

Cambridge University Press
0521843391 - Satan: A Biography
Henry Ansgar Kelly
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Satan

Christians traditionally think of Satan as Lucifer, God's enemy, who rebelled against Him out of pride and then caused Adam and Eve to sin. But, as Henry Ansgar Kelly shows, this portrayal is not Biblical but a scenario invented by the early Fathers of the Church which became the "New Biography of Satan." The "Original Biography" must be reconstructed from the New Testament where Satan is the same sort of celestial functionary we see in the Book of Job – appointed to govern the World, specifically to monitor and test Human Beings. But he is brutal and deceitful in his methods, and Jesus predicts that his rule will soon come to an end.

Kelly traces the further developments of the "New Biography": Humankind's inherited guilt, captivity by Satan, and punishment in Hell at his hands. This profile of Satan remains dominant, but Kelly urges a return to the "Original Biography of Satan."

HENRY ANSGAR KELLY is Emerit Distinguished Professor in the Department of English at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). His books include *The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft* (1968, 1974, 2004) and *The Devil at Baptism* (1985, 2004). He is the former Director of UCLA's Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies and the current Editor of the Center's journal, *Viator*.

Cambridge University Press
0521843391 - Satan: A Biography
Henry Ansgar Kelly
Frontmatter
[More information](#)



The Fall of Satan as Lucifer. Detail (inverted) of Illustration 7, "The Fall of the Angels," by the Limbourg Brothers, from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, Musée Condé, Chantilly, France. Reproduced by permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

Cambridge University Press
0521843391 - Satan: A Biography
Henry Ansgar Kelly
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Satan

A Biography

HENRY ANSGAR KELLY



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
0521843391 - Satan: A Biography
Henry Ansgar Kelly
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521604024

© Henry Ansgar Kelly 2006

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2006

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN-13 978-0-521-84339-3 hardback
ISBN-10 0-521-84339-1 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-60402-4 paperback
ISBN-10 0-521-60402-8 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

List of illustrations	<i>page</i> ix
List of abbreviations	xi
Introduction	1
Part I Hebrew backgrounds	
1 The Old Testament	13
1.1 The first supernatural satan in the Hebrew Bible: the Angel of Yahweh and a talking ass	13
1.2 A Son of Elohim as a satan: the spy and tester of the Book of Job	21
1.3 A celestial satan as accuser: the trial of Joshua the High Priest in the Book of Zechariah	23
1.4 Revisions and translations: Satan and satans, DEVIL and devils	28
2 Apocryphal works and the Dead Sea Scrolls	32
2.1 Sins of Humans, sins of Angels: Genesis 1–11 and the <i>Book of Enoch</i>	32
2.2 Mastema/Satan and the Giant-Ghosts as punishers: <i>The Book of Jubilees</i>	35
2.3 Dueling dualisms at the Dead Sea: Belial, the Principle of Darkness, Lady Folly – but no Satan!	41
Part II The New Testament: Satan comes into his own	
3 St. Paul, the first Christian writer	53

vi CONTENTS

3.1	Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians: Satan as tester and punisher – and rehabilitator	53
3.2	2 Corinthians, Romans: Pseudo-Angel-of-Light, due for a crushing	59
3.3	Other sinister figures: Beliar, the God of this World, the Elements, the Powers	64
3.4	St. Paul and the Wisdom of Solomon: on Adam, Eve, the Serpent, and the arrival of Death	69
4	The four Gospels	80
4.1	Satan in Mark, the earliest Gospel: testing and obstructing Jesus	80
4.2	Satan and Jesus in dialogue: Matthew's three-act drama of temptation	84
4.3	Luke's two books (Third Gospel and Acts): Satan in charge, and his predicted fall "like lightning"	93
4.4	Satan according to John: homicidal liar, and Archon of this Cosmos	107
5	Later Epistles	114
5.1	Pseudo-Paul 1: 1–2 Timothy, 2 Thessalonians: Satan and/or DEVIL	114
5.2	Pseudo-Paul 2: Colossians and Ephesians: the Heavenly Powers and DEVIL	120
5.3	The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of Jude: DEVIL as the Angel of Death – who deserves respect	125
5.4	Excursus: the non-Diabolical fall of the Angels in Jude and 2 Peter	131
5.5	Ecumenical Epistles: 1 Peter and James: DEVIL as lion, DEVIL as coward	134
6	The Apocalypse of John the Divine	141
6.1	Satan and the Angels of the Seven Churches	141
6.2	Dragon-Satan-DEVIL and his predicted ouster from Heaven	147

6.3	Another John, another world-view: DEVIL and anti-Christ in the Epistles of John the Presbyter	159
6.4	Excursus: Jesus as the good Lucifer in Revelation and 2 Peter	164
7	Putting the New Testament together: a composite portrait of Satan in canonical order	168
7.1	Gospels and Acts	168
7.2	The Pauline Epistles	169
7.3	The other Epistles and Revelation	171
Part III Satan and Adam		
8	Satan's original sin: felling Adam	175
8.1	The early post-Biblical explanation: Satan fell because of Adam, Adam fell because of Satan	175
8.2	Satan's jealousy in the <i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>	182
8.3	The history of Iblis in the Koran	184
Part IV The rise of the fallen Lucifer		
9	Lucifer and the New Biography of Satan	191
9.1	Satan as the rebel Lucifer, well before Adam: the hijacking of Isaiah 14 by Origen of Alexandria	191
9.2	The slanderous New Biography of Satan: re-reading the Bible with Lucifer as God's enemy	199
9.3	Satan and his Angels as Pagan Gods: renouncing the Devil and his pomps	208
10	Satan and the Human Race	215
10.1	Mankind enslaved by Satan – and redeemed (<i>purchased back!</i>) by Christ	215
10.2	Satan and the Saints: straight man, fall guy, persistent meddler, bungling loser	218
10.3	Satan's last assignment: Superintendent of Hell and punisher – right now! – of damned souls	229

viii CONTENTS

11	Theorizing Satan	242
11.1	Satan as a Pure Spirit: the synthesis of Thomas Aquinas	242
11.2	Satan and the Magical Malefactors: Sorcery Diabolized	249
12	Satan in literature and art	265
12.1	Literary and dramatic presentations of Satan: Dante, Milton, <i>et ceteri</i>	265
12.2	Satan in the visual arts: scary and suave	277
Part V Satan in the modern world		
13	Temptation and possession	299
13.1	Satan as ever-present invisible Tempter: "The Devil made me do it!"	299
13.2	Pathetic marvels: the phenomena of Diabolical possession	303
14	Doubts and affirmations	308
14.1	Satan contextualized and demythified: the Reformed Reformer Friedrich Schleiermacher takes a hard look at the Bible	308
14.2	The many lives of Satan today	315
	Summary and conclusion	323
	<i>Index of passages</i>	329
	<i>General index</i>	336

Illustrations

- Frontispiece: The Fall of Satan as Lucifer. Detail (inverted) of Illustration 7, "The Fall of the Angels," by the Limbourg Brothers, from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*
- 1 Nuremberg Bible (Biblia Sacra Germanica 1483): "The Angel of the Lord opposes Balaam and his jenny" (in Hebrew: "as a satan"). page 278
 - 2a "Satan smiting Job with sore boils" (1825), from *Illustrations to "The Book of Job"* by William Blake. 279
 - 2b "Satan smiting Job with sore boils" (ca. 1826), William Blake. 280
 - 3 "The Angel of the Lord against Balaam," from *The Holy Bible* (1866), illustrated by Gustave Doré. 281
 - 4 "Satan's third temptation of Jesus (Matthew 4.8–9)," from *The Holy Bible* (1866), illustrated by Gustave Doré. 282
 - 5 "Apocalypse" (1498), Albrecht Dürer. 283
 - 6 "Abaddon, King of the Locusts" (Rev. 9.11), identified as Satan, from *Apocalypse of Saint-Sever* (ca. 1050) 284
 - 7 "The Fall of the Angels," Limbourg Brothers, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (ca. 1415), fo. 64v. 286
 - 8 "The Devil in Hell," Limbourg Brothers, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (ca. 1415), fo. 108r. 288
 - 9 "The Fall of Eve and Adam, with Satan as womanized Serpent," Limbourg Brothers, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (ca. 1415), fo. 25v. 289

X LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 10 | “Michael fights the Dragon (Rev. 12.7),” Limbourg Brothers, <i>Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry</i> (ca. 1415), fo. 195r. | 290 |
| 11 | “The Last Judgment, with Hell-Mouth,” Limbourg Brothers, <i>Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry</i> (ca. 1415), fo. 34r. | 291 |
| 12 | “The Gates of Hell,” Jean Colombe, <i>Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry</i> (ca. 1485), fo. 103v. | 292 |
| 13 | “Purgatory,” Jean Colombe, <i>Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry</i> (ca. 1485), fo. 113v. | 293 |
| 14 | “The Grateful Dead,” Jean Colombe, <i>Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry</i> (ca. 1485), fo. 90v. | 294 |

Abbreviations

- AB Anchor Bible series of commentaries and monographs
- ANF *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 10 vols. (New York: Scribners, 1908–13; repr. Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1971–86). Most of these texts are online; for an overview and partial texts, see <http://www.searchgodsword.org/his/ad/ecf/ant>. For complete texts, search for other sites
- ANT *The Apocryphal New Testament*, ed. J. K. Elliott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, rev. 1999)
- DR The Douai-Reims Bible, translated into English from the Latin Vulgate: the New Testament printed at Douai in 1582 and the Old Testament at Reims in 1609; reprinted by The Scholar Press (London, 1975) in the series, *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, vols. 265–67
- D.H. Deuteronomistic Historian. See **chap. 1.1**
- GL *The Golden Legend* by James of Varazze (Jácobus de Voragine, ca. 1260), tr. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), cited by chapter number
- HB Hebrew Bible. See *The Interlinear NIV Hebrew-English Old Testament*, ed. John R. Kohlenberger III (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 1987)
- KJV The King James Version of the Bible (1611)
- LCL Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press)
- LVB Latin Vulgate Bible, translated by St. Jerome (d. 420) and others
- LXX The Septuagint (translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek by the Jews of Alexandria and elsewhere, mainly between

xii LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- the third and first century BC; includes the Book of Wisdom [Wisdom of Solomon], dated between 50 BC and AD 50). For an English translation, see *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*, ed. Lancelot C. L. Brenton (London 1851, repr. Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 1986, 2003)
- NJB* *The New Jerusalem Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1985)
- NPNF 1, NPNF 2* *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, series 1, 14 vols. (New York: Scribners, 1891–1909; repr. Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1983); series 2, 14 vols. (New York: Christian Literature, 1890–1900; repr. Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1986–89). For an overview and first parts of texts, see <http://www.searchgodsword.org/his/ad/ecf/nic> and <http://www.searchgodsword.org/his/ad/ecf/pos>. Search other online sites for complete texts of works of individual authors
- NRSV* New Revised Standard Version of the Bible in English
- NTA* *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, tr. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1991)
- OAB* *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books: An Ecumenical Study Bible*, 3rd edn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): uses the NRSV
- OTP 1, OTP 2* *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983–85), vols. 1 and 2
- PG* *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne

- PL Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne
PL John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667)
Q Qumran: site of the Dead Sea Scrolls. See **chap. 2.3**
Q Hypothetical common source for the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. See **chap. 4.1**