961); Kelly (1968).

<sup>70</sup> E.g. Lochman (1990: 138); Wanamaker (1990: 122-123).

<sup>71</sup> E.g. Carr (1981: 176); Boring (1989: 42, 165-166).

Contrasting with demythologisation is the recent expansion of African hermeneutics in biblical scholarship, including a specific focus on supernatural powers.<sup>72</sup> A central argument seems to be emerging, that readers from an African perspective are equipped to appreciate the power of early Christian spirit beliefs, because there are analogues in the spirit beliefs of their own cultures. Unlike Westerners, many Africans do not share a post-Enlightenment scientific worldview. Thus, the threat of evil spirits is taken seriously. Accordingly, the Bible is read with a kind of naïve realism which avoids the anachronism of reading naturalistic presuppositions into the text, and arguably corresponds more closely to the authorial intent.

It should be emphasised that this is a powerful influence on life and ritual, not just a reading strategy. Some African interpreters are concerned to use their reading of the Bible to identify, challenge, and influence the spirit beliefs passed on through African traditional religions.<sup>73</sup> A common theme, for example, is Christ's total supremacy and sufficiency for protection from evil spirits. In this sense, 'Satan' language in the NT is read as the counter-part to the numerous indigenous names for evil powers and becomes an important part of inter-cultural exchange.

In part, such readings fit with the broad topicality of Satan in the NT as revealed in this study. The coherence of Satanology also corresponds to some extent with the intent of some interpreters to unify African beliefs about evil. Nevertheless, caution is needed. Early Christian

---

<sup>72</sup> E.g. Gatumu (2008); Ezigbo (2010: 215-249); Moses (2012: 301-326); Michael (2013: 92-100). A popular, seemingly mission-oriented publication is Gehman (2005: 185-214).

<sup>73</sup> 'Christology should also engage constructively with Jesus' attitudes toward Satan and demons and the import of his attitudes and conversation with these spirit beings for interacting with a critiquing the African Christians' perceptions of such spirit beings' (Ezigbo 2010: 215).

Satanology seems to have emerged from a wider Jewish tradition of prophecy, eschatology, Scripture, and mythologies of cosmic conflict. There is an experiential aspect to it, but it is also part of narrative, teaching, and literary production. African traditional beliefs do not correspond exactly with NT cosmology and cannot be conflated with it.<sup>74</sup>

### **6.3 Liberation readings**

Satan catches the interest of liberation theologians inasmuch as he can be construed as embodying social injustice. The most prolific interpreter of the NT Satan from a liberation perspective was Wink (1984, 1986, 1992). He identifies the spiritual dimension to power with the driving force that animates visible institutions such as governments, cultures, and economies (Wink 1984: 5). So, Satan links to the system of social domination: the authorities, Rome, and economic exploitation. This liberation approach thus tends to emphasise the 'constructed reality' of evil figures,<sup>75</sup> rather than independent 'supernatural' power.<sup>76</sup> Wink does not exactly demythologise; he sees social pressures as possessing their own form of existence.

Liberation hermeneutics can be seen at work on Satan particularly in Revelation and Mark, where liberation from Satan arguably entails liberation from systematic domination. In Revelation, the dualistic dimension to the plight of believers demonstrates the potential for

---

<sup>74</sup> See especially Michael (2013: 95) in this respect, who warns that under traditional African beliefs spirit beings are often capricious and within a polytheistic framework.

<sup>75</sup> Wink calls this 'real, yet unsubstantial' (1984: 4).

<sup>76</sup> Wright (2011: 118-121) sympathizes with this conceptualization.

reading in light of the dehumanizing, 'diabolical' aspect of social systems.<sup>77</sup> The lurid imagery of supernatural evil here is often viewed as having a social counterpart in the Roman state.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Mark's Gospel sharply contrasts Jesus with his opponents, the authorities and the Jerusalem elite, who tempt him just as Satan did.<sup>79</sup> Jesus in Mark can be understood as a protest figure, a challenger to established power, and a prophet of reversal. He uses the language of supernatural evil to characterise political domination ('legion', 5:9).<sup>80</sup>

What should we make of such readings? On one level, they make a good fit with the language of NT Satanology, weaving it into the message of the NT without dismissing or marginalizing it. Nevertheless, the explanatory power of liberation hermeneutics has limits. Certain ideas seem to be more mechanical (Lk. 22:3; 1 Thess. 2:18) or overtly mythological (2 Cor. 11:14; Jude 9). Satan seems to be the agent for *anything* malevolent, including, but not limited to, social domination.

#### 6.4 Hermeneutical prospects

---

<sup>77</sup> See Rowland and Corner (1989: 135). They also warn of the danger of demonizing one's opponents and losing sight of one's own vulnerability to evil influence (1989: 137).

<sup>78</sup> So, e.g., Harrington (2008: 10-11); Blount (2009: 8-14); Boring (2009: 10); Labahn (2013: 161).

<sup>79</sup> Mk 1:13 cf. 12:15. Rowland and Corner (1989: 103) note that the verb (πειράζω) is used in both cases.

<sup>80</sup> Clearly, these demons are named after a unit of Roman soldiers. Myers identifies the link to Josephus *War* 4.9.1, which mentions an attack on Gerasa by the Romans (1988: 191). There is an implied link between political oppression, violence, and demonic/Satanic power.

Whatever approach is taken, making sense of NT Satanology as a reader will present challenges. Any hermeneutic will necessarily have strong points and blind spots, as the focus of the reader is drawn to certain emphases. Liberation readings have strength in underlining the social implication of Satan language. African readings have strength in explaining the real experiences of those who hold sincere beliefs in the spirit world. Demythologisation has strength in critical reading and challenging the surface meaning of texts. Nevertheless, all approaches can marginalise or distort evidence which clashes with the agenda. In light of the linguistic analysis presented here, it seems that certain parameters can be given to future hermeneutical projects focused on Satan.

Firstly, any interpretation will have to reckon with the breadth of function and language ascribed to the NT Satan, and resist reductionist explanations – e.g. that Satan is *only* a social analogue, a symbol, a ritual problem. Secondly, interpreters must take seriously the narrative and tradition history of Satan material. It is not an accident of history or an alien feature of NT writings. The material comes out of Jewish tradition and develops into something distinctly Christian. For good or for ill, Satan is part of Christianity's cultural and intellectual legacy to the world. Thirdly, interpretation must acknowledge that Satan features in early Christian cosmology, and was thus part of how the world was thought to work. Whether we seek to focus on it, de-emphasise it or (as Bultmann suggested) go 'beyond' it, that way of constructing reality remains a legitimate and important area of study. Finally, interpreters of the NT should recognise how Satanology, like all

beliefs, formed within a social context. It is therefore illuminated by sociological research on early Christian communities.

## **7. Conclusion – progress and prospects**

This study began with a count of NT references to Satan and proceeded to offer a linguistic-statistical analysis of this data. The results are simple and clear: Satan is broadly topical across the NT (featuring in all eleven authorial categories), and quite evenly distributed across works in proportion to word count. The absolute number of instances (135) is high enough to rival other important terms. The diversity of language is impressive both within and across strands of tradition. A linguistic feature that appears frequently but haphazardly, we might say that Satan is an important topic in early Christian discourse, though by no means comparable to God or Christ in this respect. No NT book is *about* Satan, but Satan features in the supporting cast of the soteriological drama.

Analysing the language by type and function also yields a major conclusion for this study: that NT Satanology manifests a developing coherence in early Christian perspectives on the matter. Given the diversity of Jewish perspectives at the time, including significant literary corpora which ignore Satan altogether, the uniformity of NT discourse is striking. The cosmic remit implicitly given to Satan is also broader than the limited accusatory/seductive role that endures in rabbinic Judaism, for example. It is the making of this cross-textual, even canonical claim which sets this current study apart and, perhaps, goes some way to explaining the strong interest that patristic writers took in this figure.

This result in turn enables us to sharpen our historical questions. We can move beyond the assumption that the NT thoughtlessly passes on a 'standard' Jewish doctrine. Given that Satan is an inconsistent theme across Second Temple texts, that assumption seems historically unjustified. Instead, the NT intensifies and consolidates material that was disparate in its Jewish context. The historical problem thus becomes one of identifying how the peculiar emphases of the NT emerged from Judaism, how coherence emerged from a diverse linguistic setting. Various avenues of research could help to answer those questions: historical Jesus studies, tradition history, ritual studies, and social context analysis.

We then, finally, can comprehend how this might affect NT hermeneutics. Some current approaches display distinct strengths and weaknesses, trying to communicate a valuable message from NT Satanology to today's reader. That message could be concerned with the human condition, the response to culture-specific experiences, or political perspectives. Our study may now set parameters for future reading strategies, setting out the need to reckon with the scope, development, impact, and context of Satan beliefs.

The aim of this study was to create a resource and starting-point for future Satan studies, creating a comprehensive list and count that could enable linguistic analysis, and then showing what the analysis basically yields. Even if our analysis is disputed, our hope is that the summation of references and data set will prove useful. Our argument is that taking a view on the *whole* NT language of Satan is important because it allows us to see the distribution across what are the



earliest Christian writings,<sup>81</sup> so that we can talk about general trends in the emerging movement. While it still remains vitally important to see the nuances of Satan concepts in different NT writers, our hope is that this study shows that there is a meaningful development witnessed in these texts: the emergence of a ‘Satanology’ that proved to be a distinctive development in the history of ideas.

## References

Allison, Dale C., Jr.

- 1999 ‘Behind the Temptations of Jesus: Q 4:1-13 and Mark 1:12-13’, in Bruce D. Chilton and Craig A. Evans (eds.), *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus* (New Testament Tools and Studies, 28/2; Leiden: Brill): 195-214.
- 2010 *Constructing Jesus: Memory, Imagination, and History* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic).
- 2013 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of James* (ICC; London: T&T Clark).

Almond, Philip C.

- 2014 *The Devil: A New Biography* (London: I.B. Tauris).

Anderson, Jeff S.

- 2002 *The Internal Diversification of Second Temple Judaism: an Introduction to the Second Temple Period* (Lanham: University Press of America).

Arndt, William F., Danker, Frederick W., and Bauer, Walter

- 2000 *A Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 3rd edn).

Baayen, R. Harald

- 2001 *Word Frequency Distributions* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers).

---

<sup>81</sup> Acknowledging that some non-canonical works (e.g., Didache, GThom) *could* be earlier than some NT works.

- Barker, Margaret  
 2014 *King of the Jews: Temple Theology in John's Gospel* (London: SPCK Publishing).
- Barton, Stephen C.  
 2008 'Johannine Dualism and Contemporary Pluralism', in Richard Bauckham and Carl Mosser (eds.), *The Gospel of John and Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans): 3-18.
- Bauckham, Richard  
 1993 *Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (London: T&T Clark).  
 1998 'The Ascension of Isaiah: Genre, Unity and Date', in *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (NovTSup, 93; Leiden: Brill): 363-390.  
 2014 'Did Papias write history or exegesis?', *JTS* 65: 463-488.  
 2004/2015 *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* (Bloomsbury Academic Collections: Biblical Studies – Early Christianity; London: Bloomsbury Academic).
- Beeman, William O.  
 2008 *'The "Great Satan" vs. the "Mad Mullahs": How the United States and Iran Demonize Each Other* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Bell, Richard H.  
 2007 *Deliver Us from Evil: Interpreting the Redemption from the Power of Satan in New Testament Theology* (WUNT, 216; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Bird, Michael F.  
 2010 'Temptation of Jesus', in Craig A. Evans (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Historical Jesus* (New York: Routledge): 638-640.
- Black, David Alan  
 1995 *Linguistics for Students of New Testament Greek: A Survey of Basic Concepts and Applications* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2nd edn).
- Blount, Brian K.  
 2009 *Revelation: A Commentary* (New Testament Library; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press).

Boccaccini, Gabriele

2002 *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans).

Böcher, Otto

1972 *Das Neue Testament und die dämonischen Mächte* (SBS, 58; Stuttgart: KBW).

Borg, Marcus J.

2005 'The Spirit-Filled Experience of Jesus', in James D.G. Dunn and Scot McKnight (eds.), *The Historical Jesus in Recent Research* (Sources for Biblical and Theological Study, 10; Warsaw: Eisenbrauns): 302-314.

Boring, M. Eugene

1989 *Revelation* (Interpretation; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press).

Boring, M. Eugene and Craddock, Fred B.

2009 *The People's New Testament Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox).

Borlund, Pia and Ingwersen, Peter

1997 'The Development of a Method for the Evaluation of Interactive Information Retrieval Systems', *The Journal of Documentation* 53: 225-250.

Brown, Derek R.

2011a 'The Devil in the Details: A Survey of Research on Satan in Biblical Studies', *Currents in Biblical Research* 9: 200-227.

2011b 'The God of this Age: Satan in the Churches and Letters of the Apostle Paul', PhD dissertation, Edinburgh University.

Bruce, F.F.

1990 *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans).

Bultmann, Rudolf K.

1941/1989 'New Testament and Mythology', in Schubert M. Ogden (ed. and trans.), *New Testament & Mythology, and Other Basic Writings* (Minneapolis: Fortress): 1-44.

Carr, Wesley

- 1981 *Angels and Principalities: the Background, Meaning and Development of the Pauline Phrase hai archai kai hai exousiai* (SNTSMS, 42; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Carus, Paul  
1900 *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil, from the Earliest Times to the Present* (Chicago: Open Court).
- Charlesworth, James H.  
1972 'A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13-4:26 and the "Dualism" Contained in the Gospel of John', in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *John and Qumran* (London: Geoffrey Chapman): 76-106.
- Gledhill, Ruth  
2015 'Sin but no Devil: Church of England Debates its Baptismal Liturgy', *Christianity Today* [WWW]. Available at <http://www.christiantoday.com/article/no.sin.no.devil.church.of.english.debat.es.its.baptismal.liturgy/48013.htm> (Accessed 1st May 2015).
- Clifford, Richard J.  
2013 *Wisdom* (New Collegeville Bible Commentary, 20; Collegeville: Liturgical Press).
- Cosijn, Erica and Ingwersen, Peter  
2000 'Dimensions of relevance', *Information Processing and Management* 36: 533-550.
- Craffert, Pieter F.  
2008 *The Life of a Galilean Shaman: Jesus of Nazareth in Anthropological-Historical Perspective* (The Bible in Mediterranean Context, 3; Eugene: Wipf & Stock).
- Crossan, John Dominic  
1990 *The Historical Jesus: the Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (New York: HarperCollins).
- Dalton, William Joseph  
1989 *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 Peter 3:18-4:6*. (Analecta Biblica, 23; Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico).
- Davies, Philip R.  
2010 'Dualism in the Qumran War Texts', in Géza G. Xeravits (ed.), *Dualism in Qumran* (Library of Second Temple Studies, 76; London: T&T Clark): 8-19.

Dibelius, Martin  
1909 *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Dochhorn, Jan

2007a 'Mit Kain kam der Tod in die Welt: Zur Auslegung von SapSal 2,24 in 1 Clem 3,4; 4,1-7, mit einem Seitenblick auf Polykarp, Phil. 7,1 und Theophilus, Ad Autol. II,29,3-4', *ZNW* 98: 150-159.

2007b 'Paulus und die polyglotte Schriftgelehrsamkeit seiner Zeit. Eine Studie zu den exegetischen Hintergründen von Röm 16,20a', *ZNW* 98: 189-212.

Dochhorn, Jan, Rudnig-Zelt, Susanne and Wold, Benjamin (eds)

forthcoming 2016 *Das Böse, der Teufel und Dämonen* (WUNT II, 412; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).

Dunn, James D.G.

1998 *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark).

Ezigbo, Victor I.

2010 *Reimagining African Christologies: Conversing with the Appropriations and Interpretations of Jesus in Contemporary African Christianity* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series, 132; Eugene: Wipf & Stock).

Fokkelman, Jan P.

2012 *The Book of Job in Form: A Literary Translation with Commentary* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica, 58; Leiden: Brill).

Forsyth, Neil

1987 *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Fröhlich, Ida and Koskeniemi, Erkki (eds.)

2013 *Evil and the Devil* (LNTS, 481; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark).

Gathercole, Simon J.

2003 'Jesus' Eschatological Vision of the Fall of Satan: Luke 10,18 Reconsidered', *ZNW* 94: 143-163.

Gatumu, Kabiro wa

- 2008        *The Pauline Concept of Supernatural Powers: a Reading from the African Worldview* (Paternoster Biblical Monographs; Milton Keynes: Paternoster).
- Gehman, Richard J.  
2005        *African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective* (Nairobi: Easter African Educational Publishers; rev. edn).
- Gokey, Francis X.  
1961        *The Terminology for the Devil and Evil Spirits in the Apostolic Fathers* (Patristic Studies, 93; Washington: The Catholic University of America Press).
- Green, Gene L.  
2008        *Jude & 2 Peter* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic).
- Gregory, Andrew  
2003        *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century* (WUNT II, 169; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Harrington, Wilfrid J.  
2008        *Revelation* (Sacra Pagina, 16; Collegeville: Liturgical Press).
- Heger, Paul  
2010        'Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings', in Géza G. Xeravits (ed.), *Dualism in Qumran* (Library of Second Temple Studies, 76; London: T&T Clark): 39-101.
- Holmes, Michael W.  
2007        *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* (Grand Rapids: Baker).
- Hultgren, Stephen  
2007        *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Studies on the Texts of the Deserts of Judah, 66; Leiden: Brill).
- Hultin, Jeremy F.  
2014        'The Literary Relationships among 1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude', in Eric F. Mason and Troy W. Martin (eds.), *Reading 1-2 Peter and Jude: A Resource for Students* (SBL Resources for Biblical Study, 77; Sheffield: Society of Biblical Literature): 27-46.

Jobes, Karen H.

2014 *1, 2, and 3 John* (Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Zondervan).

Katz, Slava M.

1996 'Distribution of content words and phrases in text and language modelling', *Natural Language Engineering* 2: 15-59.

Keith, Chris and Le Donne, Anthony (eds.)

2012 *Jesus, Criteria, and the Demise of Authenticity* (London: T&T Clark).

Kelly, Henry Ansgar

1968 *Towards the Death of Satan: the Growth and Decline of Christian Demonology* (London: Geoffrey Chapman).

2006 *Satan: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Kloppenborg, John S.

2000 *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark).

2012 'Memory, Performance, and the Sayings of Jesus', *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 10: 97-132.

Knibb, M.A.

1983/2011 'Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah', *OTP*: II, 143-176.

Knight, Jonathan

1996 *Disciples of the Beloved One: The Christology, Social Setting and Theological Context of the Ascension of Isaiah* (JSPSup, 18; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

2003 'The Portrait of Mary in the Ascension of Isaiah', in F. Stanley Jones (ed.), *Which Mary? The Marys of Early Christian Tradition*. (SBL Symposium series, 19; Leiden: Brill): 91-106.

2015 'The Christology of the Ascension of Isaiah: Docetic or Polymorphic?', in Jonathan Knight and Kevin Sullivan (eds.), *The Open Mind: Essays in Honour of Christopher Rowland* (LNTS, 522; London: Bloomsbury): 144-164.

- Kovacs, Judith L.  
1995 "‘Now Shall the Ruler of This World Be Drive Out’": Jesus’ Death as Cosmic Battle in John 12:20-36’, *JBL* 114: 227-247.
- Labahn, Michael  
2013 ‘The Dangerous Loser: The Narrative and Rhetorical Function of the Devil as Character in the Book of Revelation’, in Ida Fröhlich and Erkki Koskenniemi (eds.), *Evil and the Devil* (LNTS, 481; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark): 156-179.
- Levison, John R.  
1988 *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSup, 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Lieu, Judith  
1991 *The Theology of the Johannine Epistles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Ling, Trevor  
1961 *The Significance of Satan: New Testament Demonology and its Contemporary Relevance*. London: SPCK.
- Lochman, Jan Milič  
1990 *The Lord’s Prayer* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans).
- Löfstedt, Torsten  
2010 ‘Paul, Sin and Satan: The Root of Evil according to Romans’, *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 75: 109-134.
- Massaux, Edouard  
1950/1993 *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus: The later Christian writings* (trans. Norman J. Belval and Suzanne Hecht; New Gospel Studies, 5/2; Macon: Mercer University Press).
- Michael, Matthew  
2013 *Christian Theology and African Traditions* (Cambridge: Lutterworth).
- Moses, Robert Ewusie  
2012 ‘Powerful Practices: Paul’s Principalities and Powers Revisited’, PhD dissertation, Duke University.
- Myers, Ched



- 1988        *Binding the Strong Man: a Political Reading of Mark's Story of Jesus*  
(Maryknoll: Orbis Books).
- Noack, Bent  
1948        *Satanas und Soteria: Untersuchungen zur neutestamentlichen Dämonologie*  
(Copenhagen: Gads).
- Pagels, Elaine  
1996        *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Vintage Books).
- Petersen, David L.  
1984        *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8: A Commentary* (Old Testament Library;  
Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press).
- Powell, Mark Allan  
1998        *Fortress Introduction to the Gospels* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- Reeg, Gottfried  
2013        'The devil in rabbinic literature', in Ida Fröhlich and Erkki Koskenniemi (eds.),  
*Evil and the Devil* (LNTS, 481; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark): 71-83.
- Robinson, James M., Hoffmann, Paul, and Kloppenborg, John S.  
2000        *The Critical Edition of Q* (Minneapolis: Fortress).
- Rowland, Christopher and Corner, Mark  
1989        *Liberating Exegesis: The Challenge of Liberation Theology to Biblical Studies*  
(Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press).
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton  
1977        *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca:  
Cornell University Press).
- 1981        *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- Sacchi, Paolo  
1990        *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History* (JSPSup, 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic  
Press).
- 2004        *The History of the Second Temple Period* (London: T&T Clark International).
- Schreiber, Stefan

- 2007 'The Great Opponent: The Devil in Early Jewish and Formative Christian Literature', in Friedrich V. Reiterer et al (eds.), *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings: Origins, Development and Reception* (Berlin: de Gruyter): 437-457.
- Shanks, Monte A.  
2013 *Papias and the New Testament* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock).
- Smith, Morton  
1978 *Jesus the Magician* (London: Victor Gollancz).
- Stanford, Peter  
1996 *The Devil: a Biography* (London: William Heinemann).
- Stokes, Ryan E.  
2014 'Satan, Yhwh's Executioner', *JBL* 133: 251-270.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T.  
2004 'The Holy Spirit in the Ascension of Isaiah', in Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker, and Stephen C. Barton (eds.), *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D.G. Dunn* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans): 308-320.
- 2011 "'Protect them from the Evil One" (John 17:15): Light from the Dead Sea Scrolls', in Mary L. Coloe and Tom Thatcher (eds.), *John, Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate* (SBL: early Judaism and its literature, 32; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature): 139-160.
- 2013 'The Demonic World of the Dead Sea Scrolls', in Ida Fröhlich and Erkki Koskenniemi (eds.), *Evil and the Devil* (LNTS, 481; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark): 51-70.
- Theissen, Gerd  
2011 'Monotheismus und Teufelsglaube: Entstehung und Psychologie des biblischen Satansmythos', in Nienke Vos & Willemien Otten (eds.), *Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity* (Leiden: Brill): 37-79.
- Twelftree, Graham H.  
1993 *Jesus the Exorcist: A Contribution to the Study of the Historical Jesus* (WUNT II, 54; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).

- Van Kuppevelt, Jan  
1995 'Discourse Structure, Topicality and Questioning', *Journal of Linguistics* 31: 109-147.
- Wanamaker, Charles A.  
1990 *The Epistles to the Thessalonians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans).
- White, Ellen  
2014 *Yahweh's Council: Its Structure and Membership* (FAT II, 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Williams, Guy J.  
2009 *The Spirit World in the Letters of Paul the Apostle: A Critical Examination of the Role of Spiritual Beings in the Authentic Pauline Epistles* (FRLANT, 231; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Wink, Walter  
1984 *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- 1986 *Unmasking the Powers: The Invisible Forces that Determine Human Existence* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- 1992 *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a World of Domination* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- Witmer, Amanda  
2012 *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist: his Exorcisms in Social and Political Context* (LNTS, 459; London: T&T Clark).
- Wright, N.T.  
2011 *Simply Jesus: Who he was, what he did, why it matters*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Yarbro Collins, Adela  
1980 'The Function of Excommunication in Paul', *Harvard Theological Review* 73: 251-263.
- Zurawski, Jason M.  
2012 'Separating the Devil from the Diabolos: A Fresh Reading of Wisdom of

Solomon 2.24', *JSP* 21: 366-399.