

Satan in Lukan Narrative and Theology:  
Human Agency in the Conflict between  
the Authority of Satan and the Power of God

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Graduate Program in Religion in the Graduate School  
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ABSTRACT

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## Abstract

Although Satan has a prominence in Luke greater than any other canonical gospel, his role has been largely unappreciated and neglected by scholars. Understanding the character of Satan is key to grasping Luke's narrative and theology, and provides a window into understanding Luke's apocalypticism and conception of human agency. This dissertation explores Satan's role in the Gospel of Luke and Acts of the Apostles using redaction and narrative criticism and situating Luke in the context of Second Temple apocalypticism and its developing conception of Satan. In constructing his narrative, Luke gives prominence to Satan as Jesus's primary antagonist and the source of the plot's conflict. At the start of Luke's Gospel, Satan holds authority in the world, afflicting humans with bondage, which Jesus destroys and displaces with the kingdom of God. After Jesus's initial confrontation with Satan in the temptation narrative, which Luke constructs as the first event of Jesus's adult life, he engages an offensive against Satan through exorcisms and healings. Jesus enlists his followers in the conflict with Satan by bestowing his power upon them, and ties the preaching of the gospel to the arrival of the kingdom of God, which entails the displacement of satanic authority. Luke's most distinctive contribution is to introduce Satan into the passion narrative. Satan enters into Judas to initiate the passion, and Judas's destruction by a gruesome death indicates the power of God triumphing over him as Satan's agent. Luke depicts Peter's denials as a sifting by Satan, from which he returns through the prayer of Jesus to strengthen the church in Acts. Luke shows Paul as the enemy of God persecuting the church, converted by God's power to exercise power over the devil in his ministry. In a statement that is programmatic not only for Paul but for the whole church and indeed Luke's entire narrative, Paul says that he was given the mission by Jesus to turn people "from darkness to light, from the authority of Satan to God" (Acts 28:18).

Understanding Luke's use of Satan reveals that he is a thoroughly apocalyptic writer, though not writing in the form and language of a literary apocalypse, containing both cosmological and forensic forms of apocalyptic eschatology. As seen in the story of Judas, Luke views humans as moral agents responsible for turning either to God or Satan in the apocalyptic conflict underlying his narrative, while at the same time subject to both divine and satanic influence. To describe Luke's view of moral agency, one taxonomy would characterize it as "externally impaired, but the impairment can be overcome." However, Kathryn Tanner's critique of modern forms of theological discourse that place divine and human agency in a competitive relationship exposes an intrinsic difficulty in such a taxonomy. Luke does not see human agency or responsibility decreasing because of divine or satanic influence, and in fact human agency is increased as divine power increases. Humans bear responsibility for aligning with Satan's power, but since Satan is a creature, his agency is in competition with human agency, and collusion with him leads to personal destruction. The influence of Satan does not mitigate human responsibility for aligning with him, but compounds it.

*To my brothers,  
thank you for your love and friendship*

A. M. D. G.

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## List of Abbreviations

AB: Anchor Bible

*ABD: Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday 1992.

ABRL: Anchor Bible Reference Library

ACCS: Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture

AnBib: *Analecta biblica*

*ANQ: Andover Newton Quarterly*

*APOT: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.* Edited by Robert H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.

AUS: American University Studies

AYBRL: Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library

BDAG: Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the new Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000

BECNT: Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament

BETL: *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium*

*Bib: Biblica*

CBQ: *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*

*CBR: Currents in Biblical Research*

*EDNT: Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider. ET. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990–1993

*ETL: Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*

*EstBib: Estudios Bíblicos*

*ExpTim: Expository Times*

FB: Forschung Zur Bibel

FF: Foundations and Facets

FRLANT: Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments

HALOT: *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E.J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999

*HBT: Horizons in Biblical Theology*

*Hen: Henoch*

HSM: Harvard Semitic Monographs

HthKNT: Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament

*HTR: Harvard Theological Review*

ICC: International Critical Commentary

*Int: Interpretation*

*JBL: Journal of Biblical Literature*

*JSNT: Journal for the Study of the New Testament*

JSNTSup: Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series

*JSOT: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*

JSPSup: Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series

*JTS: Journal of Theological Studies*

LCL: Loeb Classical Library

LD: Lectio divina

LEH: Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, eds. *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003

LNTS: Library of New Testament Studies

LSJ: Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9<sup>th</sup> ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996

NA<sup>28</sup>: *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Nestle-Aland, 28th ed.

NABR: New American Bible, Revised Edition

NETS: *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007

NICNT: New International Commentary on the New Testament

NICOT: New International Commentary of the Old Testament

NJPS: *Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text*

NMHS: Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies

*NovT: Novum Testamentum*

NovTSup: Supplements to Novum Testamentum

NTL: New Testament Library

NTMon: New Testament Monographs

*NTS: New Testament Studies*

ÖBS: Österreichische biblische Studien

OBT: Overtures to Biblical Theology

OTL: Old Testament Library

*OTP: Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985.

PBM: Paternoster Biblical Monographs

QD: Quaestiones Disputatae

*RevQ: Revue de Qumran*

RNT: Regensburger Neues Testament

SBL: Society of Biblical Literature

SBLDS: Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series

SBLMS: Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series

SBT: Studies in Biblical Theology

SNTSMS: Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series

SP: Sacra Pagina

SPIB: Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici

StBibLit: Studies in Biblical Literature (Lang)

SVÅ: Svensk exegetisk årsbok

*TDNT: Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by Gerhard Kittel and

Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids:

Eerdmans, 1964–1976

*TynBul: Tyndale Bulletin*

*TZ: Theologische Zeitschrift*

UBS<sup>5</sup>: *The Greek New Testament*, United Bible Societies, 5th ed.

WBC: World Biblical Commentary

WUNT: Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

*ZNW: Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren*

*Kirche*

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And finally, all that I am and all that I have comes from the Lord, who has never let me down.

## Introduction

Satan is a more important character in Luke's Gospel than in any of the other canonical gospels, a fact that has been widely overlooked by scholars of his writings. Luke is the first evangelist to attribute a role to Satan in the passion (Luke 22:3, 31), but that is only the most obvious example of the role he plays in Luke's writing. Luke also speaks of Satan's sifting of the apostles (22:31), his fall from heaven like lightning (10:18), his possession of authority in the world (4:6), his intent that people not believe and be saved (8:12), and his ability to "bind" the children of Abraham (13:16). While Satan is less visible in the plot of Acts, Luke there speaks of the devil oppressing people (Acts 10:38), Satan's entry into human hearts to provoke evil (5:3), and the devil opposing the spread of the gospel (13:8–10). In a framing statement near the end of Acts, Paul recounts the mission given to him by Christ, which encapsulates not only Paul's ministry, but the mission of the entire church in continuity with Jesus's own ministry: "to turn people from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God" (26:18).<sup>1</sup> Satan is fundamental to Luke's narrative and his theology, more so than the other gospel writers who say less about him and Jesus's program to displace his power.

Luke assumes an apocalyptic worldview in his writing, not displaying it loudly, but building upon it subtly. The world which begins his narrative is one in which Satan has authority, symbolized by darkness, and manifested in the affliction of people through illness and possession. Working with his source material, he modifies the narrative to craft a story with the underlying and overarching plot of conflict between God and Satan, in which Satan is the chief opponent and antagonist to Jesus. Jesus brings the kingdom of

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, biblical translations are from the Revised Standard Version.

God, which entails the destruction of Satan's kingdom and the authority he holds in the world. Jesus's first conflict is with Satan in the desert, and the final conflict is with Satan in the passion, which is his "hour and the power of darkness." Thus far we have spoken only of distinctive Lukan contributions to the narrative of his Gospel and Acts, but these features highlight and put into new relief the important elements pertaining to Satan that he retains while editing them to fit into this overall structure: the various stories of exorcism (especially 4:31–37 and 8:26–39), the healing of Peter's mother-in-law (4:38–39), the Beelzebul controversy (11:14–20), and the parable of the strong man (11:21–23). The story that Luke crafts depends heavily on this character who embodies and directs the powers of evil in the world, and Luke's theology is built upon the role he plays in maliciously opposing God's action, oppressing God's people, and being ultimately defeated by God's superior power.

In light of this cursory and preliminary presentation of the importance of Satan in Luke, it is curious that it has received scant attention from scholars, and never been the subject of a complete and focused study. As a general rule, scholars of Satan tend to give little attention to Luke, and scholars of Luke tend to give little attention to Satan. This is at least in part because of a scholarly perception that Luke is uninterested in apocalyptic themes, downplaying them in light of the delayed parousia and replacing them with a view of salvation history that emphasizes the ongoing life of the church. Understanding the importance that Satan plays in Luke's narrative can thus provide a window into his unappreciated apocalypticism, that might not be expressed in the lurid imagery of the genre of apocalypses, but has the same worldview underlying it. In fact, Second Temple apocalypticism and Satan's role within it are part of Luke's encyclopedia of knowledge, and his conception of Satan can only be understood within it. Luke presupposes a world in cosmological conflict between God and Satan, in which Satan holds power but is going to be defeated by God who will vindicate the righteous. Dualism is not quite the right

word for it, for these are not two equal powers in conflict, but a conflict between a greater power and a lesser whose defeat is assured. Luke builds upon the world of apocalypticism to tell the story of how that conflict enters into a new phase through Jesus, who brings the kingdom of God that destroys Satan's authority in the world. Satan is no longer in the ascendancy, but God is. That is indeed a new stage in salvation history, but one that fits into apocalyptic expectations and tells the story of how they are realized in Jesus's victory over Satan.

A key theological question within apocalypticism is the relationship between satanic influence and human responsibility: as satanic influence rises, human agency and thus responsibility would seem to decrease, and vice versa. For Luke, there is an ethical dimension to apocalypticism, where each person must align with either God or Satan in the cosmic conflict, and God and Satan contend for human hearts. Each person bears responsibility to turn to God or Satan. When a human turns away from God and acts in concert with Satan, his responsibility is not diminished but enhanced, his evil deeds compounded by having been done in alliance with God's malicious opponent. Judas acts to betray Jesus after Satan enters his heart, but he is still condemned for his deed and destroyed. There is a key difference between turning to God or to Satan: in God, a person's agency is enhanced, but in Satan, it is ultimately destroyed. Luke's understanding of Satan provides a window into his understanding of moral agency that deserves theological reflection.

The scope of this dissertation, originally conceived as a fairly narrow and focused study, has turned out to be a vast task, for understanding the role that Satan plays in Luke requires understanding his entire narrative, and Satan shows up even more often than an initial perusal indicates. The first chapter will review the literature on Satan in Luke, and document and account for the surprising lack of attention this topic has received. In order to understand how Luke fits into and assumes apocalyptic ideas, we will attempt to define

and understand just what is meant by apocalypticism. Then, we will look at the development of ideas about Satan from the Old Testament into the Second Temple period in order to see what kind of ideas about Satan Luke is working with. The second chapter will look at how Luke constructs his narrative to make Satan Jesus's primary antagonist and the main source of conflict in the plot. The first confrontation occurs in the desert, when Jesus defeats Satan in the temptations, which Luke constructs as the first event of Jesus's adult life, and shows that his power is greater than Satan's authority. A third chapter will examine how the conflict continues in Jesus's public ministry as he carries out a mission of defeating Satan, releasing people from the bondage of possession and illness. Luke explains this through Jesus's teaching on Satan's fall and the Beelzebul controversy among other places. A fourth chapter will examine the character of Judas, whom Luke characterizes as a traitor who becomes an agent of Satan and thus receives divine punishment. Luke's introduction of Satan into his rewritten account of the passion is one of the key points of his distinctive narrative. The fifth chapter will consider the apostles as a whole, and in particular Peter and Paul, who engage in Jesus's conflict with Satan, being given power to defeat him, but also being attacked by him in the passion. Luke also introduces Satan into the passion by using him to account for Peter's denials, though he is defended by the prayer of Jesus that leads to his repentance. Paul's mission is described as turning hearts from the power of Satan to God, one that his own life embodied, as he went from implicitly doing the work of Satan by opposing God's plan in the church to proclaiming the gospel and being recognized as an agent of God with power over the forces of Satan. A final chapter will place Luke's view of Satan and human agency in the context of categories of apocalypticism and human agency proposed by Martinus de Boer and Carol Newsom, using the theological work of Kathryn Tanner as a way to think about its implications theologically.

To see the argument being made here about Satan in Luke requires looking at many passages across his work. It does not allow for complete analysis of any particular passage, but only what is necessary to see how it fits into what Luke is doing in his narrative. It is an argument that is cumulative, and depends on all the evidence being presented, some of which is weightier than the rest. There is no single, decisive passage that shows completely the significance of Satan for Luke. But taken as a whole, these direct references to Satan and subtle gestures, creative Lukan additions and original adaptations of shared material, generate the unmistakable conclusion: Luke has done more with Satan than any of the other canonical gospels.

# 1. Background

A mere accounting shows the importance of Satan in Luke's writings relative to the other gospels.<sup>1</sup> But the place where Luke says something is more important than the number of times, and Satan appears at crucial points in the narrative, at the beginning of Jesus' adult life, at the passion which is the central event of his two-volume work, and near the end to describe the task of evangelization. This rather plain fact raises the question of why so few scholars have focused attention on the role of Satan in Luke. Susan Garrett, one of the few who has in the course of her writing on magic in Luke, suggests that scholars either do not believe in Satan, and so find it an awkward topic to study, or they do, and so have a spiritual reticence to devote time to Satan.<sup>2</sup> Whatever truth there might be in such a psychological explanation, the enduring influence of Hans Conzelmann and Ernst Käsemann is probably more consequential. They argued that Satan was unimportant to Luke, part of an apocalyptic eschatology that he jettisoned in favor of his view of salvation history and the enduring life of the church.<sup>3</sup> The first part of this study will therefore be to review the history of scholarship on Satan in Luke.

In order to understand the place of Satan in Luke's writings, it is necessary to place it in the context of Second Temple apocalypticism and the development of the figure of Satan in that period. Getting the right encyclopedia of knowledge<sup>4</sup> with which

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<sup>1</sup> Luke uses the words σατανᾶς or διάβολος ten times in his Gospel and four more in Acts, to Matthew's nine, Mark's five, and John's four. The book of Revelation uses the two words a total of ten times as well.

<sup>2</sup> Susan R. Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 1–2.

<sup>3</sup> The argument is central to Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), but see especially 121–122. Ernst Käsemann, "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, vol. 41, SBT (London: SCM, 1964), 28.

<sup>4</sup> The concept comes from Umberto Eco's writings on semiotics. The most succinct and serviceable definition comes from Stefan Alkier: "The encyclopedia is the cultural framework in which the text is situated and from which the gaps of the text are filled" (Stefan Alkier, "Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts," in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, ed.

Luke operates is essential to understanding what he assumes his readers know and to fill in the gaps in what he expresses. In the Second Temple period, there is notable development in the notions of Satan that corresponds to the development of Jewish apocalypticism. Apocalyptic literature understands the world in terms of conflict between good and evil, between God and Satan, and looks for the superior power of God to defeat Satan and so deliver people from the suffering he causes. There is a long arc of development of the character of Satan. In the Old Testament, Satan is a minor character, seen only in a few places and construed mostly as an ornery member of the divine court, but not the opponent of God. Second Temple texts, leading into Qumran, develop that figure into a malicious opponent of God, the chief of evil forces that are in conflict with God and oppress the righteous, but who is destined to be defeated by God. This view of Satan is assumed and incorporated into the writings of the New Testament, including Luke, where Satan attacks Jesus at the very beginning of his public life, instigates the passion, and attacks the church after the resurrection.

This chapter will review the literature about Satan and his characterization in Luke, documenting and accounting for the notable lack of attention to this subject that makes this study necessary. The methodology to be used, primarily narrative criticism, will be explained, along with presuppositions about the sources available to Luke. Then, in order to better understand the cultural encyclopedia that Luke is using, we will attempt to describe and define apocalypticism, and trace the development of Satan from the Old Testament into the New Testament period.

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Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy A. Huizenga [Waco, TX: Baylor, 2009], 8. See also Stefan Alkier, *Wunder und Wirklichkeit in den Briefen des Apostels Paulus: ein Beitrag zu einem Wunderverständnis jenseits von Entmythologisierung und Rehistorisierung*, WUNT 134 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001], 72–74; Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics*, *Advances in Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 98–129; and Umberto Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*, *Advances in Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 46–86.

## 1.1. *Status Quaestionis*

Despite the distinctive place Luke gives to Satan in his narrative and theology, scholars have neglected to study his view of Satan in any systematic way. Early historical critics generally dismissed Satan as a pre-critical mythological element to be removed in order to salvage the deeper meaning of the text. Conzelmann influenced a generation of scholars by denying the significance of Satan for Luke, arguing that Luke removes apocalyptic themes in favor of his conception of salvation history.<sup>5</sup> More recently, large-scale treatments of Satan that trace the development of ideas about him usually pay only cursory attention to Luke. Lukan scholars often recognize the importance that Satan plays for Luke, but a focused and detailed study of Satan in the Lukan writings has yet to be attempted. The most significant work on Satan in Luke is Susan Garrett's *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings*, which devotes a chapter to Satan in a monograph that is otherwise about the magical in Luke's writings.<sup>6</sup> While her analysis of Satan's role in Luke is perceptive and accurate, Satan is not her focus but only ancillary to the subject of magic. She does not, for example, explore Satan's role in Luke's passion narrative, which is a critical episode for understanding the role of Satan in the Gospel. While Garrett is correct in much of what she concludes about Luke's understanding of Satan, this dissertation will focus directly on Satan, expanding the range of texts considered, and moving the discussion toward questions of human agency rather than magic. A review of the literature about Satan and Luke will demonstrate the need for a full-scale focused study of Satan in the Lukan writings.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> With regard to Satan, see *Theology of St. Luke*, 16, 28, 170. Luke's downplaying of apocalyptic themes is central to his argument. See especially *Theology of St. Luke*, 131–32.

<sup>6</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Branden has done such a study for Satan in Matthew that reaches similar conclusions for the importance of Satan there. At the end of this monograph, he states, "As it stands, this work on Matthew could apply, to a large extent, equally to Mark, Luke, and even John. This is so because the bottom line conflict in all the gospels appears to me to be satanic" (Robert Charles Branden,

The early modern historical critic Baruch Spinoza argued that Satan was part of a primitive, mythological worldview that was to be dismissed as part of historical study. Looking particularly at the saying in Matthew 12:26 about Satan casting out devils, he argued that Jesus was simply adapting himself to the understanding and way of speaking of his hearers and did not intend “to teach that there are devils, or any kingdom of devils.”<sup>8</sup> In one of his letters, he calls “absurdities” the “dream of a Prince, God’s enemy, who against God’s will ensnares most men (for the good are few), and deceives, whom God therefore hands over to this master of wickedness for everlasting torture.”<sup>9</sup> Satan was viewed by Spinoza and those who followed him as part of a naïve worldview that accepted miracles, angels, and demons, but which modern reason had to reject, concerned as it was with scientific truth according to the historical method. This conclusion, shared by many who followed Spinoza and learned from him, prevented him from appreciating the role that Satan plays in Luke’s narrative and theology.

Friedrich Schleiermacher likewise sought to erase the importance of Satan, both for the Bible and for Christian theology. He both rejected the notion of the devil and separated it from Christian doctrine: “The idea of the Devil... is so unstable that we cannot expect anyone to be convinced of its truth; but, besides, our Church has never made doctrinal use of the idea.”<sup>10</sup> Schleiermacher raised a number of theological objections to the existence of the devil, arguing that the fall of an angelic being and his

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*Satanic Conflict and the Plot of Matthew*, StBibLit 89 [New York: Lang, 2006], 153). This study will show that he is correct and Luke does in fact also base his conflict on Satan. While this dissertation does not attempt a comparative study with Matthew, the range and importance of references to Satan is even greater in Luke.

<sup>8</sup> Letter 76 to Alfred Burgh, Baruch Spinoza, *Theological-Political Treatise (Gebhardt Edition)*, 2nd ed., trans. Samuel Shirley; ed. Seymour Feldman (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1991), 33.

<sup>9</sup> Baruch Spinoza, *The Letters*, trans. Samuel Shirley, introduction and notes by Steven Barbone, et al. (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1995), 341.

<sup>10</sup> Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, ed. H. R. Mackintosh and J.S. Steward (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1928), 161.

ongoing activity in the world cannot be rationally explained or understood. He dealt with the difficulty of the New Testament's references to the devil by diminishing their importance, calling the devil an incidental matter about which "neither Christ nor his disciples desired either to give support to the idea or vouch for its truth."<sup>11</sup> He claimed that "there is not a single passage in the New Testament where Christ or His Apostles definitely and indisputably refer to the devil with the intention either of teaching anything new or peculiarly their own, or of correcting and supplementing current beliefs."<sup>12</sup> He explained the devil as an "accommodation" to generally accepted conceptions in Jesus's time that do not need to be carried into the modern world. Rather, he strove to understand New Testament sayings as containing theological truths in mythological language. For example, the Lukan saying about Satan desiring to have the disciples in order to sift them "bears the stamp of a proverb, and does not imply that the devil is to be regarded as the overlord of the wicked... what is being uttered is only a warning borrowed from a truly Biblical idea, and there is no intention either to teach anything with regard to Satan or to confirm that older belief."<sup>13</sup> Beyond these theological objections, Schleiermacher also made objections of a spiritual and pastoral nature, noting that the assertion of the reality of the devil will lead people to deny their own guilt for their wickedness by attributing it to Satan. Such a belief, he said, would "destroy the joyful consciousness of a sure inheritance in the kingdom of God."<sup>14</sup> Schleiermacher acknowledged in the end the possible utility of poetic language about the devil conforming to Scriptural usage in order to express the "positive godlessness of evil in itself, or to emphasize the fact that it is only in a higher protection that we can find help against an evil the source of whose power our

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<sup>11</sup> Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, 164.

<sup>12</sup> Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, 163.

<sup>13</sup> Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, 165.

<sup>14</sup> Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, 169.

will and intelligence seem unable to reach.”<sup>15</sup>

Spinoza and Schleiermacher are scholars from an earlier time and yet their influence is still felt. Their approach to Satan illustrates how he came to receive insufficient attention in critical scholarship. For them and other modern critics, Satan was a mythical element, a supernatural belief rooted in the ancient world that was not part of the enduring theological teaching of the New Testament. Accordingly, the task of scholars such as Spinoza and Schleiermacher was not to understand what Luke and his readers actually believed about Satan, or what the text actually says about him, but to remove the element of myth and pre-critical supernaturalism in order to read the text in a way that is coherent to modern sensibilities. But this is actually an ahistorical approach that imposes modern skepticism about supernatural beliefs onto a text that clearly had such beliefs. Recasting the biblical text to accord with modern views may have value for theology, but hardly for understanding the biblical text itself. The approach and concern of Spinoza and Schleiermacher both typifies and influences a major element of biblical scholarship. One obvious and significant effect of this approach is seen in Schleiermacher’s objection to the doctrine of Satan on the grounds that it undermines individual responsibility for sin. A more careful reading of Luke will show that this is precisely one of the implications of Satan that Luke wishes to resist.

David Strauss took a similar approach and put Satan into the category of supernatural elements that he included in the category of myth. In accord with his historical critical method, Strauss considered various supernatural and natural explanations for Satan in the temptation scene, and found all of them lacking. He made recourse to Schleiermacher in rejecting the plain supernatural understanding of Satan, amplifying the various contradictions and inconsistencies that Schleiermacher finds.

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<sup>15</sup> Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, 169.

Strauss moved on to consider various natural explanations for Satan's place in the New Testament. First, he dismissed the possibility that the temptations represent a subjective spiritual experience of Jesus that is externalized, since this does not accord with its presentation in the gospels, and does not correspond to the clear indications given for dreams and spiritual experiences elsewhere in the New and Old Testament. He likewise rejected the idea that Satan represents an actual being. He next considered the possibility that it was a figurative story wrongly understood literally, but found its construction far too complex to be accounted as a mere ascription of tempting thoughts to the devil. Neither could it be adequately understood as a parable, since it concerns a specific person and episode.<sup>16</sup> Rather, he accounted for Satan as a myth. Using the lens of Persian religion, he explained that the Old Testament saw Satan as the adversary of the Jewish people, who tempts the faithful to sin (an office transferred to him from God in the Old Testament). Since in the Jewish view, Satan was a particular adversary of the Messiah, the synoptic authors judged that Jesus must have had a conflict with Satan, and used the temptation narrative to satisfy that requirement. The demand met, Strauss accounted for the various other elements, such as the location in the wilderness and the content of the temptations, as being suggested by various Old Testament norms and expectations.<sup>17</sup> Strauss had the merit of taking Satan seriously, but he wrongly sought to absolve the gospels of a perceived liability rather than seriously understanding the devil as a legitimate element of the New Testament.

Rudolf Bultmann similarly placed Satan into the category of myth, part of a primitive worldview unintelligible to modern thinkers. "The whole conception of the world which is presupposed in the preaching of Jesus as in the New Testament generally

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<sup>16</sup> David Friedrich Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, translated from the fourth German edition by George Eliot; edited with an introduction by Peter C. Hodgson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973), 253–59.

<sup>17</sup> Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, 259–63.

is mythological; i.e., the conception of the world as being structured in three stories, heaven, earth, and hell; the conception of the intervention of supernatural powers in the course of events; and the conception of miracles, especially the conception of the intervention of supernatural powers in the inner life of the soul, the conception that men can be tempted and corrupted by the devil and possessed by evil spirits.”<sup>18</sup> Such a view, he says, cannot be accepted by “modern science.” Likewise, “the modern study of history” excludes “any intervention of God or of the devil or of demons in the course of history.”<sup>19</sup> Bultmann’s project was to make the New Testament comprehensible to modern thought by stripping away mythological elements to reveal the essential meaning, without forcing modern readers to “make a sacrifice of understanding, *sacrificium intellectus*, in order to accept what we cannot sincerely consider true—merely because such conceptions are suggested by the Bible.”<sup>20</sup> The notion of Satan and demons, he says, arises from the human experience of wickedness springing from within themselves in puzzling and apparently uncontrollable ways. Evil seems to dominate us rather than be under our control. Even today, he says, “although we no longer think mythologically, we often speak of demonic powers which rule history, corrupting political and social life.”<sup>21</sup> With this approach, Bultmann allowed his concern for modern intelligibility to obscure the importance Luke himself places on Satan. It is one thing to judge Satan’s ontological existence negatively, but how Luke understands Satan theologically and uses him in his narrative is an entirely different question.

Hans Conzelmann, whose work, particularly his 1954 *Die Mitte der Zeit* (translated into English as *The Theology of St. Luke*), has largely set the terms for study of Luke and his theology, specifically discounted Satan’s importance for Luke. His reading

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<sup>18</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (New York: Scribner, 1958), 15.

<sup>19</sup> Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology*, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology*, 17.

<sup>21</sup> Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology*, 21.

of Luke touches on the character of Satan in several ways. In dismissing Satan as a significant figure in Luke, he labels him “the Adversary,” thereby associating Satan with his role in the Hebrew Bible rather than the developed conception that informs the New Testament.<sup>22</sup> He says that Satan’s role is “subordinate,” that he does not enter into the saving events, that he is excluded from the period of Jesus’s ministry, and that he is not given responsibility for the passion.<sup>23</sup> Conzelmann famously interprets Luke’s detail about Satan leaving Jesus after the temptations “until a fitting time” (ἄχρι καιροῦ), as creating a period free from Satan, where there are no further temptations and Satan recedes into the background while Jesus’s activity takes priority.<sup>24</sup> While Conzelmann acknowledges that Luke credits Satan with power, he reads it psychologically, in line with his thesis about the importance of ethics in Luke’s de-eschatologized theology, and maintains that Satan’s power “does not serve to lessen man’s responsibility but to underline the call to repentance.”<sup>25</sup> In this brief but sweeping volume, Conzelmann argues that Luke has adapted the Christian expectation of an imminent end into a scheme of history that sees the age of the church as enduring, replacing the apocalyptic expectation of an immediate conclusion to history with an idea of salvation history that stresses the need for an ethical life and political accommodation to earthly powers. Satan does not fit into such a worldview. But this conclusion prevents Conzelmann from seeing the apocalyptic worldview that underlies Luke’s writing and the importance of Satan in his narrative and theology. Reading Luke without the framework of a Satan-free period of history shows that Luke rather narrates a progressive and decisive displacement of Satan’s authority by the kingdom of God. Though scholars have often questioned

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<sup>22</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 156.

<sup>23</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 156.

<sup>24</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 28.

<sup>25</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 157.

Conzelmann's conclusions on these and other topics, his influence remains large.<sup>26</sup> While showing appreciation for Conzelmann's work, this dissertation will argue against these conclusions through a careful reading of how Luke uses Satan.

Susan Garrett's *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* remains the only monograph that deals at length with Satan in Luke and Acts. While Garrett's subject is Luke's treatment of magic, she investigates the role of Satan with some detail in relationship to her main subject, arguing that Luke sees magic as a satanic work. Her second chapter, "The Struggle for Authority: Satan in the Narrative World of Luke-Acts," unpacks the role of Satan in Luke's writings, which she characterizes as "small in quantity, [but] mammoth in significance."<sup>27</sup> She describes the narrative world of Luke's Gospel as concerned with the fall, the rise, and the subsequent fall of Satan, and a contest between the power of Satan and the power of God: "The struggle between Jesus (or the Holy Spirit) and Satan lies at the very heart of Luke's story."<sup>28</sup> She considers three passages in Luke's Gospel: the temptation scene, the Beelzebul controversy, and the fall of Satan from heaven. With regard to the temptation scene, she notes that Satan's claim to have authority over the kingdoms of the earth, which he can give to those he chooses, is accepted by Luke but limited to demons and certain afflicted persons. She also contends, against Conzelmann, that the devil's departure from Jesus does not inaugurate a Satan-free period, but rather that Jesus's life and ministry is an incursion into the realm of Satan's power.<sup>29</sup> In Garrett's reading, the Beelzebul controversy demonstrates Jesus's defeat of "magical-Satanic powers," though

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<sup>26</sup> See, for example, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX*, AB 28 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 181–87, Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 41–42, and François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-Five Years of Research (1950–2005)* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 14–16.

<sup>27</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 37.

<sup>28</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 58.

<sup>29</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 43.

that victory is not yet complete.<sup>30</sup> In her discussion of the fall of Satan passage, she says that Jesus saw an apocalyptic vision of Satan's fall that she connects to Jesus's resurrection and ascension. She argues that Luke claims Jesus's gift of authority and protection from Satan is given to the church, which is shown in Acts to be triumphant over Satan's magical powers through the non-magical power of God.<sup>31</sup> After considering the role of Satan and magic in chapters devoted to Simon Magus, Paul and Bar Jesus, and the seven sons of Sceva, she concludes that Luke intends to narrate that Christ has defeated the devil and that the church in Acts continues to exercise power to defeat him.<sup>32</sup> Garrett has correctly identified the importance for Luke of the conflict of authority between Satan and Jesus that continues in the church of Acts. However, her focus on magic leads her to turn her attention elsewhere, and neglect other important texts about Satan, such as his entry into Judas and his sifting of Peter. Her consideration of Satan in the Gospel is severely limited by her restriction to only three texts, leaving other key passages unexamined and failing to look at the wider narrative scope into which Luke fits Satan. This dissertation will ultimately support much of what Garrett argues through expanding the range of texts she considers, moving the analysis in the direction of human agency and moral responsibility in light of Satan's power rather than to questions of magic.

Many books on the subject of Satan, both popular and scholarly, deal with Satan in Luke and Acts only in passing. An important scholarly study of Satan is Neil Forsyth's *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*.<sup>33</sup> In this vast historical study, Forsyth begins with Babylonian myths and carries the story of Satan through Augustine. His

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<sup>30</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 47.

<sup>31</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 50–60.

<sup>32</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 101–3.

<sup>33</sup> Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

approach is narrative, considering Satan as a character in mythological stories in different periods and places, whose essential role is opposition to God and humans.<sup>34</sup> He characterizes Satan as a rival to God, who oppresses humans who long to be free of his power. The New Testament story is that he is defeated by the Son of God in the crucifixion, though the struggle with Satan continues. Forsyth notes that the story is not explicitly detailed in the New Testament, but is “an assumed truth rather than a revealed truth.”<sup>35</sup> In the Christian account, Satan was conceived “as an active character in a drama that was still unfinished and in which everyone was an actor.”<sup>36</sup> But in the wide scope of Forsyth’s treatment, there is little treatment of Luke. One short chapter is on the Synoptic Gospels, which focuses mainly on Mark and the exorcism stories as instances of combat. Forsyth singles out Luke’s saying about Satan falling from heaven, followed by Jesus’s confirmation of power to tread on serpents and scorpions, as reflecting the ancient combat tradition: “Each little exorcism or act of healing is linked to the ‘fall’ of the enemy, who is here envisaged as a heavenly body (as in the rebel tradition), and the image of treading on the defeated foe, here represented by serpents and scorpions is already a familiar one in the iconography of the victory scene.”<sup>37</sup> Forsyth’s work has much to offer in his description of the part Satan plays in the ancient combat myth as developed by Christian theology. Christian thought adapted, but did not adopt, Near Eastern mythology of a combat between gods in order to respond to historical and theological pressures. The apocalyptic worldview of Judaism and Christianity is distinguished from dualist views by its clear identification of God as the superior power in conflict with Satan. Our interest is not explicitly in the history of religions or in comparative theology, but rather in the specific text of Luke. Forsyth’s work provides helpful background and context, and this

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<sup>34</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 4–5.

<sup>35</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 7.

<sup>36</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 13.

<sup>37</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 294–95.

study of Luke will show with much greater detail how Luke incorporates his own version of this ancient combat myth into his Gospel.

Elaine Pagels is the author of another major scholarly study of Satan in the New Testament, *The Origin of Satan*, that seeks to write a “social history of Satan” in the New Testament and early Christianity, understanding the way in which Satan was used in polemic against opponents.<sup>38</sup> Drawing upon a wide array of Second Temple and early Christian literature in addition to the New Testament, Pagels argues that the New Testament and early Christianity adapted an older notion of Satan as an external enemy to construct an “intimate enemy,” identified with heretics and traitors, and in particular with Jewish groups, as part of the emerging hostility between Jews and Christians as their ways parted. Her interest is the “specifically *social* implications of the figure of Satan: how he is invoked to express human conflict and to characterize human enemies within our own religious traditions.”<sup>39</sup> Satan is used as a device to demonize the other and is exploited by early Christians to demonize Jews by assigning (historically dubious) blame on them for the death of Jesus. Noting the relative unimportance of Satan in the Hebrew Bible and the development of Satan as an opponent of God in the Second Temple period, particularly at Qumran, she says that Mark first introduces Satan as the force of evil with which Jesus enters into direct conflict. After the temptations, she says that “the powers of evil challenged and attacked [Jesus] at every turn, and he attacked them back, and won.”<sup>40</sup> Satan’s role is central, even if he rarely appears explicitly. Mark uses Satan as “a way of characterizing one’s actual enemies as the embodiment of transcendent forces.”<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Random House, 1995), xxii. This book combines a number of essays previously published elsewhere in a more scholarly form with original material. Chapter 4, “Luke and John Claim Israel’s Legacy: The Split Widens,” was not previously published.

<sup>39</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, xviii. Emphasis in original.

<sup>40</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 12.

<sup>41</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 13.

Mark paints Pilate as a relatively blameless figure, casting the blame for Jesus's death on his opponents, primarily the chief priests and scribes. Matthew follows the same pattern of demonic vilification of Jesus's opponents, but casts the Pharisees as "Jesus' primary antagonists."<sup>42</sup> Luke goes further yet, specifically identifying Satan with the forces that led to Jesus's death by inserting Satan into the passion narrative when he enters into Judas. She reads Luke (against Conzelmann) as depicting an ongoing engagement between God and Satan (associated with the Jewish leaders) that "intensifies throughout the gospel."<sup>43</sup> She focuses considerable attention on Luke's telling of the passion narrative, which she says he edits in order to highlight Jesus's innocence and blame Jews rather than Romans for his death.<sup>44</sup> The identification of Judas, and all opposition to Jesus, with Satan, is part of that polemical agenda. She goes on to document the same pattern in John and other New Testament and early Christian and patristic writings.

Pagels has identified a valid social phenomenon, but she reads it into the Synoptic Gospels more than the texts warrant. Matthew and Mark never specifically associate Jesus's opposition with Satan.<sup>45</sup> While it is true that each assigns blame for Jesus's death to Jewish opponents, the figure of Satan is not directly tied to that opposition in any

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<sup>42</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 82.

<sup>43</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 91.

<sup>44</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 93–98.

<sup>45</sup> She says that "the gospel writers realize that the story they have to tell would make little sense *without* Satan" (Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 12). Luke develops that insight with much more clarity and specificity than the other gospels, however, giving Satan a more prominent role in his narrative as the chief antagonist to Jesus.

sustained manner.<sup>46</sup> This identification of Jesus's opposition with Satan is original to Luke, who along with John explicitly makes this connection by tying Judas's betrayal to Satan's action. Her analysis of Matthew and Mark's attempts to assign blame to Jews rather than Romans for Jesus's death does not thereby establish that they are using Satan as a device to demonize Jews. While she is correct to note that Luke has raised the importance of Satan in his Gospel, she fails to notice that Luke has also downplayed the conflict between Jesus and religious leaders for most of the narrative. I will argue that Luke has gone so far as to make Satan, and not the Pharisees, the chief priests, or the scribes, Jesus's primary antagonist. Though Luke's move to make Satan responsible for the passion may have the effect of demonizing Jesus's opponents, that is not Luke's primary concern. Rather than using Satan as a device to further demonize Jesus's opposition, Luke uses him to explain the mystery of this inconceivable betrayal by Judas and rejection by religious authorities. Satan's involvement does not excuse or minimize their responsibility, but it is the solution Luke has found to explain it. By focusing on the social dynamic and its implications for the development of anti-Judaism, Pagels has failed to appreciate the role that Satan plays for Luke as a theological concept and narrative figure. The difference, perhaps, is that Pagels does not believe in Satan, and so cannot see him as an independent actor, but Luke does, and so gives him a prominent role in his narrative and theology<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>46</sup> She claims, for example, that "Mark frames his narrative at its beginning and at its climax with episodes in which Satan and his demonic forces retaliate against God by working to destroy Jesus" (Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 11). The beginning of the frame she proposes is the temptation narrative, but there is no reference to the influence of Satan in Mark's account of the passion. As Pagels narrates this framing of the plot, she shifts to Luke's account that does attribute the passion to Satan's work. But that cannot be transferred to Mark's narrative without failing to appreciate the specific development that Luke has made by involving Satan in that climax. She does later acknowledge that "what Mark merely implies—that Jesus' opponents are energized by Satan—Luke and John will state explicitly" (Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 33).

<sup>47</sup> Pagels notes that "Many liberal minded Christians have preferred to ignore the presence of angels and demons in the gospels," but then continues to say that in the gospels "The figure of

Gregory Boyd's volume *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict*, while a valuable contribution that correctly identifies the understanding and role of Satan in the New Testament, does not give sustained attention to Luke's account in its own right. He reads the Bible canonically and synchronically to explicate a synthetic picture of Satan.<sup>48</sup> Drawing upon both the Old and the New Testaments, Boyd contends that the New Testament is permeated with an apocalyptic spiritual "warfare worldview."<sup>49</sup> Jesus enters into this spiritual conflict and wins a decisive victory for the kingdom of God against the power that Satan possessed over the world. In the gospels, Satan is God's opponent: "not... an agent of God, but the enemy against God."<sup>50</sup> A fundamental facet of the kingdom of God is that it is at war with, and victorious over, the kingdom of Satan. The scope of Boyd's work and his synchronic approach are both a virtue and a weakness. On the one hand, he makes a sweeping and powerful argument for the importance of the motif of spiritual conflict for understanding the New Testament. But he does not attempt to closely study the particular nuances and contributions of different New Testament authors and instead draws on the whole of the New Testament to make a synthetic argument for its overall worldview. Boyd's work is scholarly while intending ultimately to come to theological and spiritual conclusions about the nature of evil in the world and its implications for believers. While much in debt to Boyd's study and largely in harmony

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Satan becomes, among other things, a way of characterizing one's actual enemies as the embodiment of transcendent forces" (Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 13). But the point is that these ancient writers did see Satan himself as the embodiment of transcendent forces, an independent spiritual being who exercised power in the world. The transfer of that reality to a mere religious device that is immanent within human actors is precisely a liberal hermeneutical move to accommodate modern sensibilities that are embarrassed by supernatural claims.

<sup>48</sup> Gregory A. Boyd, *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1997). Boyd has written a second volume that attempts a more theological analysis of Satan and the problem of evil based on the biblical evidence, constructing what he calls a "trinitarian warfare theodicy": Gregory A. Boyd, *Satan and the Problem of Evil: Constructing a Trinitarian Warfare Theodicy* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2001).

<sup>49</sup> Boyd, *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict*, 290.

<sup>50</sup> Boyd, *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict*, 235.

with his conclusions, this dissertation will attempt to unpack the features of Luke's particular contribution to the notion of Satan.

Henry Ansgar Kelly is the author of another sweeping and scholarly "biography" of Satan that traces the history of Satan from its ancient roots to current times, but makes the mistake of reading the Old Testament view of Satan into the New Testament.<sup>51</sup> He contrasts two "biographies" of Satan: an "original biography" present in both the Old and the New Testaments, in which Satan is a member of the divine court, a son of God whose function is to test humans, and a "new biography" originating with Origen and carried on in Christian theology and literature that makes Satan into the enemy of God and the origin of evil and sin in the world. By the standards of the "Satan biography" genre, Kelly has a rather full treatment of Luke, which he summarizes: Satan "has been put in charge of the Kingdoms of the World, but his power is soon to be diminished because of Jesus and his message. Satan's main function is to test the virtue of Mankind, as in the Book of Job."<sup>52</sup> Kelly argues vigorously against any differentiation or development of the figure of Satan between the Old and New Testaments: "the point that I would most like to get across to Biblical Scholars, and to be accepted by them, is my analysis of Satan in the New Testament as basically the same sort of character as the one that we meet with in the Book of Job."<sup>53</sup> Although Kelly's assessment of Satan in Luke is perceptive and largely accurate, this reading goes very much against the grain of most accounts of the development of ideas about Satan as well as my own conclusions. There is more of the "new biography" present in the New Testament, and particularly in Luke, than Kelly credits, committed as he is to his thesis that the relatively benign role of Satan found in the Old Testament is present as well in the New.

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<sup>51</sup> Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>52</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 323.

<sup>53</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 326.

A few other works have touched on the topic of Satan in Luke. Jennifer Glancy's unpublished 1990 dissertation dealt with the subject of Satan in the Synoptic Gospels, with a substantial portion devoted to Luke and Acts. Her work was primarily descriptive of the pertinent passages, but she concludes that Luke is describing the conflict between Jesus and Satan as a conflict between kingdoms.<sup>54</sup> She also follows the continued attacks on the followers of Jesus that commence with the Last Supper and concludes that these attacks show that Satan's continued power is limited by the disciples' power over him, a power that will ultimately be the last word in Satan's defeat. An older dissertation by Richard Eaton attempted a study of "non-human opposition to the church" in the entire New Testament. In his relatively brief treatment of Luke, he concentrates on Jesus's conflict with demons and the Beelzebul controversy, concluding that Luke is illustrating a battle between the kingdoms of God and Satan, provoking a choice of allegiance where neutrality between the kingdoms is not an option.<sup>55</sup> He also calls attention to the way in which Luke weaves "apocalyptic themes into his gospel which point to the apocalyptic quality of Jesus' earthly ministry."<sup>56</sup> The treatment of the Synoptic Gospels as a whole, and Luke in particular, is rather cursory in this monograph focused on Paul and John. Jeffrey Burton Russell's synthetic study *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* has a summary chapter on the New Testament that is perceptive but also lacks attention to the specific character of Satan in Luke.<sup>57</sup>

Jack Kingsbury's 1991 monograph *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, the main scholarly work on the topic of conflict in Luke, is notable for its failure to

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<sup>54</sup> Jennifer Ann Glancy, "Satan in the Synoptic Gospels" (Columbia University, 1990), 171, ProQuest Dissertations.

<sup>55</sup> Richard Kent Eaton, "The Nature of Non-Human Opposition to the Church in the New Testament" (Fuller Theological Seminary, 1984), 133, United Microfilms International.

<sup>56</sup> Eaton, "The Nature of Non-Human Opposition to the Church in the New Testament," 136.

<sup>57</sup> Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 221–49.

sufficiently consider the role that Satan plays in Luke's narrative. Kingsbury begins by noting that Luke's Gospel, like the rest of the New Testament, presupposes a world in which God is in conflict with Satan.<sup>58</sup> At first, he aptly describes the plot of Luke: "God is powerfully present in Jesus to overcome Satan and evil and to summon Israel to repentance and to salvation in the sphere of God's kingly rule."<sup>59</sup> When considering Satan directly, he calls him "Jesus's arch-adversary."<sup>60</sup> But he fails to follow up on that assertion, and he reads the conflict in Luke's narrative as fundamentally between the religious authorities (and, somewhat strangely, the disciples). He calls the religious authorities Jesus's antagonists in the Gospel, devoting a lengthy chapter to describing their conflict with Jesus.<sup>61</sup> He rightly notes, however, that for most of the narrative, Luke makes the "tenor and intensity" of the conflict between Jesus and these authorities rather mild, only having it erupt upon Jesus's arrival in Jerusalem.<sup>62</sup> He does note the role that Satan plays in the passion, saying that "Satan, Judas, and the authorities emerge as the chief opponents of Jesus," but he does not incorporate that into his assessment of the conflict of Luke's plot.<sup>63</sup> There are likely two explanations for Kingsbury's failure to focus on religious authorities and neglect the role Satan plays as Jesus's opponent. First, Kingsbury has allowed the clear role that religious authorities have in the conflict with Jesus in Matthew and Mark to color his reading of Luke, and in so doing has failed to see how through subtle changes Luke has constructed his narrative differently. Secondly, in

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<sup>58</sup> Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1991), 1–2.

<sup>59</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 13, cf. 43.

<sup>61</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 21. He sometimes expresses the conflict as "Jesus against Israel," while clarifying that the conflict is between Jesus and the authorities, not the people (Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 79).

<sup>62</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 83. Kingsbury lists twelve examples of how Luke does not permit this conflict to become "acutely confrontational" (Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 85–86).

<sup>63</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 62.

the beginning of his book he claims that in Luke's worldview the realm of human history is separate from the world of supernatural influences. The narrative unfolds within history, that is, on the earth, so that "earth and human history clearly remain the center of attention," in distinction to supernatural influences associated with heaven or Hades.<sup>64</sup> This particularly modern distinction is problematic, quite foreign to the worldview of the New Testament. Luke's point is precisely that in Christ, the kingdom of God arrives in human history, thus breaking down that separation. Satan plays an important role in the narrative as the power that opposes this arrival and is ultimately defeated and displaced by it. This dissertation will argue that Luke actually considers Satan to be Jesus's primary opponent and the antagonist who drives the plot. This reading makes sense both of the way in which Luke, unlike Matthew and Mark, characterizes the human opposition to Jesus and the relative prominence given to Satan in Luke's narrative.

There is thus a need for a full-scale focused study of Satan in the Lukan writings. In his 2011 survey of research on Satan in the New Testament, Derek Brown concludes by offering suggestions for further research. He says there is a need "to move beyond studies of single verses or pericopae which refer to Satan and instead to consider all of the references within given writings and/or authors."<sup>65</sup> This dissertation is an effort to provide just such a study of the Gospel of Luke and Acts.

## **1.2. Methodology**

This dissertation will be focused on how Luke saw Satan and used him in his narrative, in order to understand this particular biblical understanding of human and divine agency. It will proceed largely according to the methods of "narrative criticism," that is, reading the text carefully as a story deliberately crafted by its author to

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<sup>64</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 2.

<sup>65</sup> Derek R. Brown, "The Devil in the Details: A Survey of Research on Satan in Biblical Studies," *CBR* 9 (2011): 214.

communicate not just history but also theology.<sup>66</sup> There is considerable justification for applying this method to Luke, who communicates up front his intention to write a narrative and craft an account that is clearer and more orderly than those who have written before him (Luke 1:1–4).<sup>67</sup> His narrative choices thus deserve considerable weight and attention, and analyzing them with regard to Satan and the role of conflict in the narrative will shed considerable light on Luke’s purpose. As Luke Timothy Johnson says, “for the reader to grasp Luke’s *dianoia* (‘theme’ or ‘meaning’), it must be done in and through his *mythos* (‘story line,’ ‘plot’), for it is found only there. The meaning is fitted to the narrative form.”<sup>68</sup> To understand Luke’s theology, one must understand his story.

This dissertation will focus on the author’s own writing with attention to the particular form he gives the narrative. The narrative will be read in its historical context, but will not directly engage questions of historicity or the normative question of whether Satan is real. Such concerns have colored and limited the ability of modern scholars, following on Spinoza and Schleiermacher, to appreciate the role Satan plays for Luke.

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<sup>66</sup> We will not belabor the methodology in this now well-known and appreciated approach. The classic work on narrative in Luke remains Robert Tannehill’s two-volume commentary Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation, Volume 1, the Gospel According to Luke* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1986) and Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation, Volume 2, Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1986). See also William S. Kurz, “Narrative Approaches to Luke-Acts,” *Bib* 68 (1987): 195–220. For narrative criticism as applied to the Bible, see the classic by Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), as well as Daniel Marguerat and Yvan Bourquin, *How to Read Bible Stories: An Introduction to Narrative Criticism*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM, 1999) and James L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005). For narrative theory more broadly see H. Porter Abbot, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2009).

<sup>67</sup> Loveday Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in 1:1–4 and Acts 1:1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Richard Dillon, “Previewing Luke’s Project from His Prologue (Luke 1:1–4),” *CBQ* 43 (1981): 205–27.

<sup>68</sup> Luke Timothy Johnson, “Luke-Acts, Book Of,” *ABD* 4:405. Johnson is making use of the work of literary critic Northrop Frye (*Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*, Collected Works of Northrop Frye 22 [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006]).

Determining whether a particular story or teaching can be ascribed to the “historical Jesus” is not germane in this approach, which instead accepts what Luke has put into his narrative and seeks to understand it on its own terms. Likewise, however one chooses to think of Satan’s reality as a theological question, what Luke thinks of Satan is a different question altogether. This dissertation seeks to understand the Lukan writings in their own right within the context of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity as an important witness to early Christian ideas about the character of Satan.

This effort to appreciate Luke’s narrative choices requires paying attention to his sources and how he uses, adapts, and changes them, and thus redaction criticism is enlisted in the service of understanding Luke’s narrative. Scholars generally adhere to the Two-Source Theory, which says that Luke made use of Mark and the hypothetical Q sayings source, alongside other special materials, with no direct knowledge of Matthew.<sup>69</sup> In recent years there has been growing support for the Farrer Theory that obviates the need for Q by saying that Luke made use of both Mark and Matthew as sources.<sup>70</sup> Both of these theories are based upon Markan priority as a foundation. Both of them (and the many other related ones that have proliferated) have considerable strengths and weaknesses, and none can fully account for all the relationships between the Synoptic Gospels. For the purposes of this study, Markan priority will be presumed. A more agnostic view will be taken about the relationship between Luke and Matthew, which will be treated as a parallel to Luke rather than one of his sources. Matthew’s use of Mark will

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<sup>69</sup> For a history of the problem see David Laird Dungan, *A History of the Synoptic Problem: The Canon, the Text, the Composition, and the Interpretation of the Gospels*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1999). Good overviews include E.P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (London: SCM, 1989), Mark S. Goodacre, *The Synoptic Problem: A Way Through the Maze* (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), and Christopher Tuckett, “Synoptic Problem,” *ABD* 6:263–70.

<sup>70</sup> For a presentation and argument for the Farrer Theory see Mark S. Goodacre, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002).

be compared and contrasted with Luke in a way that is intelligible whether Luke made direct use of Matthew or the hypothetical Q source. This choice might not satisfy those who are thoroughly convinced of either the Two-Source or the Farrer Theory, but it is hoped it will be intelligible to both parties, and not contingent on the accuracy of either theory. While narrative criticism helps to illuminate the particular choices and additions Luke has made with respect to his sources, effort will be made to avoid the redaction criticism fallacy of thinking unimportant the elements he has incorporated from his sources. As an author, Luke chose to include some parts of his sources and not others, and what he has chosen to retain has significance as well.

### **1.3. Second Temple Apocalypticism**

Apocalyptic eschatology is part of the cultural background of the New Testament period and Luke presumes it as part of the encyclopedia of knowledge of his readers. He does not explain it or even call attention to it. To understand Luke's writing and place it within its historical context, it is therefore necessary to understand the broad contours of Second Temple apocalypticism, bearing in mind that this language refers to a diversity of currents.<sup>71</sup> While there is no single, unified apocalyptic worldview in this period,<sup>72</sup> it is

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<sup>71</sup> Paul Hanson, in an influential article in the *Supplement to the Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, stressed the importance of terminological clarity, distinguishing apocalypses, apocalyptic eschatology, and apocalypticism (Paul D. Hanson, "Apocalypticism," in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume*; Keith Crim et al. [Nashville: Abingdon, 1976], 28–34). An apocalypse is a literary work, part of a particular genre that is a vehicle for apocalypticism. A seminal issue of *Semeia*, edited by John J. Collins, arrived as the definition of apocalyptic literature as "a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another supernatural world" (John J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, *Semeia* [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979], 9). Apocalyptic eschatology is "a religious perspective, a way of viewing divine plans in relation to mundane realities," characterized by an expectation of a future divine judgement and "deliverance out of the present order into a new transformed order" (Hanson, "Apocalypticism," 29–30). Finally, apocalypticism is a "symbolic universe [that] crystallizes around the perspective of apocalyptic eschatology (Hanson, "Apocalypticism," 29–30). Hanson takes an inductive approach to apocalypticism, which arises out of diverse social settings, arguing that "it is not possible to give one formal cognitive

nonetheless possible to identify common characteristics that are relevant to this study. A significant claim has been made by Conzelmann that Luke abandoned apocalyptic expectation in favor of salvation history.<sup>73</sup> Käsemann likewise argued that Luke had discarded apocalyptic eschatology, such that the presence of the Spirit in the church took the place of Christ's return and the ethical demands of Christian life became paramount since the end of the world was no longer anticipated: "for Luke himself [apocalyptic hope] no longer possesses any pivotal interest."<sup>74</sup> But Fitzmyer, along with many commentators today, thinks that this case is too strong, responding that Luke merely plays apocalyptic eschatology "in a different key."<sup>75</sup> The function and theology of Satan in Luke's narrative will provide a new perspective on how Luke's salvation history is actually his particular expression of apocalyptic eschatology.

Martinus de Boer's description of apocalyptic eschatology lays the best foundation by which to understand Luke's encyclopedia of knowledge and provides categories to describe Satan in his worldview.<sup>76</sup> De Boer describes the basic concern of

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definition of apocalypticism." Even so, he identifies elements that are common to different forms of apocalypticism (Hanson, "Apocalypticism," 30–31).

<sup>72</sup> Scholarly overviews, with bibliographies, include John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998) and Frederick James Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World: A Comprehensive Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012). Classic works include Hanson, "Apocalypticism", David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), and Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic: A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and Its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy*, SBT 2/22 (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1972).

<sup>73</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 95–97.

<sup>74</sup> Käsemann, "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," 28. Cf. the discussion in Werner Georg Kümmel, "Current Theological Accusations Against Luke," *ANQ* 16 (1975): 133–38.

<sup>75</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 21. Cf. Rowe's conclusion that Acts is an apocalyptic work insofar as it is the story of Jesus's light coming into the world and revealing a new way of knowing in the world (C. Kavin Rowe, "World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age" [New York: Oxford University Press, 2009], 137).

<sup>76</sup> Martinus C. de Boer, "The Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology in the New Testament, Especially Paul," in *Hoffnung für die Zukunft : Modelle eschatologischen und apokalyptischen Denkens*, vol. 2, ed. Ed Noort and Popović Mladen, *Theologie zwischen Ost und West* (Gröningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2001), 17–29. This is the basis for de Boer's

apocalyptic eschatology as it is incorporated into Christian belief as “fundamentally concerned with God's active and visible rectification (setting straight) of the created world (the ‘cosmos’ of human beings), which has somehow gone astray and become alienated from God, the Creator.”<sup>77</sup> The world in this age is broken, under the power of evil, and apocalypticism looks to God’s intervention to liberate creation and the righteous from the resulting suffering. At the heart of apocalypticism is what Vielhauer called “‘the eschatological dualism’ of two world-ages.” De Boer explains, “The dualism is ‘eschatological’ (and thus also temporal) because it entails the final, definitive replacement of ‘this age’ (which is completely evil) by the ‘age to come.’ The latter puts an end to the former. There is and can be ‘no continuity’ between the two ages.”<sup>78</sup> These ages are not only temporal, but also spatial, “referring to two spheres or orbs of power, both of which claim sovereignty over the world.”<sup>79</sup> In the new age, the powers of God, and in particular his Messiah, “will invade the orb of the powers on earth below (the orb of Satan and his minions) and aggressively defeat them, thereby removing them from creation and liberating human beings from their malevolent, destructive control.”<sup>80</sup> This definitive event is anticipated differently in Jewish and Christian forms of apocalypticism, but has these key elements:

1. It is cosmic in scope and implication (all peoples and all times are affected)

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exploration of the topic in his commentary on Galatians, in which he summarizes this view (Martinus C. de Boer, *Galatians: A Commentary*, NTL [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011], 31–35). An older description, admirable for its brevity, is that of Rist: “the dualistic, cosmic, and eschatological belief in two opposing cosmic powers, God and Satan (or his equivalent); and in two distinct ages—the present, temporal and irretrievably evil age under Satan, who now oppresses the righteous but whose power God will soon act to overthrow, and the future, perfect and eternal age under God’s own rule, when the righteous will be blessed forever” (Martin Rist, “Apocalypticism,” in *Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 1, ed. George A. Buttrick [New York: Abingdon, 1962], 157–58).

<sup>77</sup> de Boer, “Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology,” 18.

<sup>78</sup> de Boer, “Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology,” 18.

<sup>79</sup> de Boer, *Galatians*, 33.

<sup>80</sup> de Boer, *Galatians*, 34.

2. It is an act of God (God invades the human cosmos since human beings are in no position to liberate themselves from the evil powers)
3. It is rectifying (God puts right what has gone wrong in and with the world)
4. It is eschatological (final, definitive, and irrevocable)<sup>81</sup>

These elements of apocalyptic eschatology can be expressed in various ways and are not tied to the literary form of apocalypse. What distinguishes apocalyptic eschatology is the expectation that the new age will be different, not a transformation of the current age, but marked by rupture and discontinuity.

De Boer's distinctive contribution is to classify the apocalyptic worldview into two types: cosmological and forensic. He observes that different apocalyptic texts can be differentiated by the presence of otherworldly beings (angels and demons) and different perspectives on human freedom and agency. Cosmological apocalyptic eschatologies focus on the battle that takes places between the opposing forces of good and evil, understood in cosmic terms as conflict between angels and demons. The world is presently under the power of evil (various etiologies are proposed for the origin of this situation<sup>82</sup>), which has usurped the power of God. People have been led astray, but there remain those who are righteous and suffer from being under the dominion of evil. This situation cries out for a resolution, and the cosmological form of apocalypticism looks for it to come about through a great cosmic conflict. As de Boer explains it, "God will invade the world under the dominion of the evil powers and defeat them in a cosmic war.... God will establish his sovereignty very soon, delivering the righteous and bringing about a new age in which He will reign unopposed."<sup>83</sup> This victory by God entails the defeat of the forces of evil, usually understood as being under the leadership of Satan or some

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<sup>81</sup> de Boer, *Galatians*, 34. Cf. de Boer, "Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 18–19.

<sup>82</sup> Most often some account of an angelic fall. De Boer cites Gen. 6:1–6; 1 En. 6–19; 64:1–2; 69:4–5; 86:1–6; 106:13–17; Jub. 4:15, 22; 5:1–8; 10:4–5; T. Reub. 5:6–7; T. Naph. 3:5; CD 2:17–3:1; 2 Bar. 56:12–15; LAB 34:1–5; Wis 2:23–24; Jude 6; 2 Pet. 2:4.

<sup>83</sup> de Boer, "Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 21.

equivalent figure. He identifies the Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36) as the purest form of this worldview, but cites the Assumption of Moses to express it succinctly:

And then [God’s] kingdom shall appear throughout all creation,  
And then Satan will be no more  
And sorrow shall depart with him  
...  
For the Heavenly One will arise from his royal throne  
And he will go forth from his heavenly habitation  
With indignation and wrath on account of his sons  
And the earth shall tremble... (10:1–3)<sup>84</sup>

In the New Testament, the cosmological form of apocalyptic eschatology is present most vividly in the book of Revelation. De Boer argues it is also present in Paul’s writings and is the key to understanding his language of justification.<sup>85</sup> We shall discover that it is also present in Luke’s writings.

Forensic apocalyptic eschatologies lack the presence of evil cosmological forces such as Satan and demons, and instead focus on individual free will and the necessity of personal choice to align with good or evil. Human beings sin by freely rejecting God and his law, enduring suffering and death as a result. As de Boer says, “the present age is the time of *decision*.”<sup>86</sup> Forensic apocalypticism looks to a final judgement by God, in which each person will be judged according to his or her choices, and so come to salvation or damnation. As such, it can be tied to “a legal piety in which personal accountability and responsibility are dominant.”<sup>87</sup> De Boer cites 2 Baruch to illustrate this view: “For, although Adam sinned first and has brought death upon all... yet each of them who has been born from him has prepared for himself the coming torment. And further, each of

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<sup>84</sup> de Boer, “Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology,” 21. Translation from Charles’s APOT, incorrectly cited by de Boer as the J. Priest translation in Charlesworth’s OTP. Cf. de Boer, *Galatians*, 32.

<sup>85</sup> de Boer, *Galatians*, 33–34.

<sup>86</sup> de Boer, “Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology,” 22. Emphasis in original.

<sup>87</sup> de Boer, “Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology,” 22.

them has chosen for himself the coming glory” (54:15–16).<sup>88</sup> This forensic eschatology is both present and presupposed in Luke’s writings in the value that he places on ethical choices that correspond to participation in the kingdom of God and the church.

De Boer notes that cosmological and forensic apocalyptic eschatologies can coexist and are found sometimes in the same works. The writings of Qumran provide a particularly good example of this. The cosmological form is present in the conception of a war taking place between God and Belial, between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, yet there is also a strong element of personal freedom and the need for a decision to be faithful to God and his law. One who chooses to follow God’s law thus aligns himself with God and receives his protection: “The Law is God’s powerful weapon whereby He enables the righteous believer to withstand the superhuman power of the demonic forces (cf. CD XVI, 1–3).”<sup>89</sup> Key to this conception is that the forces of good and evil, in conflict with each other, are battling over human beings as well, trying to enlist people on their side. In Qumran, the decision to align with one power or the other is pressing and of the utmost importance. De Boer finds this same confluence in Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.<sup>90</sup> He also find both forms present in the letters of Paul, as described in his commentary on Galatians. Luke also falls into this category of works that contain both these forms of apocalyptic eschatology.

De Boer’s formulation of cosmological and forensic eschatologies, which distinguishes forms that accent the influence of cosmic powers versus individual freedom and decision, corresponds to Carol Newsom’s efforts to understand Jewish conceptions of agency with respect to the role of external and internal forces in human experience. In an

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<sup>88</sup> I have selected the citation differently from de Boer’s text, still the A.F.J. Klijn translation in OTP. Other citations given by de Boer are 4 Ezra 3:5–7, 20–21; 4:30–31; 7:118–119; 2 Bar. 17:2–3; 23:4; 48:42–43; 54:14, 19; 56:6; cf. 1 En. 69:6; Jub. 3:17–25; 4:29–30; LAB 13:8–9; Sir 25:24; Wis 10:1.

<sup>89</sup> de Boer, “Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology,” 22.

<sup>90</sup> de Boer, “Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology,” 22.

article that is the published version of her 2011 presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature, Newsom draws upon ethnological and psychological studies to develop a two-axis approach to categorizing systems of belief about human agency with respect to external supernatural powers.<sup>91</sup> On one axis, she places notions of human control, from the “self in control” to the “self under control” of other agents. On the second axis, she places conceptualizations of the location of agency, either internal or external. She characterizes the standard Israelite conception found in the Old Testament as “an internalized conceptualization of the self in control,” with “the heart as the locus of the person’s moral will.”<sup>92</sup> These notions develop in the Second Temple period, which she breaks down into three categories: moral agency affirmed, moral agency internally impaired but the impairment can be overcome, and moral agency denied with certain exceptions. She illustrates these categories with examples from Second Temple Literature, primarily from Qumran, where all three of the categories are found. We will return to Newsom’s work in relation to these categories of agency in order to understand how to situate Luke’s thought in light of his view of Satan in relation to the moral self. For now, it is helpful to note that de Boer’s cosmological apocalyptic eschatology has an externalized conception of moral agency with its focus on dualistic combat. The forensic view, with its focus on internal moral responsibility, internalizes that conception of moral agency.

Dualism is a common but problematic category used to describe apocalyptic eschatology. The problem arises because it is a category from a religious framework foreign to early Judaism, and it seems that early Judaism was highly resistant to its

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<sup>91</sup> Carol A. Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self: Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism,” *JBL* 131 (2012): 1–10.

<sup>92</sup> Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 10.

adoption.<sup>93</sup> What is described as “dualism” in Second Temple apocalypticism is in fact something fundamentally different from dualism as understood in Persian religion.<sup>94</sup> The older Persian form of dualism posited two equal powers of good and evil in cosmological combat. Israelite religion rejected this notion because of its incompatibility with monotheistic faith, for there could be no true rival power to God. But as thought developed in the Second Temple period, the question of evil in the world led to the development of demonologies. Even if there is some evidence of Persian influence, as Malik notes with regard to the Essenes, Jewish doctrine “does not go beyond the limits of biblical monotheism [and] orthodoxy remains safe.”<sup>95</sup> Unlike Persian religion, where the world was created by both good and evil forces, Jewish thought carefully preserved God as the sole creative power, and explained the existence of demons through various narratives of angelic falls. D.S. Russell discusses the dualism that developed in Judaism as an ethical dualism, in which people must choose to participate in either good or evil, that does not entail ontological dualism. The demonology that develops in this period safeguards monotheism by insisting on the subordinate power of Satan to God. It accounts for Satan’s power with various genealogical explanations that are less important than the future assurance that he will be defeated by God’s superior power. As Russell

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<sup>93</sup> Later Judaism also largely rejected it. See Albright’s discussion, in which he argues that Iranian religion had little effect on Judaism until quite late. He does, however, see a connection between Iranian ideas and the later development of apocalyptic. W.F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), 358–64.

<sup>94</sup> The influence of Persian dualism on the development of Jewish apocalyptic has been much studied, but a full discussion is not necessary for our purposes. Forsyth does not see much influence, on the basis that the Persian idea that creation was the work of both good and evil spirits (Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 122–23). See also Anders Hultgård, “Persian Apocalypticism,” in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Vol. 1. The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. John J. Collins (New York: Continuum, 1998), 39–83, and David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 258–62.

<sup>95</sup> J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, trans. J. Strugnell, SBT (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1959), 118. See also David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 240.

says, “Even the demons are subordinated to God and cannot act without his permission. It is by the permissive will of God that the Prince of Darkness himself continues his way until now. There will come a day of reckoning when God’s authority will be acknowledged by all.”<sup>96</sup>

To call Second Temple apocalypticism “dualistic” is therefore a category mistake that wrongly attempts to translate a term from one tradition to another.<sup>97</sup> The dualism of Persian religion is simply not what is present in Jewish apocalypticism. W.F. Albright uses the term “modified dualism,” which has been adopted by many scholars.<sup>98</sup> However, even this term does not go far enough, for Judaism does not simply “modify” dualism, but in its apocalyptic worldview answers the problem of evil in a constitutively different way. In Judaism, there are not two rival powers in equal combat, but fallen creatures in futile though real rebellion against an all-powerful Creator. Nonetheless, the language of dualism or modified dualism is used by many scholars who do rightly understand the difference from its meaning in Persian religion. Because there is need for some language to describe this characteristic of apocalyptic thought, in which inferior powers of evil oppose and fight against God whose superior power is unquestioned, we will reluctantly use the language of modified dualism, having made clear that what is meant by the term in reference to Second Temple thought is categorically different from what it meant in other religions.

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<sup>96</sup> David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 240.

<sup>97</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre argues that terms cannot simply be translated from one tradition or language into another, as each tradition has an entire set of experiences and understandings that prevent understanding its terms from the outside. So the term dualism has a meaning in the Persian religious context that cannot be applied to the Jewish tradition. See Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 370–88.

<sup>98</sup> Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 362, cited in David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 239.

## 1.4. The Development of Satan

To see how Luke understands and uses Satan in his narrative and theology, it is necessary to first understand the background of Satan in the Second Temple period. To correctly understand the encyclopedia of knowledge from which Luke draws his conception of Satan, it is essential to track how Satan developed from the Old Testament member of the divine court into a malicious opponent of God in the Second Temple period. It is a mistake to assume that Luke is talking about Satan as the same character that is seen in the Old Testament. Rather, he draws upon a more developed understanding of Satan from Second Temple apocalypticism.<sup>99</sup>

### 1.4.1. Satan in the Old Testament

Satan appears relatively infrequently in the Old Testament or Hebrew Bible, mentioned in just four locations as a personal being (Num 22:22–35, Job 1–2, Zech 3:1–2, and 1 Chr 21:1). A significant study by Peggy Day concludes that there is no single Satan figure in the Old Testament. Studying the nature and function of Satan in each instance independent of later conceptions of Satan leads her to the conclusion that “we certainly should not speak of a single developing character or personality.”<sup>100</sup> The word *satan* is used both of human and supernatural figures, and Day argues that Satan is used with at least two or three distinct meanings.<sup>101</sup> The first meaning is that of an adversary, spoken of the supernatural Satan in Num 22, where he is identified as the angel or messenger of the Lord (מְלֹאֲךְ יְהוָה). The second meaning is that of accuser, as in 1 Chr

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<sup>99</sup> This is exactly the point made by Noack at the end of a detailed examination of the background of Satan in the Old Testament, Second Temple period, and rabbinic literature. He says that the New Testament does not develop its own demonology, but inherits that of “Spätjudentum,” in which Satan is the ruler of evil spirits and the opponent of God. The New Testament, he says, cannot be understood without this background (Bent Noack, *Satanás und Sotería: Untersuchungen zur neutestamentlichen Dämonologie* [Copenhagen: Gads, 1948], 49).

<sup>100</sup> Peggy L. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Šātān in the Hebrew Bible*, HSM (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 15.

<sup>101</sup> Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Šātān in the Hebrew Bible*, 147.

21. In Job 1–2 and Zech 3 Satan appears as holding an office within the heavenly court. In no case, she argues, is Satan construed as an independent adversary of God. On the basis of her judgement that these texts need to be read independently as reflecting different figures and not a single celestial being, she rejects efforts to find a development of a single character of Satan within the Hebrew Bible.<sup>102</sup>

In a study that appeared at roughly the same time as Day's, and apparently independently, Neil Forsyth argues for just such a development of Satan in the Hebrew Bible, from an agent of God to an independent opponent to God.<sup>103</sup> In Numbers there is no association of the *satan* with evil. He is simply an angel of the Lord doing the Lord's work by creating a stumbling block for Balaam. In Job, Satan is acting with God's authorization, and although harming Job is not a "roving devil at liberty to tempt and subvert.... The Satan of Job is certainly no 'fallen angel.'"<sup>104</sup> In Zechariah, an additional element is added: Satan is rebuked by the angel of the Lord, "as if he has gone too far and needs to be restrained."<sup>105</sup> Whereas in Numbers the angel of the Lord is identified with the *satan*, here Satan and the angel of the Lord are not only distinguished but opposed to each other. In 1 Chronicles, however, a different agenda is at play. The Chronicler is rewriting the Deuteronomistic historical narrative of Samuel and Kings according to the agenda of the priestly code, with a particular interest in clearing David of his less praiseworthy deeds. In 2 Sam 24:1–17, David takes a census of the people, which is described as a grave sin that resulted in a serious punishment. The story is complicated because the Lord appears both to incite David to take the census on account of the Lord's anger, but then punishes him for it. The Chronicler introduces the figure of Satan both to resolve this difficulty and deflect responsibility from David for his sin, beginning his

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<sup>102</sup> Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Šātān in the Hebrew Bible*, 5–6.

<sup>103</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 107–23.

<sup>104</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 114.

<sup>105</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 115.

account “Satan stood up against Israel, and incited David to number Israel” (1 Chr 21:1). This corresponds to a common device in rewritten biblical accounts that introduces Satan or an equivalent figure to account for the misdeeds of noble figures. Thus, God is cleared of responsibility for David’s sin and David’s punishment is not arbitrary, while David’s own character is absolved by transferring some responsibility to Satan. Forsyth says, “For the first time, then, we find in the Chronicler a Satan who acts independently of divine permission.”<sup>106</sup> This interpretation is facilitated by the existence of the Chronicler’s source in 2 Samuel, which allows us to see the author’s creativity in assigning a particular role and function to Satan. Though it is an isolated passage and the idea of Satan as an independent ruler of evil forces is not fully present, another step in the path of development towards a single Satan figure has taken place. While Day is correct to insist that the Hebrew Bible itself does not have a clear and consistent conception of a celestial Satan figure, these isolated appearances do reflect a broader development taking place within Judaism that continues into the Second Temple period.

The conception of Satan as a member of the divine court is at the heart of what Kelly calls the “original biography of Satan.” He rightly reads Satan in the Old Testament as an adversary, with *satan* being a common noun applied to different figures, both angelic and human.<sup>107</sup> We will later dispute Kelly’s claim that this “original biography” is also present in the New Testament, as that original biography had already developed into something different in Second Temple apocalypticism. He is on solid ground, however, in

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<sup>106</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 121. But see the article by Stokes, who argues that even here, the *satan* (which he reads as a common noun and not a proper name) is not an archenemy of God, but an emissary who does his will (R.E. Stokes, “The Devil Made David Do It ... or ‘Did’ He? the Nature, Identity, and Literary Origins of the Satan in 1 Chronicles 21:1,” *JBL* 128 (2009): 91–106). Though I find Forsyth’s interpretation more compelling, not much hinges on the picture of Satan in 1 Chronicles. Whether construed as a divine emissary like the *satan* in the story of Balaam and Job or an adversary of God as in later literature, the overall picture we are here constructing of developing notions of Satan remains.

<sup>107</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 13–31.

understanding the Old Testament's Satan to be adversarial to humans but one still associated with God and acting with his authorization. There is broad scholarly consensus now that Satan in the Old Testament is a member of the heavenly court, a kind of divinely authorized prosecutor, and not the opponent of God.

The sparse and fragmentary role of Satan in the Hebrew Bible can likely be attributed to the difficulty that it causes for monotheism. Forsyth makes the implications of Satan for Jewish monotheism a key part of his study of Satan in the Old Testament. In the strongest statements of monotheism, the creation of evil is attributed to God, as in Isa 45:7: "I form light and create darkness; I make weal and create woe—I the LORD do all these things" (NJPS). Job has a similar viewpoint that attributes evil as well as good to God's omnipotence and wisdom, keeping Satan within the orbit of God's divine assembly as a figure with the role of prosecutor. There are hints of angelic figures that act independently of God, as in 2 Sam 24:16, where God tells his angel to stop afflicting Jerusalem with pestilence, on which Forsyth comments, "We note here an angel who wants to do more than the Lord will finally allow, a potential clash of wills that is to be vastly developed in the later tradition."<sup>108</sup> Russell describes how the various angelic beings in the Old Testament are part of a heavenly council of angelic beings who do no more than execute the will of God.<sup>109</sup> The development of a role for angelic beings who act independently of God and at times contrary to him arose as a response to the question of suffering and evil in the experience of Jewish people. The conception of Satan as an independent being opposed to God's will creates a tension in monotheism, a theological problem addressed by avoidance of the figure in the Old Testament. The apocalyptic worldview that develops in the Second Temple period takes account of this difficulty and so is not truly dualistic, in the proper sense of that term in which equal powers of good

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<sup>108</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 112.

<sup>109</sup> David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 236.

and evil are in conflict. Rather, in Second Temple apocalypticism, an inferior power of evil antagonizes the superior power of God, whose victory is assured. The term “modified dualism” is at best a poor description of this worldview, which is so different from the original meaning of dualism.

#### **1.4.2. Satan in Second Temple Literature**

The best picture by which to understand how Satan was conceived in the New Testament and early Christianity, and particularly in Luke, is the one that emerges from Second Temple apocalypticism. As Forsyth says, the Hebrew Bible contains only slight indications of the fully developed notion of Satan seen later, and “it was the apocalyptic movement in its most extreme form that completed the metamorphosis of subordinate official into rebellious angel, of *agent provocateur* into a sinister and mysterious spirit at loose in the universe.”<sup>110</sup> Between the Old Testament and the New Testament period, the notion of Satan underwent considerable development in Judaism into the malevolent opponent of God and leader of evil forces that we see in the New Testament. The place of the devil in Second Temple apocalypticism is a standard part of any scholarly or popular treatment of Satan. The work of Paolo Sacchi is particularly important for tracing the history of these ideas,<sup>111</sup> as is Neil Forsyth’s work on the combat myth, where Satan plays a key role.<sup>112</sup> In the books of 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs Satan is depicted as part of an apocalyptic worldview of opposing but unequal forces, leading the forces of darkness against the forces of light. There is a great cosmic conflict taking place, in which God has the greater power and his eventual victory is assured.

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<sup>110</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 122.

<sup>111</sup> See especially Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, JSPSup 20 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 211–32.

<sup>112</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*.

Sacchi traces the development of the figure of the devil in Second Temple Judaism and finds two basic conceptions. The first is that the devil accounts for the origin of evil but is no longer active. The second is that the devil is still active in history “rebellious against God and harmful to humans.”<sup>113</sup> Sacchi begins his study by breaking down the various strands of the Book of Watchers in 1 Enoch, identifying an author he calls “Ap1,” whom he calls the originator of apocalypticism, responsible for the final editing of the text. Ap1 inherited a problem within Judaism of how to account for the existence of evil if there is but one God who is good in himself. Faced with the need to uphold that God is the creator of all and that evil cannot be traced back to him, Ap1 relies on the story of the fall of the angels. Their leader is imprisoned in an underground darkness, but the evil spirits continue to afflict human beings, causing them to sin and thereby casting doubt on their moral responsibility for sin.<sup>114</sup> By contrast, in the Hebrew Bible, the figure of Satan appears as an accuser of humans within the divine court, and so there is no origin story of fallen or rebellious angels. There he is an ambiguous figure, but it becomes apparent (progressing from Zech. 3:2 to Job to 1 Chr 21:1) that he can harm humans, so that “Satan and the devil (whether Asa’el or Semeyaza) are drawing closer to each other. Within a short time their figures will converge completely, in the sense that Satan will become the name, or at least one of the names of the devil.”<sup>115</sup>

The book of Jubilees is where, according to Sacchi, this convergence takes place. In Jubilees, Noah’s sons present to him the problem of unclean demons who are leading people astray and destroying them (10.1). Noah prays to God to imprison these sons of the Watchers, who are “malignant and created to destroy” (10:5), asking that they “not have power over the sons of the righteous, for you alone [God] can exercise dominion

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<sup>113</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 211.

<sup>114</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 212–19.

<sup>115</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 223.

over them” (10.6). When God gives the command, the figure known in Jubilees as Mastema goes to God to ask that some be allowed to remain so that he can subject people to his will. God consents, and allows one tenth to remain. Mastema is here described as the “chief of the spirits,” and in Jubilees he is the leader of evil forces that oppress humans.<sup>116</sup> The name Mastema (מַשְׁטֵמָה) is lexically related to Satan from the same Hebrew root שָׂטָן. While Sacchi tries to read Mastema as a subordinate figure to an ill-defined Satan on the basis of the appearance of Satan in Jubilees 10:11 (the only clear occurrence of Satan as a proper name in Jubilees), Forsyth is correct to see this as an insignificant distinction, so that the figure of Mastema in Jubilees corresponds to the name Satan used as the leader of evil forces.<sup>117</sup> In the rewritten biblical narrative of Jubilees, Mastema opposes both God’s actions and righteous humans.<sup>118</sup> He suggests to God the testing of Abraham in the sacrifice of Isaac. He tries to kill Moses (48:3), who is delivered by God, and assists Pharaoh’s magicians against Moses (48:9). He sends the Egyptian armies into the Red Sea after the Israelites (48:12–14). In each of these cases, he is foiled and shamed by God. Sacchi says that in Jubilees “the devil has therefore changed from being the metaphysical principle of evil to the head of a kind of kingdom, parallel to that of God.... The kingdom of evil is unified and made contemporary to humans.”<sup>119</sup> The leader of that kingdom is Mastema, corresponding to Satan and also known as Belial. In this view, there is an organized kingdom surrounding human beings, opposed to God,

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<sup>116</sup> See the discussion of Mastema in Jubilees by O.S. Wintermute, in OTP 2:47–48, but more recently and extensively in James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary in Two Volumes*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2018), 47–53.

<sup>117</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 188–91. As Forsyth notes, Jubilees also substitutes the name Beliar for Mastema. Cf. HALOT, s.v. “מַשְׁטֵמָה,” which identifies Mastema as the form of Satan particular to Jubilees, and Kelly, who understands these two names as equivalent (Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 35–41), as well as VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 407.

<sup>118</sup> For a discussion of Jubilees as rewritten Bible, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 21–24.

<sup>119</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 224–25.

but allowed by God to have a certain power.<sup>120</sup> This worldview and conception of Satan corresponds broadly to that present in Luke and the New Testament.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs have a well-developed apocalyptic worldview with a prominent role for the devil as a force hostile to both God and humans. The origin of this text has been the subject of much debate, for it has apparent Christian influence and interpolations, though it is impossible to reconstruct its textual history.<sup>121</sup> De Jonge argued it is of Christian origin, while others have claimed it is an Essene composition.<sup>122</sup> More recently, Joel Marcus has argued, on the basis of comparison with the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, that it is a Jewish-Christian document dating to the late second or early third century AD.<sup>123</sup> The uncertainty about the origins and dating of this text make it difficult to lay too much weight on it as a source for Second Temple apocalypticism. Nonetheless, even if it is of a later date, its Jewish provenance likely reflects the apocalyptic worldview of the period we are considering. Or, if it is of Christian origin, it may well represent the adoption and appropriation of these ideas precisely because they are so consonant with Christian theology. Satan is called a “prince” who rules over the “kingdom of the enemy” and seeks to “trip up all who call on the Lord” (T. Dan 5:6, 6:3). The Testaments have a dualistic ethical worldview, speaking of “two ways [of] the sons of men, two mind-sets, two lines of action, two models, and

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<sup>120</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 225. Cf. Forsyth’s discussion in *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 182–91.

<sup>121</sup> See the brief precis of the debate in John J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 133–34, and David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 55–57. For a more thorough analysis, see H.D. Slingerland, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical History of Research*, SBLMS (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977).

<sup>122</sup> M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of Their Text, Composition, and Origin* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953); André Dupont-Sommer, *Nouveaux aperçus sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1953); M. Philonenko, *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960).

<sup>123</sup> Joel Marcus, “The Testaments of the Twelve Apostles and the Didascalia Apostolorum: A Common Jewish Christian Milieu?” *JTS* 61 (2010): 596–626.

two goals... the two ways are good and evil” (T. Ash. 1:3, 5). The Testaments make the devil the source of human sinfulness, close to humans and even within them. So the spirits of Beliar “seek to derange you with all sorts of evil oppression” (T. Ben 3:3). The devil works through anger and falsehood to corrupt the soul so that “the Lord withdraws from it and Beliar rules it” (T. Dan 4:7). He is working at cross-purposes from God, who in turn works for humans by opposing the work of Satan. “The person who fears God and loves his neighbor cannot be plagued by the spirit of Beliar since he is sheltered by the fear of God” (T. Ben 1:4). Dan warns to “be on guard against Satan and his spirits. Draw near to God and to the angel who intercedes for you, because he is the mediator between God and men for the peace of Israel” (T. Dan 6:3).

Sacchi says that the concern of the Testaments is not with the devil’s origin as much as his fate, which is to be defeated and bound by the Messiah.<sup>124</sup> This apocalyptic future entails liberation by God: “And thereafter the Lord himself will arise upon you, the light of righteousness with healing and compassion in his wings. He will liberate every captive of the sons of men from Beliar, and every spirit of error will be trampled down” (T. Zeb. 9:8). The role of the Messiah is to engage in war against the devil, specifically over human souls: “And there shall arise for you from the tribe of Judah and (the tribe of) Levi the Lord’s salvation. He will make war against Beliar; he will grant the vengeance of victory as our goal. And he shall take from Beliar the captives, the souls of the saints; and he shall turn the hearts of the disobedient ones to the Lord, and grant eternal peace to those who call upon him” (T. Dan 5:10–11). The devil will be defeated, “There shall no more be Beliar’s spirit of error, because he will be thrown into eternal fire” (T. Jud. 25:3). In language that matches Luke’s expression about the power given by Jesus to the seventy, the Testaments say of the Messiah, “Beliar shall be bound by him. And he shall

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<sup>124</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 227–28.

grant to his children the authority to trample on wicked spirits” (T. Levi 18:12; cf. Luke 10:19, “I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy”). The worldview of this text, even admitting the probability of Christian influence or origin, corresponds closely to what we will see in Luke’s writings: a world under the power of Satan, who afflicts human souls by leading them into sin, but who is defeated by the power of God in the Messiah. Luke also shares the Testaments’ focus on the fate of Satan rather than his origins.

A later section of 1 Enoch, the Book of Parables (or Similitudes, which occupy 1 Enoch 37–71), contains “a classic example of an apocalyptic worldview” that is similar to that of the Book of Watchers, in which evil powers are defeated and punished by the angels of God.<sup>125</sup> There is a class of angels known as *satans*, separate from the fallen angels, who have a role similar to the Old Testament Satan, not part of the diabolical kingdom *per se*, but somehow in the service of God while bringing evil upon humans (see 40.7, 65.5). Another passage speaks of Azazel, to whom all human sin is ascribed, who is head of the armies of fallen angels and for whom chains are prepared by the archangels (54:5). These fallen angels are guilty of “unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth” (54:6 OTP). Two conceptions are key: these fallen angels have aligned themselves with Satan, who is identified as the head of the powers of evil, and they are guilty of the corruption of human beings. Sacchi comments that Satan “has become, in this era spanning the first century BCE and the first century CE, the common name indicating the devil, and cannot in any way be identified with the angel of Job’s heavenly court.”<sup>126</sup> He observes that Satan seems to stand over

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<sup>125</sup> George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2012), 38. The dating of the Book of Parables has been much debated. Milik proposed a late date for it in the third century AD, arguing that it is a Christian composition. Collins rejects that thesis and dates it in the early- to mid-first century, prior to the destruction of the Temple (John J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 177–78).

<sup>126</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 228.

these lesser figures and is not subject to punishment himself. Sacchi concludes, “All these demons are still active, even though their future condemnation and imprisonment are certain. They are the ones who lead people to sin.”<sup>127</sup> The role played here by Satan and his cooperating angels corresponds to what we will see in Luke: demons aligned with him cooperate in his work of destroying human beings by leading them to sin (for which they are still responsible), but whose defeat is certain in the kingdom of God.

Moving into the New Testament era, Sacchi finds in the Testament of Job an attempt to deal with the question of why God, who is stronger than the devil, does not simply destroy him, and whether the devil somehow has a part in God’s plans.<sup>128</sup> In this text, the devil is more opposed to humans than God. He has freedom to act and yet can only attack someone with God’s authorization: “diabolical initiative and divine authorization.”<sup>129</sup> In this way, God allows human beings to be tested and so show their virtue. Sacchi sees the development of the devil in Second Temple thought as a consistent effort to resolve the problem posed by evil and sinfulness. The solution allows for the existence and power of the devil in the world as the cause of the plight of human beings, without ascribing evil directly to God.

Within the New Testament itself, the Book of Revelation reflects a fully developed apocalypticism expressed in the literary genre of an apocalypse and is an important witness to Second Temple apocalypticism as adopted by Christianity. Revelation depicts a figure called “Satan or the devil” who, in a cosmic battle, attacks human beings but is defeated by God (12:7–17, cf. 20:1–3). Revelation is roughly

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<sup>127</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 229.

<sup>128</sup> The dating of the Testament of Job is difficult to establish. According to Spittler, it can only be identified as a sectarian Jewish text from the period 100 BC - 200 AD (R.P. Spittler, “Job, Testament Of,” *ABD* 3:869–71 and R.P. Spittler, *OTP* 1:833–34).

<sup>129</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 230.

contemporaneous with the Gospel of Luke, and it will be argued that the two works, though very different literary forms, are close in their theology and worldview.

### **1.4.3. Satan in Qumran**

Qumran was an apocalyptic community, close to the world of the New Testament both in time and place, but also in its theology and apocalyptic worldview.<sup>130</sup> As Lichtenberger observes in studying demonology and accounts of the origin of evil, Qumran and the New Testament “share a common worldview which is deeply rooted in the Bible and in post-biblical developments in early Judaism.”<sup>131</sup> While the sectarian writings of this community were not apocalypses in genre, they reflect an apocalyptic worldview.<sup>132</sup> Pagels says that this community “placed this cosmic battle between angels and demons, God and Satan, at the center of their cosmology and their politics.”<sup>133</sup> According to Sacchi, Qumran gives a simplified view of apocalypticism, and in place of a

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<sup>130</sup> John J. Collins, “Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. L.J. Schiffman (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 25–51. For discussion of the relationship of Qumran and the New Testament, see the essays in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, The Scrolls and Christian Origins (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006) and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000).

<sup>131</sup> Hermann Lichtenberger, “Demonology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,” in *Text, Thought and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*; Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 280. See also Alexander, who concludes there is a particularly close affinity between the demonology of the Scrolls and the demonology of the New Testament. Many key terms and ideas are common to both literatures, and above all the New Testament, like the Scrolls, sets its demonology in a strong theological framework (Philip S. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 2, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 351).

<sup>132</sup> John J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 147. For an overview of Qumran writings in their apocalyptic context, see David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 40–48, and Florentino García Martínez, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Vol. 1. The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. John J. Collins (New York: Continuum, 1998), 162–92.

<sup>133</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 56.

complex etiology of evil based on angelic fall and warfare, posits the creation of two great spirits, one the head of light and one the head of darkness.<sup>134</sup> In its cosmology the forces of good and evil, often characterized with the images of light and darkness, are at war with each other. They are not, however, equal forces, so that the term “modified dualism” only describes this awkwardly. The Angel of Darkness fights against the Prince of Light, a conflict that touches and involves human beings. The Rule of the Community gives instruction about this struggle in which members of the community participate, in a section that John Collins calls “the most systematic exposition of what might be called an apocalyptic theology in the scrolls (1QS III, 13–IV, 26).<sup>135</sup> According to this text, God places within each person two spirits, one of truth and one of deceit. Each person must choose which to follow, and thus become either a son of justice, under the Prince of Light, or a son of deceit, under the Angel of Darkness. All evil and corruption are attributed to the Angel of Darkness: “From the Angel of Darkness stems the corruption of all the sons of justice, and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilts and their offensive deeds are under his dominion... and all the spirits of his lot cause the sons of light to fall” (1QS III, 21–24). God created the Angel of Darkness, though the text does not penetrate into this mystery, and yet he “detests [him], his counsel and all his paths he hates forever” (1QS IV, 1). God and his angels of truth assist the sons of light, and those who walk in the spirit of the sons of truth are promised plentiful reward and endless life (1QS III, 24–IV, 8). Those who follow the spirit of deceit are promised punishment, destruction, and an eternity of damnation (1QS IV, 9–14). The Community Rule says that the division into two armies is part of “the history of all men,” and that each of a person’s deeds places him or her within one of these armies (1QS IV, 15–16).<sup>136</sup> God has sorted them into these

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<sup>134</sup> Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 225–26.

<sup>135</sup> John J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 153. See also his discussion in John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 30–51.

<sup>136</sup> John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 52–70.

two divisions, which are in violent conflict with each other (1QS IV, 16–18). In this formulation, we can see how this theology contains elements both of de Boer’s cosmological and forensic apocalyptic eschatologies. It also falls into the category of moral agency described by Newsom as “impaired but able to be overcome,” and falling along the axis of self-in-control but under the influence of external agents.

At the head of the of forces of evil is a figure most commonly called Belial at Qumran (only a few times by the name of Satan). Belial is the leader of evil spirits, the main personification of evil and the proper name of the Angel of Darkness.<sup>137</sup> He is said to have “dominion” during this present age, and is the source of the sins of Israel in that era, in which he subjects the righteous to “fear, dread, [and] testing” (1QS I, 17–18, 23–24). The War Scroll says that Belial was created by God as an angel of enmity, “in darkness is his domain, his counsel is to bring about wickedness and guilt” (1QM XIII, 10–11). He is described elsewhere as the counselor of the uncircumcised, the defiled, and the violent (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV, 21–22). He plots the corruption of humans with the collaboration of “men of deceit” in order to lead people into the pit of destruction (1QH<sup>a</sup> X, 16–17). The Damascus Document interprets Isaiah 24:17 to say that Belial is set loose against Israel, with three nets of fornication, wealth, and the defilement of the Temple to ensnare them (CD IV, 13–18). The angels of light help the sons of light against this malevolent force (1QM XIII, 10). Qumran rereads God’s promise to deliver David from his enemies (2 Sam 7:11) as a promise to deliver him from the “sons of Belial” (4QFlor I, 7–9).

Qumran holds eschatological hope for a final resolution of this conflict in which God will be victorious and defeat Belial and the powers of evil. The Community Rule says this occurs at the “proper time”: “God, in the mysteries of his knowledge and in the wisdom of his glory, has determined an end to the existence of injustice and on the

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<sup>137</sup> Corrado Martone, “Evil or Devil?: Belial Between the Bible and Qumran,” *Hen* 26 (2004): 115–27. See also Philip S. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls”.

appointed time of the visitation he will obliterate it forever” (1QS IV, 18–19). The Scrolls speak often of the “end of days,” as the beginning of the Rule of the Community which says it is a rule for all Israel “in the last days” (1QSa I, 1). The “end” does not refer to a specific time, but an eschatological period, the last period of suffering and trials and the time of the expected messiahs.<sup>138</sup> The War Scroll gives a fuller picture of this final conflict, using the language of war and violence. It begins by saying “The first attack by the sons of light will be launched against the lot of the sons of darkness, against the army of Belial” (1QM I, 1). The victory will be God’s and Belial will be destroyed: “This is a time of salvation for the nation of God and a period of rule for all the men of his lot, and of everlasting destruction for all the lot of Belial.... wickedness having been defeated, with no remnant remaining, and there will be no escape for [any of the sons] of darkness” (1QM I, 5–7). The battle is described in vivid terms: “The sons of light and the lot of darkness shall battle together for God’s might, between the roar of a huge multitude and the shout of gods and of men, on the day of the calamity” (1QM I, 11). This will cause suffering for the righteous, with the battle evenly fought for six rounds. “There will be infantry battalions to melt the heart, but God’s might will strengthen the he[art of the sons of light]” (1QM I, 14). In the seventh round of battle, though, the victory will be God’s: “God’s great hand will subdue [Belial, and al]l the angels of his dominion and all the men of [his lot.] ... the holy ones, he will appear to assist the [...] truth, for the destruction of the sons of darkness” (1QM I, 14–17). The text proceeds to give detailed military and liturgical instructions for the prosecution of the battle. The specifics are elaborate and in many cases opaque, but the implications are clear. The conception is what de Boer calls cosmological apocalyptic eschatology, in which the superior power of God is certain to defeat the forces of evil and so vindicate the righteous.

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<sup>138</sup> John J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 156–57. See also Annette Steudel, “אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 (1993): 225–46.

The Qumran community had an expectation that messianic figures would arise as part of this eschatological conflict. In language resembling Luke 1:32, one key text, 4Q246, speaks of the messiah as the “Son of God,” or “Son of the Most High,” who will raise up the people of God, have an everlasting kingdom, and judge the earth with truth: “His sovereignty is everlasting sovereignty” (4Q246 II, 1–5).<sup>139</sup> While this messianic expectation was a feature of other Second Temple texts (such as the Psalms of Solomon, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch), most distinctive of Qumran was the idea of two messiahs, one royal and one priestly.<sup>140</sup> The Damascus Document refers to “the messiah of Aaron and Israel (CD XII, 23–XIII, 1; XIV, 19; XIX, 11; XX, 1). While the distinction between the two is not consistent or clear, apocalyptic expectation at Qumran saw a role for messianic figures who would bring about the expected final resolution and establishment of God’s reign.<sup>141</sup>

This community saw itself participating in a cosmological conflict between the powers of good and evil, designated by light and darkness. The sons of light are afflicted by Belial, or the Angel of Darkness, who has dominion in this age. God assists the righteous in their war with Belial and will intervene to defeat and destroy him. This is a fully developed apocalyptic eschatology, with a cosmology of forces of evil at war with God and the expectation of a messianic victory. Pagels observes that the Essenes “offer the closest parallel to Mark’s account of Jesus’ followers, as they invoke images of cosmic war to divide the universe at large—and the Jewish community in particular—between God’s people and Satan’s.”<sup>142</sup> What she says of Mark is also true of the New

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<sup>139</sup> John J. Collins, “The ‘Son of God’ Text from Qumran,” in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge*, ed. Martinus C. de Boer (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 65–82.

<sup>140</sup> John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 74–77.

<sup>141</sup> See the discussion in Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, 123–28.

<sup>142</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 60.

Testament in general and Luke in particular. It is not possible, nor is it necessary, to demonstrate direct knowledge of the Scrolls on Luke's part. The apocalyptic worldview present here is also present in Luke's own construction of the gospel narrative, and seeing it at Qumran helps to identify how Luke's writing corresponds to it. There is a similar, even shared, encyclopedia of knowledge between Luke and Qumran.

This brief exploration of Second Temple apocalypticism and the development of Satan helps to see that within the diversity of thought of this period, common features can be discerned that will help understand and situate the role of Satan within the apocalyptic worldview that is assumed by Luke. Familiarity with Luke's encyclopedia of knowledge will help fill in the gaps that he leaves as he assumes shared knowledge with his readers. At the heart of apocalypticism lies a cosmology in which the world is divided into unequal camps of good and evil, described as light and darkness, often described as "modified dualism." The modification, which makes it into something distinct from dualism, is at the ontological level: God is the totally superior power and his victory is assured. Though the forces of evil seem to be in ascendancy at present, it is only a temporary circumstance that will be ultimately rectified by the superior power of God. This view is what de Boer classifies as cosmological dualism, which emphasizes the existence of supernatural forces of good and evil that are in conflict with each other. As it develops in light of Jewish monotheism, the figure of Satan goes from his role as an angel of God and a member of the divine court to that of a fallen angel, the leader of the forces of darkness who opposes God and is in conflict with the forces of light. Satan and his demons oppress the righteous by trying to lead them into sin. This worldview also has an ethical component, which is more properly dualistic, in the sense that all people must choose either light or darkness. This corresponds to what de Boer classifies as forensic apocalyptic eschatology, which emphasizes the necessity of decision and the reality that

each person must associate with either the sons of light or darkness. All persons will be judged by God accordingly. Apocalypticism arises out of the theological difficulty of accounting for the existence of evil and the suffering of the righteous in light of monotheism. In approaching this tension, it finds a quite different solution from that provided in true dualism. Apocalypticism generates various accounts of the origin of evil cosmologically and personally, all of which separate and put distance between God and the existence of evil. Most important and distinctive about apocalypticism is the eschatological expectation that the forces of evil will be defeated by God's action. De Boer describes the main features of this resolution as cosmic in scope and implication, an act of God that is both rectifying and eschatological.

These broad features of apocalypticism and the figure of Satan will help to identify the role that Satan plays in Luke's Gospel and Acts. Luke assumes and appropriates the basic elements of this apocalyptic worldview, and is particularly close to the features of that seen at Qumran. He views the world as under the authority of Satan, with his demonic forces active in the world, not only leading people into sin, but afflicting them through possession and illness. Satan is the enemy of God and the oppressor of people. The story Luke tells is the story of the eschatological resolution of this situation, the action of God that rectifies this situation, is cosmic in its scope and implication, and definitive. This resolution takes place through the ministry of Jesus, who comes to bring the kingdom of God, which is associated with the defeat of Satan and his domain, and its consequences are effected in the life of the church in Acts. Broadly speaking, we see in Luke features of both cosmological and forensic apocalyptic eschatology. In Newsom's terminology, this is a conception of agency in which moral responsibility is impaired by the action of Satan, but this can be remedied. The locus of moral control is within the self, and yet the action of supernatural beings on the human person is real and consequential.

This picture of Second Temple apocalypticism helps to see what is in Luke's encyclopedia of knowledge, what he assumes but does not say about Satan and how Satan functions in Luke's narrative and theology. In turn, Satan's role in Luke is key to understanding the latent but real apocalypticism of his theology.

## 2. The Conflict Begins

Luke constructs his narrative in terms of the conflict between God and Satan characteristic of Second Temple apocalyptic. Jesus is the protagonist of the Gospel, described by Luke as one anointed by the Holy Spirit who comes to bring light to those who dwell in darkness and the shadow of death and liberation to captives and the oppressed (Luke 1:79 and 4:16–21). But who is the antagonist in Luke’s plot? With whom is Jesus in conflict? In his monograph on conflict in Luke, Jack Kingsbury says that Jesus’s primary opponents are the religious authorities, but a careful reading of the distinctive features of Luke’s narrative will show that Kingsbury has missed something important. In the story that Luke tells, Satan is Jesus’s primary antagonist, who seeks to destroy Jesus but who is ultimately defeated by him. Satan is the one who binds people through possession, illness, and every kind of evil affliction. The setting for Luke’s story is a world in which Satan has authority in an earthly kingdom, in which people are afflicted in various ways by evil. Luke tells the story of Jesus fulfilling the apocalyptic expectation that God will intervene to rectify this situation in a way that is cosmic and definitive. Jesus comes to overthrow this *status quo* by bringing the kingdom of God, in which the power of God defeats the lesser authority of Satan. Unlike the plots of Mark and Matthew, which have perhaps influenced Kingsbury’s reading,<sup>1</sup> where Jesus’s primary antagonists are human opponents, in Luke their opposition is secondary and only arises after Jesus’s initial confrontation with Satan. It remains ineffective until it is allied

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<sup>1</sup> Kingsbury has also written that Jesus’s conflict with religious authorities is at the heart of the plot of Matthew (Jack Dean Kingsbury, “The Significance of the Cross Within the Plot of Matthew’s Gospel: A Study in Narrative Criticism,” in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism*, ed. Camille Focant [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993], 263–79). See the commentary by Branden, in the course of his argument that Matthew’s plot is also focused on Satan (Branden, *Satanic Conflict*, 94–100). While Branden has made a cogent argument about Matthew, Luke has gone much further in downplaying conflict with human powers in the course of Jesus’s ministry in order to highlight the conflict with Satan.

with the power of Satan in the person of Judas. Luke's understanding of the gospel, that is, what God is accomplishing in the life of Jesus and the church, is succinctly stated by Jesus's words to Paul, recounted near the end of Luke's writing, words that invoke the conflict fundamental to apocalyptic eschatology: "to turn them from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, so that they receive release from sins and a place among those who are sanctified by faith in me" (Acts 26:18). This analysis of Luke's plot in terms of a fundamental conflict with Satan is a new reading. Some scholars, such as Garrett and Fitzmyer,<sup>2</sup> have accurately noted the importance of conflict with Satan in Luke's narrative, but have not identified that as the primary element of the plot, nor carried out a complete description of Luke's writing in light of that insight.

Luke's narrative of Jesus's engagement in the conflict between God and Satan both reflects and generates a worldview. His vision of the world in conflict between God and Satan comes out of the Jewish apocalypticism of his time, as described in the previous chapter. This worldview is the foundation of his plot, generally assumed rather than announced. Like the version of apocalyptic eschatology encountered at Qumran, his interest is less in the origin of Satan than his defeat, a story that he sees taking place in the life of Jesus. Luke's story is not about the *status quo* of Satan's authority, but about the *novum* of Jesus and the kingdom of God. Luke is not telling the story of Satan, but of what becomes of Satan's authority when Jesus arrives to bring the kingdom of God. The situation that is encountered at the beginning of the Gospel is thus transformed through the defeat of Satan and the establishment of God's power in the world seen being expanded in Acts. It is a complex picture in which Satan has been definitively defeated and yet still continues to act against Jesus and his followers. The role that Satan continues to play in the world is one aspect of the eschatological tension present in Luke and in all

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<sup>2</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 37–60; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Luke the Theologian: Aspects of His Teaching* (New York: Paulist, 1989), 146–74.

of the New Testament, between the “already” and the “not yet,” a kingdom of God that has already arrived and has yet to be ultimately and completely established.

Luke communicates this transformation through a complex array of narrative and theological moves in both his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. This transformation can only be seen by a careful reading of Luke’s plot, taking note of the ways in which he has deliberately shaped his narrative, incorporating Satan at more structurally important points than the other Gospels.<sup>3</sup> There is no single place that demonstrates this Lukan concern definitively, but Luke’s editorial moves, when considered together, show that Satan is fundamental to his narrative. Luke removes conflict and opposition to Jesus from the narrative prior to the temptations and restructures it to indicate that the temptations are the proper beginning of Jesus’s adult life and ministry. The confrontation with the devil in the desert (4:1–11) both establishes Satan as Jesus’s primary antagonist and the structure of the plot as a conflict between his authority and God’s power. The task of this chapter is to unpack the ways in which Luke constructs a plot and theology around the conflict between Jesus and Satan beginning with the temptations in the desert through the passion.

The argument proposed here is cumulative, and the weight of Luke’s references to Satan can only be seen by looking at them collectively, as the various pieces are drawn out and assembled into a clear picture of Luke’s understanding of Satan in relation to Jesus and the kingdom of God. By putting together all the places Luke incorporates

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<sup>3</sup> Northrop Frye, citing Aristotle, calls the plot “the ‘soul’ or shaping principle” of a literary work, “and the characters exist primarily as functions of the plot” (Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 49, citing *Poet.* 6.5). Marguerat and Bourquin define plot as the “systematization of the events which make up the story: these events are linked together by a causal link (configuration) and inserted into a chronological process (sequence of events)” (Marguerat and Bourquin, *How to Read Bible Stories*, 41). Modern literary criticism has preferred other terms, such as *fabula* or *sjuzet*, to plot (Abbot, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 16), but the language of plot will suffice for this discussion. On *fabula*, see Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 5–12, 181–224.

Satan, his plot and theological worldview will come into focus: the kingdom of God brought by Jesus overthrows the authority of Satan in the world and liberates people from his evil.

## 2.1. A Narrative of Conflict with Satan

Many of the narrative changes that Luke has made in the early chapters of his Gospel are accounted for by his desire to make Satan the main antagonist to Jesus and the source of conflict in the narrative. As Luke describes his own task in writing his Gospel (Luke 1:1–4), he is reworking sources to write a new gospel narrative that is “καθεξῆς,” which means “logical,” “orderly,” or “sequential.”<sup>4</sup> This statement of method cues the interpreter to pay special attention to the narrative refinements that Luke has made, since he is attempting to provide a superior organization to the story from that of his predecessors.

### 2.1.1. Infancy Narrative

Luke’s first major narrative revision is to add an infancy narrative that tells the story of God’s action in an entirely positive way, devoid of conflict and with no indication of who might oppose God’s work or why.<sup>5</sup> The infancy narrative that Luke

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<sup>4</sup> Luke does not specify his sources. All literary signs point to the gospel of Mark being one of them, and is our primary point of comparison to draw out Luke’s distinctive narrative features. Source criticism points to a literary source for other material. While the most widely accepted scholarly theory points to the “Q” source of sayings material, a rival theory plausibly points to Luke’s use of the gospel of Matthew instead. For the purposes of understanding Luke’s writing as his own, the specific source of this other material is only marginally relevant. The classic treatment of Luke’s sources is Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, 2nd ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1958), 21–110. For an overview of scholarship on Luke’s sources, with bibliography, see Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 63–106. Fitzmyer holds to the two-source theory of composition. Bock nuances the notion of Q by conceiving it as a “fluid pool of traditions” rather than a fixed document (Darrell L. Bock, *Luke Volume 1: 1:1–9:50*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1994), 9).

<sup>5</sup> The question of the authenticity of the infancy narrative has a long history of debate. Wellhausen simply begins his influential commentary at chapter 3 (Julius Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Lucae* [Berlin: Reimer, 1904]). Conybeare finds evidence that Ephraem in his commentary on the Diatessaron knew of an edition of Luke’s Gospel without the infancy narratives (F.C. Conybeare, “Ein Zeugnis Ephräms über das Fehlen von c. 1 und 2 im Texte des

composes is critical for understanding his narrative and theological purposes. It is his creative and original composition, even if he is working with source materials, and he has crafted a careful prologue to the Gospel that introduces key themes and structures the story that he will tell. Scholars taking a narrative approach to Luke's Gospel and studying the shape of conflict in his plot have failed to observe the absence of any opposition to Jesus or God's plan in the opening chapters. Kingsbury does little with the infancy narrative beyond summarizing it.<sup>6</sup> Green says that Simeon's prophecy that Jesus is a sign that will be opposed (Luke 2:34) shows that "the theme of conflict surrounding Jesus's ministry is deeply rooted in the opening chapters of the Gospel."<sup>7</sup> He does not refer to any other episodes, however, to back up this claim. In fact, there are none, and even this saying is prophetic, pointing to future events, not conflict that occurs in this part of the narrative. Tannehill calls the same episode "a clear preview of the resistance which Jesus will encounter during his ministry,"<sup>8</sup> but in his study of the infancy narrative does not

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Lucas," *ZNW* 3 [1902]: 192–97). Conzelmann called the authenticity of Luke 1–2 "questionable," and did not consider them in constructing his framework of a three-period scheme of history in Luke (Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 118). But later scholars pushed back against this skepticism. Paul Minear concluded on the basis of language, style, and themes that the infancy narrative is an integral and original part of the Lukan text (Paul S. Minear, "Luke's Use of the Birth Stories," in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martin [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966], 111–30). Oliver, in an article that contains an excellent review of the history of the debate, concludes on the basis of theological continuity that the infancy narrative is original (H.H. Oliver, "The Lucan Birth Stories and the Purpose of Luke-Acts," *NTS* 10 [1964]: 202–26). Tatum argues likewise along thematic and theological continuity (W. Barnes Tatum, "The Epoch of Israel: Luke I–II and the Theological Plan of Luke-Acts," *NTS* 13 [1967]: 184–95). Fitzmyer reviews the evidence and concludes that while the infancy narratives are authentic, they were a later edition by the original author (Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 310–11). While Fitzmyer cleverly splits the difference, the stronger case is that these chapters are an integral part of Luke's Gospel and deserve to be treated that way. More recent commentaries have taken that approach, with scant concern for the question of the originality of the infancy narrative (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*; François Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50*, trans. Christine M. Thomas, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2002)).

<sup>6</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 37–40.

<sup>7</sup> Joel B. Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke*, New Testament Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 69.

<sup>8</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 43.

note that that resistance is missing from the infancy narrative itself.<sup>9</sup> All we have is a preview.<sup>10</sup>

Both Matthew and Luke have added an infancy narrative to the Markan sources of their Gospels, but they construct the plot in markedly different ways. Luke's story is one of God's decisive action in the world in continuity with the Old Testament, with God's power working the salvation of Israel through the Holy Spirit. There is some mild drama around whether various figures will understand or respond rightly to God's action,<sup>11</sup> but the story is largely a revelatory one, showing the unfolding of God's plan and casting it theologically through the words of angels and the speeches of Mary, Zechariah, and Simeon. Luke is showing who Jesus is in terms that resonate with apocalyptic imagery. He is the light that is coming into the darkness and the Son of God endowed with kingly power. Absent is any opposition to Jesus.

Rather than showing opposition to Jesus, Luke shows Jesus being accepted at the heart of Jewish life by two separate episodes in the Temple. First is the triumphant proclamation of his identity by the righteous prophets Simeon and Anna (2:25–38). Simeon identifies Jesus as the fulfillment of God's promises of salvation to his people Israel, and the prophet's acclamation casts Jesus as triumphant rather than besieged at this stage of the narrative. Luke makes the point again in his story of Jesus being found in the

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<sup>9</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 15–44.

<sup>10</sup> As part of his attempt to read the Lukan infancy narrative in light of other ancient accounts of the birth of heroic figures, Talbert cites Richard Horsley's *The Liberation of Christmas* as an example of how *not* to read this account. Horsley takes a Marxist approach, seeing it as a story of the political overthrow of the oppressors by the oppressed. It is certainly difficult to see how that is in the infancy narrative itself (Charles H. Talbert, "Jesus' Birth in Luke and the Nature of Religious Language," in *Reading Luke-Acts in Its Mediterranean Milieu*, vol. 107, ed. Charles Talbert, NovTSup 107 [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 89–90, referring to Richard A. Horsley, *The Liberation of Christmas: The Infancy Narratives in Social Context* [New York: Crossroad, 1989]).

<sup>11</sup> So whether Zechariah and Mary will understand and respond well to the angel's word, and Mary and Joseph's puzzlement over the child staying behind in the Temple.

Temple at the age of twelve. Here Luke shows Jesus at home in the Temple, conversing with the teachers, “and all who heard him were amazed at his understanding and his answers” (Luke 2:47). De Jonge points out that the phrase “in the middle of the teachers” is the center and focal point of the pericope. Though interpreters such as Fitzmyer read Jesus’s role here as a pupil, Green is more accurate to see him as being presented on equal footing with the teachers.<sup>12</sup> An ordinary pupil would not lead onlookers to be amazed. In these two episodes, Luke shows Jesus acclaimed in the Temple, being heralded by both prophets and teachers. The acclaim with which Jesus is welcomed in the very heart of the Jewish faith, by both prophetic figures and teachers, is in sharp contrast to Matthew’s portrayal of Herod’s murderous reception of Jesus. In Matthew’s narrative conflict is introduced from the beginning, and it is clear that Jesus is opposed by human authorities and power, but an examination of Luke’s infancy narrative looks in vain for such opposition.

The significance of this editorial move to omit conflict from the infancy narratives has scarcely been noticed, much less explained.<sup>13</sup> Rather than noting that the boy Jesus’s acceptance by the teachers in Temple stands contrary to his reading of them as Jesus’s primary opponents, Kingsbury simply calls it a fitting initial meeting between two parties that will later be in conflict.<sup>14</sup> But first encounters are important in narratives. There is in fact no foreshadowing here of future conflict (though Kingsbury tries to find it in the teachers’ “amazement”). Tannehill does not observe or comment on the absence of conflict in this account.<sup>15</sup> Bock implicitly notes it when he comments on the striking

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<sup>12</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 442; Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 155.

<sup>13</sup> Goulder, writing on the theory that Luke knew Matthew’s Gospel and is working from it, does not discuss this aspect of Luke’s divergence from Matthew (Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm. Volume I*, JSNTSup 20 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989], 246–69).

<sup>14</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 83.

<sup>15</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 15–44.

contrast with the later disputes Jesus will have with religious authorities.<sup>16</sup> Green says that Luke introduces conflict into the narrative through the prophecy of Simeon,<sup>17</sup> but only in the most general terms. The reader who is looking for Jesus's opponent in the narrative will have to wait until the introduction of the devil in the temptation narrative.

Luke mostly omits conflict from the story of John the Baptist as well. Whereas Matthew accentuates the opposition of the Pharisees and Sadducees to John, Luke downplays these elements.<sup>18</sup> Each evangelist has incorporated similar sayings materials into his narrative in dramatically different ways. Matthew embeds the sayings into a conflict between John and religious authorities, while Luke portrays John as preaching the good news and being acclaimed by the people. In Matthew's account, John's words are a rebuke of the "Pharisees and Sadducees," whom he addresses as a "brood of vipers" (Matt 3:7–12). In the course of the narrative, they will be shown to be the common opponents of both John and Jesus (Matt 12:34, 23:33). Luke, however, has a different construction of the episode, eliminating the role of the religious authorities and stripping away the element of conflict by the crowds' positive reaction to John and his teaching. In Luke, John addresses the "crowds" (ὄχλοις, Luke 3:7), so that no particular group is identified as an opponent. John's prophetic call to repentance is thus addressed generally, and the people do not react with hostility, but positively, thus stripping the episode of its conflictual element. In Luke the crowds ask to be taught by John and this request is satisfied by the insertion of a small section of paraenetic teaching that is unique to Luke's Gospel (3:10–14). The crowd's positive reception deepens with the expectation and

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<sup>16</sup> Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 267.

<sup>17</sup> Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 144.

<sup>18</sup> The difference is noted by most commentators, and generally explained as a focus by Matthew on the conflict with religious authorities, or as Luke's interest in expanding the audience for John's preaching (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 467; Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 302–3;). These are true enough as observations, but do not adequately explain Luke's purpose in this noteworthy shift away from opponents in this narrative.

questioning in their hearts as to whether he was the Christ (προσδοκῶντος δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ διαλογιζομένων πάντων ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, Luke 3:15). Unlike Matthew who ends with the threat of “unquenchable fire” (Matt 3:12), Luke adds a conclusion to John’s preaching, saying that John, “with many other exhortations, preached good news (εὐηγγελίζετο) to the people” (Luke 3:18). Luke has presented John in a dramatically different light, not as engaged in a dramatic conflict with authorities, but as preaching good news to people whose thoughts are turned with expectation to the coming of the Christ. Luke thus clears the ground to place Jesus’s conflict with Satan in the first place, framing all opposition as taking place under the aegis of Satan.

Luke uses the apocalyptic images of darkness and light in the infancy narrative as a subtle introduction of the structure of his Gospel as conflict between Satan and God. Zechariah’s canticle (1:67–79) characterizes the action of God as the deliverance of his people from the power of darkness. The hymn describes God’s purpose to “visit and redeem his people” (1:68), coming into a world in which his people “sit in darkness and in the shadow of death” (1:79). Darkness and the shadow of death express Satan’s rule and power, the condition of the world that God is now acting to change (cf. Luke 22:53 and Acts 26:18).<sup>19</sup> Satan’s authority in the world is the *status quo*, the setting and problem that Luke presents at the start of the narrative. Luke describes God’s saving

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<sup>19</sup> Commentators have generally failed to apply the connection between darkness and Satan in Luke’s narrative to the significance of the Benedictus. Commentators such as Fitzmyer and Bovon pay little attention to the expression of darkness here (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 388 Bovon, *Luke 1*, 76–77). Bock describes the people as those who “are oppressed spiritually and physically,” but makes no connection with Satan or the powers of darkness (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 193). Commentators generally hold that Luke has Isaiah 8:23 and 9:1 in mind, pointing to the theme of God’s deliverance of Israel (Stephen Farris, *The Hymns of Luke’s Infancy Narratives: Their Origin, Meaning, and Significance*, JSNTSup 9 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985], 141; cf. Hans Conzelmann, “σκότος, κτλ.,” *TDNT* 7:440–441). But while the Isaiah passage is referring to liberation from political and military powers, Luke has in mind a different kind of liberation: from the powers of darkness which represent Satan. Luke clearly connects Satan with darkness in the passion (Luke 22:53) and in Paul’s mission (Acts 26:18).

action being worked through the lives of John and Jesus as the visitation of the dawn from on high that gives light to his people. The imagery of Jesus as light occurs again in Simeon's prophecy in the Temple, when he calls the infant Jesus the Lord's salvation, "a light for revelation to the Gentiles and glory to the people of Israel" (2:30–32). In the apocalyptic conflict between good and evil, Luke makes Jesus the light against the darkness of sin and death, which characterize the reign of Satan in the world. The imagery of light and darkness points to the apocalyptic character of Luke's writing. There is much more at stake in the narrative that conflict with human powers, but there is cosmological conflict that will result in the defeat of all the powers of evil in Satan. The infancy narrative reflects this apocalypticism with its imagery of light and darkness, forces that rule and compete with each other.

Luke's characterization of Jesus as having a kingly role, prominent in the infancy narrative, meshes with this apocalyptic framing. Jesus is endowed with kingly power that he will use to displace the authority of Satan by establishing the kingdom of God in its place, a conflict that is fully engaged from the first moments of Jesus's adult life in the desert. For now, the situation is laid out by Luke who characterizes Jesus in kingly terms.<sup>20</sup> The angel Gabriel's proclamation to Mary uses kingship language to speak of Jesus, calling him "the Son of the Most High," to whom the Lord God "will give the throne of his father David," who will "reign over the house of Jacob forever," and "whose kingdom will have no end" (1:32–33). David embodies kingship in Israel, and Luke returns to this image to again associate Jesus with kingship when the angels proclaim that Jesus is born "in the city of David" (2:11). Kuhn observes that Luke uses the character speeches of Elizabeth, Mary, and Zechariah to build up the "kingdom story" that Luke

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<sup>20</sup> Luke's kingly characterization of Jesus is present elsewhere in the Gospel. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 215–16. Bock calls the kingly identity of Jesus as Davidic son "a fundamental concept of Lucan theology" (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 115).

constructs, in which Jesus the Messiah, divine Son, and Lord marks God's visitation and the arrival of his kingdom.<sup>21</sup> Jesus's kingly power will be contested in the desert, when the devil tempts Jesus by offering him "all the kingdoms of the world" (4:5). On the occasion that he leaves his hometown at the beginning of his ministry, Luke's Jesus describes his mission clearly, saying that he was sent for the purpose of preaching the good news of the kingdom of God (εὐαγγελίσασθαι με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀπεστάλην, Luke 4:43). At the end of his life, Jesus will speak of the kingdom that was given him by his Father and which he in turns gives to his followers (22:29). From the beginning to the end, Luke conceives of Jesus's life and mission as a kingly one. The kingship of Jesus is an essential element in Luke's construction of the narrative as a conflict between rival kingdoms and power, in which Jesus possesses a kingdom and brings the power of God against the kingdom of Satan.

The Holy Spirit is prominent in the early chapters of Luke's Gospel as a divine agent that figures in the conflict between God and evil.<sup>22</sup> The role of the Holy Spirit is complex in Luke, despite the efforts of some scholars to understand it narrowly. Shepherd argues that the Holy Spirit in Luke is primarily a Spirit of prophecy that signals the narrative reliability of various characters.<sup>23</sup> This accords with the role the Spirit plays in the infancy narrative grounding the words of prophetic figures such as Elizabeth (1:41),

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<sup>21</sup> Karl Allen Kuhn, *The Kingdom According to Luke and Acts* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 127–39.

<sup>22</sup> The literature on the Holy Spirit in Luke is extensive. Recent works include Max Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Youngmo Cho, *Spirit and Kingdom in the Writings of Luke and Paul: An Attempt to Reconcile These Concepts*, PBM (Bletchley: Paternoster, 2005); William H. Shepherd, *The Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit as a Character in Luke-Acts*, SBLDS 147 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994); and Robert P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994). See especially the bibliography and discussion of scholarship in Menzies.

<sup>23</sup> Shepherd, *Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit*, 245–47.

Zechariah (1:67), and Simeon (2:25–26). But the Holy Spirit has a role that extends beyond inspiring prophetic words. In the angel’s announcement to Mary, her miraculous conception is ascribed to the Holy Spirit, which is placed in parallel with the power of the Most High (1:35). As Turner points out, this parallelism shows that in Luke’s view, “the Spirit is the new creation/resurrection power of God” and “identifies the Spirit as the power of Jesus’ miraculous conception.”<sup>24</sup> Luke’s references to the Holy Spirit are dense in the early chapters in order to establish the Spirit’s role and importance from the very start.<sup>25</sup> The prominence given to the Holy Spirit is a narrative structuring that Luke employs to thicken one side of the apocalyptic conflict he places at the center of the plot: the Holy Spirit acts on the side of God to empower human actors to accomplish God’s purpose. The apocalyptic battle Luke is narrating has its ethical dimension, corresponding to what de Boer calls forensic apocalyptic eschatology, and the Holy Spirit is the agent

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<sup>24</sup> Max Turner, “The Spirit and the Power of Jesus’ Miracles in the Lukan Conception,” *NovT* 33.2 (1991): 141–42. As part of his thesis arguing that for Luke, the Spirit is understood solely as the source of prophetic inspiration, Menzies argues that Luke uses this parallel construction to incorporate a traditional view that the Spirit was the source of power of Jesus’s conception, while also distancing that power from attribution to the Spirit and focusing on the Spirit as the source of Mary’s prophetic utterance in the Magnificat (Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts*, 111–16). It is probably better to moderate Menzies claim by saying that in Luke the Spirit is primarily associated with prophetic speech and δὴναμις with miracles, but that the relationship is more complex and the distinction not uniformly observed by Luke. Cf. Levison’s review of Menzies’s earlier work (*Empowered for Witness* is a revision of *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology, with Special Reference to Luke-Acts*, JSOT Supplement [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991]), in which he argues that Second Temple understandings of the Spirit were more diverse than Menzies claims (cf. Pseudo-Philo *LAB* 27:9–10), and that there are different types of prophecy in Luke-Acts, including the power to work miracles (John R. Levison, review of *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology, with Special Reference to Luke-Acts*, *JBL* 113 [1994]: 342–44). Turner observes this connection in his survey of background, finding “remarkably little evidence that Jews who thought of the Spirit as the ‘Spirit of prophecy’ were thereby strongly inclined to dissociate the Spirit from works of power” (*Power from on High*, 118).

<sup>25</sup> Fitzmyer notes how “Luke introduces the Spirit mainly at the beginning of certain stages of his account,” and struggles to account for its absence from later sections of the narrative. He says that “what seems, then, to be important for Luke is that various stages of his narrative be initiated under the influence of the Spirit” (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 227–28).

acting upon human beings to enlist and empower them on the side of God.

### 2.1.2. John the Baptist

Luke sets the scene for the temptations as an apocalyptic confrontation between good and evil through by taking care to show that Jesus is the eschatological figure and not John. In his account of John's life and teaching, Luke highlights and even deepens the apocalyptic character of his sources. Initially, Luke gives an apocalyptic setting to John's life and ministry by identifying him with Elijah in the infancy narrative. The angel proclaims to Zechariah that John will go before the Lord "in the spirit and power of Elijah" (ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἡλίου, Luke 1:17), thereby associating John's identity and mission with Old Testament prophecy. He is the forerunner, cast in a prophetic role by his association with the power of Elijah. His mission of turning the hearts of fathers to their children is a reference to the prophet Malachi who says that Elijah will do that before the "great and terrible day of the Lord" (Mal 3:23 LXX).<sup>26</sup> When Luke turns to narrating the adult life of John, he calls him "the voice crying in the wilderness" (3:4), a reference to Isaiah 40:3 that he shares with Mark and Matthew. But Luke expands the reference to include Isaiah 40:3–5 to add the statement that "all flesh will see the salvation of God." This expansion heightens the apocalyptic resonance of this passage, as this citation from Isaiah is one that was used in the apocalyptic writings of the Qumran community.<sup>27</sup>

The connection of Isaiah 40:3–5 to John's mission provides an interesting and important connection to Qumran. There is a strong possibility that John was in some way

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<sup>26</sup> For a complete exploration of the Elijah-John connection in Luke, see Jaroslav Rindoš, *He of Whom It is Written: John the Baptist and Elijah in Luke*, ÖBS 38 (Frankfurt: Lang, 2010).

<sup>27</sup> Mark Goodacre argues that Luke's expansion can also be accounted for by Luke's interest in the "Way of the Lord," which he adopts from Mark (Mark S. Goodacre, "Re-Walking the 'Way of the Lord': Luke's Use of Mark and His Reaction to Matthew," in *Luke's Literary Creativity*, ed. Jesper Tang Nielsen and Morgens Müller, LNTS 550 [London: Bloomsbury, 2016], 32–33).

connected to the Qumran community, given the geographical and theological proximity.<sup>28</sup> While it is difficult to ascertain at our historical distance the precise relationship between John and the Qumran community, or Luke's knowledge of that relationship, the correspondence in apocalyptic worldview between Luke's description of John's teaching and Qumran is instructive.<sup>29</sup> The Community Rule (1QS VIII, 14) cites Isaiah 40:3–5 in its description of the community as being separated in the desert in preparation for the coming of "the prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and David" (1QS IX, 11). This will lead to the final confrontation with the sons of darkness, in which the dominion of Belial will be conquered by the prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and David. It has been suggested that John conceived of himself as accomplishing this role with his desert ministry, preparing the way for the coming Messiah.<sup>30</sup> Luke's depiction of John certainly aligns with this possibility. John prepares the way for Jesus, who is the Messiah, who then engages the devil in conflict in the desert. In this way, the figures of John and Jesus in Luke's Gospel fit into expected roles in an apocalyptic drama between the forces of light and darkness. John is preparing for the Messiah who will engage and defeat the powers of darkness in the world that are under the leadership of Satan.

Luke includes the most vividly apocalyptic parts of John's teaching from his sources without attenuation. John's preaching highlights vivid images of the confrontation between good and evil: "the wrath to come" (3:7), the ax laid to the root of the tree (3:9), the fruitless tree being thrown into the fire (3:9), baptism with the Holy Spirit and fire (3:16), the separation of the wheat and the chaff and the burning of the latter (3:17). Luke adds to these apocalyptic sayings an original set of ethical instructions that indicate how people ought to live in light of that future judgement. In this sense,

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<sup>28</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 453–54.

<sup>29</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 389; John A.T. Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community: Testing a Hypothesis," *HTR* 50 (1957): 175–91.

<sup>30</sup> Robinson, "Baptism of John and the Qumran Community," 179.

Luke balances eschatological expectation with the reality of living in the present, and joins the forensic apocalyptic concern about ethical decision with cosmological apocalyptic confrontation. As Bovon puts it, “timeless ethical instruction follows upon the apocalyptic tension.”<sup>31</sup> This is an eschatological tension that permeates Luke’s work, between the ongoing life of the church and the apocalyptic expectation of a final conflict between the forces of good and evil.

Luke is careful in his construction of John and his role in the apocalyptic conflict to show that John does not himself bring the kingdom but points to the “stronger one” who does (ὁ ἰσχυρότερος, Luke 3:16). While Luke presents the lives of John and Jesus in parallel in the infancy narrative and into the beginning of their adult lives, he has taken care to show that the parallel is not exact, and that Jesus is the greater one.<sup>32</sup> While John is said to go before the Lord “in the power and spirit of Elijah” (1:17), the one whom he goes before is the son of the Most High, conceived by his power (1:32, 35). Luke makes no reference to John preaching the kingdom of God, reserving that task to Jesus alone.<sup>33</sup> By contrast, Matthew has John preaching that the kingdom of heaven has drawn near in his own ministry (ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, Matt 3:2). Luke conspicuously omits this expression “the kingdom of God has drawn near” from the early ministry of Jesus, keeping it in reserve until a later time, when he feels comfortable saying that the kingdom is at hand (both Matthew and Mark place it at the beginning of Jesus’s public preaching, cf. Matt 4:17; Mark 1:15). For Luke, the moment that the kingdom has drawn near comes when the defeat of the kingdom of Satan is also near at hand. He places this at the time of the mission of the seventy, when they return from their mission and Jesus sees Satan falling from the sky (10:17–18). While the expression “the stronger one” to refer to

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<sup>31</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 123.

<sup>32</sup> Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke*, 54.

<sup>33</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 20.

Jesus is material that Luke shares with Mark and Matthew (3:16, cf. Mark 1:7; Matt 3:11), only Luke will refer to it again, inserting it into his parable of the strong man to clarify that that parable is about the defeat of Satan by the superior power of Jesus (11:22).

Luke's version of the baptism of Jesus is itself an apocalyptic event that unveils the identity of Jesus. While this is true for the parallel accounts, Luke has edited it in a way that strips away other elements and puts the emphasis not on human actors, but on God, both in the heavenly voice and the Holy Spirit.<sup>34</sup> In Luke's version, John's role in the baptism is entirely omitted from the text of the narrative, making the Holy Spirit the only real actor in the baptism. Without the presence of John in the narrative, the focus is on the opening of heaven and the voice from above, which are both motifs in apocalyptic literature (Ezek 1:1, 1:25, 1:28–2:1; 2 Bar. 22:1; T. Levi 18:6–7, Rev 4:1; 10:4; 19:11).<sup>35</sup> The main agent in the story is thus the Holy Spirit, which matches Luke's interest to show that the Holy Spirit is directing the activity of Jesus from the beginning of his ministry. But the role of the Holy Spirit is also one that points to another apocalyptic motif, as the Spirit is full of eschatological significance in Second Temple Judaism, associated with the last days (cf. Joel 3:15).<sup>36</sup> As an apocalyptic event orchestrated by the Holy Spirit, Luke uses the baptism to emphasize Jesus's character as the Son of God and thus his agent.<sup>37</sup> The apocalyptic motif itself points to conflict between good and evil, and by the end of the baptism, the forces of good have been well established in the narrative as Jesus acting under the power of the Holy Spirit. The plot next demands an identification of the

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<sup>34</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 128.

<sup>35</sup> Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 185, 185 n.5.

<sup>36</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 484.

<sup>37</sup> Shepherd speaks of the Holy Spirit as confirming his "reliability" (Shepherd, *Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit*, 129–30).

forces of evil on the other side of the conflict, and the following narrative episode will reveal Jesus's opponent to be the figure of Satan.

Luke places the genealogy next in the narrative (3:23–38), which as we will later consider is important for understanding what he sees to be the beginning of story, but also reinforces the apocalyptic motif of these early events. Luke's genealogy has a complex structure of the generations according to an apocalyptic structuring of the ages that makes Jesus's birth the dawn of the final age of history. In his genealogy (Matt 1:1–17), Matthew explains his structure as three sets of fourteen generations, but while not explicitly identifying it, Luke also has a structure that Bruce Metzger calls an "artistically planned pattern, even more elaborate than Matthew's."<sup>38</sup> Luke's structure is eleven sets of seven generations. There are three sets of seven from Adam to Abraham, two sets from Isaac to David, three sets from Nathan to Salathiel, and three sets from Zerubbabel to Jesus. Seven generations were considered to be an epoch, and Jesus thus begins the twelfth epoch of human history, which according to one apocalyptic framing is the last (cf. 2 Esdras 14:11). In this scheme and according to this expectation, then, Jesus inaugurates the last epoch of history.<sup>39</sup> Whether Luke devised this schema or more likely took it from a source, his incorporation of such an elaborate scheme deepens the apocalyptic and eschatological character of this early narrative.<sup>40</sup> It makes the beginning of Jesus's life the beginning of the last stage of history, the awaited time of God's resolution of the situation of evil in the world. It is the dawn of salvation, which now

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<sup>38</sup> Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 113 n. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 137. Bauckham finds its inspiration in 1 En. 10:12, with the same conclusion that Jesus marks the last generation before the end (Richard Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990], 315–26).

<sup>40</sup> Fitzmyer, with many other scholars, considers it likely that Luke has incorporated a previously existing genealogy, not created one. See the discussion in Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 491. Bauckham believes that Luke learned of it from the relatives of Jesus Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus*, 315.

begins in earnest with Jesus's active life, in which the first event will be an initial confrontation and defeat of the enemy.

### **2.1.3. Defining the Beginning of Jesus's Ministry**

A key but unnoticed editorial move that Luke makes is to restructure the narrative to make the temptations the beginning of Jesus's adult life.<sup>41</sup> According to the classical view, a narrative has a beginning, middle, and an end, and where to start each of those is an important authorial choice.<sup>42</sup> The temptations introduce the plot of Luke's narrative and show it to be centered on the conflict between Jesus and Satan, an apocalyptic confrontation between the forces of good and evil. Kingsbury marks the beginning of John's ministry in chapter three as the start of the "middle" of the plot. Bovon places it a bit later, claiming that the baptism marks the beginning of Jesus's messianic activity.<sup>43</sup> But Luke places a clear marker of a new beginning as he introduces the genealogy, a new beginning for which he has laid the foundation in the structure of his narrative by reserving any direct action or speech by Jesus until this moment.

In order to make the temptations the beginning of Jesus's adult life, he must first re-frame the baptism of Jesus so that it is not the beginning of Jesus's adult activity. In Mark's Gospel the baptism is the beginning of Jesus's life and the first narrative identification of Jesus as the son of God (Mark 1:9–11), but in Luke's Gospel, it marks neither the beginning of Jesus's adult, public ministry nor reveals his identity. The function it plays in Luke's narrative—or more precisely, the function it does *not* play in his narrative—helps explain the particular form that he gives this episode. Luke has implicitly changed the significance of the baptism by using the infancy narrative to

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<sup>41</sup> Senior notes briefly that the temptations are the "first conflict story of the Bible" (Donald Senior, *The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke*, The Passion Series 3 [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992], 32).

<sup>42</sup> Kurz, "Narrative Approaches," 212–13.

<sup>43</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 130.

characterize Jesus's identity with greater depth and clarity than Mark, who uses the baptism for this purpose.<sup>44</sup> Since it does not serve to identify Jesus in Luke's narrative, Luke recruits the baptism narrative (a necessary part of his story given its importance in the tradition) for another function: to highlight the activity of the Holy Spirit in the life of Jesus and anticipate its role in the conflict with Satan. While commentators have observed that Luke eliminates John from the baptism and highlights the role of the Spirit, no one has connected this redaction to Luke's plot structure which gives a definite beginning to Jesus's activity in the temptations. Fitzmyer, in listing four possible meanings for the baptism of Jesus by John, declares that in the Lukan context, the baptism serves to show that Jesus was a disciple of John during a preparatory stage of his ministry.<sup>45</sup> But this fails to account for the fact that the baptism occupies but a single sentence and contains no direct mention of John's role.<sup>46</sup> Luke reports the baptism with only an aorist passive participle (βαπτισθέντος, 3:21), thus removing John from the

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<sup>44</sup> In Mark's Gospel, the baptism comes quickly in the narrative, and it is here that Jesus is first (except perhaps for the opening inscription, if the "Son of God" is original there) identified as the Son of God. Since the first identification of Jesus thus falls entirely on this episode, it plays an essential role in the characterization of Jesus in Mark (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 480–81). By contrast, Luke has spent the first two chapters laying out the identity of Jesus in the infancy narrative. Jesus's identity has already been proclaimed through the voices of angels and men and women, and so the baptism in Luke does not initially identify Jesus, but confirms and recapitulates that identity. It is a conclusion more than an introduction (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 128).

<sup>45</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 481–82.

<sup>46</sup> Luke's reticence and brevity with the baptism may also be influenced by the difficulty and embarrassment caused by Mark's account, in which it appears that by baptizing Jesus, John is the master and Jesus the disciple. Luke has been concerned from the beginning of his text to clearly distinguish John and Jesus, showing Jesus in the superior role with John as his precursor. Matthew deals with these questions by having John object to Jesus's request for baptism, and Jesus implicitly acknowledges the incongruity but subordinates it to larger theological purposes (Matt 3:14–15). Luke takes a different approach by downplaying the baptism and glossing over John's role. See Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, SP 3 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 71; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 128. Fitzmyer understands this detail to be the result of Luke putting John's arrest prior to the baptism, and so a concern for narrative coherence (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 480). But in fact Luke has introduced the problem of coherence by putting the arrest first, removing him from the narrative before Jesus's adult life begins.

event.<sup>47</sup> Luke is really concerned about what happened *after* the baptism. Jesus himself is entirely passive in this account and does not speak or act, leaving Jesus's first speech and action for his confrontation with the devil. For Luke, this is not the beginning of Jesus's activity, but the conclusion of the preliminaries to Jesus's active life. The point is to show Jesus filled with the Holy Spirit, who will animate the early narrative of Jesus's ministry. Luke joins together two of his favorite motifs: the action of the Holy Spirit moving events forward and Jesus praying—paralleled in Acts when the Holy Spirit descends upon the apostles at prayer in Pentecost.<sup>48</sup> The Holy Spirit provides the narrative link that will be picked up after the genealogy, when it leads Jesus into the desert.

Luke does not narrate any direct speech or activity from Jesus until he begins his adult life in conflict with Satan. Until the temptations, Jesus has neither spoken nor taken the initiative in the narrative.<sup>49</sup> Bovon notes that Jesus is at most a passive actor and only becomes the subject of verbs at the genealogy, which leads into the temptations.<sup>50</sup> Luke

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<sup>47</sup> In Mark, the agent of passive verb is specified as John: ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου (Mark 1:9).

<sup>48</sup> Luke shows the Holy Spirit coming upon characters at key moments. Tannehill identifies Zechariah (Luke 1:9–11), Anna (2:37–38), Cornelius (Acts 10:2–6), Peter (10:9–16), Paul (9:11–12; 22:17–21), and the prophets and teachers of the church in Antioch (13:2) (Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 56).

<sup>49</sup> Jesus does speak as a boy in the Temple in Luke 2:49, and as such Tannehill ascribes Jesus's first active role to his finding in the Temple (2:41–52). However, this event is clearly demarcated as belonging to the infancy narrative. It is concerned primarily with establishing Jesus's identity and foreshadows his future greatness (Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 53–54). The argument made here is about the first event of the narrative of Jesus's adult life. The infancy narrative is concerned to establish Jesus's identity, and thus clears the way for the temptations to play a different narrative and theological role.

<sup>50</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 139. Thus far, Jesus has been the subject of verbs only in the story of his finding in the Temple (Jesus stayed in Jerusalem, ὑπέμεινεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ παῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, 2:43) and in the two summary statements of Jesus's growth in 2:40 and 2:52). Yet despite this observation, Bovon says that the baptism marks the beginning of Jesus's messianic activity (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 130), missing the careful narrative structure that marks the temptations as the beginning.

has Jesus as the subject in the genealogy,<sup>51</sup> and now at the beginning of the temptation narrative, says that “Jesus returned from the Jordan” (Ἰησοῦς δὲ ... ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, 4:1). Mark’s structure, by contrast, makes the baptism the beginning of Jesus’ life, both through the chronological indication (“in those days...”, Mark 1:9) and Jesus’s active role in the narrative (“Jesus came...”, Mark 1:9, whereas Luke avoids making Jesus the subject). In Mark, Jesus does not speak in the temptations, so his first speech is the preaching of the kingdom in 1:15. Matthew likewise has Jesus playing an active role in the baptism, also making him the subject who comes to John, as well as the subject of other verbs (Matt 3:13–17). Matthew introduces a speaking role for Jesus to the baptism, as Jesus answers John’s objection to the propriety of baptizing him. Thus, for both Mark and Matthew the baptism of Jesus is the first story of Jesus’s active life, while Luke has deliberately avoided that role for the baptism in favor of the temptations.

The placement of the genealogy can best be understood in light of this narrative aim, as a synchronism introducing the adult life of Jesus. In this reading, there are four different “beginnings” in Luke’s narrative, each indicated by synchronisms, where Luke places the events in a historical setting. Luke constructs the opening chapters with symmetry between the lives of John and Jesus. He uses synchronisms to introduce the births of John and Jesus (1:5; 2:1–2), and places a synchronism at the beginning of John’s adult life (3:1–2).<sup>52</sup> Luke’s parallel construction creates a need and expectation for another synchronism at the beginning of Jesus’s adult life, a need that is satisfied by the

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<sup>51</sup> This is actually the fourth time that Jesus’s name occurs in the nominative. The first is in when he is named (2:21) and the other three times are in the story of his finding in the Temple as a young man (2:43, 52).

<sup>52</sup> The presence of this synchronism has led scholars such as Fitzmyer to posit this as the original beginning of the Gospel, with the infancy narratives a subsequent addition (Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 450). But it is more likely that Luke as the historian is keeping careful track of history and introducing each new segment chronologically.

genealogy.<sup>53</sup> Luke has deliberately constructed the lives of John and Jesus in symmetry (even if an unbalanced one, given that John is the mere forerunner and Jesus the greater figure). As such, the synchronisms that introduce the birth of John, then the birth of Jesus, then the adult life of John require a fourth that finishes the symmetry. The synchronisms successively grow in complexity, and the genealogy is the most dramatic and complex of all. While the other synchronisms are given in terms of Jewish and Roman history, Jesus's life is placed in the context of the entire history of Israel and God's working with it, which mirrors and amplifies Luke's objectives in casting the infancy narrative in terms that highlight this connection.<sup>54</sup>

Thus the last structural element that Luke places before the temptation narrative is Jesus's genealogy, which is a key to understanding his narrative structure. Commentators have largely looked to the placement of the genealogy to question whether an earlier version of Luke lacked an infancy narrative,<sup>55</sup> but such a concern distracts from the question of why Luke places it here. The placement of the genealogy marks a new beginning in the narrative, the main action of the plot.<sup>56</sup> It is a transition between the preliminaries of Jesus's life and Jesus's adult life, of his mission and ministry in which he

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<sup>53</sup> Luke's construction of the infancy narrative as parallel narratives of the birth of John and Jesus is well-noted (see, for example Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke*, 51–55). The parallelism continues as Luke narrates the beginning of their adult lives, but the parallelism comes to end when Luke chooses to immediately narrate John's death before beginning Jesus's adult life. The parallel is not meant to indicate equality, and in fact Luke constructs the narrative so as to clearly show the superiority of the figure of Jesus.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. William S. Kurz, "Luke 3:28–38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Genealogies," in *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives from the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 172. Kurz later claims, in comparing Luke's genealogy to the genealogy in Ruth 4:18–22, that these genealogies do not serve as chronological placements since that has already been accomplished (Ruth 1:1 and Luke 3:1–2). However, this fails to account for Luke's care for his parallel narrative construction between the lives of John and Jesus in these chapters, which creates a need for some kind of chronological placement at the beginning of Jesus's life, a role nicely filled by placing Jesus's life clearly in the history of Israel.

<sup>55</sup> See Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 488–89.

<sup>56</sup> John Nolland, *Luke 1 – 9:20*, WBC 35A (Dallas: Word, 1989), 173.

is the active protagonist.<sup>57</sup> Kurz notes that Luke has followed the same structure as Exodus does in presenting the life of Moses by placing the genealogy in the middle. It comes after the story of his youth, an early episode of his life (the trouble his caused by saving his fellow Israelites and a forty year exile), and his commission to go to Pharaoh in Exod 6:13. The genealogy is placed in Exod 6:14–27, after these episodes and before Moses engages in the mission given him by God.<sup>58</sup> Luke follows the same structure, using the genealogy to demarcate the preliminaries from the main story of Jesus’s public life and mission. Kingsbury, like most commentators, has missed the significance of the genealogy in the structure of Luke’s plot, calling it “an appendage of the baptismal episode.”<sup>59</sup> Rather, it is the beginning of a new section, the adult life of Jesus. Luke signals this with the verb ἀρχομαι at the beginning of the genealogy (“And Jesus began, being about thirty years old,” Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, Luke 3:23).<sup>60</sup> This is in fact the beginning of the main action of the plot. As Bovon observes, beginnings are always important for Luke as the start of new periods of salvation history.<sup>61</sup>

Luke has thus restructured the narrative to lend particular weight to the temptations as the beginning of Jesus’s life. They are the first time that Jesus acts or speaks, and his first activity and speech is in conflict with his primary antagonist, whom

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<sup>57</sup> Seesemann notes the importance given the temptations by their placement, but says that they come just prior to the beginning of Jesus’s public ministry. While that is true for Matthew and Mark, Luke’s structure includes the temptations as the first part of his adult life, indicated with the narrative signal of beginning contained in the genealogy (Heinrich Seesemann, “πεῖρα, κτλ,” *TDNT* 6:34).

<sup>58</sup> Kurz, “Luke 3:28–38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Genealogies,” 172–75. Kurz notes that Acts 7:18–37, in which Luke retells the story of Moses with deliberate parallelism to the story of Jesus, offers further support for the claim that Luke knew this story and incorporated its structure into his narrative.

<sup>59</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 43.

<sup>60</sup> Most translators supply “his ministry” to specify what Jesus began, though it is not specified in the text.

<sup>61</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 136.

Luke shows to be the devil. Forsyth attributes the development of the rebel myth to the need to narratively answer the question: “how do I begin my story? Is it a villain who is responsible for the ‘lack’—and if so, where does he come from?”<sup>62</sup> Luke begins his story in continuity with the story of Israel in the infancy narratives, but as he moves on to the main plot, he identifies the villain who is responsible for the narrative’s conflict. In so doing, he connects his story to the apocalypticism that is part of his encyclopedia of knowledge. The conflict will be between Jesus and Satan. A reader who shares Luke’s encyclopedia of knowledge will know that Satan rules the powers of evil. What Luke introduces is how Jesus fits into the expected story: he is the Messiah who will destroy the power of Satan.

## **2.2. The Initial Confrontation in the Desert**

The story of Jesus’s temptations in the desert plays an essential role in Luke’s narrative and theology by establishing two key elements of Luke’s plot: the conflict and the antagonist. Conflict is the defining element of narrative, and at the heart of conflict is a question of power.<sup>63</sup> At this point in the narrative, the reader knows that Jesus is the protagonist but does not know who his opponent will be. Luke uses the temptation story to answer this question: Jesus is opposed by Satan, who challenges Jesus’s power, but whose authority will be overthrown by Jesus, who brings the kingdom of God. Kingsbury notes the importance that Satan plays in Luke, calling him “Jesus’ arch-adversary,” but then focuses on Jesus’s human opponents and ignores the importance of the conflict with Satan.<sup>64</sup> The question of the original sequence of the temptations and Luke’s rationale for changing them has generated much scholarly attention and distracted from the larger question of how Luke uses this passage.<sup>65</sup> Luke uses the temptations to satisfy a crucial

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<sup>62</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 148.

<sup>63</sup> Abbot, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*, 51.

<sup>64</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 43.

<sup>65</sup> Plummer says that “many futile and irreverent questions have been raised respecting this

narrative requirement, introducing the antagonist and identifying the conflict that will drive the plot. Conzelmann's contention that Satan is an unimportant figure for Luke, absent through the course of Jesus's public ministry, misses the function of the temptations in defining the terms of a conflict that will take place throughout Jesus's ministry.<sup>66</sup> More accurately, Schürmann says that the temptations inaugurate a battle between Jesus and Satan that continues throughout the narrative.<sup>67</sup>

Attempts to use the temptations as a source of ethical teaching that gives moral prescriptions for the Christian life have obscured the purpose and effect of the temptations in Luke's story. These readings look to Jesus's temptations to identify challenges in Christian life, with Jesus's responses as moral instructions about how to respond to temptations.<sup>68</sup> Many have read the temptations as a seduction for Jesus to use his power to his own advantage.<sup>69</sup> The temptations are then read as a road map of the fundamental inclinations to sin as well as various recipes for rejecting them, usually along the lines of not misusing power for selfish purposes. But there is no indication in the text itself that it is meant as paraenesis.<sup>70</sup> While readers may draw moral applications from this text, for Luke and the narrative logic of his Gospel, this episode sets up the conflict of the plot and introduces Jesus's mission as one of opposition to Satan's authority.<sup>71</sup>

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mysterious subject," referring to the many questions about the historicity of the account (Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*, 7th ed., ICC [New York: Scribner's Sons, 1906], 105–6).

<sup>66</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 156–57.

<sup>67</sup> Heinz Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium, Vol 1: Kommenary zu Kap. 1, 1–9, 50*, HThKNT 3 (Freiburg: Herder, 1969), 205.

<sup>68</sup> André Feuillet, "Le récit lucanien de la tentation: Lk 4:1–13," *Bib* 40 (1959): 613–31. Such a reading was prominent in the patristic period, as collected in Arthur A. Just, *Luke*, ACCS (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2003), 72–77.

<sup>69</sup> See Nolland, *Luke 1 – 9:20*, 182–83 Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 76.

<sup>70</sup> Contrast, for example, the admonition Luke includes at the end of clearly paraenetic parable of the Good Samaritan: "Go and do likewise" (Luke 10:37).

<sup>71</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 140.

### 2.2.1. Jesus the Aggressor and Victor

In Luke's view, the confrontation between Jesus and Satan in the desert is a deliberate engagement initiated by the Holy Spirit in which Jesus is not only the victor but also the aggressor. Fitzmyer says that the devil takes the initiative in the temptations, but that is based merely on the fact that he speaks first.<sup>72</sup> Rather, Luke's repeated emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in prompting the confrontation with Satan shows that this is a deliberate and purposeful engagement. Jesus is not a passive participant in this conflict, but under the guidance of the Holy Spirit initiates it by going into the desert for the purpose of this confrontation. Plummer says that the story should not be read that Jesus went "to *court* temptation," but "in obedience to the Spirit's promptings."<sup>73</sup> Plummer seems to be applying the moral principle that one ought not flirt with temptation to Jesus, but what Luke shows Jesus doing something is quite different. He goes into the desert, at the initiative of the Holy Spirit, in order to confront his adversary, and wins the first victory over his primary opponent.

The sense of the participial phrase *πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου* (4:2) is key to understanding the confrontational nature of this encounter. It is best read as a telic participle, giving the reason for which Jesus was led into the desert. Most often it is read temporally, associating it with the *ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα* just prior, meaning "during forty days he was tempted."<sup>74</sup> While it is true that Luke implies that Jesus was tempted over the course of Jesus's forty-day sojourn in the desert, rather than at the end as Matthew clearly indicates (Matt 4:2), the sense of the participle is not temporal simply because it follows an accusative of time. Rather, the period of time indicates how long he was led in the

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<sup>72</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke the Theologian: Aspects of His Teaching*, 151.

<sup>73</sup> Plummer, *Luke*, 107. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>74</sup> Bock takes this position while taking note of other scholarly positions (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 369–70). On the other side, Bovon holds that the forty days belongs with *ἤγετο* rather than with *πειραζόμενος* (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 141).

desert.<sup>75</sup> In his discussion of telic participles, Wallace notes that they most often occur in the present tense, as here. Some verbs, such as ζητέω semantically suggest purpose when joined to a participle.<sup>76</sup> He also notes that almost every adverbial use of the present participle of the verb πειράζω expresses purpose when it follows a controlling verb, and offers Luke 4:2 as an example where that usage best makes sense in the context by explaining the role played by the Spirit.<sup>77</sup> Smyth says that the telic sense often follows verbs denoting “to come, go, send, summon, etc.”<sup>78</sup> and the verb ἄγω falls into this category. The best reading, then, is that Jesus was led by the Spirit into the desert *in order* to be tested.<sup>79</sup> Jesus does not go into the desert for some other purpose and find himself assaulted by Satan, but intends this as the first engagement of his ministry.

Luke gives repeated emphasis to the role that the Holy Spirit plays in this episode, mentioning it twice at the beginning and using it to transition to the next pericope (4:1, 14). He calls attention to the Holy Spirit’s activity and agency by adding a second reference to the Holy Spirit from what is present in Mark. From Mark he takes the saying that Jesus was led by the Spirit (ἤγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι) into the wilderness.<sup>80</sup> To this he

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<sup>75</sup> Plummer argues that the words can be taken with either verbal form (“led” or “tempted”), but argues it makes no difference as he reads the two events occurring simultaneously (Plummer, *Luke*, 107). However, the word order, while not determinative of this association, strongly supports reading it with ἤγετο. The accusative of time typically follows the verb that it is specifying. One looks in vain for a New Testament example where this is not the case. For example, in the parallel texts in Matthew 4:2, καὶ νηστεύσας ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσεράκοντα, and in Mark 1:13, καὶ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρας πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ, the accusative of time follows the verb it specifies. For other examples, see Matthew 20:6; Luke 2:37; Acts 7:20; 9:9; 21:7.

<sup>76</sup> Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 636.

<sup>77</sup> Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament*, 636 n. 30. Luke Timothy Johnson also reads it as a purpose clause (Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 73). The translation in the NABR reflects this: “to be tempted by the devil.”

<sup>78</sup> Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 458.

<sup>79</sup> Wallace also cites it as an example of a participle expressing purpose (Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament*, 637).

<sup>80</sup> Mark says the Spirit drove ἐκβάλλει him into the wilderness (Mark 1:12). Luke is likely uncomfortable with the word choice that is a term for exorcism, preferring the more personal

adds a statement at the beginning that Jesus was filled with the Holy Spirit (πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου). Bultmann cites this as an example of Luke expanding introductions to highlight links with the larger context.<sup>81</sup> It corresponds to a pattern Luke observes elsewhere, in which the Holy Spirit comes upon characters prior to their accomplishment of divine purposes.<sup>82</sup> But as Plummer notes, the imperfect tense of ἤγετο indicates that the Holy Spirit continued to lead Jesus during the period of his forty days in the wilderness.<sup>83</sup> Since Luke is not clear as is Matthew about whether the temptations occurred at the end of the forty days, Plummer notes that “they may be given as representative of the struggles which continued throughout the whole period.”<sup>84</sup> Reading the beginning of Luke’s narrative, one would plausibly conclude that the three temptations described by Luke come at the end of a larger forty day period of temptations.

Luke makes it clear that there are two contrary agents at play. The Holy Spirit is the agent who leads Jesus in the desert, and the devil is the agent of the temptations. Schuyler Brown says that Luke has clarified, in distinction to Matthew, that the devil alone, and not the Spirit, is the author of the temptations.<sup>85</sup> He says that the temptations are solely the initiative of the devil and lack any divine authorization. Both of these points are true, in that the devil is a hostile agent who opposes Jesus and engages in these

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ἤγετο, which has more of a sense of personal accompaniment. Conzelmann construes the preposition ἐν as a locative, and so Jesus was led “in the Spirit,” rather than the dative (Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 28). However, following the passive verb, it much more likely expresses agency. See Fitzmyer’s response (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 513–14).

<sup>81</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963), 336.

<sup>82</sup> The most obvious parallel is the apostles and companions at Pentecost at the beginning of Acts (2:1–4). It can also be seen in the Holy Spirit coming upon Paul and Barnabas at Antioch before being sent out on their first mission (Acts 13:2). Luke also speaks of this with other characters, such as Mary (Luke 1:35), Elizabeth (1:41), Simeon (2:25), John the Baptist (by implication in 1:15), the deacons (Acts 6:3), and Stephen (Acts 7:55).

<sup>83</sup> Plummer, *Luke*, 107.

<sup>84</sup> Plummer, *Luke*, 107.

<sup>85</sup> Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance in the Theology of Luke*, AnBib (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 17.

temptations as a form of attack. However, the Holy Spirit still leads Jesus into this attack for the purposes of engaging the devil in conflict and defeating him. Brown is correct that the initiative *for the temptations* belongs to the devil, but the initiative *for the confrontation* belongs to the Holy Spirit.

The temptations are an inverse analogue of Satan's entry into Judas at the start of the passion (Luke 22:3), in that the Holy Spirit fills Jesus and leads him to conflict with Satan. When Satan initiates the passion by entering into Judas, he is the aggressor who takes up a violent offensive against Jesus and the kingdom of God. The temptations stand at the other end of the narrative from this decisive assault, bookending it by showing the commencement of this conflict. Here, the Holy Spirit enters into Jesus, who takes up an offensive against the kingdom of Satan, an offensive that will be extended as Jesus continues to break the power of Satan and his demons during his ministry. Luke establishes a connection between these two events at the beginning and end of Jesus's public ministry by inserting his characteristic note that the devil departs from Jesus "until the decisive moment" (ἄχρι καιροῦ, 4:13, my translation)<sup>86</sup> rightly seen as a reference to the passion.<sup>87</sup> The temptations thus inaugurate a conflict that runs through the Gospel until its climax in the passion. At the beginning, the Holy Spirit fills Jesus and he is the aggressor. On the other side, Satan enters Judas and he is the aggressor.

The threefold repetition of temptations shows Jesus as the complete victor in this initial engagement, and thereby signals Jesus's ongoing victory that will be seen in the

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<sup>86</sup> My translation of "the decisive moment" is an attempt to render the sense of καιρός that entails a moment of critical importance. The often used "opportune time" fails to fully capture that. Given that καιρός is anarthrous, "a decisive moment" might be possible, but the nature of καιρός intrinsically carries the sense of the definite article.

<sup>87</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 518; Plummer, *Luke*, 114; Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 382. Conzelmann reads the reference to the passion as well, and uses this to build his theory of a "Satan-free" period in Jesus' life (Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 28). But it is more accurate to say that the passion indicates the καιρός in which Satan returns to take the offensive after Jesus's campaign against him. Cf. Bovon, *Luke 1*, 141–42; Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 75.

course of the narrative. In the biblical idiom, the threefold repetition indicates a complete and definitive action.<sup>88</sup> The number of temptations is not so much about a diversity of attacks but Jesus’s complete vanquishing of his opponent. Luke implies that there were in fact more than three temptations by saying at the end that the devil finished πάντα περιασμόν (4:14, “every temptation,” rendered by Plummer as “every kind of temptation”<sup>89</sup>). Jesus conquers the devil in all of them.<sup>90</sup> Garrett notes two other instances in Second Temple texts where the successful endurance of diabolical attacks is construed as a victory over them (T. Job 27:2–6 and Herm. Mand. 12.5.2).<sup>91</sup> As Plummer puts it, “The enemy tried all his weapons, and was at all points defeated.”<sup>92</sup> Thus at the end, the devil departs in defeat.<sup>93</sup> Jesus’s victory in the desert marks the beginning of a whole series of successive victories that will take place over the course of Jesus’s public life and ministry, but the devil’s ultimate defeat is already indicated in this initial round.

### 2.2.2. The Character of Satan

In the temptations narrative, Satan is the new character, his first appearance in the Gospel, and Luke’s purpose is to introduce him, not Jesus, to the reader. As Dupont

<sup>88</sup> Gerhard Dellling, “τρεῖς, κτλ.,” *TDNT* 7:222. Cf. Seesemann, “πεῖρα, κτλ.,” *TDNT* 6:34.

<sup>89</sup> Plummer, *Luke*, 114. Conzelmann misunderstands the weight of this expression “every temptation,” reading it as the completion of all temptations and the inauguration of the “Satan-free” period. It is better understood in context, as every temptation of the forty days in the desert. See Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 41.

<sup>90</sup> Justin Martyr understood the temptations in this way, as the victory of Jesus over Satan: “But he was utterly crushed and overcome by Christ, who convicted him of his wickedness when, in violation of the Scriptures, he asked to be adored as God, thus becoming an apostate from the will of God. This was his reply: It is written: The Lord your God shall you worship and him only shall you serve. Defeated and rebuked, the Devil then departed” (*Dial.* 125.4; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, trans. Thomas B. Falls, Selections from the Fathers of the Church [Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003]).

<sup>91</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 41–42.

<sup>92</sup> Plummer, *Luke*, 114.

<sup>93</sup> Hull interprets this differently, arguing that in Matthew’s version Jesus’s command to the devil indicates defeat, while in Luke it is merely “a strategic and well-timed withdrawal” (John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, SBT [Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1974], 98). Hull misses the point that it can be both: Luke sees this as a decisive defeat, but unlike Matthew, views it only as the opening episode of an ongoing conflict that will structure his narrative.

argues, in this story Luke is actually more interested in the words and character of the devil than those of Jesus.<sup>94</sup> The devil is given no introduction or background, implying that he is known and familiar to readers, part of their encyclopedia of knowledge. The narrative also assumes that the devil is known to Jesus, who also needs no introduction to Satan.<sup>95</sup> Luke assumes and incorporates the apocalyptic worldview into his story, in which Satan is the head of the powers of evil. Luke is also enlisting the character of the devil to play a particular role in his narrative and theology as the primary opponent and antagonist of Jesus.<sup>96</sup>

Understanding the connection of Satan in Luke's account with the Old Testament and the developing notion of Satan in the Second Temple period is crucial. Kelly devotes his book *Satan: A Biography* to arguing that "Satan in the New Testament [is] basically the same sort of character as the one that we meet with in the book of Job," that is, a functionary of the Divine Court.<sup>97</sup> He says that "Satan in the New Testament should be regarded as holding the equivalent of such positions as Prime Minister, or Attorney General, or Head of MI5, or Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and as no more evil than many zealous holders of these positions here on Earth."<sup>98</sup> He calls this the "Old Biography" of Satan and says it is present in the New as well as the Old Testament. He attributes the construction of Satan as an evil force hostile to God to post-biblical

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<sup>94</sup> Jacques Dupont, *Les tentations de Jésus au désert*, StudNeot (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1968), 71.

<sup>95</sup> What Kelly says in this regard about Matthew's narrative ("Jesus knows very well who he is") is also true for Luke's account (Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 86).

<sup>96</sup> Kreuzer argues that in the Hebrew Bible, there is no fixed, independent character of Satan, but that rather Satan serves as the antagonist demanded in the dramatic situations where he appears. In sum, he is a literary, not a theological figure (Florian Kreuzer, "Der Antagonist: Der Satan in der Hebräischen Bibel – eine bekannte Größe?" *Bib* 86 [2005]: 536–44). By the New Testament period, the figure of Satan has developed into a theological figure, but the insight that his primary function, theologically and literarily, is an antagonist, is supported by the role that he plays for Luke.

<sup>97</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 326.

<sup>98</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 327.

developments, which he calls the “New Biography of Satan.”<sup>99</sup> But Kelly mistakes the timing of this development. As explored in the previous chapter, there was significant development in Jewish notions of Satan in the centuries that elapsed between the book of Job and the New Testament, and it is on that background that Luke draws. This will be evident as we examine the role that Satan plays in these temptations.

The nature of the devil’s temptations, whether a benign—even positive—testing or a hostile challenge, has been a continual debate and the source of much misunderstanding. Kelly says that Satan functions in the temptations as a “prover” or “a tryer of men’s souls,” who has been given authority on earth and serves as God’s “vicar general.”<sup>100</sup> However, at no point does Luke ascribe this benign role to Satan. Satan’s role as a hostile opponent is revealed by the meaning of the verb *πειράζω*. Plummer outlines three New Testament uses of the verb: to simply attempt something (Acts 9:26; 16:7; 24:6), to test with a good motive (“especially of God’s sending trials,” John 6:6; 2 Cor 8:5; Rev 2:2), and to test with a bad motive (“in order to produce perplexity or failure, especially of tempting to sin,” Luke 11:16; Matt 19:3; John 8:6; 1 Cor 7:5; 1 Thess 3:5; James 1:13). He says that Luke here uses the third sense, which is the most common, which entails “a *sinister* motive.”<sup>101</sup> The word ought to be translated as “to tempt,” which expresses the hostile sense, rather than “to test,” which allows the benign sense. Garrett argues that the translation “to test” is to be preferred here, but she makes too much of the temptation narrative’s purported parallels with the stories of Abraham and Job in the Old Testament. She does not note that while in those examples, God permits the test (with a good motive, according to Plummer’s second category), here Satan has malicious motives and is opposed to God’s plans, not human ones.<sup>102</sup> Seesemann says that the tempter in

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<sup>99</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 323–28.

<sup>100</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 106, cf. 95.

<sup>101</sup> Plummer, *Luke*, 107–8. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>102</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 127 n. 2. These differences will be explored later.

this account “attempts to turn Jesus from the task which God has laid upon Him in His baptism, and therewith to render His mission impossible. He exerts himself in every possible way to deflect Jesus from obedience to God.”<sup>103</sup> He rejects the proposal that this is a test that somehow comes from God, as it “hardly does justice to the account or to the description of the personal intervention of Satan.”<sup>104</sup> The activity of the devil here can only be understood as hostile, and the translation of “tempt” is therefore more appropriate. As Bovon says, the devil “is the author of the temptation (not the testing) of Jesus.”<sup>105</sup>

Schuyler Brown argues that Luke has a peculiar conception of *πειρασμός* that differs from other New Testament usage. He says that for Luke, *πειρασμός* with regard to Christians always entails apostasy, and does not refer to a mere testing, but an actual failure. It has “a purely pejorative sense” insofar as it entails apostasy.<sup>106</sup> Bovon objects to this conclusion, since in the temptations Jesus undergoes three *πειρασμοί*, but does not apostatize.<sup>107</sup> Bovon seems to miss that Brown attributes Luke’s usage of *πειρασμός* in the temptations to his sources, where it has a sense different from Luke’s own. Brown says that “Whereas the *πειρασμός* of the Christian, according to Luke, has a univocally negative *outcome*, the *πειρασμός* of Jesus has a univocally negative *origin*.”<sup>108</sup> Brown’s

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<sup>103</sup> Seesemann, “πειρα, κτλ,” *TDNT* 6:34.

<sup>104</sup> Seesemann, “πειρα, κτλ,” *TDNT* 6:34 n. 58.

<sup>105</sup> Bovon, *Luke I*, 141. Writing about the temptations in Mark, Jeffrey Gibson argues that the sense of *πειράζω* was to test, so that the temptations were “a trial of Jesus’ faithfulness to given covenantal obligations.” But he then goes on to say that Mark understood Satan to be “one who stood in opposition to God, seeking to frustrate God’s work by leading his elect astray and destroying the relationship between God and humankind” (Jeffrey B. Gibson, “Jesus’ Wilderness Temptation According to Mark,” *JSNT* 53 [1994]: 13–14). His second point is closer to the truth, which complicates the implication that the temptations were a divinely sanctioned qualification. Luke’s account includes a demand from Satan for Jesus’s worship, which further complicates any sense that Satan would be acting on behalf of God.

<sup>106</sup> Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance*, 15.

<sup>107</sup> Bovon, *Luke I*, 141.

<sup>108</sup> Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance*, 18.

point about the solely negative and pejorative sense of *πειρασμός* in Luke is helpful if it is divorced from the requirement that it always *end* in apostasy, but rather to say that the purpose is always to *provoke* apostasy. Bovon accords with this when he argues that to fail the *πειρασμός* is not merely to sin, but to apostatize.<sup>109</sup> In Luke, the devil's challenge to Jesus is not simply to moral failure, but to the destruction represented by a rejection of faith in God. That is, it is a sinister act from a hostile opponent, and not a benign or even positive testing. If in fact, as Brown argues, *πειρασμός* in Luke always leads the faithful to apostasy, Jesus's own victory over the devil in the face of temptation is all the more significant.

Thus the devil's temptations do not have as their purpose the demonstration of Jesus's faith in a kind of ritual passage of qualification (as in the book of Job, as will be discussed below), but the destruction of Jesus and his mission. By tempting Jesus, the devil is subjecting him to an attack that seeks to turn him away from faith and so undermine the salvation that he has come to bring, thus opposing not only the person of Jesus but God's entire plan. Luke's understanding of *πειρασμός* can be seen in his redaction of the explanation of the parable of sower, where he says that people lose faith in time of temptation, using *πειρασμός* in place of his source's *θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ* ("tribulation or persecution," Mark 4:17; Matt 13:23). Seesemann argues that by this substitution, Luke understands *πειρασμός* to mean a time of tribulation or persecution with an eschatological resonance.<sup>110</sup> Luke explains that the devil's intent in taking away the word from people's hearts is "that they may not believe and be saved" (Luke 8:12). A *πειρασμός* is thus an attack that intends to provoke apostasy, or more concretely, to

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<sup>109</sup> Bovon, *Luke I*, 141.

<sup>110</sup> Seesemann, "πειρα, κτλ.," *TDNT* 6:31. Schuyler Brown disagrees, saying that Luke does not consider *πειρασμός* to be equivalent to *θλίψις*, but reserves *θλίψις* to the faithful and so here puts in a term that corresponds to his understanding of *πειρασμός* as always tied to apostasy (Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance*, 14–15).

destroy a person's faith and his or her salvation. According to Luke, this is what is taking place in the desert: by tempting Jesus, the devil is attempting to provoke him to apostasy, which would cause not only his own personal destruction, but destroy God's entire plan of salvation. It is a confrontation with eschatological overtones, for what is at stake is not only Jesus's own salvation, but the salvation of all those who will hear the word and believe. This is an apocalyptic confrontation, a conflict of power not only over the terrestrial sphere, but over the human souls that occupy it.

The question arises here and elsewhere as to why Luke uses διαβόλος instead of the Semitic form σατανᾶς, which is found in the Markan account (Mark 1:13).<sup>111</sup> As we saw in the last chapter, several names and titles were used in Second Temple Judaism to refer to the same figure who stood at the head of the forces of darkness and evil. While many scholars have tried, it is not possible to find any principle by which Luke distinguishes the two or chooses between them. He seems to use them interchangeably.<sup>112</sup> Here he prefers the Greek form over the Semitic form. There are not sufficient grounds for attributing any interpretive weight to his choice in this or any other particular circumstance.

The apparent similarity between the story of Job and Jesus's temptations, where in both cases a righteous figure is subjected to testing by Satan, understandably tempts readers to read Luke's story as a parallel to Job. But this is a poor parallel, for despite the apparent similarities, the language of tempting or testing is not used in Job's trials. There is no vocabulary related to πειράζω used to describe Job's ordeal in the LXX text.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Matthew agrees with Luke in using διαβόλος here, making this a minor agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark.

<sup>112</sup> John T. Carroll, *Luke: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2012), 102; Nolland, *Luke 1 – 9:20*, 177.

<sup>113</sup> The word πειρατήριον occurs five times (Job 7:1; 10:17; 16:9; 19:12; 25:3), which generally has the sense of "gang of brigands" (cf. English "pirate"), but in 7:1 is used to say that all of life is a "trial" (LEH, s.v. "πειρατήριον"). In 7:1, it translates the Hebrew אָרָץ, which means military service, in this sense probably forced (HALOT, s.v. "אָרָץ"; cf. the epithet for God אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֵל אֲרָץ). The

More importantly, there is considerable chronological difference between Job and Luke. The image of Satan that Luke presumes and builds upon is the one present in Second Temple Judaism and elsewhere in the New Testament, and not the one found in the Old Testament. In fact, the contrasts between Satan in Job and in Luke are more instructive than the similarities. In Job, the devil is undoubtedly a member of God's heavenly court, but in Luke the devil deliberately makes himself a rival to God by asking Jesus to worship him (4:7). By responding with the Shema, Jesus makes clear what is at stake in this dispute: the devil is placing himself in the place of God, directly challenging God's authority and power. In Job, the devil's task is to show that Job's faith in God is feeble, which would be shown if he blasphemed God. By contrast, in the Lukan temptation, the aim is obedience to (and thus faith in) the devil rather than to God. As Seesemann points out, the question is not about rightly honoring or worshipping God, but about who is actually worshipped.<sup>114</sup>

The narrative structure of Job is also fundamentally different from the Lukan temptations. In Luke, the temptations are a direct confrontation between Jesus and the devil, while in Job, there is no direct interaction between Job and Satan. In Job, the sufferings of Job are accounted to God's responsibility, allowing the text to explore questions of theodicy and suffering in the divine plan.<sup>115</sup> Job is ignorant of Satan's role in

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LXX translator either exercised some license to generalize "forced military service" into general hardship, or used a slightly inaccurate Greek equivalent, meaning gang of brigands, as the word is used elsewhere in the LXX of Job, rather than conscripted service. In any case, this does not weigh against the point that nowhere in Job is the language of tempting or testing used to describe Job's ordeal. Seesemann, while admitting that the language of testing does not occur in the Hebrew, puts entirely too much significance on this one word in the LXX to construe Job as a narrative of testing (Seesemann, "πεῖρα, κτλ," *TDNT* 6:25).

<sup>114</sup> Seesemann, "πεῖρα, κτλ," *TDNT* 6:34.

<sup>115</sup> Most scholars consider the book of Job to be a composite work, joining a preexisting prose narrative to the extensive poetic speeches. See John E. Hartley, *The Book of Job*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), 21–24. This does not affect the point being made here, however, which is that in neither the prose narrative nor poetic speeches is there mention of Job's trials using the language of testing, much less a prominent emphasis on this theme.

his suffering, for Satan afflicts him from a distance, and there is no direct confrontation or even interaction between him and Satan. Job then credits Satan's activity to God's responsibility, something that could never be said for the temptations in Luke's Gospel. The conflict is ultimately between God and Job, not Satan and Job. In the case of Jesus, Satan does not deprive Jesus of anything or attack him physically. Rather, Luke shows an intellectual and spiritual confrontation that occurs directly between Jesus and the devil. Consistent with his purpose of revealing the underlying conflict of the narrative, Luke has Jesus and the devil directly contending with each other.

The effect of this narrative then, is to establish that Satan is the primary opponent and antagonist to Jesus. Kelly could hardly be more mistaken when he says in regard to Satan's claim to authority in Luke's temptation narrative: "we must assume that Satan is somehow God's Vicar-General on Earth."<sup>116</sup> He is not on God's side, but opposed to him. In his writing on conflict in Luke, Kingsbury has missed an essential element of Luke's narrative by identifying the religious authorities as Jesus's primary antagonist, even though he calls Satan Jesus's arch-adversary.<sup>117</sup> The latter is the correct perspective, which makes his human adversaries secondary to Satan and implicitly complicit with Satan in their opposition. As we will see, Luke downplays the force of their opposition through most of his narrative, in marked contrast to the other gospels. Luke has set things up so that Jesus's adult life begins with a clear confrontation with his antagonist, thereby establishing the basic structure of the conflict that will animate the plot. Jesus wins a complete victory in this initial engagement. As a careful narrator, Luke supplies the necessary elements of antagonist and conflict with this episode and points to the eventual outcome of the conflict.

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<sup>116</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 95.

<sup>117</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 13, 21.

### 2.2.3. A Conflict of Power and Authority

In Luke's version of the temptations, he inserts and highlights the question of authority (ἐξουσία) into the story, placing it in the second temptation together with the greatest commandment of the Jewish law.<sup>118</sup> Garrett calls the issue of authority "a key factor in the struggle with Satan."<sup>119</sup> Satan claims to have authority, suggesting to Jesus that if he recognizes Satan's authority by worshipping him, he will impart it to Jesus (4:6–7). Even before Jesus's response, the reader will know that the devil has asked Jesus to violate the most fundamental of all Israel's laws, to worship no other gods before the Lord.<sup>120</sup> Kingsbury identifies authority over Israel as the key issue at stake in the conflict between Jesus and religious authorities.<sup>121</sup> He misses, however, the much larger question about who has authority over all the kingdoms of the world, God or Satan. This larger question corresponds to Luke's universal interests: he is moving from the question of salvation of the nation of Israel to the salvation of all the nations. The question of who has authority over all the kingdoms of the world is the primary and fundamental question, raised by Luke in this temptation narrative.

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<sup>118</sup> Pokorný argues that the short version of the temptations in Mark is an "apology for Jesus' authority to drive out devils and to speak in the name of God himself" (Petr Pokorný, "The Temptation Stories and Their Intention," *NTS* 20 [1974]: 120). He holds that the dialogue which Matthew and Luke take from Q is concerned with responding to false Hellenistic Jewish views of the Messiah (122–25). Luke's second temptation is a "hidden confrontation with the ideology of the Roman *imperium*" (126). A similar argument is found in Robert Morgenthaler, "Roma – Sedes Satanae: Röm. 13, 1ff im Lichte von Luk. 4, 5–8," *TZ* 12 (1956): 289–304. While it is true that Luke, especially in Acts, is subtly but clearly putting the gospel in tension with political authorities, the immediate narrative context is the theological one implicated by Jesus's conflict with Satan. Luke does not associate Satan with political powers in any systematic way, but rather with opposition to God and his work in Jesus in any way, in which both political and religious powers are associated.

<sup>119</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 38.

<sup>120</sup> This reading that places the focus on power and authority differs from the common ethical reading of the temptations, which finds the question to be about the proper use of Jesus's power. Satan, in the ethical reading, tempts Jesus to use his power for selfish ends, rather than according to the will of God. While this reading has a certainly plausibility, it misses the importance of the second temptation, which are about rival kingdoms and claims to authority.

<sup>121</sup> Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Plot of Luke's Story of Jesus," *Int* 48 (1994): 371.

The parallel version in Matthew makes no mention of authority (ἐξουσία), but Luke introduces the devil's claim to have been given authority and the right to give it to whomever he wills.<sup>122</sup> In Matthew, the devil offers all the kingdoms of the world and their glory (4:8). Luke has the devil offer “all this authority and their glory” (τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν, Luke 4:6) and claim the ability to give this to Jesus “because it has been given over to me and I can give it to whomever I wish” (ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται καὶ ἄν θέλω δίδωμι αὐτήν). Luke understands Satan, at the beginning of the narrative and before Jesus's mission, to have authority over all the kingdoms of the world (πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης).<sup>123</sup> Luke is setting up the problem that his narrative will show being resolved.

Luke considers Satan's claim to have authority to be substantially true, in accord with the apocalyptic views of the Judaism of his time.<sup>124</sup> Satan does in fact have authority in the world into which Jesus arrives, but Luke's point is that Jesus's power is greater. This is consonant with the apocalypticism characteristic of the Second Temple period, which does not consist of a dualism of equal powers. Besides being necessary for the logical coherence of the temptation narrative itself, Luke's belief in the real authority of Satan in the world is seen elsewhere in the narrative. Satan is behind every affliction by demons and illness, sometimes stated explicitly (as in the bent-over woman “bound by Satan” and the description of Jesus healing those oppressed by the devil; Luke 13:16;

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<sup>122</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 516. Schürmann argues that ἐξουσία is in the source (Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium, Vol. 1*, 211), but Luke's introduction of the term has created a grammatical awkwardness by displacing τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν from its antecedent, which can only be τὰς βασιλείας, making it easier to account for Luke's introduction of the term than Matthew's deletion of it.

<sup>123</sup> Heinz Kruse, “Das Reich Satans,” *Bib* 58 (1977): 46.

<sup>124</sup> Nolland, *Luke 1 – 9:20*, 180; cf. Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 41. Bock calls it a “mixture of truth and error” and an “oversell” on the basis of Jesus's (and God's) greater authority (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 375–77). But that is precisely the point being argued here: that Satan's authority, though real, is superseded and defeated by the superior power of the kingdom of God through the ministry of Jesus.

Acts 10:38), but always implicitly held. Satan's authority is also maintained in explicit statements made by Jesus in Luke's Gospel. Satan's fall from heaven implies that he loses a role of authority he held at some point (Luke 10:18). The logic of Jesus's argument to refute the claim that he expels demons by the power of Beelzebul requires that Satan's kingdom is intact at that point (Luke 11:17–19).<sup>125</sup> The strong man who is secure in his possessions, but defeated by the stronger man, refers to the devil who has authority in the world into which Jesus—the stronger one—arrives (Luke 11:21–22). We will consider each of those episodes further on.

Kelly understands this claim to be based on God himself making Satan “the Ruler of the World,” on the basis of the story of Job and the claim in Jeremiah 27:5–6 that the Lord had given Israel over to King Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>126</sup> Luke, however, assumes rather than explains how Satan's power over the world came to be. The precedents offered by Kelly are only marginally useful as parallels, for they assume that these figures are benign and in some way doing the will of God, but in Luke's Gospel Satan is not doing the will of God but opposing it. Satan sets up his authority to rival and oppose God, even though it is clearly inferior. As Garrett notes, this is also a tension in other Second Temple literature, where Satan acts as God's opponent and yet exercises authority apparently

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<sup>125</sup> Joel Marcus, “The Beelzebul Controversy and the Eschatologies of Jesus,” in *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 247–77. Marcus argues more broadly that Jesus's thought underwent development from a pre-baptismal stage of his ministry, which is detected in seemingly diverging statements about Satan's role in the cosmos. In this view, Jesus was originally less apocalyptic in his thought, seeing his exorcisms as episodic. But after the baptism, which according to Marcus is when Jesus had his vision of Satan falling from the sky like lightning, he came to see his ministry as a programmatic attack and defeat of Satan. Marcus is questioning the development of the historical Jesus's thought, while our interest is in what Luke presents as Jesus's thought. Luke's insertion of the question of power into the temptation narrative is consistent with the programmatic view of Jesus's ministry: that he enters into a world under the authority of Satan in order to break that authority.

<sup>126</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 95–96.

granted to him at some earlier time.<sup>127</sup> Luke does not attempt to resolve this difficulty or explain the origins of Satan’s authority. Like the apocalyptic literature of Qumran, he is less interested in its origins than he is in its fate. He simply takes it as established fact that Satan holds authority in the world.

Luke’s conception of Satan’s authority in the world is remarkably similar to the roughly contemporaneous book of Revelation, which seems to be accessing the same encyclopedia of knowledge about Satan and his role in the apocalyptic conflict. Boismard finds a parallel between the devil’s claim to authority in both Luke and Matthew and the book of Revelation, where the dragon, representing Satan, gives to the beast “his power and his throne and his great authority” (τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην, Rev 13:2). People then worship the dragon (Satan) because he gave his authority to the beast (τὴν ἐξουσίαν, Rev 13:4). Then in 13:7–8, the beast is given “authority (ἐξουσία) over every tribe and people and tongue and nation, and all who dwell on earth will worship it.” While Matthew also makes this claim (implicitly through the promise of kingdoms, without using the word ἐξουσία), Luke goes further by explicitly stating it, having the devil assert the right to give his authority to others. This is, says Boismard, “under a different form, exactly the same fundamental idea” as Revelation 13.<sup>128</sup> Boismard is arguing for a literary relationship between Luke and Revelation, but it is not necessary to be convinced of that to see the same underlying conception of Satan in the two works. Regardless of the source of each author’s understanding, they make use of the same encyclopedia of knowledge, expressing the same view of Satan and his authority in the world. Likewise, they understand Jesus’s role in the defeat of Satan in similar terms.

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<sup>127</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 39.

<sup>128</sup> Marie-Émile Boismard, “Rapprochements littéraires entre l’évangile de Luc et l’Apocalypse,” in *Synoptische Studien: Alfred Wikenhauser zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. J. Schmid and A. Vögtle (Munich: Karl Zink, 1953), 54. Cf. Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 38.

Another precedent and parallel for Luke’s understanding of Satan’s power and his ability to give it away is found in the book of Daniel. Dominic Rudman argues that Luke’s language about Satan’s ability to give authority to whomever he wishes incorporates language from Daniel that presupposes a world under the control of the forces of chaos.<sup>129</sup> In Daniel 4:31 LXX (= Dan 4:28 MT), the prophet says to King Nebuchadnezzar that God will give his authority and his glory and his luxury (τὴν ἐξουσίαν σου καὶ τὴν δόξαν σου καὶ τὴν τρυφήν σου, Dan 4:31) to another. Rudman proposes that the awkward connection of authority and glory in Luke’s second temptation is explained if Luke is here making a reference to Daniel.<sup>130</sup> Daniel claims that “the God of heaven has authority in the kingdom of men and gives it to whoever he pleases” (ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὃ ἐὰν βούληται δώσει αὐτήν, Dan 4:31), which closely corresponds to what the devil claims in Luke. On the basis of Luke’s allusion to this background, Rudman concludes that Luke considered the devil’s claim to be true and that the world was under the control of forces of chaos with the devil at the head.

The terms of the devil’s offer of authority would require a fundamental sin to worship the devil in place of God. This would be to replace the worship of the true God with the worship of a false one, thereby violating the fundamental commandment of the Torah to worship God alone.<sup>131</sup> Luke’s account of the gruesome death of King Herod in

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<sup>129</sup> Dominic Rudman, “Authority and Right of Disposal in Luke 4.6,” *NTS* 50 (2004): 77–86.

<sup>130</sup> Rudman, “Authority and Right of Disposal in Luke 4.6,” 78–79.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Luke 10:25–28; Mark 12: 28–31; Matt 22:35–40. Besides being the first commandment of the Decalogue (Exod 20:2–3), this belief is also reflected in the Shema (Deut 6:5), which Rainbow says was “the nearest equivalent in Judaism to a confession of faith.” He cites four sources that say this profession was the “‘first’ item in the Jewish way of life” (Let. Aris.132; Philo, *Decal.* 65; Mark 12:28–32, Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2:190–93 (Paul A Rainbow, “Jewish Monotheism as the Matrix for New Testament Christology: A Review Article,” *NovT* 33 [1991]: 81–83). Cf. Ferdinand Hahn, “The Confession of the One God in the New Testament,” *HBT* 2 (1980): 69–84.

Acts, the punishment for him accepting worship and not giving to glory to God, shows that for Luke the arrogation of divine status was among the gravest offenses.<sup>132</sup> Jesus responds to the offer by citing the Shema, “You shall worship the Lord your God and him only you shall serve” (Luke 4:8; cf. Deut 6:16). The devil’s suggestion is so abhorrent as to be narratively implausible. No faithful character would fall to such a transparent deception, much less one who has been shown to be the son of the Most High and has been filled with the Holy Spirit. But in Luke’s narrative, this temptation accomplishes two things. First, it indicates that the devil is an opponent of God, a hostile and malevolent force not only to human beings but to God himself.<sup>133</sup> He is not testing Jesus on behalf of God but seeking to supplant God. Second, it shows that Jesus has no need of the devil’s authority. Reading the subsequent narrative in light of Jesus’s rejection of the devil’s offer shows he already possesses authority that comes from his relationship with the true God who alone is worthy of worship. The word προσκυνέω is not frequently used by Luke. After the devil’s demand for worship, it only appears in his Gospel again at the very end,<sup>134</sup> when Jesus is carried up to heaven from Bethany (24:50–52), and those present “worshipped him (προσκυνήσαντες αὐτόν) and returned to Jerusalem” (Luke 24:52).<sup>135</sup> Jesus rejects the authority of the devil by refusing to worship him, while at the

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<sup>132</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 40.

<sup>133</sup> Again, this renders impossible Kelly’s attempts to read these temptations, and the role of Satan in the New Testament as a whole, in terms of the “first biography” of Satan from the Old Testament, in which he is a member of the divine court and not God’s opponent (Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 326–28).

<sup>134</sup> Dillon, referring to Lohfink, says that Luke 24:52 is the first time προσκυνέω occurs in the Gospel, and so misses that it has occurred once before in the temptation to false worship (Richard Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers of the Word: Tradition and Composition in Luke 24*, AnBib 82 [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978], 223). But the point that Luke reserves worship of Jesus until his glorification at the ascension is important, as it shows something vital has changed in Jesus’s death and resurrection. Jesus’s glorification entails that Satan has been deprived of his authority, as foreshadowed by Jesus’s refusal to worship him. The question of who is worshipped points to who has the greater power.

<sup>135</sup> There is some textual uncertainty about the originality of this expression. The word προσκυνήσαντες is an example of a Western non-interpolation, absent in Codex Bezae, the Old

same time asserting his own authority. When the reader arrives at the end of the narrative, and Jesus's followers worship him after he has promised to "clothe them with power from on high" (Luke 24:49), he will remember that Satan made the same offer to Jesus in return for worship. Satan's power has come to an end, and Jesus is bestowing his power on those who follow him. With his greater power he is accomplishing with his followers what Satan failed to do with him.

Luke wants to show here and in his entire Gospel that the power of Jesus is greater than Satan's authority, as can be seen by the difference in scope between Satan's authority and Jesus's power. The authority offered by the devil is over all the kingdoms *of the world* (πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης, Luke 4:5).<sup>136</sup> Jesus, however, has come to bring the kingdom *of God* (Luke 4:43). The devil's temptation, therefore, is for Jesus to exchange a greater power for a lesser authority.<sup>137</sup> The reference to the kingdoms of the earth also makes this into a conflict not just between rival powers but between rival kingdoms. As the angel proclaims at the beginning of Luke's Gospel, Jesus is the son of the Most High who has been given the throne of his father David and "his kingdom will be without end" (1:32–33). Satan is in power in the world, but Jesus, by coming to bring the kingdom of God into the world, will replace the power of Satan with the power of God. Luke's choice to introduce the question of authority into his narrative in this way

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Latin, and Sinaitic Syriac. However, it is present in all other witnesses, including the earliest, P<sup>75</sup>. Metzger explains that it might have been omitted by mistake or that the Western copyist wished to remove the Ascension account from the Gospel to avoid confusion with its account in Acts (the same witnesses omit also the expression "he was carried up to heaven" in the preceding verse) (Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 163). See Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers*, 184.

<sup>136</sup> Luke has changed his source's κόσμος to οἰκουμένη, signifying the entire inhabited world and showing Luke's concern for universalism. BDAG, s.v. "οἰκουμένη." Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 516; Bovon, *Luke I*, 143.

<sup>137</sup> Green calls the devil's offer "a shabby substitute for the divine sonship that is his by birth," but does not make the connection with Jesus's power within the kingdom of God (Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 195).

demonstrates that the question of Satan's authority and God's is more fundamental for him than the rivalry between Jesus and human authorities.

#### **2.2.4. The Temptations and the Passion**

Luke indicates that the function of the temptations is to initiate an ongoing conflict between Satan and Jesus through a number of narrative revisions and the subsequent unfolding of the conflict in the narrative. He has modified the temptations by rearranging the order that he found in his source in order to connect the conflict between Jesus and Satan in the desert to the conflict between Satan and Jesus at the passion. He further gestures to that connection by adding the statement that the devil departed from him ἄχρι καιροῦ, (4:13). He then continues the story by again referencing the role of the Holy Spirit in directing the narrative and bestowing power upon Jesus. Finally, he follows the identification of Satan as Jesus's opponent by obliquely referencing Satan through Jesus's mission of release in his distinctive inaugural discourse in Nazareth, which culminates in Jesus's power again being shown stronger than those who seek to oppose him.

Luke's most obvious change to his source is the placement of the temptation in Jerusalem last, reversing the order of the second and third temptations from what most commentators believe is the original order in Matthew.<sup>138</sup> Fitzmyer argues that Matthew's order is original because the citations are in the (reverse) order they occur in

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<sup>138</sup> See a brief discussion, with a catalog of authors, mostly favoring the Matthean order and a few in favor of the Lukan, in John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, and Concordance*, FF (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press, 1988), 20. A much fuller survey of opinions is in Shawn Carrth and James M. Robinson, *Q 4:1–13, 16: The Temptations of Jesus Nazara*, ed. Christoph Heil, *Documenta Q: Reconstructions of Q Through Two Centuries of Gospel Research Excerpted, Sorted, and Evaluated* (Leuven: Peeters, 1996), 148–84. The opinion of the editors is unanimous that Matthew's order matches Q, assigning it a grade of B, indicating "a convincing probability" (183–184). Plummer judges that "the reasons given for preferring one order to the other are subjective and unconvincing," and that in any case they may intermingled, in line with his previously referenced proposal that the three temptations are representative of many temptations that occurred over the forty days (Plummer, *Luke*, 110).

Deuteronomy. It is also posited that Matthew respects a coherent geographic itinerary (ascending elevation from desert to Jerusalem to mountain) that Luke disturbs.<sup>139</sup> Luke's purpose in placing the Jerusalem temptation last is best explained by the importance he ascribes to Jerusalem in his narrative and theology as the center of the events of salvation.<sup>140</sup> He gestures to Jerusalem as the final conclusion to the conflict that is inaugurated in the desert, linking it to the decisive conflict of the passion that will take place in Jerusalem, as argued persuasively by Dupont in his monograph *Les Tentations de Jésus au Désert*. Jerusalem is important to Luke as the place where Jesus will again be assaulted by the devil, when he returns to the attack in the passion. On this basis, Dupont argues that the temptations must be understood as being intrinsically linked with the story of the passion. Luke takes advantage of the temptations to supply background and foundation for a conflict that will unfold throughout his narrative and reach its dramatic conclusion at the time of the passion. The influence of Satan in and behind the passion is a distinctive and creative touch that Luke places on his narrative. In the words of Dupont, Satan is the "mène la jeu" (puppet-master) behind the events of the passion.<sup>141</sup> The two events, the temptations and the passion, mutually illuminate each other by revealing the powers in conflict behind them. The temptations show that underneath the passion lies the continued malicious activity of Satan whose opposition to Jesus began from the very first moment of his public life. Thus, Dupont says, "the narrative of the temptations allows us to better grasp the mysterious background of the drama of the cross."<sup>142</sup> The city of Jerusalem is the bridge that points to that conclusion: "Jerusalem is the city where

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<sup>139</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 507–8; Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 365–66.

<sup>140</sup> See Fitzmyer's discussion of Jerusalem in Luke's geographical perspective in Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 164–71. He has a succinct but thorough discussion in which he concludes Luke wished to place the final scene in Jerusalem, in accord with the importance he places on that location (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 507). Cf. Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 365–66; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 139; Dupont, *Les tentations de Jésus*, 67–70; Nolland, *Luke 1 – 9:20*, 181.

<sup>141</sup> Dupont, *Les tentations de Jésus*, 72.

<sup>142</sup> Dupont, *Les tentations de Jésus*, 72.

Jesus must accomplish his ἔξοδος. Therefore it is there that Satan is forced to retreat a first time before Jesus, just as it is there that he will return to the attack in order to provoke the bloody tragedy.”<sup>143</sup> Dupont’s close examination of the temptations in Luke corresponds to the argument being made here that Luke sees a conflict between Satan and Jesus at the heart of the story.

Luke also connects the temptations and passion by appending a new conclusion to the story, adding the detail that the devil departed from Jesus “until the decisive moment” (ἄχρι καιροῦ, 4:13). As most commentators, following Conzelmann, have observed, this καιρός points forward to the passion, and specifically to the moment in which Satan enters into Judas (22:3).<sup>144</sup> The ἄχρι καιροῦ is a narrative link between these two key moments of the conflict—the initial and final confrontations between Jesus and Satan. The devil’s departure at the conclusion of the temptations is an indication of defeat, but he will return with a new and final assault at the passion. The devil’s authority has been shown to be inferior to the power of Jesus, but he is not yet completely defeated, and will return for another assault at the decisive moment. In the meantime, Jesus will continue to take the offensive against the devil and his authority, defeating him at every turn through exorcism, healing, and teaching.

The conflict between Satan and Jesus does not disappear but intensifies during the interim period of Jesus’s public ministry. This is contrary to the view of Conzelmann, who on the basis both of Luke’s statement that the devil “ended all temptations” and that he departed from him ἄχρι καιροῦ, claimed that the period of Jesus’s public life was a period free from the activity of Satan.<sup>145</sup> This observation plays a key part in constructing

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<sup>143</sup> Dupont, *Les tentations de Jésus*, 71–72.

<sup>144</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 28. Garrett acknowledges the connection while disputing Conzelmann’s assertion of an intervening “Satan-free” period (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 42–43). See also above, page 84, note 87.

<sup>145</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 16, 28, 170.

his reading of Luke’s theological view of history divided into three eras. As many scholars have noted, however, Conzelmann fails to recognize that the events of Jesus’s life show a continuous engagement with Satan as he makes his way toward the final confrontation in Jerusalem, pursuing a vigorous assault on Satan and his powers in his public ministry.<sup>146</sup> In this period, Jesus is the aggressor. The initiative and the offensive belong to Jesus, and it is only in the passion that Satan renews his direct assault. Conzelmann’s more limited claim that in this period, “where Jesus is from now on, there Satan is no more—ἄχρι καιροῦ,”<sup>147</sup> is more accurate, because in this period the struggle is marked by the successive victories of Jesus, as Luke shows the displacement of the authority of the devil’s kingdom by God. Conzelmann calls the period of the church after the ascension the *ecclesia pressa*, in which the church is under siege until the parousia.<sup>148</sup> The temptations inaugurate Jesus’s public life, which is a period of *diabolus pressus*, in which Satan’s hold over his kingdom is pressured by Jesus and his ongoing assault.

Luke follows the temptation narrative by showing that Jesus has by his own right the authority and the glory that he was offered by the devil. In this distinctive narrative transition, Luke says that Jesus returned to Galilee “in the power of the Spirit” (ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος, 4:14).<sup>149</sup> Jesus does not need the devil’s authority because he has power in the Holy Spirit. While δύναμις and ἐξουσία are closely related in meaning and sometimes overlap,<sup>150</sup> Luke considers δύναμις to be a greater force than ἐξουσία. The word δύναμις refers to an intrinsic quality rather than an endowed one like ἐξουσία, and

<sup>146</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 41–43; Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 186–87, 518; Bovon, *Luke I*, 141.

<sup>147</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 28.

<sup>148</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 16–17.

<sup>149</sup> This is a remarkable difference from Matthew and Mark, who follow the temptations by saying that John was arrested, implying that this is the cause for Jesus’s return to Galilee (Mark 1:14, Matt 4:12). Luke’s revision to attribute the move to the action of the Holy Spirit is thus all the more noteworthy.

<sup>150</sup> C.K. Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition* (London: SPCK, 1947), 69–93; Werner Foerster, “ἐξουσία,” *TDNT* 2:562–75; Walter Grundmann, “δύναμαι/δύναμις,” *TDNT* 2:284–317.

δύναμις is associated with divine power, while ἐξουσία refers more often to worldly and temporal power.<sup>151</sup> Luke never speaks of Satan as having δύναμις, except in 10:19, where it is used in parallel with ἐξουσία to avoid repetition. Satan’s offer of ἐξουσία to Jesus was therefore for something less than what he has by right.<sup>152</sup> So Luke shows that Jesus comes out of the conflict over Satan with the greater power, and the narrative will show Jesus exercising that power to the detriment of Satan.<sup>153</sup> Besides authority, the devil had also offered Jesus the glory of the kingdoms of the world (4:6), and so Luke takes occasion to show that Jesus has glory of his own by saying that Jesus was “being glorified by all” (4:15). Jesus already possesses glory and power, and so the devil has nothing to offer him.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Conzelmann says the difference is between actual power (δύναμις) and potential power (ἐξουσία) (Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 181–82). Hull, following on the work of Preisigke, argues that Luke’s understanding comes from a primitive idea of power as mana, an ancient pagan notion of power as a type of substance (Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, 109–14; citing Friedrich Preisigke, *Die Gotteskraft der frühchristlichen Zeit*, Papyrus Institut Heidelberg Schrift 6 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1922]). Two passages where the power of healing passes forth from Jesus by touch seem to support this view: the summary reference in 6:19 (“And all the crowd sought to touch him, for power came from him and healed them all”) and the woman with a hemorrhage (Jesus says, “Someone touched me, for I perceive that power has gone forth from me” [8:19]). But Turner disagrees, arguing that the manistic overtones are subordinate to the personal power of God acting in the world and the saving power of people’s faith (Turner, “The Spirit and the Power of Jesus’ Miracles in the Lukan Conception,” 136–38). Cf. Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 142 n. 20.

<sup>152</sup> Bovon says that Luke “contrasts Jesus’ unique and supreme authority with the power of the devil” (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 161).

<sup>153</sup> Hull argues that δύναμις comes upon Jesus only after the temptations, on the basis that 4:14 is the first explicit mention of this with regard to Jesus (Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, 106, 164 n. 39). But it is difficult to consider this as a new bestowal upon Jesus, given that it is associated with the Spirit whom Luke has painstakingly ascribed to Jesus before the temptations. The temptations are better viewed as the first *exercise* of Jesus’s δύναμις, over and against the devil’s ἐξουσία.

<sup>154</sup> Generally, in Luke, it is God who is glorified (cf. 2:20; 5:25–26; 23:47). Here and in Acts 3:13 are the two places where Jesus himself is glorified.

Luke vigorously engages his task of writing an orderly narrative in the early chapters of his Gospel, by arranging a more thorough introduction to the character of Jesus and constructing a plot that identifies Satan as Jesus's primary antagonist and the main source of conflict in the plot. Building upon the apocalyptic worldview, Luke understands the world to be under the authority of Satan as the story begins, and the drama is that God has now chosen to intervene, sending his son to bring the kingdom of God that will defeat Satan's authority. Luke arranges events so that the temptations in the desert are the first conflict in the narrative, marking the beginning of Jesus's adult life and his first confrontation with Satan. The conflict in the desert, which is driven by the Holy Spirit, shows that Jesus possesses a power that is greater than Satan's authority, and Jesus emerges victorious. He proceeds to engage that conflict over the course of his ministry, leading up to the final confrontation in the passion, when Satan returns to take up the offensive against Jesus. The continuing story of Jesus's conflict with Satan will be explored in the following chapters.

### 3. Ongoing Conflict in Jesus's Ministry

Luke sets up his overarching narrative structure of conflict between the power of God and the power of Satan in the early chapters of the Gospel. In the narrative that follows, Jesus engages in deliberate battle with Satan and his forces, engaging the assistance of a group of disciples. By showing this continuing conflict, Luke continues to write according to the apocalyptic framework of conflict between forces of good and evil, here manifest in Jesus and his disciples defeating the power of Satan and his demons. During the narrative of Jesus's ministry, the conflict continues, and Luke uses exorcism stories, healing accounts, and explicit teaching to narrate the ongoing conflict between Jesus and Satan. A number of scholars have noted the role that Satan plays in Luke's narrative. Green and Tannehill connect the Isaianic prophecy in the Nazareth speech to release from the power of Satan.<sup>1</sup> Twelftree has noted how both exorcisms and healings indicate the defeat of Satan in Luke.<sup>2</sup> Garrett has a strong analysis of the Beelzebul controversy and the fall of Satan saying,<sup>3</sup> Bovon has an excellent but brief excursus that summarizes the role of the devil in Luke.<sup>4</sup> But none of these authors develops these insights into a complete analysis of Luke to show the role that Satan plays in his entire narrative, nor connect it to his apocalypticism and views of human agency. By examining Satan's role in Luke's narrative of Jesus's public life, more elements in the cumulative argument that we are making will be assembled, to show that Luke cannot be understood without crediting the importance that Satan plays in his narrative and theology.

Luke uses Jesus's inaugural discourse (4:16–21) to introduce release and liberation as key components of Jesus's mission, which Luke understands to mean the

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<sup>1</sup> Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 220–21; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 65–66.

<sup>2</sup> Graham H. Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism Among Early Christians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 43–60.

<sup>4</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 141–42.

release and liberation from Satan's authority. He then proceeds to narrate Jesus's exercise of this mission through exorcisms and healings.<sup>5</sup> In every exorcism, Luke shows Jesus victorious through the power of the word of God over Satan and his forces. Likewise, Luke sees all illness as evil and part of the devil's oppression (cf. Luke 13:16 and Acts 10:38), and so all healings are likewise a defeat of Satan and a victory for the power of God. Luke also uses Jesus's teaching to describe the defeat of Satan and its relationship to the arrival of the kingdom of God. The parable of the sower indicates that Satan's purpose is to oppose the word of God and so prevent people from believing and being saved. Luke inserts a unique saying about Jesus's vision of Satan falling from heaven like lightning, which is an indication of his defeat (10:18). Analysis of this passage will find important connections with the book of Revelation, showing a common apocalyptic worldview expressed in these two different literary forms. Jesus's vision takes place in the context of the mission of the seventy, where his followers are given a share in God's power over Satan. Their success in prosecuting the fight against him is a sign of his defeat and the kingdom of God's victory (10:17–19). In the Beelzebul controversy, Satan's kingdom is explicitly referenced, and Jesus's power over demons is established as a sign that the kingdom of God has arrived (11:20). Luke gives a distinctive form to the allegory of the strong man, in which Satan is a strong man who is defeated by a stronger one in Jesus (11:20–22).

In all of these ways, Luke shows that the conflict with Satan is essential to his plot. A careful reading of these passages will show that Conzelmann was quite wrong to say that Jesus's ministry was a period free of Satan.<sup>6</sup> Rather, Luke is building upon

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<sup>5</sup> While Luke does not have any additional exorcisms from his Markan source, the stories are sufficient for his purposes. He does restructure the healing of Simon's mother-in-law to give it the character of an exorcism (4:38–39), and in an original healing story of the bent-over woman attributes her infirmity to the bondage of Satan (13:10–17).

<sup>6</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 16.

apocalyptic expectations to show how the kingdom of God defeats and displaces the authority of Satan.

### **3.1. The Mission of Release**

Having mapped out the conflict that will drive the narrative and reveal Jesus's opponent, Luke next uses the inaugural sermon in Nazareth to describe Jesus's mission in terms of bringing release, which implicitly references the conflict with Satan. As Luke has Jesus proclaim his mission in terms of the fulfillment of an Isaianic prophecy, it is marked by healing and liberation (Luke 4:17–19; cf. Isaiah 61:1–2; 58:6). This stands in contrast to the violence of the kingdom of Satan. Besides moving the synagogue speech to this place of narrative prominence from its position in Mark, Luke has expanded and reshaped it to make it one of the most characteristic episodes in his Gospel. It plays a programmatic role in his story to describe the mission of Jesus in positive terms. For all the importance that Luke places on Satan and his destruction, the main point of Luke's Gospel is the coming of the kingdom of God, and in this episode, Jesus lays out the basic terms of that mission.<sup>7</sup>

Jesus's defeat of Satan is incorporated into the synagogue speech through its emphasis on Jesus's mission of "release" (ἄφεσις). In the prophecy cited by Jesus, the notion of release occurs twice, facilitated by the use of a mixed citation that brings in the second reference: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to captives (αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν) and sight to the blind, to set free those held captive (ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει), and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" (4:18–19). The citation is in fact a conflation of Isaiah 61:1–2 and 58:6, which enables Luke to highlight the notion of release by referencing it twice.<sup>8</sup> While some scholars see the

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<sup>7</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke the Theologian: Aspects of His Teaching*, 169.

<sup>8</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 65.

mixed citation as evidence that the form of the quotation is pre-Lukan, since Luke nowhere else uses a mixed citation,<sup>9</sup> that does not disqualify its importance for Luke.<sup>10</sup> Jesus is here depicted as a Spirit-endowed liberator.<sup>11</sup> Turner finds “messianic Jubilee/New Exodus hopes” that “regarded the Spirit on Jesus as the power by which he initiated Israel’s messianic release, epitomized in his redemptive miracles.”<sup>12</sup> In order to understand how Luke understands “release,” we will have to see how he understands the activity of Satan.

Luke is careful to follow the pattern of prophecy and fulfillment in his Gospel,<sup>13</sup> and does not create an expectation that will not be satisfied. Luke clearly shows the fulfillment of this citation through Jesus preaching good news to the poor and giving sight to the blind. But what about the release of captives? The answer is found in the release of those afflicted by the devil through possession and illness. As Green states it, “the heightened emphasis on ‘release’ noted in Jesus’s citation from Isaiah is developed first in the Third Gospel in terms of *release from diabolic power*.”<sup>14</sup> This observation is borne out by Luke’s distinctive attribution in 13:16 of the infirmity of the “daughter of Abraham” to Satan’s binding (δέσμοι/δεσμός). Likewise in Acts 10:38, a text that alludes

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<sup>9</sup> Though this claim fails to recognize that Luke 7:27, shared with Matt 11:10, is a mixture of Exod 23:20 and Mal 3:1.

<sup>10</sup> Tuckett considers it pre-Lukan and thus dismisses the relevance of “release” as an important concept for Luke, arguing that the meaning is simply that of forgiveness (Christopher Tuckett, “Luke 4, 16–30, Isaiah and Q,” in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus — The Sayings of Jesus*, ed. Joël Delobel, BETL 59 [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1982], 347–48). Turner accepts Tuckett’s conclusion that the form of the quotations is pre-Lukan, but disagrees that this lessens its importance as an expression of Luke’s own view (Turner, “The Spirit and the Power of Jesus’ Miracles in the Lukan Conception,” 150).

<sup>11</sup> Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 399–401.

<sup>12</sup> Turner, *Power from on High*, 266.

<sup>13</sup> Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 15–17.

<sup>14</sup> Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 221. Emphasis in original. Also Ulrich Busse, *Die Wunder des Propheten Jesus: die Rezeption, Komposition und Interpretation der Wundertradition im Evangelium des Lukas*, FB (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977), 61–62, 428–34.

to the Nazareth speech,<sup>15</sup> illness is described as oppression by the devil, which Jesus was sent to heal. Tuckett, however, discounts the importance placed by Luke on the notion of release. He argues that the references to release come from Luke's source rather than his own redaction, and that for Luke the word ἄφεσις refers only to forgiveness of sins, and not in any sense liberation from diabolical power or other kinds of enslavement.<sup>16</sup> But while acknowledging the probable pre-Lukan origin of the citation, Turner argues that the addition of Isaiah 58:6 in this context cannot refer to forgiveness of sins, since its referent is not ἀμαρτιῶν but αἰχμαλώτοις. Rather, he concludes that Luke himself, and not only his source, wishes "to stress the theme of Jesus-Liberator," and that "liberation plainly includes healings and exorcisms."<sup>17</sup> As Tannehill notes, the next episodes in Luke's narrative stress Jesus's power over demons, both in the exorcism in the Capernaum synagogue and in the healing of the fever of Simon's mother-in-law, which Luke construes as an exorcism.<sup>18</sup> That is, Luke quickly narrates the fulfillment of this prophecy of release in these episodes which liberate people from satanic oppression. Luke will show many kinds of release in his narrative—exorcism, healing, and forgiveness of sins—but all of these are viewed by Luke as liberation from Satan and his power.

The odd and abrupt shift from the people's acclaim of Jesus to seeking to kill him allows Luke to expand the terms of conflict and opposition to Jesus while also demonstrating the impotence of that opposition in the face of Jesus's power. The change in reaction to Jesus is so sharp as to be narratively implausible, especially for a narrator as careful as Luke. Luke knows that Jesus will also be opposed by human powers, and only now that he has established Satan as the primary antagonist to Jesus can begin to speak of this without distracting from the more fundamental plot structure. The sequence is

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<sup>15</sup> See below, pg. 125, especially n. 68.

<sup>16</sup> Tuckett, "Luke 4, 16–30, Isaiah and Q," 346–51.

<sup>17</sup> Turner, "The Spirit and the Power of Jesus' Miracles in the Lukan Conception," 146–49.

<sup>18</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 65.

important, for the conflict with Satan is primary and the conflict with human authorities is secondary. The human opposition to Jesus at this point in the narrative is odd because lies outside the arc of Luke's portrayal of the conflict between Jesus over the course of his ministry. As we will explore further, the opposition to Jesus from human authorities remains mild until his arrival in Jerusalem.<sup>19</sup> While this serves as notice of what will develop later, Luke makes another point that he will stress throughout the narrative: the people have no power over Jesus and are utterly ineffective in their attempts to destroy him. Jesus's ability to escape their efforts is highly implausible at a natural level (simply "passing through their midst," διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν, 4:30), which points to the impotence of human powers in their opposition to Jesus and implicitly demonstrates the superiority of God's power over opposing forces. Jesus easily defeats the opposition of mere human forces, as he will do so continually until that καιρός when Satan returns and by entering into Judas makes possible what the people could not effectively do. The people's inability to harm Jesus shows that human opposition is fruitless against Jesus until it is joined to the malicious authority of Satan.

### **3.2. Exorcisms**

Luke uses exorcism stories to continue the narrative thread of confrontation between the authority of Jesus and Satan. While commentators such as Tannehill, Garrett, and even Kingsbury have noted the way that Luke uses exorcisms to depict conflict between Jesus and Satan and make the connection to Jesus's mission of release, they have failed to integrate these observations into an overall assessment of the role that Satan plays in Luke's narrative and theology. As part of this larger project, it will be important to review the place that exorcism plays in Luke's narrative. Garrett's failure to explicitly examine the role that exorcisms play in Luke's narrative, aside from the context provided

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<sup>19</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 59.

for them by the Beelzebul controversy, is a major lacuna in her study of Satan in Luke, albeit an understandable one, since her focus is on magic.<sup>20</sup> Kingsbury likewise fails to observe how exorcisms play a key part in the conflict that Luke narrates.<sup>21</sup>

Luke uses exorcism to manifest the destruction of the authority and rule of Satan by the power of God. As Twelftree notes, Luke uses his authorial activity to “heighten the place of exorcism in relating Jesus’ ministry.”<sup>22</sup> While there are no original stories of exorcism in his Gospel, this does not thereby indicate that Luke is not interested in them. While redaction criticism is helpful in discerning Luke’s particular interests and contributions, it does not thereby follow that what he adopts from his sources is unimportant to him. Luke gives prominence to exorcisms in his narrative, and the material that he chooses to incorporate from Mark are more than ample to satisfy his narrative needs. He has made a choice to include the exorcisms, and has taken two healing stories and injected elements of exorcism into them (Simon’s mother in law [4:38–39] and the bent-over woman [13:10–17]). Kirchschräger notes that Luke wishes to keep the focus on the person of Jesus, but does not appreciate the significance of what Luke retains from his sources, given that Luke is quite willing to drop things he considers unimportant or extraneous.<sup>23</sup> Fuller says that what is distinctive about Jesus is not the fact

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<sup>20</sup> See especially Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 43–46, 57–60.

<sup>21</sup> In his narrative-style commentary on Luke’s depiction of Jesus’s ministry, he observes the role that exorcisms play in Jesus’s life but does not incorporate them into his understanding of conflict as Luke narrates it. He says that in the temptations the Spirit “leads him into confrontation with Satan, or the devil, Jesus’ arch-adversary” (Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 43). He also notes the connection between Jesus’s mission as described in the synagogue speech and “those whom Satan holds in bondage because of sin, disease, or demon possession” (Kingsbury, “The Plot of Luke’s Story of Jesus,” 45). But when it comes to characterizing the conflict of Luke’s narrative, he describes it as with religious authorities without reference to Satan’s role in the plot (71–73). See also his later article Kingsbury, “The Plot of Luke’s Story of Jesus”.

<sup>22</sup> Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism Among Early Christians*, 133.

<sup>23</sup> Walter Kirchschräger, *Jesu exorzistisches Wirken aus der Sicht des Lukas: ein Beitrag zur lukanischen Redaktion*, ÖBS (Klosterneuburg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1981), 266. See the review by William S. Kurz, *CBQ* 45 (1983): 693–94.

that he worked miracles, but the interpretation that he gave to them, so that the exorcisms point to the “dawning Reign of God” and the “beginning of the end of Satan’s reign.”<sup>24</sup> As Twelftree puts it, “For Luke, the exorcisms of Jesus are both the coming of the powerful presence of the kingdom of God and the associated defeat of Satan.”<sup>25</sup> Over the course of Jesus’ ministry, exorcisms express the conflict that is inaugurated in the temptations and consummated in the passion.

According to Kee, the vocabulary of exorcism has a particular sense in the New Testament that reflects the apocalyptic conquest of evil by good. The word ἐπιτιμάω is the Greek equivalent of גער, which Kee traces through its use in Qumran, the Hebrew Bible, and other Second Temple literature. The word means much more than simply “rebuke,” and understanding it in its background of “dualistic, apocalyptic thinking” shows that it has “the connotation of divine conflict with hostile powers, the outcome of which is the utterance of the powerful word by which the demonic forces are brought under control.”<sup>26</sup> Parallel stories of exorcism in pagan and rabbinic sources were meant to glorify the one who performed the exorcism, but without any reference to the broader significance of the action, whereas “in the biblical and apocalyptic material, the subjugation of the demonic powers is understood as a necessary part in preparing for the establishment of God’s rule over his creation.”<sup>27</sup> Though Kee is writing about this language in Mark, Luke uses the word ἐπιτιμάω just as Mark does, notably introducing it

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<sup>24</sup> Reginald H. Fuller, *Interpreting the Miracles* (London: SCM, 1963), 40.

<sup>25</sup> Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism Among Early Christians*, 134 Cf. Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 65.

<sup>26</sup> Howard Clark Kee, “Terminology of Mark’s Exorcism Stories,” *NTS* 14 (1968): 238. Important references for this usage include 1QM XIV, 9–10; 1QapGen XX, 28–29; Job 26:11; Mal 3:11; Zech 3:2; Jub. 10:4–11; 48:12; 2 Bar. 21:23. An important NT text, Jude 9, directly connects the word ἐπιτιμάω to גער in its apparent citation of Zech 3:2, though it has also been argued that the reference is from the Assumption of Moses on the basis of patristic citations, although it is not contained in the surviving text. Cf. Bovon, *Luke 1*, 163; Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 546.

<sup>27</sup> Kee, “Terminology of Mark’s Exorcism Stories,” 239.

with regard to demons in two places where Mark does not.<sup>28</sup> Stauffer expresses the significance of the term when used by Jesus toward demons: “He is also Lord over the demons and bends them to His will. He is the Stronger who penetrates into the house of the strong man and drives out demons by the finger of God.”<sup>29</sup> Understanding this sense of exorcism vocabulary helps to see how Luke uses exorcism stories to carry forward this apocalyptic plot structure of conflict between God and Satan.

Immediately after his inaugural discourse in Nazareth and his escape from the crowd, Jesus engages the battle with Satan once more in his first exorcism, a direct confrontation that Luke explicitly frames as a question of authority. Luke has brought this story forward in his narrative from its location in Mark, placing it directly after Jesus’s initial preaching, thus increasing its importance in the narrative.<sup>30</sup> Tannehill notes this “strong emphasis” and the way that Luke understands healing and exorcism to manifest Jesus’s mission of bringing release.<sup>31</sup> In Luke’s account, Jesus returns to Capernaum and teaches in the synagogue, which causes astonishment because his word was with authority (ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, Luke 4:32). Klutz argues that Jesus’s authority and power are “the episode’s most prominent emphasis,” because “the divine authority essential for exorcistic victory is present and active in Jesus’ own person.”<sup>32</sup> Luke keeps

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<sup>28</sup> This is in the healing of Peter’s mother in law (Luke 4:39), to be considered below, and in the summary of healings and exorcisms thereafter (Luke 4:41). The latter may reflect Mark 3:12, but even so, Luke has relocated it earlier in the narrative, in accord with his effort to foreground exorcisms in the narrative.

<sup>29</sup> Ethelbert Stauffer, “ἐπιτιμάω,” *TDNT* 2:626.

<sup>30</sup> Mark has this occur only after the call of the first disciples, and Matthew omits it. According to Fuller, Luke’s decision to delay the call of the disciples serves to highlight the importance of the miracles (over his teaching) and to stress that Jesus is immediately executing “the programme of his sermon” (Fuller, *Interpreting the Miracles*, 82–84). See also the discussion in Kirchschräger, *Jesu exorzistisches Wirken*, 27–44. As Kirchschräger notes, when Luke deviates from the Markan sequence, he does so for motives related to the overall conception of his work (Kirchschräger, *Jesu exorzistisches Wirken*, 262).

<sup>31</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 1, 83–85.

<sup>32</sup> Todd Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts: A Sociostylistic Reading*, SNTSMS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 29–81. Kirchschräger makes a similar point in

the focus on the direct conflict between Jesus and the forces of Satan by removing the contrast that Mark makes with the scribes (as Mark says, “he was teaching as one having authority and not as the scribes” 1:22), a contrast that would distract Luke from his focus on Satan as Jesus’s primary opponent. This redacting is consistent with Luke’s pattern of delaying the onset of mortal conflict between Jesus and religious authorities. As Luke constructs the narrative, the conflict with human authorities is secondary, and by removing the reference to the scribes here, Luke highlights the exorcism as an expression of conflict with Satan.

Luke uses his redaction of this exorcism to highlight the effective power of Jesus’s word over the demon that ends in his defeat, and by implication, the defeat of Satan. Luke changes Mark’s description of the man so that he has “the spirit of an unclean demon” (πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου, Luke 4:33), whereas Mark has simply “an unclean spirit,” ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, Mark 1:23).<sup>33</sup> The Greek δαιμόνιον in Luke, as elsewhere in the New Testament, refers almost exclusively to evil spiritual beings in the service of and under the power of Satan.<sup>34</sup> At one point, the demon asks if Jesus has “come to destroy us.” The plural is a gesture to the broader significance of this exorcism in the context of Jesus’s entire mission. He is in conflict with not only this

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arguing that here, as in general, Luke redacts the story to keep the focus on Jesus and the power that he exercises (Kirchschläger, *Jesu exorzistisches Wirken*, 266).

<sup>33</sup> Here and elsewhere there are a variety of terms used by Luke and other New Testament writers to refer to evil spiritual forces. This leads to a legitimate question about how these terms are used and what, if any distinction, is made between them. But as in the case of the language of devil and Satan, any effort to classify or distinguish the language in the gospels falls short. As Pilch says, “Contemporary Western exegetes who seek to tally and distinguish the various kinds of spirits mentioned are likely expecting too much precision from first-century Mediterranean vocabulary” (John J. Pilch, “Healing in Luke-Acts,” in *The Social World of the New Testament*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey and Eric C. Stewart [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2008], 199).

<sup>34</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 162. See also Werner Foerster, “δαίμων,” *TDNT* 2:16–19; BDAG, s.v. “δαίμων.”

particular demon, but all demons and powers of evil.<sup>35</sup> Klutz notes that by the use of the plural Luke claims that “a single exorcism can be seen as a victory against the whole realm of evil and thus as a spiritual triumph of cosmic proportions.”<sup>36</sup> Tannehill notes that this first exorcism is “only an illustration of a larger purpose: the destruction of demonic powers in general.”<sup>37</sup> As Kee observes, this shows that “the whole cosmic struggle of Satan and his hosts against God is now certain to end in the defeat of the demonic powers.”<sup>38</sup>

The demon speaks directly to Jesus, making this story a direct confrontation between these two powers.<sup>39</sup> In his speech, the demon acknowledges Jesus’s identity, authority, and mission.<sup>40</sup> He indicates Jesus’s identity by giving his name (“Jesus of Nazareth”) and proclaims “I know who you are: the Holy One of God” (οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ; Luke 4:34).<sup>41</sup> He acknowledges Jesus’s authority by crying out with a cry

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<sup>35</sup> This is one of three options outlined by Bock. The other two possible implications of the plural are the synagogue audience along with the demon, or the possessed man along with the demon. He ranks the reference to all the powers of evil as the most commonly held, while he personally favors the possessed man together with the demon (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 432–33). The second two of these readings, though, needlessly confuse the voice of the speaker. Given the use of collective voice elsewhere to speak of demons (8:30–31), the most coherent reading is that the demon is speaking for a collective of the powers of evil.

<sup>36</sup> Klutz, *Exorcism Stories*, 54 n. 153.

<sup>37</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 83.

<sup>38</sup> Kee, “Terminology of Mark’s Exorcism Stories,” 243.

<sup>39</sup> Direct verbal exchange is also key to the conflict as expressed in the temptations, which underscores the difference between the conflict between Satan and Jesus in the gospels and the conflict between Satan and Job in the Old Testament, where this no direct verbal engagement.

<sup>40</sup> While Luke takes the demon’s speech directly from Mark, he does add an exclamation of woe (ἔα) at the beginning, adding to the sense of defeat on the part of this satanic force. While Luke changes little within this narrative itself, its reading is colored by the changes Luke has made in its narrative context, particularly the thicker treatment of the conflict between Jesus and Satan in the temptations.

<sup>41</sup> This expression οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ, “the Holy One of God,” which Luke finds in his Markan source, apparently had the character of an early Christian profession of faith, as evidenced by its presence in John’s version of the Petrine confession of faith “We have believed and have come to know that you are the Holy One of God” (καὶ ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ, John 6:69).

of displeasure and the idiomatic and elliptical expression: ἔα, τί ἡμῶν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; (“Ah! Leave us alone, Jesus of Nazareth”<sup>42</sup>). The demon also implicitly describes Jesus’s mission by asking whether he has come to destroy him. The destruction of demonic power is in fact part of Jesus’s mission to bring release to captives, and the demon’s question provides a subtle ironic touch. Jesus proceeds to fulfill this mission, rebuking the demon in the technical language (ἐπιτιμάω) and commanding him to be silent and come out.

Luke highlights the power and authority of Jesus’s word in this exorcism. He introduces the importance of the “word” (λόγος), first in the introductory segment, where he says that “his word was with authority” (4:32). Then, in the people’s reaction to the exorcism, he takes Mark’s τί ἐστὶν τοῦτο; (Mark 1:27) and makes it τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος; (Luke 4:36), again framing the conflict in terms of Jesus’s word and its power. The effective power of Jesus’s word, which the demon is forced to obey, stands in contrast to the words of Satan in the temptation narrative, which had no power to constrain Jesus.<sup>43</sup> Jesus was able to disobey the word of Satan, while here the demon is forced to obey Jesus. It is noteworthy that Luke changes the story from his Markan source, where the demon cries out with a loud voice, so that the demon is silent after being so commanded by Jesus. There is no ambiguity: the demon must obey the word of Jesus, which is shown by his departure in total silence. Bovon observes that the fact that the demon leaves

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<sup>42</sup> This expression is translated in various ways. Wallace suggests “What do I have to do with you?” or “What do we have in common? Leave me alone!” (Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament*, 150–51). BDAG calls it “a protest against hostile measures,” (s.v. “ἐγώ”). Bovon says to Semitic ears it would mean “Why are you getting mixed up in our affairs?” (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 162).

<sup>43</sup> Kirchschräger places the emphasis on Jesus’s word as a teaching word, and calls this pericope a vehicle for Jesus’s teaching with a catechetical purpose (Kirchschräger, *Jesu exorzistisches Wirken*, 42–44). While there is doubtless a catechetical purpose to this and any of Luke’s writing, the exorcism with its focus on Jesus’s word is about Jesus’s power over Satan and not his teaching.

without harming the man is a signal of its complete defeat.<sup>44</sup> Kee attributes central importance to the power of Jesus's word, concretely ἐπιτιμάω, saying that "Jesus utters the commanding word by which the demon, as representative of the forces opposed to God and his purposes, is overcome."<sup>45</sup> Luke takes over this importance and deepens it by introducing the reference to Jesus's λόγος twice into the account. Luke concludes this story as he began it, by enlisting the voice of the people to frame the event in terms of the power and authority of Jesus's word (τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ἐπιτάσσει, 4:36). The placement of "power and authority" in emphatic position underscores that Luke wants to show the power and authority of Jesus victorious in a direct conflict with the authority of Satan. In Mark's version, there is ambiguity whether authority is attributed to the new teaching or the commanding of unclean spirits, since the prepositional phrase κατ' ἐξουσίαν could be read either with διδαχὴ καινὴ just before it or with the clause just after it, καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασιν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει (Mark 1:27). Luke clearly states that Jesus commands with authority and power (ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ἐπιτάσσει), introducing δύναμις alongside ἐξουσία, a construction of hendiadys that both links the two concepts together and strengthens them. Jesus holds a power superior to Satan and the demons in every respect. Whereas in the temptation narrative, the devil departs defeated, unable to use his power to compel the obedience of Jesus, here Jesus departs victorious, having exerted his power against that of the forces of the devil. As Kee concludes, "Satan's rule is being overcome."<sup>46</sup>

After this first and decisive exorcism that carefully connects exorcism to the question of power, Luke continues to include stories of exorcisms and other references to

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<sup>44</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 163. Cf. Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 433–34. Bock says, "Round one goes to Jesus," though in our reading, "round one" was really the temptations, by which Luke indicated how subsequent rounds would go.

<sup>45</sup> Kee, "Terminology of Mark's Exorcism Stories," 242.

<sup>46</sup> Kee, "Terminology of Mark's Exorcism Stories," 243.

them in order to maintain the presence of this element as the narrative thickens. In this way, the power of Jesus over the devil and his demons is narrated as an ongoing event, asserted on multiple occasions as part of the ongoing conflict of powers, with Jesus consistently asserting the power of God over Satan.

Luke follows the Markan narrative sequence by placing the healing of Simon's mother-in-law next, but overlays the theme of exorcism on the Markan healing story, thus subtly including it in the narrative of Jesus's progressive defeat of satanic powers.<sup>47</sup> In place of a simple healing narrative as in Mark, Luke has given it the character of an exorcism of an evil spirit named "fever." In Luke's version, the woman is afflicted by a "great fever" (ἦν συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ, 4:38), a change from Mark's κατέκειτο πυρέσσουσα (1:30; the verbal form of πυρέσσω precludes the implication of a personal force contained in Luke). Luke's language implies oppression by an active and powerful force, rather than a simple illness.<sup>48</sup> Whereas his Markan source and Matthean parallel have Jesus taking her hand to heal her, Luke uses the technical term for exorcism to describe her healing: Jesus rebukes the fever and it leaves her (ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πυρετῷ καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτήν 4:39).<sup>49</sup> The particular construction and language that Luke has supplied thus reads more like an exorcism of an evil spirit.<sup>50</sup> Like many in antiquity, Luke sees a

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<sup>47</sup> Kingsbury perceptively calls the exorcism of the man in the synagogue and the healing of Peter's mother-in-law "parallel miracles" (Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 47). See the detailed analysis of this pericope in Kirchschräger, *Jesu Exorzistisches Wirken*, 55–69.

<sup>48</sup> Matthew also has more typical language of illness in his expression βεβλημένην καὶ πυρέσσουσαν (Matt 8:14).

<sup>49</sup> Kirchschräger observes that it is of great importance that such a banishment take place by word and not by touch, as demonic powers respond to word and diseases by touch (Kirchschräger, *Jesu exorzistisches Wirken*, 68).

<sup>50</sup> Fitzmyer says "it is not easy to decide whether the healing is strictly such or borders on an exorcism." He concludes that the use of ἐπιτιμάω is an attempt to create a continuity and link between the exorcism story before (4:35) and the summary statement of exorcisms just after in 4:41 (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 548–50). Kirchschräger calls it an "exorzismusartigen Krankheitsbannung," or an exorcism-like healing of illness (Kirchschräger, *Jesu exorzistisches Wirken*, 68). Bock also demurs, saying that the account lacks the crucial feature of the demon's

strong connection between illness and the work of spirits. The language shows once more that Jesus’s rebuke is effective against evil powers, whether it be over an explicit demon or a human illness construed as a demonic influence.<sup>51</sup> The connection that Luke sees between illness and demonic power is most explicit in the episode of the healing of the “daughter of Abraham” whose infirmity is described as being bound by Satan (13:10–17). These episodes of healing show Jesus carrying out the mission he described in the inaugural address in Nazareth, “to proclaim release to captives and to release those who are oppressed” (4:18). His introduction of the verb ἐπιτιμάω also provides a narrative connection with the previous story of exorcism, showing the progressive defeat of the powers of darkness by the word of the Lord, underscoring that the release proclaimed in Nazareth is release from the power of Satan.<sup>52</sup>

Luke continues to highlight Jesus’s exorcistic activity in the summary of the events of the evening after the healing of Simon’s mother-in-law (Luke 4:40–41). As Fitzmyer notes, Luke’s editorial hand is strong here, so that “one hesitates to call it merely redactional modification.”<sup>53</sup> While he follows the basic structure of his source (Mark 1:32–34), speaking of both healing and exorcisms in the evening, he gives a narrative form to the exorcisms and makes them again into a direct confrontation between Jesus and the demons. He again introduces the technical term for exorcism, ἐπιτιμάω, where it is not in his Markan source or Matthean parallel. In Luke’s account, the demons speak to Jesus, proclaiming him to be the Son of God (4:41). There is an echo here of the devil’s address to Jesus in the desert, “If you are the Son of God...” (4:3, 9), and the

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departure (but what of καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτήν in 4:39?), and that Luke uses the verb for a nature miracle in 8:24 (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 436–37). He misses, however, Kee’s observation that the verb is used to express the power of God defeating the forces of chaos and evil in the world, and that the rebuke of the wind and water is an expression of that with deep Old Testament background (Kee, “Terminology of Mark’s Exorcism Stories,” 243–44).

<sup>51</sup> Kirchschräger, *Jesu Exorzistisches Wirken*, 69; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 84–85.

<sup>52</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 1*, 85.

<sup>53</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 552.

direct verbal confrontation here heightens the sense of conflict between Jesus and the agents of Satan. By rebuking the demons and forbidding them to speak, Luke again shows that Jesus personally exercises a superior power over them through his word.<sup>54</sup> Luke also specifies what the demons knew about Jesus that he wishes them to keep silent about: “that he was the Christ” (Luke 4:41; Mark says merely that “they knew him”).<sup>55</sup> The scope of the conflict thus continues to widen. The implicit message of Jesus’s first exorcism, communicated through the demon’s use of the plural (“What have you to do with us?”), was that Jesus’s action is against all the forces of evil, against the collective powers of Satan and not just an isolated engagement, and here Luke shows Jesus engaging demonic forces on a wider, collective scale. As Forsyth observes in connecting this to the extensive rebel tradition that he documents, “each little exorcism is linked to the ‘fall’ of the enemy, who is here envisaged as a heavenly body.”<sup>56</sup>

Luke associates the kingdom of God with the defeat of satanic authority, and so he chooses this moment, after Jesus’s power over demons and illnesses has been vividly demonstrated, to first speak of the kingdom of God in his Gospel. In the morning, Jesus announces that he “must proclaim the good news of the kingdom of God to the other cities also” (εὐαγγελίσασθαί με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, Luke 4:43). Unlike Mark and Matthew, Luke does not have Jesus begin his ministry by announcing the kingdom of God. It is only here, for the first time, that Luke specifically mentions the kingdom of God, and it follows upon Jesus’s activity of healing and casting out demons. This narrative displacement of the kingdom of God is a significant choice on the part of the author that points to an important narrative and theological position. For Luke, the arrival

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<sup>54</sup> Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 438.

<sup>55</sup> This reference to Jesus as Christ is part of what appears to be a carefully planned unveiling of this specific aspect of Jesus’s identity by Luke. Jesus is explicitly called Christ first by angels in 2:11, here by demons, then by humans (in the person of Peter) in 9:20.

<sup>56</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 294–95.

of the kingdom of God is intrinsically linked to these two activities of exorcism and healing, as they are signs and demonstrations of the kingdom (cf. Luke 11:20). Luke will further delay the proclamation of the arrival of the kingdom of God until the moment he judges opportune, when the gospel is proclaimed more broadly and in conjunction with his vision of Satan's fall (10:9). The kingdom is both associated with and a demonstration of the defeat of the power of Satan, and the liberation of human beings from the power of Satan manifested in illness and possession is evidence that this is happening.

Luke uses summary statements to keep alive the theme of healing and exorcism demonstrating Jesus's power to liberate from evil. When introducing the Sermon on the Plain, Luke speaks of a great multitude from many places who came to "be healed of their diseases," and that "those troubled by unclean spirits were cured" (Luke 6:17–18).<sup>57</sup> All the crowd sought to touch Jesus, for "power (δύναμις) came out from him and healed them all" (Luke 6:19). Once more, Luke touches on the theme of power that underlies his narrative, a reference not found in the rough synoptic parallels to this passage (Mark 3:7–12; Matt 4:24–25). Later, Luke follows another summary statement about Jesus "preaching and bringing the good news of the kingdom of God," by mentioning women who had been healed from evil spirits and infirmities, including Mary Magdalene, from whom eight demons had left (8:1–2). The preaching of the kingdom of God is Luke's primary expression of Jesus's mission and it is here again associated with the liberation from demons.

The story of the Gerasene demoniac (8:26–39) serves Luke's interests by providing a particularly dramatic confrontation between Jesus and Satan that shows Jesus's superior strength. Luke makes relatively few changes from the Markan version, making it an uncharacteristically long account in his narrative, in contrast to Matthew,

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<sup>57</sup> A Markan parallel, though in a different context (3:11–12), has only Jesus rebuking the demons from making him known, and does not actually mention Jesus curing those afflicted by them.

who considerably shortens and simplifies Mark's account.<sup>58</sup> Luke's changes are mostly organizational and cosmetic.<sup>59</sup> By giving it so much time and space in his narrative, Luke emphasizes the importance of this as an expulsion of not just one demon, but of many. Luke retains the name of the demons as "Legion," but clarifies and highlights that many demons had entered the man (8:30). As Klutz notes, this is another escalation in the assertion of Jesus's power: Jesus is able to defeat many demons at once.<sup>60</sup> The narrative emphasizes both the destructive power of the demons afflicting this man and the complete futility of any efforts to help him. The large number of demons, however, are defeated by the simple command of Jesus. This account demonstrates that Jesus effectively exercises power over all the forces of Satan. As Klutz points out, the severity of the man's affliction and the power implied by the great host of demons serve to emphasize Jesus's power, since "the stronger the enemy, the greater the strength required for victory."<sup>61</sup> Thus, the story emphasizes Jesus's power and authority, even though the words δύνάμις and ἐξουσία do not occur. His victory is not just over these demons, but over the prince of demons whom they serve and represent.

As the gospel progresses and the story advances, Luke includes fewer scenes of exorcism. Luke has made his point sufficiently clear that, as Busse observes, in each exorcism a soul "is snatched from the Regnum Satanae."<sup>62</sup> After highlighting exorcisms in the earlier part of the narrative, Luke moves on to other aspects of Jesus's teaching and

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<sup>58</sup> See the detailed analysis in Kirchschräger, *Jesu Exorzistisches Wirken*, 131–57.

<sup>59</sup> One important but enigmatic change Luke makes is to have the demons beg Jesus not to send them "into the abyss" (εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, Luke 8:31), where Mark has "out of the country." Here Luke has substituted a much stronger apocalyptic image for a more domestic one. The word ἄβυσσος is a word that occurs often in Revelation as the domain of evil forces that afflict humanity (Rev 9:1–2, 11; 11:7; 17:8; 20:1, 3), and elsewhere in the NT only in Rom 10:7.

<sup>60</sup> Klutz, *Exorcism Stories*, 150.

<sup>61</sup> Klutz, *Exorcism Stories*, 150.

<sup>62</sup> Busse, *Wunder*, 434.

ministry. The narrative structure is one in which the progressive defeat of Satan in the early part opens space for the kingdom of God to arrive.

### **3.3. Healings**

Alongside exorcisms, healings also point to the power of God being exercised over the authority of Satan, and in fact there is a deep connection between exorcisms and healings.<sup>63</sup> Some scholars have noted the role that healings play for Luke in narrating Jesus's conquest of evil, but have not tied it into an understanding of the role Satan plays in Luke's overall plot. Twelftree notes that "Luke can portray Jesus as dealing with the demonic not only through exorcism but also through healing."<sup>64</sup> The distinction between healings and exorcisms is fuzzier than what is suggested by schemes of miracle classifications.<sup>65</sup> In formulating possible taxonomies for healings in Luke-Acts, Pilch proposes a scheme in which illnesses are classified according to whether or not a malevolent spirit is involved.<sup>66</sup> Pilch argues that possessions are actually a category of illness, so that Jesus's exorcisms are themselves healings. Illness is understood, Pilch argues, to be an example of misfortune "not from personal human activity but from the operation on humans by gods or spirits," causing the operative question to be "*Who* did this to me?"<sup>67</sup> In Luke's view, all healing of illness, whether there is a direct involvement

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<sup>63</sup> For a discussion of healing in Luke's Gospel that notes their relevance to Satan and his power, see Audrey Dawson, *Healing, Weakness and Power: Perspectives on Healing in the Writings of Mark, Luke, and Paul*, PBM (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008), 101–59.

<sup>64</sup> Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism Among Early Christians*, 133.

<sup>65</sup> Healings and exorcisms are generally regarded as separate categories of miracles in classifications of miracles (Gerd Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, trans. Francis McDonagh; ed. John Riches [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983], 81–118; Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 542–45). But as Fitzmyer notes, healing stories are "sometimes not easily distinguished from exorcisms." Bock contends that the distinction is merely that "healings have no mention of hostile forces" (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 443). Whatever formal distinction holds between these two different categories of miracles, however, the Lukan view is that the oppression of Satan lies behind both of these evil circumstances, and both miracles of healings and exorcisms constitute a liberation from his power by the greater power of God.

<sup>66</sup> Pilch, "Healing in Luke-Acts," 201–3.

<sup>67</sup> Pilch, "Healing in Luke-Acts," 201. Emphasis in original.

of an evil spirit or not, is an illustration of God's power being wielded against the oppression of the devil. Though the specific modality of diabolical activity differs in illness and possession, the malevolent power of the devil is present, and Jesus's defeat of that power represents a defeat of the devil. Luke makes this connection most explicitly in the Acts of the Apostles, where Peter says, "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with power; how he went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him" (10:38). Jesus's mission was to do good by freeing people from oppression through the power of God as his anointed. Peter's words in Acts resonate with and recall Jesus's inaugural speech at the synagogue in Nazareth.<sup>68</sup> The appellation of Jesus as "of Nazareth" is rare in Luke, and a gesture to that programmatic occasion in Nazareth is likely intended. The reference to God's anointing of Jesus also connects it to the Isaianic citation Jesus references on that occasion: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me" (Luke 4:18, cf. Isaiah 61:1). On that occasion, Jesus invoked the Isaiah passage to define his mission to the release of captives and the liberation of the oppressed. While there is not a direct verbal correspondence between this Acts passage and the synagogue speech,<sup>69</sup> in both cases, Luke describes Jesus as one anointed by the Spirit who liberates from the power of Satan, and sees healing as an expression of that liberation. Turner, countering the claims of scholars such as Menzies who claim that Luke identifies the Spirit solely with the role of prophetic speech, says that "Luke, like

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<sup>68</sup> Pervo identifies the inaugural sermon in Luke 4:14–30 as a possible written source for Peter's speech in Acts 10:34–43 (Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009], 277). Turner suggests further that Luke refashioned traditional material in Acts 10:38 in order "to highlight Jesus as the one anointed with the Spirit to bring the messianic liberation earlier announced programmatically in the Nazareth pericope" (Turner, "The Spirit and the Power of Jesus' Miracles in the Lukan Conception," 151). Cf. Max Turner, "Jesus and the Spirit in Lucan Perspective," *TynBul* 32 (1981): 22–25.

<sup>69</sup> The word used in Acts 10:38 for the oppression of the devil, *καταδυναστευομένους*, occurs only here in Luke, and in the NT only at James 2:6, referring to the oppression of the poor.

the Judaism and Christianity before him, saw healings and exorcism as of a piece with Israel's liberation, and regarded the Spirit as empowering the whole range of Jesus's liberating activity."<sup>70</sup> As Fitzmyer says, miracles, rather than being "apologetic proofs of Jesus' mission or of his divinity... are rather the powerful manifestations and means whereby the dominion of God is established over human beings in place of the 'dominion of Belial,' freeing them from the evil to which they have been subjected."<sup>71</sup> By referencing the anointing with power, Luke once more frames the confrontation between Jesus and the devil as a conflict of rival powers.

Luke sees possession and illnesses as connected and even as different expressions of the same underlying phenomenon of the power of evil. As Foerster puts it, though "in the New Testament not all sicknesses are attributed to demons... Nevertheless, it may be said that the existence of sickness in this world belongs to the character of the αἰὼν οὗτος of which Satan is the prince.... Thus, while not all sicknesses are the work of demons, they may all be seen as the work of Satan."<sup>72</sup> Modern readers, having the advantage of modern science and medicine, ascribe illness to organic causes, and clearly distinguish

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<sup>70</sup> Turner, *Power from on High*, 266.

<sup>71</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 543.

<sup>72</sup> Foerster, "δαίμων," *TDNT* 2:18. Cf. O. Böcher, "δαμόνιον, κτλ," *EDNT* 1:271-74; David George Reese, "Demons. New Testament," *ABD* 2:140-42. Tuckett discounts any connection between illness and diabolical activity on the basis on the limited number of specific references to it in Luke (he notes only Luke 13:16, but dismisses it as a detail in a story whose primary interest is a Sabbath dispute). Tuckett accepts the position that for Luke, the Holy Spirit's function is only to endow prophetic speech and not to give power to work miracles, and thus attributes any evidence to the contrary to Luke's source rather than to something that Luke believed. He is thus able to discount any reading of the inaugural address that understands Luke to be saying something about release from evil powers, or to find in Acts 10:38 a connection between illness and the power of the devil (Tuckett, "Luke 4, 16-30, Isaiah and Q," 343-54, esp. 349 and n. 36). Turner responds by questioning the grounds for discounting all traditional material from Luke's own worldview, and while granting that Luke does not equate all illness with demonic possession, that he does nonetheless "attribute illness (in some generalising way) to Satan, and that he saw Jesus as a liberator from such affliction" (Turner, "The Spirit and the Power of Jesus' Miracles in the Lukan Conception," 151).

this origin from demonic causes on the basis of scientific judgement.<sup>73</sup> But such modern categories cannot be imposed on the ancient understanding of illness present in Luke.<sup>74</sup> Ancient cultures did not have a medical understanding of disease that was treated by biological interventions. Rather, they had a concept of illness, a term that includes medical disease, but is understood holistically and is addressed both spiritually and relationally.<sup>75</sup> For Luke, the ascription of illness to demonic activity is a theological judgment rather than a scientific one. In the apocalyptic worldview, the world is divided into two factions, good and evil. Illness, an evil that afflicts the good, must be the consequence of the activity of evil powers, and so can always be ascribed to affliction by evil powers even if possession is not described explicitly. As Green says, “This is not to interpret illness as necessarily a consequence of demon possession. Rather, it is to recognize Luke’s view that people who ‘have a demon’ and those who suffer from illness are both oppressed by diabolic force and both in need of ‘release.’”<sup>76</sup> This results in a certain inconsistency in the description in Luke’s narrative. Some episodes are clearly portrayed as the expulsion of evil spirits, whose physical consequences are incidentally recounted. Other episodes, such as the healing of the infirmity of the “daughter of Abraham” (Luke 13:10–17) are recounted primarily as healings, with the role of demons causally associated. Finally, there are episodes of healing where the role of demons or the devil is not mentioned. There is, however, a continuity and consistency across these stories that belies the different narrative approaches. Even in circumstances where Luke does not mention directly the role of Satan in a particular illness, it is an unspoken

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<sup>73</sup> Pilch interrogates this cultural bias and identifies it as an obstacle for understanding Luke-Acts on its own terms. “‘Medical materialism’ is an anthropological term for the tendency to utilize modern, Western, scientific medical concepts and models to interpret apparent health concerns in all cultures of all times without regard for cultural differences” (Pilch, “Healing in Luke-Acts,” 182).

<sup>74</sup> Pilch, “Healing in Luke-Acts,” 183.

<sup>75</sup> Pilch, “Healing in Luke-Acts,” 190–92.

<sup>76</sup> Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 221.

presupposition. Exorcisms are a kind of healing where one aspect of the ailment is stressed, and healings a kind of exorcism where another aspect is highlighted. But they are all examples of release, of liberation, of the conquest of evil by the kingdom of God.<sup>77</sup>

The summary statements of Jesus's activity point to this connection: Jesus's activity is consistently described as involving the work of healing and exorcism alongside each other (4:40–41; 6:17–19; 8:1–2). The healing of Simon's mother-in-law is a particularly strong example of the overlap between healing and exorcism. The attempt to classify the account as one or the other ("healing" or "exorcism") reveals a bifurcation in the modern understanding that is not present in the ancient mind or Luke's understanding. The power of evil is manifested in manifold ways, possession and illness among them, and Luke is not scrupulous in distinguishing them, for the same power is behind them.

In the distinctly Lukan story of the healing of the "daughter of Abraham" (13:10–17),<sup>78</sup> Luke explicitly makes the connection between physical illness and the bondage of Satan and shows Jesus conquering Satan through the use of his power.<sup>79</sup> The woman's

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<sup>77</sup> Achtemeier acknowledges that Luke sees "Jesus' ministry as a successful battle against Satan," but also says that "Luke is by no means preoccupied with Jesus' battle with the demonic" (Paul J. Achtemeier, "Lukan Perspective on the Miracles of Jesus: A Preliminary Sketch," *JBL* 94 [1975]: 558). This is cited by Tuckett in his response to Busse's claim that healings are all acts of liberation from demonic powers (Tuckett, "Luke 4, 16–30, Isaiah and Q," 349–50, n. 36; cf. Busse, *Wunder*, 181–82). But the observation that Luke is not "preoccupied" does not mean he is not interested. Likewise, the fact that Luke does sometimes distinguish exorcisms and healings does not mean that he cannot see them both as liberation from oppressive forces credited to the power of Satan. Cf. Twelftree, who says, "for Luke, in all healing God's adversary is being subdued" (Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism Among Early Christians*, 134).

<sup>78</sup> For a summary of arguments about its historicity and sources, see Darrell L. Bock, *Luke Volume 2: 9:51–24:53*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 1994), 1213. Bovon says that the story has redactional unity, and detects the use of sources within the story along with Luke's own composition, concluding: "Luke did not make it all up himself, but did leave his stamp on a unit that pre-existed and that already associated the miracle with the controversy (François Bovon, *Luke 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51–19:27*, trans. Donald S. Deer, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2013], 281–82). For a detailed analysis of this pericope, see Busse, *Wunder*, 289–304.

<sup>79</sup> Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV*, AB 28A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 1011.

affliction involved being bent over and unable to stand straight, and she had suffered this for eighteen years. Luke presents this illness as itself a spirit of infirmity (πνεῦμα ἀσθενείας, Luke 13:11). In Luke’s language, Jesus says to the woman that she is freed from her infirmity (ἀπολέλυσαι τῆς ἀσθενείας σου, Luke 13:12). The ruler of the synagogue is outraged that this had been done on the Sabbath, and in his response, Luke has Jesus directly attribute the woman’s illness to Satan’s bondage: “this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has bound for eighteen long years” (ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀβραὰμ οὔσαν, ἣν ἔδησεν ὁ σατανᾶς ἰδοὺ δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ ἔτη, Luke 13:16). Luke here explicitly reveals the notion that human illness is the bondage of Satan, something that is implicitly held throughout his narrative.<sup>80</sup> It also connects to Jesus’s mission of bringing release to captives, as described in the prophecy of Isaiah and presented in his discourse in the synagogue of Nazareth. Here, he brings release to this woman held captive, and it is crucial that we see who is holding her captive. She was bound by Satan for eighteen long years, but now no more. Once more the defeat of the power of Satan is shown by releasing someone from the power of illness.

The account of the exorcism of the epileptic boy in 9:37–43 illustrates again the intersection of illness and possession and Jesus’s power over both.<sup>81</sup> It is evident from the descriptions in Luke as well in the parallel synoptic accounts that the boy suffered from epilepsy.<sup>82</sup> In antiquity, there were various explanations for the origin of this well-known affliction, often connected with the cycles of the moon due to the periodicity of the

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<sup>80</sup> As Nolland puts it: “Satan stands behind the afflictions of life. The role given him in illness here draws all the healings into the orbit of the sentiment of 11:20” (John Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, WBC 35B [Dallas: Word, 1993], 724).

<sup>81</sup> A detailed analysis of this pericope can be found in Kirchschräger, *Jesu Exorzistisches Wirken*, 131–57.

<sup>82</sup> Wilkinson presents an excellent description of the symptoms and correlates them to medical categories in John Wilkinson, “The Case of the Epileptic Boy,” *ExpTim* 79 (1967): 38–42.

attacks.<sup>83</sup> In his account of this healing, Luke ascribes the origin of the epilepsy to possession by a demon. The modern mind would exclude the possibility of demonic possession coinciding with a disease that can be medically diagnosed. In Luke's worldview, however, all illnesses can be ascribed to the activity of evil forces, and healing is a liberation from those forces.

Luke condenses the story from his Markan source in a way that highlights the immediate effect of Jesus's power and the dual nature of this event as both an exorcism and healing. By increasing the pace of the story from his source, the direct confrontation between Jesus and the demon is emphasized over dialogue with the boy's father or the influence of the crowd. Klutz finds that Luke has again stressed the "authority and honor of Jesus."<sup>84</sup> Luke strips away extraneous dialogue and details from Mark's account, allowing Jesus to directly engage the demon. Jesus's command to bring the boy elicits another assault from the demon, who again "tears" the boy, or throws him to the ground and convulses him (ἔτι δὲ προσερχομένου αὐτοῦ ἔρρηξεν αὐτὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ συνεσπάραξεν, Luke 9:42). Along with the initial description of the boy's malady, the severity of the boy's condition and the destructive power of the demon are highlighted. Luke explicitly identifies the expulsion of the demon as a healing, as he says that Jesus rebukes the demon and "healed the boy" (ἰάσατο τὸν παῖδα, Luke 9:42).<sup>85</sup> This is at one

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<sup>83</sup> Van der Loos summarizes the various ancient and modern explanations for this affliction (Hendrik van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, NovTSup 8 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965], 402–5).

<sup>84</sup> Klutz, *Exorcism Stories*, 205.

<sup>85</sup> Busse identifies the verb ἰάομαι as a *terminus technicus* for healing, here applied to an exorcism, concluding that Luke does not clearly distinguish healings and exorcisms (Busse, *Wunder*, 355–56). Tuckett disagrees and finds "the link between illness and demonic possession... very hard to establish," saying that in Luke 7:21 the two are clearly distinguished (Tuckett, "Luke 4, 16–30, Isaiah and Q," 349–50, n. 36). The point though is not to say they are the same thing, but only that Luke sees them both as manifestations of the power of Satan. Tuckett acknowledges that Luke attributes illness to demonic power in 13:16, and his observation that the story is most interested in a Sabbath dispute does not suffice to dismiss this clearly Lukan assertion.

and the same time a healing and an exorcism.<sup>86</sup> The demon responds immediately to the power of Jesus's word without further speech or resistance. As Luke did in the first exorcism story in the synagogue of Capernaum, he takes out Mark's reference to a further cry after Jesus's command to the demon. Here, the demon simply departs, defeated as part of another incursion of the kingdom of God against the authority of Satan. In an analysis of the surrounding context of this miracle story in Luke 9:1–50, Klutz argues that exorcism is accorded importance and emphasis by its placement, while remaining subordinate to Luke's interests in discipleship and Jesus's impending death.<sup>87</sup> His observations about this section of Luke correspond to the argument being made more broadly about Luke's plot and theological concerns: the imposition of God's power over the forces of evil is a prominent theme emphasized, even if subordinate to larger positive emphases about the kingdom of God and its implications. It is surprising that Kingsbury fails to note this element of conflict in Luke's narrative, focused as he is on the conflict between Jesus and human powers and dismissive of Luke's interest in otherworldly influences in favor of earthly ones.<sup>88</sup>

Luke's vision of healing miracles as instances of God's kingdom defeating Satan's power is seen clearly in his association of healing with liberation from the devil in Acts 10:38, along with the constant pairing of exorcism and healings in summary statements. The implicit identification of Simon's mother-in-law's fever with a demon, and the explicit statement that the daughter of Abraham's infirmity was a bond of Satan only strengthen the claim. Commentators have noted the importance of miracles in

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<sup>86</sup> Bock follows a number of other scholars to classify the form of the miracle as an exorcism, and so it fundamentally is (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 879, citing Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 807; Bovon, *Luke I*, 383; Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 211; Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 321). But Bovon also says that it is "a complete healing miracle" (382), highlighting here and elsewhere the intersection in Luke between healings and miracles.

<sup>87</sup> Klutz, *Exorcism Stories*, 178–86.

<sup>88</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 2.

Luke's Gospel as demonstrations of Jesus's identity and validations of his power.<sup>89</sup>

Theissen argues that Jesus's miracles combine "the apocalyptic expectation of universal salvation in the future and the episodic realisation of salvation in the present through miracles."<sup>90</sup> In demonstrating the power of Jesus and the arrival of the kingdom of God, exorcism and healing always implicitly—and sometimes explicitly—demonstrate the defeat of Satan's power and the displacement of his reign.

### **3.4. Teaching**

Luke enlists teaching passages to make overt theological claims alongside those that he makes narratively. The form of Luke's Gospel is narrative, and the primary mode of communication is through stories, which he uses to communicate theology, as seen in the infancy narratives, the temptation story, the exorcisms and healings. The narrative both reflects and expresses Luke's view of the world and Jesus's mission and identity. Alongside the narrative, Luke includes a number of important discursive elements that illuminate and expand the dramatic conflict expressed by narrative. Luke specifies his ideas about Satan in three main teaching passages: the parable of the sower, the teaching on Satan falling like lightning, and the Beelzebul controversy.<sup>91</sup> From these teaching episodes come some distinctive and key Lukan understandings of Satan and Jesus's conflict with him. Satan is understood as opposing the salvation of human beings by opposing the word of God and Luke associates the arrival of the kingdom of God with the defeat of satanic authority.

#### **3.4.1. Parable of the Sower**

Luke uses the parable of the sower (8:4–15) to describe the devil as opposing faith and the salvation of human souls, and thus identifies him as the opponent of Jesus and his

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<sup>89</sup> Achtemeier, "Lukan Perspective on the Miracles of Jesus."

<sup>90</sup> Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 278.

<sup>91</sup> Garrett's treatment of the fall like lightning and Beelzebul passages are strengths of her work, and the conclusions drawn here are close to her own (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 43–57).

mission. Luke shares the material of the parable and its explanation with both Mark and Matthew (Mark 4:1–20, Matt 13:1–23), and he largely follows the material he has received. However, three distinctive Lukan features are important for our consideration.

The first is Luke’s clarification that the seed represents “the word of God,” something not explicitly identified in either parallel passage.<sup>92</sup> The first group of people are those represented by the seed that falls along the path, and Luke wants the reader to understand that the devil<sup>93</sup> comes to take away the word of God. Luke thus wants to clarify that the devil opposes the word *of God*, a satanic role that will again be seen when the “son of the devil,” the false prophet Bar Jesus, opposes the pro-consul’s desire to hear the word of God in Acts 13:7.

The second important Lukan modification is the insertion of a further clarification of the devil’s purpose, not found in either Mark or Matthew, saying that he takes away the word “in order that they not be saved by believing” (ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν, Luke 8:12). The ἵνα clause indicates purpose, not just grammatically, but theologically. The devil’s intention is clearly described as thwarting the salvation of men and women by opposing faith. In this allegory, Jesus is the sower, and the bringing of salvation is a crucial component to his purpose according to Luke.<sup>94</sup> Thus the devil is seen as directly

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<sup>92</sup> Mark says simply that “The sower sows the word” (Mark 4:14). Matthew does not specify what the seed is or what the sower sows. Bovon says that by placing the emphasis on the word of God more than on the activity of the sower (Jesus), Luke has in mind the kerygmatic preaching of the church more than the historical preaching of Jesus (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 308). The expression “word of God” is a particular favorite of Luke’s. He uses it four times in his Gospel (it occurs but once in each of the other three gospels), where he identifies it as what Jesus was teaching on the occasion of the call of Peter (5:1), and twice blesses those who hear the word of God and do it (8:21, 11:28). He uses it eleven times in Acts, where its presence and growth is expressive of the spread of the gospel and the growth of the church (see especially Acts 6:7; 8:14; 11:1; 12:24; 13:46).

<sup>93</sup> Where Mark has “Satan,” Luke puts “the devil” (and Matthew has “the evil one”). Again we run up against the difficulty of finding any distinction or consistency in Luke’s choice of words. This particular instance might point to his preference for the Greek term over the Semitic one, but that runs up against other instances where he uses Satan independently.

<sup>94</sup> Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 24–25.

opposing the plan of God being carried out by Jesus. What Jesus does, the devil tries to undo. Green sees a gesture to the passion here, “a veiled anticipation of the agency of Satan, manifest in the activity of the Jewish leadership in Jerusalem.”<sup>95</sup> There is a fundamental conflict at play between God and Satan, and the territory that is being fought over is human hearts (8:13).<sup>96</sup>

Finally, in the interpretation of the seed on the rock, Luke adds changes Mark’s expression θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ τοῦ ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ, so that it reads “they believe for a while and in time of temptation fall away” (Luke 8:13; cf. Mark 4:17 = Matt 13:21, γενομένης θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς σκανδαλίζονται). While this is not a specific reference to Satan, the πειρασμός vocabulary is a gesture to Satan as the one who tempted Jesus in the desert.<sup>97</sup> Satan stands behind every temptation, which is an attack on faith. The word καιρός also creates a verbal link with the end of the temptation narrative (4:13) and implies that a πειρασμός is itself a καιρός. This association has significance for identifying the καιρός that Luke refers to at the end of the temptations with Satan’s attack on Jesus and his followers in the passion. The word ἀφίστανται is also a verbal link with the temptations, where the same verb is used of Satan’s departure (ὁ διάβολος ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, 4:13), which constituted a defeat for him. In that conflict, Satan was

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<sup>95</sup> Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 328.

<sup>96</sup> “Heart” is a term that Luke favors as an expression of the center of human existence and faith. Among the many references to heart in the Gospel and Acts, see Luke 1:51; 2:19, 51; 6:45; 9:47; 16:15; 24:32, 38; Acts 2:37; 4:32; 5:3; 8:21; 15:9; 28:27. Of particular interest is Peter’s condemnation of Ananias, whose heart he says was filled by Satan (Acts 5:3).

<sup>97</sup> Bock misses this connection entirely, saying that Luke is speaking about persecution like Matthew and Mark (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 735–36). But he has changed the language, and the reference surely as well. Schuyler Brown notes that Luke does not consider πειρασμός to be equivalent to θλίψις or διωγμός (Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance*, 14). Bovon says that Luke has replaced apocalyptic language with ethical, but as Brown notes, Luke uses θλίψις non-eschatologically (Acts 11:19; 14:22; 20:23) and πειρασμός elsewhere is used eschatologically (Rev 3:10) (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 309; Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance*, 14). Our description of Luke’s plot as building on the apocalyptic element of cosmic conflict between God and Satan shows that πειρασμός fits into that conflict as describing satanic attacks on faith.

defeated by Jesus. In this parable, Jesus indicates that Satan's attacks on humans through temptations are often successful, and in those cases it is the person who is defeated.

### 3.4.2. Satan's Fall Like Lightning

Jesus's saying that "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven" (10:17–20) is a uniquely Lukan expression and key for understanding the role of Satan in Luke's theology.<sup>98</sup> It is a boldly apocalyptic image that corresponds to the motif of combat between God and Satan resulting in the defeat of Satan. Luke places it in a narrative context that ties the arrival of the kingdom of God to the defeat of Satan's authority. The teaching comes after the seventy<sup>99</sup> return from their mission, which includes the first proclamation in Luke's Gospel that the kingdom of God is at hand. On this occasion, they exclaim, "Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name!" As Nolland says, "Nothing less than the overthrow of Satan has occupied the Seventy(-two)."<sup>100</sup> This is

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<sup>98</sup> For a helpful bibliography of the extensive literature on this passage, see Simon Gathercole, "Jesus' Eschatological Vision of the Fall of Satan: Luke 10,18 Reconsidered," *ZNW* 94 (2003): 143 n. 2.

<sup>99</sup> The question of whether the text should read "seventy" or "seventy-two" in 10:1, 17 is a classic and intractable textual question. The external evidence is inconclusive, with important manuscripts roughly divided between the two possibilities. Internal considerations about a possible allusion to seventy elders selected to help Moses in Numbers 11: 16–25, or to the seventy-two nations (but the LXX reads seventy!) in Genesis 11 also fail to be decisive. Metzger lays out all the evidence in a 1959 article and concludes that there is no reliable way to determine the original reading (Bruce M. Metzger, "Seventy or Seventy-Two Disciples," *NTS* 5 [1959]: 299–306). But in his discussion of this point in his textual commentary, after presenting the Committee's rationale for including  $\delta\upsilon\omicron$  in square brackets on the basis of the difficulty of the question, he inserts in square bracket his own dissenting opinion, arguing that  $\delta\upsilon\omicron$  belongs to the original text (Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 126–27). In a more recent article that reviews that evidence and notes that P<sup>45</sup> in fact reads "seventy," not "seventy-two" as it has often been cited, Cole argues on the basis of scribal patterns with numbers that the text was more likely corrupted by the omission of the "-two" and gives a slight nod toward seventy-two (Zachary J. Cole, "P<sup>45</sup> and the Problem of the 'Seventy[-Two]': A Case for the Longer Reading in Luke 10.1 and 17," *NTS* 62.2 [2017]: 203–21). But given the wide confusion in the text of both Luke and the LXX parallels, the best solution is to simply acknowledge that the question is irresolvable, and that in any case a definite solution is not necessary to posit possible allusions or to discern the meaning intended by Luke. For simplicity, I choose to simply use "seventy," while being aware of the textual difficulty, rather than the awkward and pedantic "seventy(-two)."

<sup>100</sup> Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 562.

despite the fact that Jesus said nothing about demons or exorcism in his commission to them in 10:1–16 (compare the commission to the Twelve in 9:1–2, where Jesus gives them power and authority over all demons). They are told to heal the sick in any town that welcomes them, saying “the kingdom of God has drawn near to you” (ἤγγικεν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ 10:9), and to say the same thing when leaving a town that does not accept them (10:11). The omission of a reference to exorcism in the commissioning of the seventy is strange given Luke’s emphasis on the defeat of Satan as part of the fruits of the mission. It suggests that Luke sees the expulsion of demons as satisfying some other part of the commission that he gives to the seventy. In fact, Luke sees the defeat of the demons connected to the proclamation of the arrival of the kingdom of God.

The story is original to Luke, and so the sense of the number seventy must be understood. The two most likely references for the number seventy are the numbering of the nations as seventy in Genesis 10:2–31 (LXX) and the Lord’s command to Moses in Numbers 11:16–25 to appoint seventy helpers, who receive some of Moses’s spirit and prophesy. Bovon argues that the seventy refers to the Gentile nations according to the Genesis passage, providing a counterpart to the Twelve which refers to Israel. Thus Luke describes a mission both to Israel and to the nations.<sup>101</sup> Despite this nice symmetry, Fitzmyer rejects the Genesis reference by noting that they are sent to towns of Israel which Jesus himself was to visit, and that in Luke 24:47, it is the Twelve who are sent to the nations.<sup>102</sup> Garrett adds that Acts nowhere follows up with the number seventy in reference to the Gentiles.<sup>103</sup> Bock ultimately concludes that the number is not symbolic and that Luke only intends to say that the ministry extends beyond the Twelve.<sup>104</sup> Garrett argues that the Numbers allusion is more likely to be intended here, as it fits into Luke’s

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<sup>101</sup> Bovon, *Luke 2*, 22, 26. Cf. Bovon, *Luke 1*, 343.

<sup>102</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 846. Cf. Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1015.

<sup>103</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 47.

<sup>104</sup> Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 994, 1014–16.

depiction of Jesus with Moses imagery (Acts 3:22; 7:37), showing Jesus appointing seventy helpers just as Moses did.<sup>105</sup> The reference in Numbers to the seventy receiving some of Moses's spirit also fits with the role that Luke ascribes the Holy Spirit in endowing prophetic speech and mighty deeds, especially at the beginning of the mission of the church in Acts.

These two textual references do not have to be mutually exclusive, however, and a reference to the mission to the Gentiles can coexist with the allusion to Numbers, as Luke signals that the mission of the seventy prefigures the preaching of the church. Garrett intriguingly adds that the mission of the seventy prefigures the mission of Jesus's followers in the church, since the "seventy(-two) are credited with knowledge that Luke elsewhere reserves for post-resurrection followers," specifically the knowledge that the Scriptures refer to Jesus (Luke 24:27).<sup>106</sup> This insight illuminates more difficulties than Garrett acknowledges, allowing the possibility for both references (to the nations and to Moses's helpers) to be at play. Luke wanted to narratively include a reference to a Jesus-initiated mission to the nations as a complement to the mission to Israel symbolized by the Twelve, but was constrained by the reality that the Gentile mission took place not during Jesus's lifetime but in the life of the church. So he uses a number that refers to the nations in describing a mission to towns that Jesus visited, while making the preaching of that mission the preaching that took place after the resurrection and ascension. The allusion to Moses allows him not only to indicate that these seventy share in Jesus's mission as his helpers, but also receive some of his spirit to do so and thus speak prophetically. The time-frame indicated by the foreshadowing of the missionary activity of the church will also be fruitful for considering how Luke understands the vision of Satan falling from the sky.

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<sup>105</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 45–46.

<sup>106</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 48–49.

Luke has delayed incorporating the proclamation of the kingdom's arrival until this moment in his Gospel. The expression "the kingdom of God has drawn near to you" (ἤγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) is given narrative priority and prominence by both Mark and Matthew.<sup>107</sup> Mark includes it as the first public preaching of Jesus, a summation of the gospel and Jesus's message (1:14–15). Matthew puts it first on the lips of John the Baptist, immediately following his infancy narrative (3:2), and then again on the lips of Jesus just after the temptations as the first preaching of Jesus's ministry.<sup>108</sup> Luke omits it from the beginning of his Gospel, and places it at this relatively late moment in the narrative, setting the stage for Jesus's apocalyptic vision of the fall of Satan. The two events coincide in Luke's construction: the arrival of the kingdom of God and Satan's defeat.<sup>109</sup> For one kingdom to arrive, the kingdom in power must give way. As Garrett perceptively says in respect to the Beelzebul controversy, "as the kingdom of Satan diminishes, the kingdom of God grows proportionately."<sup>110</sup>

Luke's placement of the proclamation of the arrival of kingdom of God in the mission of the seventy points to a connection between the kingdom's arrival and its proclamation to both Israel and the Gentiles. Luke has consistently described Jesus's mission as preaching the good news of the kingdom of God (4:43; 8:1; 9:11; the Twelve were commissioned to do the same in 9:2). But here with the mission of the seventy, Luke is doing something distinctive and significant. The other gospels contain no such

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<sup>107</sup> The sense of the perfect form ἤγγικεν is a notorious difficulty, and the eschatological ambiguity of "already and not yet" is often located in the tension between fulfillment and expectation latent in this verb. Dodd famously read it as realized, "the kingdom of heaven has come" (C.H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* [New York: Scribner, 1961], 28–30). But Nolland better captures the complex sense of the expression: "For Luke the kingdom of God is a future eschatological reality that has broken in upon the world in the coming of Jesus but awaits future consummation" (Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 554).

<sup>108</sup> Though of course, Matthew uses his usual equivalent of the "kingdom of heaven."

<sup>109</sup> Noack notes this connection (Noack, *Satanás und Sotería*, 134–35).

<sup>110</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 45.

reference, and it creates an apparent redundancy, coming so quickly after the mission of the Twelve. The mission of the seventy, foreshadowing the missionary preaching of the church to the nations, completes the full scope of Jesus's mission, and with the gospel preached to both Israel and the Gentiles (narratively if not historically, it should be noted), Luke is comfortable at last to announce the arrival of kingdom of God. It would have been premature to announce the kingdom before it was preached to the nations as well. The arrival of the kingdom of God, connected with the proclamation of the gospel to the nations, has another consequence: the destruction of Satan's authority in the world. This is indicated by the seventy's authority over demons and Jesus's vision of Satan's fall. As Theissen puts it, "Because Jesus casts out demons he can proclaim that the end has entered into the present."<sup>111</sup> There is a narrative and theological connection between the arrival of the kingdom and the defeat of Satan.

Luke has chosen to place Jesus's vision of Satan falling in this narrative location in order to connect it to the arrival of the kingdom of God. The vision of Jesus is unique, the only mention of him having a vision in the New Testament.<sup>112</sup> The imperfect tense used for his vision (ἐθεώπων) has suggested to some an ongoing or iterative process, but the language of lightning implies a sudden and definitive event. Nolland accords no importance to the tense, observing that the verb is virtually never found in the aorist, and says that Luke would also be familiar with the use of the imperfect form to describe visions in the book of Daniel.<sup>113</sup> Of more importance is the timing and the meaning of

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<sup>111</sup> Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 279.

<sup>112</sup> Bovon, *Luke 2*, 25.

<sup>113</sup> Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 564. Fitzmyer acknowledges the point while admitting he prefers the continuous translation (Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 862). Gathercole notes that the imperfect form occurs most often in the LXX in Daniel, where it introduces events that will occur in the future (Gathercole, "Jesus' Eschatological Vision of the Fall of Satan: Luke 10,18 Reconsidered," 153–54).

Jesus's vision: is it a vision of the past, present, or future?<sup>114</sup> The primordial reading sees it as a vision of the past, and thus an etiological explanation of Satan by way of his original fall from grace, in line with the traditional explanation of the origin of Satan as an angel fallen from heaven. The primordial reading receives little support from scholars, as the context makes it unlikely that Luke wishes to speak about the etiology of Satan, but rather about his fate, since the implication is that Satan has been dethroned and his power defeated.<sup>115</sup> The contemporary reading sees it as happening at some point in Jesus's own life. Within this contemporary reading, there are various possibilities. One is that Jesus's vision is viewed as occurring immediately with the events described, so that Satan's fall is the direct result of the disciples' ministry. Another is that it is more generally associated with Jesus's ministry and the coming of the kingdom of God. Or it could be a fall that takes place at some other point in Jesus's life, perhaps at his baptism<sup>116</sup> or at the resurrection. Fitzmyer argues for the contemporary reading, saying that it cannot be a proleptic, apocalyptic vision on the basis of Luke's supposed reticence on such topics. He favors the view that it is "a symbolic way of summing up the effects of the disciples' mission; [Jesus's] contemplation revealed how their activity expressed victory of Satan's power of influence."<sup>117</sup> Finally, the eschatological reading makes it into a proleptic vision of the final engagement of the powers of heaven against the powers of Satan. Gathercole

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<sup>114</sup> For a complete discussion of the possibilities, see Gathercole, "Jesus' Eschatological Vision of the Fall of Satan: Luke 10,18 Reconsidered". Gathercole concludes that the vision is of a future, eschatological event. He has a helpful and thorough bibliography of the extensive literature on this topic on 143, n. 2. But in this and other discussions of this question, there is a strange historicizing of the vision, treating it as a historical event that must be properly situated, rather than as an image that expresses a theological claim being made by Luke.

<sup>115</sup> Gathercole, "Jesus' Eschatological Vision of the Fall of Satan: Luke 10,18 Reconsidered," 148–49. Kruse attributes importance, however, to the definitive nature of the image of lightning in arguing that it must be an explanation for the fall of Satan to be an evil angel (Kruse, "Das Reich Satans," 53–54).

<sup>116</sup> Joel Marcus situates the vision specifically with Jesus's baptism (Joel Marcus, "Jesus' Baptismal Vision," *NTS* 41 [1995]: 512–21).

<sup>117</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 860, 862.

concludes that it must be an eschatological vision, largely on the basis of coherence with the rest of the saying and the reality of Satan's continued activity in both the Gospel and Acts.<sup>118</sup>

Garrett creatively argues that Luke understands the fall of Satan to take place at the resurrection and ascension of Jesus. She observes both that the disciples report the demons "are" subject to them in the present tense and that Jesus says that the enemy "will not harm you" in the future tense, which points to an event not yet completed.<sup>119</sup> As has already been noted, she argues that the mission of the seventy foreshadows the preaching of the church and that the followers of Jesus are shown to have authority over Satan in Acts. Satan continues to actively oppose Jesus's ministry after he proclaims his vision, most visibly in the attack on Jesus and the apostles at the time of the passion. Therefore, the fall of Satan witnessed by Jesus must take place between the passion and the mission of the church, and so Garrett places it at the resurrection/ascension of Jesus.<sup>120</sup> Gathercole likewise wants to argue for an apocalyptic reading, but demurs from Garrett's identification of Satan's fall with the resurrection. He argues that the importation of the resurrection is arbitrary and prefers to see the reference to the trials and tribulations of the end times spoken of in Luke 21:12–29. In this view, then, the fall of Satan takes place during events that lie beyond the narrative of Luke-Acts. Gathercole instead finds the notion of election of the disciples, by which God's grace will preserve them in the coming tribulations, to be the connecting point between 10:17–20 and 10:21–24.<sup>121</sup> Garrett's solution makes better sense, however, because it remains within the narrative of Luke-Acts and works within the complex negotiation of the already and not yet present in

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<sup>118</sup> Gathercole, "Jesus' Eschatological Vision of the Fall of Satan: Luke 10,18 Reconsidered."

<sup>119</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 49–50.

<sup>120</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 49–53.

<sup>121</sup> Gathercole, "Jesus' Eschatological Vision of the Fall of Satan: Luke 10,18 Reconsidered," 158–63.

the Gospel. There is significance to Jesus's victories over Satan, and the salvific events narrated within the Gospel itself correspond to the defeat of Satan's authority. Another proposal is made by Löfstedt, who argues that the fall of Satan is not a singular event, but one that occurs with respect to individuals, beginning with the seventy: "beginning with the seventy-two, Satan falls as individuals respond to Jesus in obedience and are empowered by him." Thus, the devil's power remains but is progressively broken as the gospel advances. Löfstedt uses the term "progressively realizing eschatology" for Luke's stance.<sup>122</sup> Löfstedt has perceptively identified a dynamic that we shall explore further. Luke does indeed identify the advance of the kingdom of God with the preaching and acceptance of the gospel, which entails the displacement of Satan's kingdom.

The insights of Garrett and Löfstedt help to bridge the gap between the contemporaneous and proleptic views: the fall of Satan is a defeat that corresponds to the life of Jesus, but only in the complete accomplishment of his mission. It incorporates the observation that Satan continues to be active in opposing Jesus while also giving real significance to that fall. It supports the argument that Luke is interpreting apocalyptic expectation through the story of Jesus, showing that the defeat of the powers of evil has taken place and salvation history has entered into a new phase where Satan's power has been supplanted by the kingdom of God. But that story is not finished, and Luke significantly expands the shape of its future consummation by narrating the spread of the gospel in Acts. Circumstances changed in the resurrection and ascension of Jesus. Satan is defeated, and is progressively displaced as the gospel advances.

Whatever the timing of Satan's fall (in a trans-narrative sense), Luke has deliberately chosen this point in the narrative to have Jesus recount his vision of the fall

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<sup>122</sup> Torsten Löfstedt, "Satan's Fall and the Mission of the Seventy-Two," *SEÅ* 76 (2011): 95–114. The expression is cited from Jan van der Watt, *An Introduction to the Johannine Gospel and Letters* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2007), 75.

of Satan, when it is first proclaimed that “the kingdom of God has drawn near.” Luke considers Satan’s fall to coincide with the arrival of the kingdom of God because it is the defeat of one kingdom by another. Jesus’s mission has advanced sufficiently so that the claim can now be made: the kingdom has drawn near. It would have been premature to proclaim this at the beginning of Jesus’s mission, but now with the gospel being carried to the nations, as represented by the mission of the seventy, Luke is ready to announce that the kingdom has drawn near. Satan has fallen from power, and this is reflected in the power the seventy wield over him. As Fuller puts it, “Jesus interprets his exorcisms as the beginning of the end of Satan’s reign,” even though they are preliminary.<sup>123</sup> God’s power will continue to be imposed upon Satan and his forces as the gospel advances further in history. But this vision reveals Luke’s understanding that the kingdom of God has been brought by Jesus and broken the power of Satan in a definitive way.

Luke sees the fall of Satan as a definitive event, and yet one whose implications will continue to be manifested in history, consistent with the “already and not yet” dynamic that is a common feature of Second Temple apocalypticism. By saying that the fall was “like lightning,” it is depicted as sudden and definitive.<sup>124</sup> In other biblical usage, lightning is often used for theophanies (Exod 19:16; Ezek 1:13; Dan 10:6; Rev 4:5; 8:5; 11:19; 16:18) or figuratively as an expression of brilliance (Matt 28:3). It is also used in the Old Testament as a metaphorical expression of sharpness (“sharpen a dagger like lightning,” Deut 32:41 LXX) and of God’s power (Zech 9:14). A similar image is in T. Sol. 20:17, where demons say that they fall down “like lightning on the earth.” The closest analogue both conceptually and temporally is Matthew, who uses lightning as an expression of the sudden arrival of the Son of Man (24:27), presumably also from heaven. Like the imagery in Matthew, Luke’s use of lightning indicates that this event is sudden,

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<sup>123</sup> Fuller, *Interpreting the Miracles*, 40.

<sup>124</sup> Werner Foerster, “ἀστραπή,” *TDNT* 1:505.

brilliant, and unmistakable, a definitive event with eschatological significance. And yet there is considerable ambiguity, for Satan's most malevolent deed lies in the narrative's future: his entry into Judas that instigates Jesus's arrest and passion. This ambiguity is one that Luke shares more generally with apocalyptic tradition. It is much the same in the book of Revelation: Satan is defeated and yet still active.

Luke's image of Satan's fall from heaven, connected with the image of serpents and scorpions, parallels the book of Revelation, which can help illuminate its use by Luke.<sup>125</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins shows how Revelation adapts the ancient combat myth to the Christian story, particularly in chapter 12, in which good and evil forces engage in struggle. In this prototypical myth, the dragon, representing chaos and disorder, attacks the forces of good and is defeated by a champion who also dies but returns to battle once more and is victorious. The dragon's defeat, however, is only provisional and temporary, and he returns to reign and afflict the people.<sup>126</sup> This is the story narrated in Revelation 12:3–17. The dragon is identified there as “the devil or Satan” and “the ancient serpent” (ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, Rev 12:9) who has been thrown down to the world along with his angels after a battle with Michael and his angels. The text of Revelation then gives a heavenly hymn of praise that makes the same connection as Luke between the defeat of Satan and the arrival of the kingdom of God, saying “Now the salvation and the power and the kingdom of our God and the authority of his Christ have come, for the accuser of our brothers has been thrown down, who accuses them before God day and night” (12:10). This imagery corresponds to the vision Luke describes of Satan falling from the sky, but of particular note is the

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<sup>125</sup> This connection is also noted by Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 56–57.

<sup>126</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2001), 57–85. Collins's discussion is detailed and complex. She notes that the expected sequence of the combat myth has been disrupted in Revelation by the incorporation of two different sources, namely the story of the woman and her offspring and the battle between Michael and Satan.

association made between the fall of Satan and the kingdom of God.<sup>127</sup> As we have seen Luke has conspicuously transposed the traditional phrase “the kingdom of God has drawn near” to the mission of the seventy, thereby connecting the coming of the kingdom of God with the fall of Satan. The Revelation hymn makes just the same connection, that the fall of the “accuser” corresponds to the coming of the kingdom of God along with the authority of Christ.

The fall of Satan that Revelation speaks of is not the end of his activity, however, and he continues his malicious work against God and his faithful ones. In accordance with the combat myth described by Collins, the defeat of the dragon is not final or definitive, but temporary and provisional, and he returns to afflict the people.<sup>128</sup> In Revelation, he is defeated by “the blood of the Lamb and their testimony,” a reference to Jesus’s passion and death. But it then says that the devil has come upon them with great wrath (θυμός), “for his time is short” (12:12). After the dragon (“Satan”) was thrown down to the earth, he pursued (or “persecuted,” ἐδίωξεν, Rev 12:13) the woman, and after she is saved by divine intervention, “went off to make war on the rest of her offspring, who keep the commandments of God and bear testimony to Jesus” (Rev 12:17). The theological vision helps see how Luke understands Jesus’s vision. On the one hand, Satan has fallen and his power has been broken. Not only does Jesus exert power to destroy Satan and his forces, but now the seventy do as well. And yet the narrative clearly indicates that Satan continues to act in the world, opposing Jesus himself in the passion and the church at various points in Acts. In Revelation, we see the same scenario being described in visionary language: the devil is dethroned, and yet continues to afflict believers. Revelation ultimately points to the same ambiguity that Luke expresses. Bovon

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<sup>127</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 136.

<sup>128</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 59–61. Cf. Forsyth who relates Revelation to the general combat myth that he traces from Babylonian myth forward (Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 248–57).

notes the connection, saying that “for Luke, as for the Seer John (Rev 12:7–18), Satan’s expulsion from heaven did not mean that he was slain once and for all.”<sup>129</sup> Revelation finds the solution to be in eschatological hope, that the return of Christ will bring the apocalyptic resolution and the final defeat of evil. Luke holds the same hope. He states this explicitly in his eschatological discourse (Luke 21:5–36), particularly that “they will see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory” (21:27), showing that redemption (21:28) and the kingdom of God (21:31) are near. The angels’ promise of Jesus’s return from heaven at the beginning of Acts expresses the same expectation (1:11). The genre and setting of Luke’s Gospel and Acts differ greatly from Revelation, and Luke’s concerns are more about the spread of the gospel to the nations than the return of Christ, but the vision he has of the world and its future corresponds to that of Revelation: Satan has been thrown down by Christ but continues to afflict the faithful.

The imagery of a fall from heaven also occurs in Revelation 9:1, where it is a “star” that falls from heaven to earth. The star is then given the key to “τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου,” which is usually translated as “bottomless pit,” thus obscuring the reference to the “abyss” as the dwelling of these evil and malevolent beings.<sup>130</sup> The key is an expression of the authority he has in the underworld, and in what follows he is seen inflicting suffering on humanity. Boismard connects the fall of Satan described in Revelation 12:9 to the star that fell from heaven to earth in 9:1, so that this figure, later called Abbadon or the ruler of the underworld, is Satan himself.<sup>131</sup> He observes a remarkable similarity between Luke and Revelation, “both in the general sense and the detail of expressions,” listing as examples, “the mention of Satan, a star or lightning

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<sup>129</sup> Bovon, *Luke 2*, 31.

<sup>130</sup> The only occurrence of ἀβύσσοϛ in the gospels is in Luke 8:31, the healing of the Gerasene demoniac, where Legion asks not be thrown into the abyss. Luke therefore has some knowledge of the term as an expression for the underworld dwelling of evil forces.

<sup>131</sup> Boismard, “Rapprochements littéraires entre l’évangile de Luc et l’Apocalypse,” 56. Cf. Kruse, “Das Reich Satans,” 36.

fallen from heaven; despite his fall, he remains still invested with a certain power, since serpents and scorpions, symbols of his power, still act upon the earth; but Christ's faithful will be protected against this malevolent action."<sup>132</sup> He concludes on this basis that there must be a common tradition between these two texts.<sup>133</sup> Our interest is not in any claim of literary dependence, but in the remarkable way in which Revelation corresponds to the vision of Jesus recounted in Luke. The vivid picture in Revelation helps to understand Luke's image of Satan's fall and what it does for Luke's narrative.

Another connection to Revelation is found in Luke's use of the imagery of serpents and scorpions. Jesus says to the disciples, "Behold, I have given you authority to step upon serpents and scorpions, and on all the power of the enemy, and nothing shall hurt you" (ιδου δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσῃ, 10:19). Forsyth sees an "image of treading on the defeated foe," which he says is a standard image of victory in the ancient combat myth.<sup>134</sup> Many commentators find a parallel with Psalm 90:13 LXX ("On asp and cobra you will tread, and you will trample lion and dragon under foot," NETS), but the allusion is at best remote.<sup>135</sup> The serpent has a deep symbolic association with evil, and to the reader of the Old Testament in Greek, the connection with the serpent in the Garden of Eden is immediate (Gen 3:1–20).<sup>136</sup> But Revelation provides a closer parallel both conceptually and chronologically, as it twice identifies the serpent as

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<sup>132</sup> Boismard, "Rapprochements littéraires entre l'évangile de Luc et l'Apocalypse," 58.

<sup>133</sup> Boismard argues that the relationship must be a literary one, based upon a written source. Such a conclusion is not necessary to see that Luke and Revelation express a common tradition.

<sup>134</sup> Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 295.

<sup>135</sup> Fitzmyer says it is "a farfetched allusion" (Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 863). Bovon wants a "literal sense that is open to figurative interpretation" (Bovon, *Luke 2*, 30).

<sup>136</sup> The serpent who tempts Adam and Eve in the garden is not identified in the biblical text with Satan, but only by later tradition. The devil is associated with the story of the Fall in Wis 2:24, and Rev 12:9 identifies Satan as "that ancient serpent." The connection is made explicitly in Apoc. Mos. 16 (the dating of which is notoriously difficult). See Werner Foerster, "ὄφις," *TDNT* 5:567–82, and Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*, 232–35, 377–78.

the devil and Satan. In 12:9, the text says that “the great dragon was thrown down, the ancient serpent, who is called the devil and Satan,” joining both of Luke’s most common titles (and demonstrating their interchangeability). The expression is repeated in Revelation 20:2.<sup>137</sup> In the context of the disciples’ success in exorcisms and Jesus’s vision, Jesus is again referring to the power that he has given them over Satan and his demons, once more associating them with himself in his campaign to replace Satan’s authority with the kingdom of God.

The imagery of the scorpion is harder to place, but again Revelation shines light on what it means for Luke.<sup>138</sup> Scorpions appear three times in Revelation 9:1–10, where the locusts that arise from the abyss harm people like scorpions. They are said to be under the rule of the angel of the pit who is called Abaddon or Apollyon in Greek (9:11). The word Abaddon in the Old Testament is “a poetic synonym for the abode of the dead, meaning ‘Destruction,’ or ‘(the place of) destruction.’”<sup>139</sup> Its use here is a personification of the ruler of the underworld, a figure theologically and functionally equivalent to Satan. Revelation depicts the affliction caused to human beings by evil forces with this imagery of painful stings by scorpions. Ford notes that in this chapter and later in Revelation there is the imagery found in Qumran of God and “the sons of light” doing battle against Satan and “the sons of darkness,” and the attack of scorpions is one expression of that

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<sup>137</sup> Fitzmyer denies there is any connection between the language of serpents and scorpions and demons, holding rather that they are symbols of evil in general (Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 863). But Garrett responds with other parallels showing that serpents and scorpions were seen as satanic or demonic (T. Sim. 6:6, T. Levi 18:12, T. Zeb. 9:6, cf. T. Job 43:8) (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 138–39, n. 70).

<sup>138</sup> Other parallels occur in Deuteronomy 8:15, where it is an image of the wilderness, and is paired with ὄφις, as it is here. It likewise appears in Ezek 2:6, where it is a metaphorical image of oppression and persecution of the prophet.

<sup>139</sup> Herbert G. Grether, “Abaddon,” *ABD* 1:6. Cf. Prov 15:11; 27:20, Job 26:6; Ps 88:12. The term is personified in Job 28:22, and used as a demonic being in Prov 27:20 and 26:5–6 (Manfred Hutter, “Abaddon,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed., ed. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 1).

conflict.<sup>140</sup> This is the imagery that is adopted by Luke, who shares this association of scorpions with Satan and his affliction of humans. Luke calls upon the same imagery to indicate that Jesus’s disciples, working on the side of Jesus against the forces of Satan, have power over the forces of evil that afflict humanity. Jesus’s promise to the seventy that “nothing shall hurt you” (οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσῃ, Luke 10:19), also speaks to the disciples’ power over Satan. Revelation uses the verb ἀδικέω (strictly meaning “to do wrong” but in this case having the sense of hurting or doing harm) to describe the harm done to people by scorpions (9:4, 10).<sup>141</sup> By telling the disciples that nothing shall hurt them, he is saying once more that they have power over Satan, for Satan is the one who seeks to afflict human beings, and in the kingdom of God, he will have no more power to do that.

Another intersection of Luke with the book of Revelation occurs with the image Jesus invokes of the disciples’ names being written in heaven. When the seventy return with joy (10:17), Jesus admonishes them, “Nevertheless, do not rejoice in this, that the spirits are subject to you, but rejoice that your names are written in heaven” (10:20). Revelation uses the image of names written in heaven several times to indicate salvation (3:6; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12), often specifically in contrast to the affliction and destruction caused by Satan.<sup>142</sup> This phrase, distinctively Lukan in the Gospels, reflects that Jesus’s primary mission is the kingdom of God that brings salvation to those who believe, contrary to the mission of Satan who tries to ruin faith and salvation. Luke places the focus once more on salvation, which is the positive expression of Jesus’s mission. The defeat of Satan is the other side of the story, an important component that supplies the

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<sup>140</sup> Josephine Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*, AB 38 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), 146–47.

<sup>141</sup> The verb occurs again in Revelation in the sixth trumpet, describing the “power of the horses” (ἡ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων) that is in their tails like serpents (ὄφεσιν, Rev 9:19).

<sup>142</sup> For more references on this image, which is found also in Old Testament and Second Temple literature, see Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 863–64, and Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1008 n. 47.

setting into which the kingdom of God arrives and the basis for the conflict that drives the narrative.

These parallels between Revelation and Luke help to understand Luke's encyclopedia of knowledge, to fill in the gaps and understand these sayings that seem strange for Luke. That apparent strangeness is the result of the perception that Luke is not interested in apocalyptic themes. When one recognizes that Luke is in fact an apocalyptic writer who accepts and works within Second Temple apocalypticism, such imagery is merely an explicit representation of what is present in his narrative in more unstated ways. The close relationship with Revelation shows that Luke shares the same understanding of Satan: that he has fallen from heaven and yet continues to afflict people and oppose the will of God. In this section, Luke has Jesus state discursively what he usually expresses through the medium of narrative: that though the power of God has come to destroy Satan, there is still a period in which he is active and continues his malicious work.

### **3.4.3. The Beelzebul Controversy**

The Beelzebul controversy (Luke 11:14–23) contains the only explicit reference to Satan's kingdom in contrast to the kingdom of God, an image that corresponds with cosmological apocalyptic eschatology that underlies Luke's plot structure of conflict between Jesus and Satan. The controversy over whether Jesus expels demons by the power of Satan, and Jesus's argument against the accusation, is further expounded by an allegory about a strong man who is conquered by a stronger one, and then a parable about a demon who returns with seven more demons to afflict a man. This section contains some of Luke's most explicit statements about Satan in relationship to the mission of Jesus. It contains within it a key for reading the underlying dynamic of Luke's plot: "If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God is upon you" (11:20). While Luke uses material from his sources in this section, he incorporates it into

the plot of his narrative and crafts it to produce some of the most explicit references in his Gospel to the conflict that he sees between God and Satan.

Luke's setting for this controversy is quite different from both Mark's and Matthew's. It is preceded by Jesus's teaching on prayer, including the Our Father, and the teaching that the Father in heaven will give good, specifically the Holy Spirit, and not evil to his children who ask it of him (11:1–13). Both of these teachings contain elements that tie into the theme of God's displacement of Satan. The Our Father in Luke's version asks that God's "kingdom come" and to not be led "into temptation."<sup>143</sup> These two petitions contain the two essential sides of Luke's plot: Jesus has come to bring the kingdom of his Father and to defeat Satan's opposition. Luke next gives Jesus's teaching on God's care for his children who ask it of him, including Jesus's rhetorical question about a father who gives a serpent to his son instead of a fish, or a scorpion instead of an egg (11:11–12). These are not merely two examples of harmful vermin,<sup>144</sup> but rather an echo of what Jesus said about the seventy having power to tread on serpents and scorpions (10:19). This textual echo shows that Luke is saying that God will not allow Satan's power to afflict those who turn to him in prayer. Instead, he will send them the Holy Spirit, an

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<sup>143</sup> The absence of the petition to "deliver us from evil (or, "the evil one")," present in Matthew's version of the Our Father (6:13), is difficult to explain in light of Luke's narrative and theological interests. The question is part of the larger difficulty of explaining Luke's truncated version, by means of sources or theological objectives. Since it is shorter, many scholars hold that Luke's version is the more original and that Matthew has added to it. Others argue that Luke has shortened it based on his interests. More complex theories abound. Betz has an excellent discussion and summary (with the conclusion that none of the three recensions [including Did. 8:2] are textually dependent on each other, and supporting Jeremias's proposal that Luke's version is a catechism on prayer for Gentile-Christians, while Matthew's is for Jewish-Christians) in Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, Including the Sermon on the Plain (Matthew 5:3–7:27 and Luke 6:20–49)*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 370–72. Cf. Ken Olson, "Luke 11.2–4: The Lord's Prayer (Abridged Edition)," in *Marcan Priority Without Q: Explorations in the Farrer Hypothesis*, vol. 455, ed. John C. Poirier and Jeffrey Peterson, LNTS 455 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark., 2015), 101–18.

<sup>144</sup> As is the reading of most commentators. See Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 914; Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1061–62; Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 630–31.

expression of God's own power that casts out evil (11:13). Understanding the conflict of Luke's plot helps to see what is meant by these teachings, which in turn set up the question of how Jesus's mission will connect with the power of Satan that rules the world. To get there, Luke gives a brief, skeletal account of the expulsion of a dumb demon (11:14) that provides a narrative context for the accusation that Jesus expels demons by the power of Satan. This affords the opportunity for Luke to explain what is meant by exorcisms and how Jesus's mission entails the destruction of Satan's kingdom in the world.

The Beelzebul controversy (11:14–23) is introduced by the accusation that Jesus casts out demons by Beelzebul, called “the prince of demons.” This pericope and its parallels (Matt 12:24–32 and Mark 3:22–30) are the only biblical occurrences of the name Beelzebul, aside from a cryptic reference in Matthew 10:25. Luke takes this name from his source, given that the name is fixed in triple-tradition.<sup>145</sup> The occurrence of this name here and in Mark reflects the diversity of names used in the Second Temple period to refer to the same figure who heads the forces of evil. Beelzebul is another name for the head of the powers of evil, equivalent to Satan.<sup>146</sup> The exact orthography and origins of the word are not clear and have been subject to much debate, and for our purposes

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<sup>145</sup> See the discussion in Eric Eve, “The Devil in the Detail: Exorcising Q from the Beelzebul Controversy,” in *Marcan Priority Without Q: Explorations in the Farrer Hypothesis*, vol. 455, ed. John C. Poirier and Jeffrey Peterson, LNTS 455 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 16–43.

<sup>146</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 921. Bovon says that the title “prince of demons” does not in itself require an identification of Beelzebul with Satan, since there could conceivably be multiple princes. However, he concludes based on the parallel reference to Satan in v. 18 that they are the same figure (Bovon, *Luke 2*, 117–18). Cf. Kruse, “Das Reich Satans,” 37–41.

contribute little to understanding its meaning and purpose in Luke's account.<sup>147</sup> Beelzebul is called by Luke "the prince of demons," and the fact that Luke interchanges the name "Satan" in the midst of the argument shows that these are equivalent names for the same figure. Jesus is here accused of colluding with the power of Satan, a charge that he refutes with a careful argument.

Jesus's argument against this accusation requires that Satan have a kingdom and authority in the world. He begins his argument with the premise that a kingdom divided against itself will be laid waste. Jesus then asks how the kingdom of Satan can stand if he is divided against himself. Joel Marcus has carefully analyzed the logic of Jesus's argument, and noted that a missing term in the middle is necessary for the argument to follow. He proposes for this missing term: "But Satan's kingdom has obviously not been laid waste, and is not about to fall."<sup>148</sup> This unstated but essential premise reveals a crucial underpinning not only of this argument, but of Luke's entire plot and theology: the apocalyptic view that Satan has power in the world and rules a kingdom. There is a tension between Satan's power and the claim that Jesus is breaking the power of Satan, but that is precisely the point: there is a power of evil that rules in the world, which Jesus has come to defeat.

The language of the kingdom of Satan is a particularly important element of this teaching as it is the only direct reference in Luke (and together with the Matthean parallel, in all of the New Testament) to Satan having a kingdom, though there has been much that alludes to such a reality. While the kingdom of God is a fixed term that is repeatedly used

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<sup>147</sup> See the discussion in Werner Foerster, "Βεεζεβούλ," *TDNT* 1:606–7, and Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 920–21. Bovon argues that the original etymology was from Baalzebul, a Philistine divinity whose name meant "Master of the abode on high," corrupted polemically to Baalzebul, meaning "god of the flies." This figure made himself an adversary of God by claiming to be Master of the abode on high, an "apocalyptic rival of God, who had to be Satan himself" (Bovon, *Luke 2*, 118). Cf. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Šātān in the Hebrew Bible*, 151–59.

<sup>148</sup> Marcus, "The Beelzebul Controversy and the Eschatologies of Jesus," 248–49.

in Luke's Gospel, the kingdom of Satan occurs primarily as an implicit concept. It reflects the *status quo*, which is part of Luke's encyclopedia of knowledge and is not specifically articulated. It is already known that evil reigns in the world; the story that Luke tells is how that evil is to be vanquished. In general, Satan's rule is expressed in the Gospel in terms of authority (ἐξουσία) rather than the language of *kingdom*. The fact that a kingdom is specifically ascribed to Satan shows that Luke does indeed presuppose a kingdom of Satan underlying his plot. Luke much more frequently speaks of the kingdom of God, which is his primary interest as the positive expression of Jesus's mission. The two kingdoms are not equal, neither in terms of narrative importance nor theological weight. They are not equal powers. Luke's cosmology is not one of true dualism, but at best a *modified* dualism.<sup>149</sup> Satan's kingdom does not stand against the kingdom of God as an equal power. While Satan rivals God and challenges his power and authority, Luke is arguing in this section that Satan's kingdom will be defeated by the greater power of God, as seen in the power Jesus has over demons.

Luke next gives the most explicit expression that connects the expulsion of demons with the arrival of the kingdom of God, as Jesus says, "But if by the finger of God I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come (ἔφθασεν) upon you" (11:20).<sup>150</sup> This provides a narrative key for reading the events of Jesus's public ministry, one that might have been intuited by the attentive reader, but that is here stated explicitly. Noack calls this "ein Hauptpunkt der neutestamentlichen Dämonologie" that signals the

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<sup>149</sup> Kruse, "Das Reich Satans," 57.

<sup>150</sup> The precise sense of the verb ἔφθασεν has been much discussed, and the issues are much like those around ἔγγικεν. As Nolland rightly notes, it has "been asked to bear the weight of theological concerns that have far exceeded its semantic possibilities." Its sense is merely "has come upon," and yet in Luke there is a rich ambiguity between the present and future manifestations of the kingdom. He says, "The interpretive task is so to formulate an understanding of the kingdom of God that we can do justice at one and the same time to a future and a present coming without ending up with two quite different kinds of 'kingdom of God'" (Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 641).

definitive defeat of all demonic forces that is entailed by the kingdom of God that has now arrived.<sup>151</sup> Every time that Jesus expels demons, the kingdom of God advances, as the authority and rule of Satan is diminished.<sup>152</sup> The expression “the finger of God” (ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ, Luke 11:20) is a hapax legomenon in the New Testament, and for that reason is generally regarded as the original form of the saying, with Matthew changing it to the “Spirit of God” in his version (Matt 12:28). More recently, some scholars have argued that Luke has changed the text.<sup>153</sup> Van Cangh attributes it to a Moses typology, “in which the two great liberators of Israel see their mission confirmed by ‘signs and wonders’ (Acts 2:22 for Jesus and Acts 7:36 for Moses).” Luke’s conception of the Holy Spirit would lead him to reserve its function to inspire of the word of Jesus and the first preachers of the early church and not be tied to exorcism.<sup>154</sup> In the Exodus narrative, “the finger of God” is an expression for God’s power in the plague of gnats (Exod 8:15), and again for God’s carving of the tablets of the Decalogue (Exod 31:18 and Deut 9:10). As such, the expression concerns the power of God to work signs and wonders.<sup>155</sup> Woods says that it stands “for the active power and mercy of God the Father himself working through Jesus his Spirit-‘anointed’ Son.”<sup>156</sup> The first part of the conditional (“If by the finger of God I cast out demons”) is true and so is the second: Jesus’s power over demons indicates that the kingdom of God has arrived. The coming of the kingdom of God is at

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<sup>151</sup> Noack, *Satanás und Sotería*, 72.

<sup>152</sup> Nolland makes the further point that it is not simply the exorcisms that demonstrate the Kingdom of God, but also “the role of Jesus himself” and that “the presence and power of God are here in some distinctive manner” (Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 641).

<sup>153</sup> For a summary of the arguments, see Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 639–40.

<sup>154</sup> Jean-Marie van Cangh, “‘Par l’Esprit de Dieu - Par le doigt de Dieu’: Mt 12,28 par. Lc 11,20,” in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus — The Sayings of Jesus*, ed. Joël Delobel, BETL 59 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1982), 342.

<sup>155</sup> BDAG, s.v. “δάκτυλος.” Woods argues for a “double nuanced meaning” for this expression: “‘deliverance power’ recalling Exod 8:19, and God’s ‘covenantal revelation’ of his Law as at Deut 9:10” (Edward J. Woods, *The ‘Finger of God’ and Pneumatology in Luke-Acts*, JSNTSup [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 245).

<sup>156</sup> Woods, *The ‘Finger of God’*, 248.

the expense of the kingdom of Satan, as has already been noted by the narrative connection Luke made between the proclamation that the kingdom of God was at hand and Satan's fall from heaven. This problematizes the second part of Marcus's proposed missing term in Jesus's reasoning, namely that Satan's kingdom is not about to fall. While the kingdom of Satan does stand as the narrative begins, Luke's claim is that the power of God working in Jesus is defeating it.

Luke next establishes that Satan's power is to be defeated by Jesus and not by internal conflict, by means of a parable about a strong man and a stronger one.<sup>157</sup> The story of the strong man constitutes a brief parable (Garrett calls it an "allegory," which is probably more accurate)<sup>158</sup> that Luke has strongly adapted from what is found in Mark and Matthew to express the conflict that guides his narrative. The strong man is introduced with the article (ὁ ἰσχυρός) as the subject of the sentence. In Mark and Matthew, the strong one is not the subject of the parable, but merely the owner of the house which is plundered by an indefinite subject (οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθῶν, Mark 3:27; cf. Matt 12:29 which uses the indefinite τις in a similar construction). Luke clarifies the story by identifying the person that Mark and Matthew speak of only indefinitely by calling him "the stronger one" (without an article, ἰσχυρότερος, Luke 11:22).<sup>159</sup> Luke thus identifies two subjects, the strong one and a stronger one, who are in conflict with each other. In this allegorical formulation, the strong man is Satan and the stronger one is Jesus.<sup>160</sup> The identity of the two figures is

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<sup>157</sup> Scholars generally hold that the different parts of Luke 11:14–23 were not an original unit and have been brought together by the evangelists and given unity in their own understanding. See the discussion in Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 635.

<sup>158</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 45.

<sup>159</sup> Given the definite article used with ἰσχυρός and the clear sense that Luke is here referring to a specific figure, we might expect a definite article here as well. Indeed, some manuscripts insert one, but the evidence is much greater to exclude it.

<sup>160</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 922–23. Meynet makes an argument for reading the strong one as the believer and the stronger one as Satan, on the basis of a rhetorical analysis that tries to read the

readily suggested by the preceding co-text about Jesus’s exercising the power of God against Satan.<sup>161</sup> But Luke has also created a deeper allusion by using the word *ισχυρότερος* that recalls the promise of John the Baptist that “the one stronger than I is coming” (*ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου*, Luke 3:16). This verbal echo of John’s proclamation, which is a Lukan addition, establishes that Jesus is the stronger one who assaults Satan and is victorious over him.

Luke revises and expands the description of the strong man to highlight the military language and heighten the sense of armed conflict.<sup>162</sup> The strong man is described as fully armed (*καθωπλισμένος*), a description not found in the parallel accounts. The word is used in a military sense, as in 2 Macc 4:40; 15:11; Jer 26:9 (cf. 3 Macc 5:38; 4 Macc 3:12). Luke says that the strong man “guards his own palace” (*φυλάσσει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀυλήν*, Luke 11:21), which also lends an element of conflict, as the verb *φυλάσσω* has the original sense of a military watch to protect one’s property or camp. Bovon observes that this theme of trusting in his arms picks up the Old Testament proscription of trusting in arms rather than in God.<sup>163</sup> Luke describes the man’s property as an *ἀυλήν* rather than an *οἰκία* as in Mark and Matthew, thereby indicating a grander, more regal property, a “palace.”<sup>164</sup> Luke thus makes him into a powerful man, not a

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strong/stronger allegory (vv. 21–22) as connected with the following saying about the unclean spirit who returns with seven more (vv. 24–26) around the centerpiece of the scattering saying in v. 23 (Roland Meynet, “Qui donc est ‘le plus fort’: analyse rhétorique de Mc 3:22–30; Matt 12:22–37; Luc 11:14–26,” *RB* 90 [1983]: 334–50). But as Nolland rightly notes, this involves a forced reading of v. 23 that makes the meaning into “is scattered” rather than “scattered” (Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 642). Cf. Bovon, *Luke 2*, 123.

<sup>161</sup> Légasse also notes that it is appropriate that Jesus defeats the devil precisely in his riches, which in Luke are viewed with suspicion (Simon Légasse, “L’homme fort de Luc 11:21–22,” *NovT* 5 (1962): 5–9).

<sup>162</sup> A discussion of the vocabulary and its significance can be found in Légasse, “L’homme fort de Luc 11:21–22.”

<sup>163</sup> Bovon, *Luke 2*, 123.

<sup>164</sup> BDAG, s.v. “ἀυλή.”

householder, but “a lord of a castle.”<sup>165</sup> As Légasse notes, Luke casts the strong man in a dubious light, given the suspicion with which he generally holds riches.<sup>166</sup> Luke says that when the strong man is at guard “his goods are at peace.” The expression “his goods” is shared with his parallels, but Luke has added in the concept of peace here, again giving a martial dimension to the saying. The peace enjoyed by this strong man over his possessions is disturbed when the stronger one begins his assault.

Luke also changes the nature of the stronger one’s actions to increase the stakes of this confrontation. Rather than “binding” (δέω), as in Matthew and Mark, in Luke the stronger one attacks and conquers him (ἐπελθὼν νικήσῃ αὐτόν). For Luke, “binding” is the activity of Satan. Jesus’s mission is the opposite, to loose those who have been held in bondage by Satan, as stated in the Isaianic prophecy in Jesus’s Nazareth speech (4:18, cf. 13:16). Luke instead says that Satan is assailed and conquered. Such imagery reflects the cosmological form of apocalyptic eschatology, with its emphasis on cosmic battles, and Luke’s redaction to highlight this aspect is a significant move. It also fits with the expectation that the power of God will defeat the power of Satan. That is exactly what the allegory narrates.

The defeat of the strong one is described in terms of being despoiled of his military gear. Luke uses two military terms that are rare in the New Testament, *πανοπλία* and *σκῦλα* (this is the only occurrence of *σκῦλα* in the New Testament, while *πανοπλία* occurs in twice, in Eph 6:11, 13). The word *πανοπλία* refers to the full military equipment of a soldier, all of his armor, and the word *σκῦλα* is used for the military equipment taken from a defeated adversary. The defeat is thus characterized as a military defeat, quite different from the plundering of a house in the parallels. Luke’s adaptation, then, reflects the underlying dynamic of his narrative: Jesus is the stronger one who has come to attack

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<sup>165</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 922.

<sup>166</sup> Légasse, “L’homme fort de Luc 11:21–22.”

and conquer the strong man and take away the armor in which he trusted. The military imagery reflects the kind of apocalyptic conflict seen in Qumran, especially the War Scroll, and other Second Temple literature. A real war is being fought between the Jesus and Satan, as the heads of the forces of good and evil.

The timing of Jesus's defeat of the strong one, however, is ambiguous. The form of the first conditional expression in 11:21 is a present general condition, indicating a logical connection or general truth about the two clauses: the strong man is guarding his palace, and his goods are in peace.<sup>167</sup> The second conditional expression in 11:22 is mixed, with the verb in the protasis in the aorist subjunctive, indicating that the conquering of the strong one is completed before he is despoiled.<sup>168</sup> Because the aorist has no time significance in the subjunctive, but only aspectual, it is not clear what time frame Luke is pointing to for the conquering of the strong one. The ambiguity here is the same as in the case of the timing for Jesus's vision of Satan falling like lightning. Does Luke see this defeat occurring in the past, in the present of Jesus's life, or in a future, eschatological sense? Garrett notes that Luke's omission of the *ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον* in Mark 3:27 could "indicate a reluctance to portray the 'conquering' as a decisively complete event."<sup>169</sup> That observation, however, assumes that the aorist implies a past conquering. In fact, it denotes a complete event, and does not specify the time frame in which that occurs. The ambiguity is deliberate and constructive: Satan will be conquered and despoiled, completely and definitely by Jesus, but it is unclear when exactly that victory will be concluded. The eschatological tension between the victory Jesus brings and the final victory continues to run underneath Luke's narrative.<sup>170</sup> This is yet another example

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<sup>167</sup> Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 2410, cf. 2337.

<sup>168</sup> Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 2409, cf. 2336.

<sup>169</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 133 n. 36.

<sup>170</sup> For a masterful and eloquent description of this tension in Luke, see Bovon, *Luke 2*, 121–22.

of the “already and not yet” dynamic present in the apocalyptic worldview as well as in Luke.

The final part of this passage makes explicit the apocalyptic framing of the conflict of Luke’s narrative: “The one who is not with me is against me, and the one who does not gather with me scatters” (11:23). There are only two possibilities: to be with Jesus or against him. The association of gathering, both of Israel and the nations, with God’s activity has deep biblical roots (Ps 106:47; Isa 66:18; Jer 3:17; Ezek 20:41; 28:25; 36:24). While God is also sometimes depicted as scattering his enemies (Lev 26:33; Ps 44:11; Ezek 22:15; Zech 10:9), here scattering is connected to Satan’s activity as God’s enemy, opposed to God’s task of gathering. Luke continues to use military terms, as the implication is still one of battle, with the need to fight on one side or the other.<sup>171</sup> There are two camps at war with each other, and those two sides have been specified by the immediate co-text: the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan. The conflict is not only between supernatural powers but also involves human beings and all people must be on one side or another.<sup>172</sup> It is a conflict over human hearts,<sup>173</sup> as we have seen in the parable of the sower (8:12), and now we see that each person must be aligned with either good or evil.

Luke gestures to the ongoing nature of the conflict between God and Satan by next placing a saying about an unclean spirit who returns to afflict the man from whom it had been expelled (11:24–26). Luke has relocated two pericopae that intervene in Matthew (knowing a tree by its fruits [Matt 12:33–37] and the demand for a sign [11:38–

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<sup>171</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 923. Nolland finds in the second part of the saying an image of the gathering of the flock of the Israel, but notes that the two are connected in that “the coming of the kingdom of God must necessarily involve the gathering of the flock of Israel” (Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 642).

<sup>172</sup> See the discussion in BDAG, s.v. “σχορπίζω,” which connects the concept to a passage in Polyaeus: “when Pompey declared hostility, Caesar in turn proclaimed to those who did not choose sides that he equated friends with those who joined forces with himself” (8, 23, 27).

<sup>173</sup> Bovon, *Luke 2*, 124.

42]) so that this saying follows immediately after the allegory of the strong man. Luke carries on the theme of conflict between God and Satan, but now in a way that points to the ongoing struggle between the two. The victory implied by exorcism<sup>174</sup> will be answered by the forces of evil, redoubling (actually, increasing seven-fold) their efforts and opposition. The struggle between the power of God in Jesus and the power of Satan will be continued. This is the intrinsic tension that Luke encounters in the life of the church that is reflected in the narrative: the kingdom of God has overthrown the power of Satan, and yet the forces of evil are still active in the world. The persistence of these spirits points to the ongoing reality of Satan's activity as well as his objective. Satan and his demons afflict persons, and are competing against God for human hearts, seeking to destroy their faith and rob them of salvation.

The next reference to exorcism is in the context of Herod's threats to murder Jesus (Luke 13:31–32), an exchange that once again authenticates Jesus's ministry through the expulsion of demons and the healing of diseases and also points to the resurrection as the definitive fulfillment of his mission against Satan. In this exchange that is unique to Luke, Jesus responds to the threats by saying that he casts out demons "today and tomorrow" indicating the ongoing nature of Jesus' campaign against the powers of Satan. Jesus' statement that "on the third day I am fulfilled" (καὶ τῆ τρίτῃ τελειοῦμαι, Luke 13:32) is an allusion to the resurrection, as "the third day" is a traditional expression for the resurrection both in the tradition and in Luke (Luke 9:22; 18:33; 24:7, 21, 46; Acts 10:40).<sup>175</sup> In the context of Jesus heading to Jerusalem and the

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<sup>174</sup> Both the immediate context and the recurrent practice of exorcism in the Gospel indicate that exorcism is presumed here. Nolland suggests that it is a voluntary departure: "here the spirit is on a freely chosen journey of exploration" (Nolland, *Luke 9:21 – 18:34*, 645). But this doesn't account for the meaning given by where Luke has placed it in the narrative. Cf. Bovon, who reads it as an exorcism, with a paraenetic exhortation to ongoing resistance to the devil (Bovon, *Luke 2*, 124–25).

<sup>175</sup> The reference to Jesus's resurrection seems oddly overlooked by some commentators. Neither Fitzmyer nor Nolland give it any consideration (Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1031; Nolland, *Luke*

language of fulfillment, the reference to “the third day” points to the resurrection as the fulfillment of Jesus’s mission.<sup>176</sup> This marks an important narrative and theological connection: the activity Jesus engages in by casting out demons and curing the sick is fulfilled in the resurrection, which is the definitive turning point in the battle against Satan and his demons. Garrett’s argument, earlier considered, that Jesus’s vision of Satan’s fall refers to the resurrection/ascension finds corroboration in this Lukan saying that identifies the resurrection as the completion of Jesus’s ongoing work of exorcism and healing.

After this section, Luke gives more attention to Jesus’s teaching and the growing opposition to Jesus from human powers, which will be considered in the next chapter. But the sides of the conflict have been made clear, and each person must either be on God’s side or Satan’s. Luke clearly indicates that all opposition to Jesus is implicitly collusion with Satan, by taking his side in this battle. The opposition to Jesus from religious authorities is another expression of this ongoing battle, which will reach its head in the passion, when Satan organizes his final assault on Jesus through Judas and the religious authorities. The growing opposition to Jesus from human powers shows that satanic opposition to Jesus continues, and will be exploited by Satan for his malevolent aims.

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9:21 – 18:34, 740–41). Bock notes its possibility, with the caveat that it would only be comprehensible to Luke’s readers and not to Jesus’s audience (Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1247). Tannehill rejects any reference to Jesus’s death in the passage, arguing that it refers simply to Jesus’s impending arrival in the city of Jerusalem, which is his goal (Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 1, 153–55). Johnson, however, says the reference would be clear to Christian readers, and strengthened by the use of *τελειόω* (Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 218).

<sup>176</sup> Commentators also find a reference to Exod 19:10–11, where the same language is used (σήμερον καὶ αὐριον ... τῆ γὰρ ἡμέρα τῆ τρίτη). See Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1031. But this can coexist with the more immediate Christian understanding of the third day as a fixed term referring to the resurrection.

We have seen in this chapter that Luke constructs Jesus's life and ministry in terms of an apocalyptic conflict between the power of God and the authority of Satan, in which Jesus displaces the kingdom of Satan with the kingdom of God. This plot structure makes Satan into Jesus's primary antagonist, and Luke shows Jesus's ongoing victory over him through the course of his public ministry, where Jesus takes up an offensive against Satan and his associated demons. Though this structure is nowhere explicitly described, it can be seen by identifying the various moves that Luke makes in its service. It is a cumulative argument based upon the many narrative elements that reflect it. After using Jesus's inaugural discourse to describe Jesus's Spirit-anointed mission as liberation and release, Luke uses exorcisms and healings to narrate that liberation and release being accomplished, at each stage showing Jesus's power defeating and displacing the authority of Satan. Luke makes several key claims regarding Satan in regard to Jesus's mission. Satan has fallen from power, which is demonstrated by the power wielded by Jesus and his followers over his demons. While Satan is a strong man who holds his possessions in peace, Jesus is a stronger one who defeats him in battle. The defeat of Satan thus shows that his kingdom is defeated and that the kingdom of God is arriving.

There is more to the story. While Jesus engages the offensive over the course of his life, Luke has indicated that at the decisive moment—the *καιρός*—Satan will return to retake the offensive against Jesus. That moment arrives when Satan enters into Judas and initiates his passion and death. The following chapters will continue to unpack Luke's vision of the world, and the story that he tells of Satan's defeat by the power of God.

## 4. Judas and Satan

Judas is the human figure whom Luke most directly associates with Satan. If Jesus is the character who embodies the power of God advancing the kingdom of God, Judas embodies the power of Satan opposing the kingdom of God. As the first evangelist—and the only Synoptic Gospel—to say that Judas acted under the power of Satan, Luke casts the passion of Jesus in a new light: as the final confrontation between two powers, God and Satan, that have been in conflict throughout the narrative. In Luke's careful construction of a narrative, the importance of any element is dictated by the place he puts it, and he has chosen to insert Satan into the moment of the highest drama. The entry of Satan into Judas is the decisive *καιρός* that Luke told his readers to anticipate at the end of the temptations (4:11).<sup>1</sup> Satan plays a crucial role in the passion that moves the plot forward from the impotence of religious authorities to accomplish their designs against Jesus. In Luke's view, this assertion of Satan's power ends in his defeat, as the power of God is sovereign even over this diabolical act of treachery. Everything that happens, even Judas's betrayal, is according to the plan of God. However, neither of these two factors, the plan of God and the influence of Satan, exculpates Judas from the responsibility of his evil deed, which is enhanced, not diminished, by his alliance with Satan.

While Judas plays the same role in the passion as in the other Synoptic Gospels, Luke adds two significant elements to the characterization of Judas, clearly identifying him as a traitor and associating him with Satan and narrating a unique punitive miracle in Acts to describe his fate. It is a serious limitation of Garrett's work that she does not consider Satan's role in the passion, but her focus is not on Satan *per se* in Luke, but only

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<sup>1</sup> Crump argues that the connection is actually through *ἐξουσία*, linking the second temptation (4:6) with the saying about the "power of darkness" (22:53) (David Crump, *Jesus the Intercessor: Prayer and Christology in Luke-Acts*, WUNT 2/49 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992], 162). This corresponds to the point made here that the *καιρός* refers to Satan's return to the offensive, in which Satan returns to oppose his authority to Jesus's mission.

insofar as he pertains to her subject of magic. More surprising is Kingsbury's failure to notice the decisive role that Satan plays in the conflict of Luke's Gospel. For our purposes, it is crucial to explore how Luke's depiction of Judas fits into the particular structure Luke gives his plot and its connection to his underlying apocalyptic worldview. Luke's treatment of Judas is a key part in the cumulative argument this dissertation is making about the role Satan plays in Luke. Luke begins the passion account by saying that "Satan entered into Judas" (22:3) and then calls the actual moment of Jesus's arrest "your hour and the power of darkness" (22:53). The image of darkness is not one often invoked by Luke, but he does invoke it at key moments such as this to reference the apocalyptic imagery of the conflict between the forces of light and darkness. Judas has defected from the sons of light to the sons of darkness, from one of Jesus's Twelve to Satan's coworker. Luke's characterization of Judas is unambiguous. He alone among the gospel writers attaches to Judas the title of "traitor," and he does this in the initial mention of Judas's character (6:16), and then in Acts describes his ignominious death as the "wages of his evil deed." In these three key elements of Luke's depiction of Judas, he depicts him harshly as traitor, agent of Satan, and recipient of divine justice.

The desire of writers both ancient and new to understand Judas, whether to draw theological and ethical conclusions or to arrive at a fair historical reading, is shared by our earliest sources for Judas. Already, the historical fact of Judas's role in Jesus's death was grappled with by the gospel writers. Our efforts here will not be concerned with establishing the historical truth about Judas, but with what Luke says and thinks about him. Naturally, consideration of Luke's sources and their historical foundation will play a role in this inquiry, but the effort will not be to get *behind* Luke's reading to the original tradition or history, but rather to get *inside* Luke's reading to see how he views Judas and his action, and in particular the role that Judas plays in the fundamental conflict between Jesus and Satan.

## 4.1. Judas the Traitor

Luke's Gospel falls into an arc of progressively harsher characterization of Judas. Assessing the character of Judas historically and theologically has been a matter of great interest from scholars, theologians, and lay people. While some seek to vilify Judas as the paragon of evil, others try to understand and rehabilitate him as an unfairly maligned figure. Classically, Judas has been vilified as the paragon of evil, the treacherous friend who betrayed Jesus. Dante famously placed him the ninth circle of hell, but that was preceded by a long tradition of making Judas into the personification of evil.<sup>2</sup> The vilification of Judas as the one responsible for the death of Jesus has intersected at points with anti-Semitism and served to justify and fuel the blaming of Jews for the death of Jesus.<sup>3</sup> More recently, studies by Hans-Josef Klauck and William Klassen have attempted to get behind the vilification of Judas to the historical truth about him.<sup>4</sup> Both of these authors seek to reread the historical data about Judas in a more positive manner, correcting later theological and polemical readings of Judas as a personification of evil. Both Klauck and Klassen argue that the traditional translation of παραδίωμι as “to betray” has unfairly led to an evil reading of Judas's character.<sup>5</sup> Instead, they argue that παραδίωμι should be translated more literally as “to hand over,” and thereby allow a more neutral reading of Judas that sees his actions as only misguided or even well-meaning. The discovery of the Codex Tchacos containing the gnostic Gospel of Judas has

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<sup>2</sup> A helpful typology of interpretations of Judas is in Hans-Josef Klauck, *Judas un disciple de Jésus: exégèse et répercussions historiques*, trans. Joseph Hoffmann, LD 212 (Paris: Cerf, 2006), 13–30.

<sup>3</sup> A thorough treatment of the history of Judas interpretation in theology, art, and literature that is both scholarly and popularly accessible is found in Susan Gubar, *Judas: A Biography* (New York: Norton, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> Klauck's work was originally published in German in 1987, but a French translation published in 2007 included updated material. Hans-Josef Klauck, *Judas ein Jünger des Herrn*, QD (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1987); French translation Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*; and William Klassen, *Judas: Betrayed or Friend of Jesus?* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 45–48; Klassen, *Judas*, 47–57.

given even more energy to these readings, since it describes Judas as an intimate of Jesus who is carrying out his directions in handing him over, allowing his spirit to be liberated from his flesh.<sup>6</sup>

Early Christian literature displays growing antipathy toward Judas, and Luke fits into this trend as a significant escalation in the negative depiction of Judas. Paul seems to have no knowledge of Judas's betrayal and says nothing to stigmatize him. Mark recounts Judas's handing over of Jesus and includes the statement that it would be better for him not have been born (Mark 14:21), but does not give any account of Judas's fate. Matthew portrays Judas as wicked, and while hinting at his repentance (Matt 27:3–4), ascribes his motivation to greed and recounts his shameful death by suicide. Luke maligns Judas yet further by associating him directly with Satan and giving him a bizarre death in Acts (Luke 22:3; Acts 1:18–19). John adds a number of negative elements to Judas's picture, calling him a "devil" and the "son of perdition" (John 6:70; 17:12) carrying over the association with Satan but does not speak about his death. Finally, in post-New Testament literature, Papias adds a cartoonish and polemical depiction of Judas suffering the fruits of his wickedness (4.2–3, LCL).<sup>7</sup>

Judas's character is introduced by Luke as a "traitor" (Luke 6:16), despite being included as one the twelve apostles selected by Jesus. Whereas Luke downplays the faults

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<sup>6</sup> Elaine Pagels and Karen L. King, *Reading Judas: The Gospel of Judas and the Shaping of Christianity* (New York: Lane, 2007). For a different reading of the Gospel of Judas, see April DeConick, "The Mystery of Betrayal: What Does the Gospel of Judas Really Say?" in *The Gospel of Judas in Context. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Gospel of Judas*; Madeleine Scopello, NHMS 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 239–66. Despite the scholarly and popular interest in this significant discovery, it is not directly relevant to the historical study of Judas or Luke's interpretation, being a later gnostic interpretation of Judas with little reliable information about the historical Judas.

<sup>7</sup> For a complete description of the progressively more negative accounts of Judas, within the New Testament and beyond, see M.S. Enslin, "How the Story Grew: Judas in Fact and Fiction," in *Festschrift to Honor F. Wilbur Gingrich*, ed. E.H. Barth and R.E. Cocroft (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 123–41.

of the other apostles, most notably Peter, he does not avoid Judas's betrayal. To the contrary, Luke gives the clearest characterization of Judas's acts as evil, Satan-inspired treachery in the New Testament. Luke's first mention of Judas is in the listing of the Twelve chosen by Jesus from among the disciples,<sup>8</sup> whom he named apostles (6:12–16), and he identifies Judas specifically as one of the twelve in all four places where he is mentioned in the Gospel and Acts.<sup>9</sup> Luke includes the epithet Ἰσκαριώθ<sup>10</sup> for Judas, but there is no sign that he intends the reader to understand its meaning, or that he uses the name in any significant way.<sup>11</sup> Judas's identity in Luke, as in all the gospels, is

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<sup>8</sup> Klauck argues that the historical and theological problems raised by Judas's membership in the Twelve argue strongly for its historical foundation (Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 37–39). Guenther argues that the incoherent depiction of the Twelve in the early sources and their absence from any meaningful role in the early church points to their invention by the early church (Heinz O. Guenther, *The Footprints of Jesus' Twelve in Early Christian Traditions: A Study in the Meaning of Religious Symbolism*, AUS 7 [New York: Lang, 1985], 27–31). In a lengthy footnote, Guenther acknowledges the difficulty that the presence of Judas in their number makes for his argument (*The Footprints of Jesus' Twelve in Early Christian Traditions: A Study in the Meaning of Religious Symbolism*, 50 n. 134), but argues that the early church created the intimate relationship between Jesus and Judas as an apologetic move based on the interpretation of Ps 41:9.

<sup>9</sup> Within the Gospel, this is traditional material that Luke shares with Mark and Matthew. The expression “one of the Twelve” (εἰς τῶν δώδεκα) is virtually a title for Judas that occurs at the moment of Jesus's arrest in all three Synoptic Gospels (Luke 22:47; Mark 14:43; Matt 26:47; cf. John 6:71). Similarly, when Judas goes to the authorities to offer to hand over Jesus, both Mark and Matthew again use the expression εἰς τῶν δώδεκα (Mark 14:10; Matt 26:14), while Luke changes the expression slightly to “being of the number of the Twelve” (ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα; Luke 22:3). In this regard, there is nothing original to Luke's characterization, as he simply makes use of a well-established identification of Judas. But he again references Judas as one of the Twelve in Acts 1:16–17, where he would certainly have greater freedom to choose his own characterization. There, Peter describes Judas as one “numbered with us and was allotted a share in this ministry” (κατηριθμημένος ἦν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης, Acts 1:17).

<sup>10</sup> There is some textual variation, as some important manuscripts have a Hellenized version of the name (Ἰσκαριωτην, attested by the second hand of Sinaiticus, along with Alexandrinus and Marcion). The evidence for the accepted reading, however, is very strong. It appears in the first hand in Sinaiticus, along with Vaticanus and the late second or early third century P<sup>4</sup>. Since Matthew has ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης, the Lucan variant can be read as a harmonization or a conversion to the more familiar Greek form (Fitzmyer, *Luke I–IX*, 620; Joan E. Taylor, “The Name ‘Iskarioth’ [Iscaiot],” *JBL* 129 [2010]: 368).

<sup>11</sup> In Luke's list of apostles, the name Iscaiot is significant in order to distinguish him from another Judas whom Luke has in the list of apostles, but who is not in Mark or Matthew (Luke

exclusively connected to his role in the death of Jesus, and Luke ties that to his collusion with Satan that makes him a traitor deserving of divine justice.

All four canonical gospels introduce Judas in terms of his role in Jesus's death, but Luke makes a significant change in his source materials to identify Judas specifically as a traitor (ὃς ἐγένετο προδότης, Luke 6:16).<sup>12</sup> The word προδότης that Luke uses to introduce the character of Judas in the list of the Twelve demonstrates the negative view he takes of Judas. Luke makes a significant alteration in his source material and in the overall tradition, one that carries a fair amount of weight, given the uniformity in the language of παραδίωμι in the gospel accounts. In Mark and Matthew's lists of the Twelve, they both describe Judas as the one "who handed him over" (ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν

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6:16, apparently taking the place of Thaddaeus in Mark 3:18 and Matt 10:3, but cf. John 14:22, ("Judas, not the Iscariot"). The actual meaning of the name Iscariot has been much discussed. In a recent article, Taylor identifies five leading proposals: 1. a translation of the Hebrew אִישׁ קֶרְיֹת, meaning "a man from Qarioth," 2. a Hebrew or Aramaic version of the Latin *sicarius*, from "sica" (dagger), 3. "the liar" or "the false one," from the Aramaic and Hebrew root שקר, 4. "red head" from the Aramaic root סקר, or 5. from the Aramaic root סכר or סגר meaning "to deliver" (Taylor, "The Name 'Iskarioth' [Iscariot]," 368–70). Taylor herself suggests a novel reading based on the primary sense of the Aramaic root סכר, meaning "to choke," associating it with the tradition of his death by hanging. The first option, from Judas's place of origin, is generally regarded as the most likely (see Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 620; Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 546–47; Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 39–45), which would make Judas the only one of the Twelve from Judea. (According to Fitzmyer, Kerioth-Hezron was a village about twelve miles south of Hebron [*Luke I-IX*, 620], though Taylor is doubtful about the possibility of identifying the location of such a place ["The Name 'Iskarioth' [Iscariot]," 371–72].) Bovon concludes that we simply cannot say how Luke understood the name (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 210), even though Luke seems to have some knowledge of the meaning of names, correctly rendering the surname of another apostle, Simon "the Cananaean" (ὁ Καναναῖος, Mark 3:18, Matt 10:4) as Simon "who was called the Zealot" (τὸν καλούμενον ζηλωτὴν, Luke 6:15), based on the Aramaic זְהֻלָּה, meaning "zealous one" (Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 545; Klassen, *Judas*, 34). Even less certain would be the ability of Luke's Greek speaking readers to understand the name without translation. Were the name of any significance to establishing something about the character of Judas, Luke would have had to call attention to it. As far as we can know, Luke is simply giving the name of a notorious character whose name is established in the historical record.

<sup>12</sup> Mark and Matthew include this in their list of apostles (Mark 3:13–19 and Matt 10:1–4). John does not have a list of apostles, but describes his character at his first mention in John 6:71, where he calls him "one of the Twelve" and says that he "was going to betray him" (οὗτος γὰρ ἐμελλεν παραδίδόναι αὐτόν). In the preceding verse, John has Jesus call him a devil.

αὐτόν, Mark 3:19; Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης ὁ καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτόν, Matthew 10:4). Luke's change is more than a historical claim, but is his interpretation of Judas's role in Jesus's death that he received as part of the tradition.<sup>13</sup> In order to understand how important Luke's change is, it is helpful to consider recent scholarly debate that questions the characterization of Judas as a traitor and his act as a "betrayal," particularly the work Klassen and Klauck who use arguments based on vocabulary, history, and theology.

Klassen seeks to get behind the traditional understanding of Judas as a traitor by examining the New Testament evidence strictly, stripping away the coloring of later, prejudicial interpretations of Judas. He argues that within the New Testament, there is no evidence (except for one passage, Luke 6:16) that the early church saw Judas's act negatively as a betrayal. Klassen wants to understand Judas rather as a faithful disciple and loyal friend of Jesus who followed his master's wishes with tragic results. He argues that παραδίδομι ought to be understood in the neutral and common sense of simply handing over, without the negative connotation of betrayal, which he argues has "no linguistic basis—in classical Greek, in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, in Josephus or patristic sources—for a translation of 'betray' to describe what Judas did."<sup>14</sup> In the earliest written tradition, found in Mark, he finds that "Judas comes out relatively well" as a "faithful disciple," with "no evidence that there was any alienation between Judas and Jesus."<sup>15</sup> Klassen likewise reads the portrait of Judas in Matthew as a fundamentally positive one, in which Judas carries out "the wish and command of his master."<sup>16</sup> In his reading, Judas's tragic end is not condemned by Matthew, who though he has not completely sorted out the meaning of Judas's act, wants to make a "memorial

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<sup>13</sup> Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 45.

<sup>14</sup> Klassen, *Judas*, 57.

<sup>15</sup> Klassen, *Judas*, 91.

<sup>16</sup> Klassen, *Judas*, 106.

for his fellow disciple.”<sup>17</sup> In this way, Klassen shows that he is only willing to read the biblical evidence in a way that supports his effort to recast Judas as Jesus’s friend instead of betrayer.

Klassen brings this reading even more implausibly to Luke’s account of Judas. He mentions Luke’s description of Judas as a traitor (προδοτής) in Luke 6:16 but does not seriously engage the challenge this makes to his overall benign reading of παραδίδομι. He dismisses the significance of Satan for Luke (he “has only a slight interest in Satan”), and asserts that “none other than God handed Jesus over to his death. All others were but minor players acting at the direction of the Lord of all.”<sup>18</sup> He argues on the basis of its usage in papyri that the meaning of ἐξομολογέω in 22:6 is not “agreed” as usually translated, but “rendering a formal complaint.”<sup>19</sup> Therefore, Judas wanted only to give Jesus the chance to argue his case before the Jewish authorities, and in fact it was Judas who was betrayed by his Jewish collaborators who turned Jesus over to foreign powers. He also argues that Jesus’s words to Judas in the garden (“Judas, would you betray/hand over the Son of Man with a kiss?”, 22:48) contain no rebuke and are even “a gentle tease between two friends.”<sup>20</sup> He claims that Jesus’s prayer on the cross, “Father, forgive them, for they do not know that they are doing” (22:34), must include Judas, and so Luke does not condemn Judas, but rather includes him in this act of forgiveness. He concludes, “Anyone who wishes to make of Judas a villain who ‘betrayed’ Jesus in the usual meaning of that word cannot call on Luke as a witness.”<sup>21</sup>

Klauck argues similarly to Klassen that Judas has been misunderstood and maligned by the distortion that comes from mistranslating παραδίδομι.<sup>22</sup> Klauck is more

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<sup>17</sup> Klassen, *Judas*, 106.

<sup>18</sup> Klassen, *Judas*, 120.

<sup>19</sup> Klassen, *Judas*, 121.

<sup>20</sup> Klassen, *Judas*, 124.

<sup>21</sup> Klassen, *Judas*, 128.

<sup>22</sup> Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 161–73.

restrained in his claims about Judas, carefully respecting the limits of what is shown in the sources. He concludes that no conclusion is possible about Judas's motives, but that greed could not have been the reason. He supposes that Judas departed from the band of apostles after Easter and disappeared from their knowledge and memory, leading to his vilification. Klauck cautions both against the theological development that has demonized Judas and a false romanticism that rehabilitates him entirely. Judas had a choice, but Judas's choice is unfairly categorized when a cosmic conflict between God and Satan is overlaid upon it. Judas was one of the apostles like the rest, committed to Jesus and enjoying his confidence, merely proving unreliable at the moment of Jesus's passion.

For our purposes it is crucial to understand the bias Luke that bears against Judas and not eliminate it out of either historical or theological concerns. In fact, Luke's portrayal of Judas is strongly negative. Klauck is closer to the truth than Klassen: he correctly sees that Judas is maligned in the canonical gospels, and particularly by Luke, while Klassen tries to read the gospels in implausible ways so that they support his claim. Klassen has not correctly understood Luke's presentation and understanding of Judas, for he maligns Judas in the most severe possible way by making him a traitor and agent of Satan.

Luke deliberately chooses to use the word *προδότης*, meaning traitor, to introduce Judas. There is wide usage in classical Greek that attests to its highly pejorative sense.<sup>23</sup> In Hellenistic Greek, Josephus uses it with regard to Pharaoh, placing him in opposition to God: he “was matching himself against God as a deliberate traitor to the cause of

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<sup>23</sup> Three prominent examples illustrate the meaning of “traitor.” In Herodotus, the Phocians refuse to ally themselves with the Thessalians on the side of the Persians against the Athenians, because “they would not be traitors to Greece” (*ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδοῖται τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, *Hist.* 8.30; my translation). Likewise, the Athenians refuse an alliance with the Persians because it “would not be well for Athenians to become traitors” (*τῶν προδοῖτας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι*, *Hist.* 8.144; my translation). Thucydides has Cleon, in his speech during the Myltenian debate, urge the Athenians not to relent in their punishment of the rebels and so “be traitors to your own cause” (*Μὴ οὖν προδοῖται γένεσθε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*, 3.40.7; LCL [Smith]).

virtue” (ἀντεφιλονίκηει τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκὼν προδότης ἐγένετο, *A.J.* 2.307, LCL [Thackeray]).<sup>24</sup> Likewise in the books of Maccabees, Menelaus is a traitor who aligns himself with the enemy of God and the people, leading the conqueror Antiochus into the Temple (2 Macc 5:15).<sup>25</sup> Within the New Testament, the word προδοτής occurs in two other places. Luke uses it in Acts in the same way he applies it to Judas, characterizing those who opposed Jesus as traitors and murderers responsible for his death (οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδότης καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε, Acts 7:52). In 2 Timothy, it is used in a vice list, falling between “haters of the good” and “reckless ones” (ἀφιλάγαθοι and προδότης προπετεῖς, 2 Tim 3:3–4). These references show how strong προδοτής is as a condemnatory epithet. Whatever room Klassen and Klauck might carve out for an alternative reading of Judas by holding παραδίδωμι to the strict sense of its meaning as “to hand over,” Luke makes the contrary point by deliberately using this unambiguous word to characterize Judas.

By using προδοτής to introduce Judas in place of παραδίδωμι at his first appearance, Luke not only establishes this negative reading of Judas’s actions from the

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<sup>24</sup> Josephus also uses προδοτής with respect to the villain Eurycles (*J.W.* 1.518), Fabatus who was traitor to the secrets of Syllaues (*J.W.* 1.576), as a calumny against himself by those who ambushed Ptolemy and who wished to keep the plunder (*J.W.* 2.598–599), the deserter who betrayed Jotapata to Vespasian (*J.W.* 3.322), in justifying his own surrender to Nicanor as the action of the servant of God’s will and not as a traitor (μαρτύρομαι δὲ ὡς οὐ προδότης ἀλλὰ σὸς εἶμι διάκονος, *J.W.* 3.354), as the false claim by the Zealots that the murdered captives in Jerusalem had been traitors by conferring with the Romans over the betrayal of Jerusalem (διαλεχθῆναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις περὶ παραδόσεως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ προδότας ἀνηρηκέναι τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔφασκον, *J.W.* 4.146), by the high priest Jesus in defending his conduct against the Idumaeans who accused him of collaboration with the Romans (*J.W.* 4:254) and in Simon’s reply to him (*J.W.* 4.280), with reference to those escaping Jerusalem to go over to the Romans (*J.W.* 4.379), and to describe Caecina, the general of Vitellius who abandoned him to side with Antonius (*J.W.* 4.641). In *The Life*, Josephus again uses the word to describe malicious accusations against him of being a traitor (*Life* 133, 135), in Josephus’s speech about the Tiberians seeking to submit to the Roman king (*Life* 386), and to describe an accusation against him by the Romans as their betrayer (*Life* 416),

<sup>25</sup> Also in Maccabees, Ptolemy is called a traitor by the friends of King Eurpator for being kind to the Jews (2 Macc 10:13). Maccabeus calls the money hungry Simon and his men traitors for accepting a bribe to allow the enemy to escape a siege (2 Macc 10:22).

very beginning, but shapes the reading of the verb παραδίδωμι in the rest of the narrative. Luke’s change is so deliberate and at variance from the received tradition that its importance must be carefully reckoned.<sup>26</sup> It is almost as if Luke had heard the benign interpretations of Judas’s actions made by ancient and modern writers and wished to forestall such a reading by establishing from the beginning the character of Judas and his behavior. Every time that the reader sees this verb in the context of Judas, it will be read in light of Luke’s initial characterization of Judas as a traitor. In light of Luke’s clear identification of Judas as a traitor, the translation of παραδίδωμι as “to betray” is the better choice in Luke’s Gospel, despite the arguments marshalled by Klauck and Klassen in favor of a benign rendering as “to hand over.”

Luke’s use of the verb γίνομαι with Judas as a traitor is also instructive. It is certainly possible to read it as a simple copulative verb, virtually equivalent to ἐμί.<sup>27</sup> Generally, though, the verb γίνομαι has a more dynamic sense of “becoming” in relationship to the more static εἰμί.<sup>28</sup> In the overall context of Luke’s narrative, this is the arc of Judas’s life, moving from an apostle to a traitor, or in the language of apocalypticism, from a son of light to a son of darkness (cf. Luke 22:53). Luke is not

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<sup>26</sup> Most commentators seem to overlook the significance of this variation. Fitzmyer, Bovon, and Bock all make no specific mention of it.

<sup>27</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. “γίνομαι.”

<sup>28</sup> *BDAG*, s.v. “γίνομαι.” Indeed, this simple copulative sense is generally the meaning in past tenses. But there is always some ambiguity, as can be seen in classical and Hellenistic use when it is used with προδότης. In Thucydides, Cleon urges the Athenians to harshly punish the Mytlenians by appealing to them, “Do not, then, be traitors to your own cause” (Μὴ οὖν προδῶται γένησθε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, 3.40.7; LCL [Smith]). In context, this can just as easily be an admonition not to *become* traitors. Another example is in Herodotus, when the Athenians respond to Spartan fears that they might make an alliance with the Persians by saying, “It would not be well for Athenians to be/become traitors (τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι, *Hist.* 8, 144; my translation). It is an exhortation to not become traitors. Josephus likewise uses this construction on many occasions, and in all these cases, the nuance of *become* is justified. So in *Jewish Antiquities*, he says that “Pharaoh willingly became a traitor to virtue” (καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκὼν προδότης ἐγένετο, *Ant.* 2:307; my translation). Later he says that “one of the conspirators became a traitor” (τινος τῶν συνωμοτῶν προδότου γεγονότος (*Ant.* 19:61, my translation, cf. Feldman in LCL: “had turned traitor”). Cf. *J.W.* 3:38, *Life* 1:135; 1:386.

hesitant to identify Judas as one of the Twelve, part of Jesus's inner circle and one chosen by him to participate in his mission, which only aggravates the fact that he defects from that role, aligns himself with Satan, and thus becomes a traitor. In no respect does Luke's use of γίνομαι mitigate the blame assigned to Judas. If anything, it heightens it, as Judas goes from one side of the apocalyptic conflict between God and Satan to the other.

Luke's small change to the traditional identification of Judas must therefore be appreciated as an important narrative point. Luke sees Judas as a traitor on the basis of his cooperation with Satan, who works against Jesus and the kingdom of God. In Luke's apocalyptic worldview, one's alignment with darkness or light is a fundamental question, and Judas becomes a traitor by going from the side of Jesus to becoming the agent of Satan. By placing this verdict of Judas as a traitor at the very beginning of the story of Judas, Luke thereby shapes the way in which Judas will be read and understood thenceforth.

#### **4.2. Agent of Satan**

Judas's betrayal takes the form of becoming an agent of Satan in orchestrating Jesus's passion. Beyond simply changing sides in the apocalyptic struggle at the heart of his plot, Judas is essential in Satan's most decisive attack on Jesus. In Luke's view, Satan is the primary agent assaulting Jesus and his disciples in the passion, initiating it by entering into Judas and empowering him to effectively accomplish what previously could not be done. Luke is the first extant writer to give Satan such a role explicitly in the passion, making it one of the most notable features of his Gospel. Previous to Satan's entry, the plots of Jesus's opponents to destroy him were ineffective. Satan's entry into Judas empowers Jesus's opponents to carry out their designs, thereby establishing that they are working in collusion with Satan: this is the hour and power of darkness (22:53). Luke does not specify clearly the mechanism by which Satan interacts with Judas nor Judas's precise motives. He is clear, however, that although Judas acts on behalf of Satan,

he retains his responsibility for his evil deed. The purpose of specifying Satan's role is to amplify Judas's guilt, not diminish it.

#### **4.2.1. Opposition to Jesus in the Gospel of Luke**

In Luke's narrative, Jesus garners opposition from human powers as the narrative advances, but Luke persistently shows those human powers as ineffective in their opposition to Jesus until the point of entry (the "καιρός") of Satan into the narrative. Having reserved the conflict with Satan in the desert for the first account of opposition to Jesus, Luke shows the opposition of the people of Nazareth to be the first human opposition that Jesus faces (5:28–30). As we saw in chapter two when considering the way Luke shapes his plot, this is a striking narrative divergence from Matthew, who shows human powers arrayed against Jesus from his very birth. A close reading of Luke, untainted by expectations generated by Matthew and Mark, shows that Luke slows down the development of human opposition to Jesus and even deemphasizes it. While Kingsbury notes this, he does not seriously account for it and wrongly concludes that religious authorities are Jesus's primary opponents in Luke's plot.<sup>29</sup> Luke notes growing human opposition to Jesus in the narrative, which grows in frequency as the story progresses. Jesus's healing of the man with a withered hand on the Sabbath (6:6–11) elicits fury from unnamed parties who were discussing with each other what they might do to Jesus (διελάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τί ἂν ποιήσαιεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, Luke 6:11), which significantly tones down his Markan source, where the Pharisees and Herodians conferred about "how to destroy him" (ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν, Mark 3:6; cf. Matt 12:14). Luke's use of the imperfect διελάλουν suggests that this opposition was ongoing. However, while Luke makes a variety of references to the questioning and even rejection of Jesus and his message by various parties, he does not specify who is opposing Jesus until much

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<sup>29</sup> Kingsbury, "The Plot of Luke's Story of Jesus," 40–42.

later in the narrative. After Jesus savagely reproaches the Pharisees and lawyers in 11:37–52, Luke identifies the opposition to Jesus as coming from the scribes and the Pharisees. In Luke’s expression, they “began to be very hostile and to provoke him about many things” (ἤρξαντο οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι δεινῶς ἐνέχειν καὶ ἀποστοματίζειν αὐτὸν περὶ πλειόνων, Luke 11:53–54). From this point, Luke shows Jesus in open conflict with the Pharisees and other religious figures, primarily in the sense of ongoing dispute and dialogue about religious matters (12:1; 13:14–17; 14:1; 15:2; 16:14–15; 17:20–21).<sup>30</sup> But there is no desire or plot to destroy Jesus.<sup>31</sup>

Once Jesus enters Jerusalem and begins teaching in the Temple, the conflict intensifies.<sup>32</sup> Now, for the first time, the chief priests and the scribes and the leaders of the people seek to destroy him (οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ λαοῦ, Luke 19:47). This is a major escalation in the conflict between Jesus and the religious authorities, the first indication that there is a lethal threat against Jesus.<sup>33</sup> Luke has significantly delayed this moment from its first appearance in Mark, where the Pharisees and Herodians hold counsel on how to destroy him (ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν) after Jesus heals the man with the withered hand in Mark 3:1–6 (in Matthew, it is Herod who first tries to destroy Jesus as an infant in 2:13). But at the very moment that Luke escalates the conflict from theological disputes into murderous designs, he also calls attention to the powerlessness of Jesus’s opponents: “they were not

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<sup>30</sup> For a more detailed overview of the development of the opposition of religious authorities to Jesus, see Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 21–28, 79–107.

<sup>31</sup> One exception to this is the strange warning from the Pharisees in 13:31 that Herod wants to kill Jesus. But this is balanced in the passion narrative, when Luke inserts a hearing before Herod where Herod merely returns Jesus to Pilate (23:8–12).

<sup>32</sup> For a detailed treatment of this period of conflict in the gospel of Luke, see Blake R. Grangaard, *Conflict and Authority in Luke 19:47 to 21:4*, StBibLit (New York: Lang, 1999). Grangaard follows Kingsbury in identifying the conflict with the religious authorities as the main element of the plot in Luke’s gospel.

<sup>33</sup> Grangaard, *Conflict and Authority*, 189.

finding anything to do” (οὐχ εὔρισκον τὸ τί ποιήσωσιν, Luke 19:48). The use of the imperfect εὔρισκον again indicates that this was an ongoing inability to carry out what they desired to do against Jesus.

After Jesus tells the parable of the wicked tenants of the vineyard, who kill their landlord’s son, Luke again calls attention to both the murderous intentions of the scribes and Pharisees and to their ineffectiveness. He says that they “sought to lay hands on him in that hour, but they feared the people” (20:19). In what follows, Luke again shows their opposition and its ineffectiveness, as they watch him and send spies with the desire “to hand him over to the rule and the power of the governor” (παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, Luke 20:20). They again fail, as Luke says they were not able (or, strong enough) to catch him in the presence of the people (οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐπιλαβέσθαι αὐτοῦ ῥήματος ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ, Luke 20:26). The introduction of παραδίδωμι here is important as a gesture to what is coming next. As Grangaard notes, the narrative purpose of these conflicts is to “prepare the reader for the decisive role Satan must play in bringing about Jesus’ death.”<sup>34</sup> After the ineffectual efforts of Jesus’s human opponents to hand Jesus over, the power of Satan will prove effective in working the handing over of Jesus. Having thoroughly and even repetitively made this point, Luke next shows the entry of Satan into the effort as the decisive factor in moving it forward.

This brief résumé of Luke’s presentation of opposition to Jesus in the Gospel illustrates the importance that he attaches to the role of Satan in the death of Jesus. Satan opposed Jesus at the very beginning of his adult life. The middle of Jesus’s life is occupied by an ongoing confrontation and defeat of the powers of Satan, in which Jesus’s power is repeatedly shown superior. The human opposition to Jesus grows and develops during the course of that ministry, but in a slower fashion from what is portrayed in

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<sup>34</sup> Grangaard, *Conflict and Authority*, 198–99.

Matthew and Mark, only becoming murderous opposition when Jesus arrives in Jerusalem. Now, the end of Jesus's life is brought on by the decisive role played by Satan in accomplishing what Jesus's mere human opposition was unable to do.

#### 4.2.2. Satan's Role

The turning point of Luke's narrative arrives when Satan returns to take an active role in the narrative. This is the "decisive moment," the *καιρός*, to which Luke gestured at the end of the temptation narrative. Luke begins by again emphasizing the impotence of Jesus's opponents who are unable to execute their plans (22:2). Their murderous plans, which Luke has been relating now for several chapters, will finally be effected, not through their own power, but through Satan's intervention and the cooperation of Judas. The key moment, the turning point in the plot, occurs when Luke says that "Satan entered into Judas called Iscariot, who was of the number of the Twelve" (22:3).

Luke's Gospel is the first extant source that attributes Judas's betrayal to the influence of Satan. Neither Matthew or Mark mention or even allude to Satan playing a role in the passion.<sup>35</sup> While John does include the same phrase to indicate Judas's role in the passion, he does not make it the critical turning point in the narrative that Luke does.<sup>36</sup> The agreement between Luke and John complicates the attribution of Satan's role

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<sup>35</sup> Pagels claims that Matthew and Mark imply "the connection between Jesus' Jewish enemies and the 'evil one,' the devil," but this is nowhere in the text (Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 89). She can only be reading the claims of Luke and John into the other gospels.

<sup>36</sup> John actually mentions the role of the devil or Satan twice with regard to Judas's actions. He uses a different expression at the opening of his Last Supper narrative, saying that "the devil had already put it in the heart of Judas Iscariot, son of Simon, to hand him over" (τοῦ διαβόλου ἤδη βεβληκότος εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἵνα παραδοῖ αὐτὸν Ἰούδας Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου, John 13:2). The expression he shares with Luke, that "Satan entered into Judas" (τότε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ὁ σατανᾶς, John 13:27), is then in the midst of the last supper for John as a kind of development and escalation of the drama. This language is not characteristic for John. It is the only time he uses the noun *σατανᾶς* (he uses *διάβολος* three times and an analogous expression *ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου* three times as well). John's placement of Satan's entry into Judas implies an escalation of Satan's activity at this point: from putting the idea into Judas's heart to actually coming into Judas to guide his action.

to Luke's originality, and several explanations are possible. It seems unlikely that the two evangelists would have independently inserted this detail, especially given that the language is not characteristic for John. Given John's later date, it is possible that John learned it from Luke, but scholars have mostly concluded that John did not know the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>37</sup> The most likely explanation is that there was a common tradition known and used by both Luke and John. The broad correspondence between the passion accounts in the gospels has led many critics to consider the possibility of an independent passion narrative.<sup>38</sup> Similarities between Luke and John, of which the mention of Satan is a prominent example, give particular force to these considerations. Soards, in considering these possible explanations, concludes that it is most probable that Luke and John both knew of some traditions outside the Markan account, but not a complete written account, as that would require more correspondence than we see between Luke and John.<sup>39</sup> It is quite plausible, however, especially given the importance of the passion in early Christian self-understanding, that these writers made use of shared traditions originating outside of written sources. None of this diminishes the fact that Luke is the first evangelist to incorporate Satan into the passion, a deliberate choice that is part of a larger narrative and theological interest.

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<sup>37</sup> Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (I–XII)*, AB 29 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), xvi–xvii. Beasley-Murray provides a more detailed and nuanced assessment in which he favors Moody Smith's proposal that while John did not use the Synoptics as a source, he knew of their contents and took them into account when composing his own Gospel (George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 2nd ed., WBC 36 [Dallas: Word, 1999], xxv–xxxvii). Martyn also holds to the independence of John while complimenting the work of Frans Neiryck, who he says has "vigorously and impressively revived" the thesis of Johannine dependence on the Synoptics (J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology of the Fourth Gospel*, 3rd ed. [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003], 31 n.5; citing Frans Neiryck, "John and the Synoptics," in *Évangile de Jean: sources, rédaction, théologie*, ed. M. de Jonge [Gembloux: Duculot, 1977], 73–106).

<sup>38</sup> John Nolland, *Luke 18:35 – 24:53*, WBC 35C (Dallas: Word, 1993), 1023.

<sup>39</sup> Marion L. Soards, *The Passion According to Luke: The Special Material of Luke 22*, JSNTSup (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1987), 49–50.

Regardless of the origin of this material, Luke’s decision to include Satan here is an original and creative addition to his Gospel. Luke mentions Satan’s role because it is an important part of the story that he wants to tell, and not because the tradition requires him to do so. By attributing Judas’s action to the influence of Satan, Luke is not only interpreting the passion but framing the entire narrative as a conflict between Satan and Jesus. His aims are literary and theological: to show Jesus’s passion as the crucial episode in the fundamental conflict between the kingdom of God and the authority of Satan. The framework that Luke established through his construction of the identity and mission of Jesus in the early chapters, followed by the conflict established in the temptations and amplified in Jesus’s ministry, is now brought to the conclusion suggested by the reference to a subsequent *καίρός* at the end of the temptations (4:13).

#### **4.2.3. Satan’s Entry into Judas**

For Luke, the expression that Satan “entered into Judas” (*εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν*, Luke 22:3) raises the question of how Luke understands this entry. The narrative shows that while Judas acted as Satan’s agent, thereby effecting what mere human agency had failed to accomplish, Judas nonetheless retained his agency and so his culpability for the betrayal.<sup>40</sup> Judas’s responsibility can be most clearly seen through his immediate absence from the Twelve and his ignominious death in Acts that is constructed as a punitive miracle. Modern questions about the psychology and motivation of Judas appear not to be Luke’s, however. The sense of this entry into Judas nonetheless demands some consideration. To this end, we shall look at the particular sense of *εἰσέρχομαι* in this

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<sup>40</sup> Noack maintains that Satan was not interested in Judas’s personal destruction, but that his only interest was to effect Jesus’s death and disrupt God’s plan of salvation (Noack, *Satanás und Sotería*, 91). While it is certainly true that Satan exploited Judas for his malevolent ends, Luke does show interest in Judas as an immoral character through his narration of the consequences of his deed. Since Luke elsewhere gives Satan the role of opposing faith and includes the apostles in Satan’s attack at the passion, Noack’s unnecessarily excludes Satan’s interest in Judas alongside his opposition to Jesus.

context, but also the equivalent phenomenon of the entry of the Holy Spirit into characters in Luke's story.

Luke uses the verb εἰσέρχομαι to describe the entry of Satan into Judas. While the primary sense of this verb in both biblical and classical Greek is spatial, it is also used figuratively in a number of religious senses.<sup>41</sup> For our purposes, the most important of these is to describe the entry of a spiritual being into a person.<sup>42</sup> Examples of this in Hellenistic literature show a number of different relationships between the spiritual being and the person entered. Josephus uses the verb in relation to the spirit of God entering into prophets, and says that once the divine spirit has entered into a person, nothing he says is his own (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι φθάσαντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνου ἡμέτερον, *Ant.* 4.122). A slightly different scenario occurs in the Testament of Solomon, where a demon enters into an object and takes complete control by making it move and speak. A servant of Solomon entraps a demon in a wineskin, and when the demon enters into the skin (εἰσηλθεν εἰς τὸν ἀσκὸν, T. Sol. 22:13) it makes the skin walk and talk (22:17–19). A different sense of entry into a human person is found in the Apocalypse of Sedrach.<sup>43</sup> Sedrach attributes the wickedness of humankind to God allowing Adam to be deceived by the devil, and questions why God did not simply destroy the devil. He says that the devil enters as smoke into the hearts of human beings and teaches them to sin (αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καπνὸς εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδάσκει αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν, 5:5). Though questions of dating precludes this as a parallel to or influence on Luke's writing, it corresponds to an important point in Luke. It describes Satan entering

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<sup>41</sup> Johannes Schneider, "εἰσέρχομαι," *TDNT* 2:676–678.

<sup>42</sup> BDAG, s.v. "εἰσέρχομαι."

<sup>43</sup> The origins of this work are obscure, and it undoubtedly shows Christian influence. Charlesworth says that it "has not been adequately researched." He reviews the few opinions on its origins, which all speak to a late final form (fifth or even tenth century), though a strong case can be made that the apocalypse section had its origins in a relatively early Jewish text from the first five centuries (James H. Charlesworth, "Sedrach, Apocalypse Of," *ABD* 5:1066).

into human beings and teaching them to sin, while making it clear that this does not absolve them of moral responsibility. This corresponds exactly to Luke's understanding of Judas, who retains his responsibility, not acting as one demonically possessed, but as an agent acting with the power of Satan.

The verb εἰσέρχομαι occurs in the gospels as well. Mark uses it in his account of the healing of the Gerasene demoniac, language that Luke adopts but Matthew does not. The unclean spirits are said to leave the man and enter into the swine (καὶ ἐξελθόντα τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα εἰσῆλθον εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, Mark 5:13; cf. Luke 8:33, where the language is identical save the addition of ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). Luke adds the expression to Mark's narrative, identifying the demon as "Legion, for many demons had entered into him" (λεγιών, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν δαιμόνια πολλὰ εἰς αὐτόν, Luke 8:30). In each case here, where Luke is using the expression with respect to the entry into a man and into swine, it is evident that the effect of the demons is the total corruption of the agency of the thing entered, be it human or beast, leading to their destruction. The verb occurs again in a passage shared between Matthew and Luke in the double-tradition teaching about the expelled demon who returns with more demons to afflict the man. After going off and finding "seven other spirits more evil than himself," they enter and dwell in the man they had originally left (καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ, Luke 11:26). Luke does not specify anything about the nature or effects of the original or later possession, except to indicate its harmfulness.

Luke uses the same linguistic root and imagery to speak of liberation from demonic forces and unclean spirits (and thus from the power of Satan), using ἐξέρχομαι to indicate the departure of evil spirits from a person. This language is used in Jesus's first exorcism (4:31–37), in which Jesus's command to the unclean spirit is to be silent and come out of the man (φιμώθητι καὶ ἔξελθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, Luke 4:35). The people's cry of amazement is at Jesus's power and authority that his command to the unclean spirits is

obeyed, “and they came out” (ἐξέρχονται, Lk. 4:36). The language is likewise used of the seven demons who had come out of Mary Magdalene (8:2), in the case of the Gerasene demoniac (8:29, 33, 35, 38), with the dumb demon (11:14), and in the saying about the demon who returns to the man with seven more demons worse than himself (11:24). These examples give little insight into the dynamics or psychology of the exit, or entry, of a demonic force into a person. In all these cases, it is a demon that is in question, and not Satan himself, raising the possibility that in the case of Judas, something different is going on.

While these parallels establish a background for Luke’s expression that Satan entered into Judas, they do not establish the mechanism of Satan’s influence over Judas. In fact, the narrative information supplied by Luke does not correspond to the kind of possession that these other examples illustrate. Satan’s entry into Judas is, in the New Testament, a unique event. It is the only time that Luke (or any other gospel writer, save for the parallel expression in John) that Satan himself (as opposed to a demon or unclean spirit) enters into a person. There is no indication that Satan displaces Judas’s identity or agency by taking over his body as a kind of instrument.<sup>44</sup> Rather than suffering torment and affliction, as do victims of demonic possession, Luke shows Judas quite in possession of his mind and actions. His fellow apostles notice nothing different about him, as is shown by their complete ignorance of his intentions and their failure to identify him as the one referred to by Jesus as his betrayer (22:21–23). Judas behaves normally not only at the Last Supper, but also when he arrives in the garden and draws near to kiss Jesus. In order to understand what Luke means by Satan’s entry into Judas, it will help to consider two parallels where Luke sees the influence of the Holy Spirit and the cooperation of the apostles and disciples with the work of Jesus.

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<sup>44</sup> Contra Crump, *Jesus the Intercessor*, 164–65. Cf. Noack, *Satanás und Sotería*, 91; Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, 96.

#### 4.2.3.1. Filled with the Holy Spirit

Though Satan's entry into Judas is a unique event in Luke's Gospel, he shows many characters being filled with the Holy Spirit and thus acting under the influence of God and with his power.<sup>45</sup> This analogous circumstance provides the best model for understanding the modality by which Satan enters and influences Judas. The action of the Holy Spirit is a key Lukan theme, one he returns to repeatedly in both the Gospel and Acts, and the Holy Spirit enlists human agents in God's saving action and endows them with his power. Though Satan acts in a similar manner on just this one occasion, entering Judas to enlist him in his agenda and endow him with his power, Luke's understanding of this with regard to the Holy Spirit can illuminate what happens when Satan enters Judas.

The activity of the Holy Spirit is especially important to Luke in his infancy narrative, where the Holy Spirit drives the narrative through its influence on the characters, who nonetheless remain human actors.<sup>46</sup> John the Baptist is described by the angel as filled with the Holy Spirit: "he will be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb" (καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθήσεται, Luke 1:15).<sup>47</sup> Luke uses similar

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<sup>45</sup> This is also a phenomenon observed in the Old Testament, where the verb εἰσέρχομαι expresses the Spirit of God coming into people. The book of Ezekiel uses the language for the command to the Spirit to come into the dry bones and give them life (καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἔζησαν, Ezek 37:10). The Spirit gives life to the bones, but the bones become a creature with its own identity and agency, even if acting with the power of the Spirit. Ezekiel also uses the unprefix verb ἔρχομαι to speak of the dynamics of prophecy. While the language differs slightly, it is instructive to note that Ezekiel twice uses this language with respect to the Spirit coming upon the prophet before hearing the voice of God and speaking (καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἔζησαν, Ezek 2:2; 3:24). In the book of Wisdom, wisdom is described as entering into a person to dwell there: "for wisdom will not enter into a soul that plots evil or dwell in a body involved in sin" (ὅτι εἰς κακότεχνον ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται σοφία οὐδὲ κατοικήσει ἐν σώματι κατάχρεω ἁμαρτίας, Wis 1:4). This parallel construction between εἰσέρχομαι and κατοικέω mirrors the language in the teaching about the demon who returns with seven more and dwell in the man they had left (Luke 11:26).

<sup>46</sup> For a detailed catalogue of the distinctive Lukan language of being filled with the Holy Spirit, see Turner, *Power from on High*, 165–69.

<sup>47</sup> Luke does not again refer to the Holy Spirit influencing John, perhaps out of concern to make the distinction between John's baptism with water and Jesus's with the Holy Spirit and fire.

vocabulary to announce the activity of the Holy Spirit upon Mary as part of the conception of Jesus, using the verb ἐπέρχομαι, closely related to the verb he chooses for the entry of Satan into Judas. The angel says to Mary that the conception of Jesus will take place when the Holy Spirit comes upon her (πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ, Luke 1:35). Other characters whom Luke shows acting under the Holy Spirit are Elizabeth, who is filled with the Holy Spirit when Mary visits her (καὶ ἐπλήσθη πνεύματος ἁγίου ἡ Ἐλισάβετ, 1:41), and Zechariah is filled with the Holy Spirit before proclaiming his canticle (ἐπλήσθη πνεύματος ἁγίου, 1:67). The prophet Simeon in the Temple is said to have the Holy Spirit upon him and to be in the Spirit (καὶ πνεῦμα ἦν ἅγιον ἐπ’ αὐτόν and καὶ ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, 2:25–27). Finally, Jesus himself acts under the action of the Holy Spirit. After the Holy Spirit comes upon Jesus at his baptism (καὶ καταβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον σωματικῶς, 3:22), it fills him and leads him into the desert for the temptations (Ἰησοῦς δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ὑπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, 4:1) and then into Galilee (ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος, 4:14). There, in the synagogue of Nazareth, when Jesus uses Isaiah to solemnly proclaim his mission as the anointed one, it is in terms of the Holy Spirit: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor” (πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ’ ἐμέ, 4:18). In the opening pages of his Gospel, then, Luke shows every major character acting and speaking under the influence and direction of the Holy Spirit. The language varies a little, but the idea remains the same: human characters who are claimed to be models of faith are influenced as such by the Holy Spirit.

These examples show how Luke conceives of the Holy Spirit bringing the presence and power of God into these people by coming upon them or filling them. Each character in his or her own way speaks and acts on behalf of God, in service of his

designs.<sup>48</sup> Luke thus makes the theological point that God's power is influencing these characters in order to drive events according to his plan. Yet each of these characters retains his or her identity and agency. They are at one and the same time acting under their own agency and doing the will of God. The Holy Spirit lends to their words and deeds a power that is greater than their own, making effective their power and actions. And yet they are viewed as characters of wisdom and righteousness, even if the origin of their virtue and power is ultimately to be found in God through the influence of the Holy Spirit.

Luke sees something similar happening when Satan enters Judas. Judas's identity and agency remain intact, but being filled with the power of Satan, he now speaks and acts in service of his designs. Satan enlists the assistance of Judas in order to prosecute his opposition to Jesus and to the kingdom of God. While Judas is the one acting, Luke views him as doing the will of Satan and acting with his power. It is only through Satan's power in Judas that the plans against Jesus are able to become effective. The decisive element is the power of Satan now acting in the person of Judas. As the Holy Spirit acts in the person of Jesus and other characters to accomplish the plan of God, so Satan acts in the person of Judas to accomplish his malevolent plan. The claim of Satan in the second temptation of Jesus, that power has been given to him and that he can give it to whomever he wants (4:6), is here vindicated. Judas implicitly accepts this offer of power from Satan, and so falls to the temptation that Jesus resisted in the desert. Though the dynamics of the Holy Spirit's action and Satan's entry into Judas are analogous, the

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<sup>48</sup> Scholars such as Menzies have argued that for Luke, the function of the Spirit is to endow and qualify prophetic speech and not to give power for miracles (Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts*, 111–16). But Levison points out that Second Temple understandings of the Spirit were not monolithic, and that within Luke-Acts, the spirit of prophecy includes the power to work miracles (John R. Levison, review of *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology, with Special Reference to Luke-Acts*, *JBL* 113 [1994]: 342–44). Turner says that conceptions of the Spirit as endowing prophetic speech did not therefore discount the role Spirit plays in giving power for mighty works (Turner, *Power from on High*, 118).

effects are different. Those who act under the Holy Spirit are blessed by God, but Judas is destroyed as the result of his alignment with Satan.

Satan's entry into Judas who then assaults Jesus is a narrative parallel to the temptation narrative, which as we have seen is a connection that Luke signals. These are two decisive confrontations between Jesus and Satan that occupy the beginning and end of the narrative. In the first, the Holy Spirit fills Jesus before he engages in conflict with Satan. Jesus, as earlier argued, is the aggressor and decisively defeats Satan. Here, Satan enters Judas and he attacks Jesus, leading to Jesus's passion and death. Satan, acting in Judas, is the now the aggressor, but once more Jesus emerges the victor through the resurrection.

#### **4.2.3.2. Jesus and the disciples**

Though the language is different, there is a parallel between the way that Jesus associates the apostles and disciples with his work and the way that Satan enlists Judas for his own work. Jesus had selected the Twelve, and later the seventy, to participate in his mission (6:13–16, 10:1). He gives them power and authority and sends them out, and while they do Jesus's work with his power, they retain their own identity and agency. Some of that work is directed directly against Satan and his agents (9:1; 10:17).

While Luke uses different language to describe Satan entering Judas, the activity of the apostles and disciples with Jesus's power directed against Satan illuminates how Luke sees Judas acting with Satan's power against Jesus. Satan's entry into Judas prompts Judas to carry out Satan's work, though still using his own person and agency. Judas becomes Satan's apostle, sent to do his work. In the cosmological conflict, in which each person must be aligned, both Jesus and Satan enlist collaborators in their work and endow them with their power. As the apostles and disciples become agents of Jesus, Judas becomes an agent of Satan.

This view of Judas as doing the work of Satan with Satan’s own power places the actions of Judas’s co-conspirators in a different light. Just as Luke wants to associate Judas’s actions with Satan, so the chief priests and officers are seen as participating in the designs of Satan as they plot with Judas. This association is communicated through the narrative, as they agree and delight in the opportunity afforded by Judas. By colluding with the power of Satan, they are able to do what they were earlier unable to do by their own power. This is another instance of Luke’s general view that associates all opposition to Jesus with Satan.<sup>49</sup> As Kingsbury perceptively notes, “In Luke’s story world, to stand in a wrong relationship with God is to be a servant of Satan and incapable of perceiving reality from God’s point of view.”<sup>50</sup> Luke makes this association between those conspiring against Jesus and Satan with the expression: “But this is your hour and the power of darkness.” Pagels goes so far as to say that Luke is identifying them as “Satan incarnate.”<sup>51</sup>

#### **4.2.4. Jesus’s Arrest: The hour and the power of darkness**

Jesus’s words to Judas and the crowd come to arrest him in the garden, “this is your hour and the power of darkness” (ὕμῶν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκούτου, 22:53), are distinctly Lukan<sup>52</sup> and amplify Luke’s view of the passion as the work of Satan. Luke rarely invokes the language of darkness, but he does at key moments, and here it designates this as the darkest moment, one that belongs to Satan.

The expression has a subtle but rich parallelism that joins the nominatives ἡ ὥρα and ἡ ἐξουσία and the genitives ὑμῶν and τοῦ σκούτου. The nominatives indicate that

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<sup>49</sup> Pagels argues that early Christian writers, including Luke, used Satan imagery to demonize their opponents by placing them on the wrong side of an apocalyptic conflict (Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 98). There is little doubt that Luke is intending to do just that in his construction of the passion narrative: all opponents to Jesus are colluding with Satan. His point is a theological and ethical one, however, more than a political one.

<sup>50</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 23.

<sup>51</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 93.

<sup>52</sup> Soards, *The Passion According to Luke*, 64.

this is a time of power, that is to say, a crucial moment weighted with significance. It is the time that Satan has been preparing since his departure in the desert. The genitives specify each term: the hour belongs to the conspirators and the power belongs to darkness, that is to say, Satan. So the conspirators stand in parallel to darkness, meaning Satan, and are thus connected with him. They are acting in concert with and exercising the power of Satan.

The sense of “hour” in this instance is a distinctive one for Luke.<sup>53</sup> Here he gives it a pregnant theological sense, in which it refers to a point in time as much eschatologically as chronologically. The words ὥρα can also mean “the right, fixed, favorable time,” a time fixed for something.<sup>54</sup> For Luke, this is an hour of apocalyptic significance. It is the time foreseen in which the conflict between Jesus and Satan comes to its final confrontation, at which Jesus undergoes the most serious assault from the power of Satan. While the vocabulary is different, the expression connects with Luke’s addition to the end of the temptations, when the devil departed from Jesus ἄχρι χαίρου. The passion is the moment in which Satan returns to again launch an attack against Jesus

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<sup>53</sup> In the New Testament, ὥρα is most often used simply to mark a point in time or a chronological hour, and this is particularly common for Luke in both his gospel and Acts (1:10; 2:38; 7:21; 10:21; 12:12, 39, 46; 13:31; 14:17; 22:59; 23:44; 24:33; Acts 2:15; 3:1; 5:7; 10:3, 9, 30; 16:18, 33; 19:34; 22:13; 23:23; cf. Gerhard Delling, “ὥρα,” *TDNT*, 9:679–680; Giesen, “ὥρα,” *EDNT*, 3:506–508). Oddly, Giesen does not discuss Luke 22:53. Cadbury identifies “(ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ)” as a characteristically Lukan expression (Henry J. Cadbury, “Some Lukan Expressions of Time,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 277).

<sup>54</sup> Delling, “ὥρα,” *TDNT*, 9:675–81. It is used particularly for a time of suffering (as in a woman’s labor, cf. John 16:31), and this use is adopted by New Testament writers, particularly John, to refer to the time of Jesus’s passion and death. Luke uses the word ὥρα in this theological sense to introduce the Last Supper: “And when the hour came...” (καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα, ἀνέπεσεν καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ, Luke 22:14). This is similar to the sense of the term in John (cf. John 13:1, 17:1), for whom the word ὥρα is a theologically rich term referring to the hour of Jesus’s death and associated glorification (BDAG, s.v. “ὥρα”). But Luke does not consistently employ the word in this sense, and the meaning of “hour” in this sentence from the garden in 22:53 has to be distinguished from Johannine use, in that the “hour” referred is not given the positive sense of the glorification of Jesus through his passion, but rather the negative sense of the time when Satan’s power reaches its height (Soards, *The Passion According to Luke*, 33, 75).

and his mission. As is evident from the course of the narrative, it is not that Satan has been absent in the meantime. Rather, Jesus has been engaging in the offensive against him, and the devil and his associated powers have been progressively defeated by Jesus throughout the course of his ministry. The difference in this final hour is that Satan returns to take the initiative and launch a fresh attack on Jesus. Conzelmann’s idea of the period between these two events as a “Satan-free period” misunderstands how Luke sees the role of Satan in the life of Jesus. That period is not a Satan free time, but one in which the initiative lies entirely with Jesus. He is on the offensive, and Satan and his forces are being progressively defeated at every moment. What changes in the passion is that Satan is now on the offensive and prosecuting a battle against Jesus through the agency of Judas and his co-conspirators. This is the hour of Satan, specifically where power is brought to bear against Jesus.<sup>55</sup>

The expression “darkness” used by Luke marshals apocalyptic language to refer to Satan and the powers of evil.<sup>56</sup> While Luke does not frequently use darkness as a way of referring to evil, he turns to the imagery of darkness at three crucial junctures, at the

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<sup>55</sup> Cf. Job 38:23, which refers to the hour of his enemies (ὥραν ἐχθρῶν).

<sup>56</sup> Conzelmann, in tracing the pre-biblical history of the language of light and darkness, observes “brightness and darkness are very important for life, thought, and religion. They denote salvation and perdition” (“σκότος,” *TDNT* 7:426). In the Old Testament, “darkness means disaster and death... the supreme terror” (*TDNT* 7:428). In the Second Temple period, growing apocalyptic expectation leads to an association of darkness with the damnation of the next world (*TDNT*, 7:431). In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, darkness is specifically associated with the works of Beliar, and each person must choose for himself between “light or darkness, the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar” (ἔλεσθε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς, ἢ νόμον κυρίου ἢ ἔργα Βελιάρ; T. Levi 19:1, cited in Conzelmann, *TDNT* 7:433). In Qumran’s heightened apocalyptic worldview, darkness represents “a dualism of eschatological decision” (*TDNT* 7:432). Here, light represents life and salvation and darkness represents death and perdition. The two forces are in conflict with each other, and each person is confronted with a personal decision about how to align himself (*TDNT* 7:432). This language of opposition between light and darkness continues to be prominent in the New Testament. Paul frequently enlists the language to contrast good and evil, the life of faith and the life of unbelief (Hackenberg, “σκότος,” *EDNT* 3:255–256). He contrasts two ways of life as being sons of light and sons of darkness (1 Thess 5:5), and speaks of evil deeds as “works of darkness” (Rom 13:12).

beginning, middle, and end of his two-volume work. The importance of any element of Luke's narrative is determined by where he places it, and darkness thus is a crucial framing element. First, he uses it in the canticle of Zechariah to set out the terms of God's plan that will be accomplished in the Messiah as giving light to those who sit in darkness (1:79). At the end of Acts, Luke returns to darkness in the summation of Paul's mission and implicitly that of the early Church, when he describes Paul's mission to the Gentiles as "turning them from darkness to light, from the authority of Satan to God" (Acts 26:18). In the middle of the narrative, at the crucial moment of conflict in the passion, Luke again recruits the language of darkness to denote Satan and the power of evil. Though darkness is not a common theme for Luke as it is for John, its presence at the beginning, middle, and end of his work point to the importance it has for him as an expression of the underlying conflict at play in his narrative. In addition to calling attention to the apocalyptic significance of the confrontation, Luke also uses this expression to make clear that Satan is the active power behind the forces opposed to Jesus.<sup>57</sup> Luke has already made this point narratively and now makes it explicitly, through the reference to the power of darkness that is a way of speaking of Satan and his power.

#### **4.2.5. Judas's Motivation**

Luke advances a simple explanation for Judas's motivation: the influence of Satan. Working in the context of Second Temple apocalypticism, Luke understands Satan as a malicious force leading people into sin, and thus enlisting them on his side in his conflict with God. In terms of the apocalyptic categories we have been considering, there are elements here of both cosmological apocalyptic eschatology, in which angelic and demonic forces are in conflict with each other, and forensic apocalyptic eschatology, in which stress is laid on the moral decision of the individual to align with good or evil. This

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<sup>57</sup> Soards goes so far as to say that the religious authorities "are merely puppets in the hand of Satan" (Soards, *The Passion According to Luke*, 101).

is a new development in the history of the interpretation of Judas's deed, fitting into a progressively more negative assessment of Judas's motivation and fate. Rather than attribute Judas's deed to greed, or exculpate him as some interpreters have attempted, Luke considers the influence of Satan to be a sufficient explanation.

Many explanations have been attempted, from the earliest days of Christianity, to explain why Judas acted as he did. Long before the recently discovered Gospel of Judas was written, we can see the gospel writers wrestling with it themselves. The oldest account of Judas's action is found in Mark's Gospel. Mark does not directly address Judas's motivation, though he does say that the chief priests promised to give him money (Mark 14:10–11). Though Mark does not specify the motivation of Judas, neither does he consider him blameless, including the statement that it would be better if he had not been born.<sup>58</sup>

Matthew goes further in trying to establish a concrete motivation for Judas's deed. In Matthew's telling, Judas goes to the chief priests and asks for money to hand over Jesus, thus obtaining for himself the thirty pieces of silver (Matt 26:15). By showing Judas taking the initiative and actively soliciting the money from the chief priests, Matthew makes it the primary motive for his treachery. Matthew retains the saying of woe from Mark, in which Jesus says of Judas it would be better for him not have been

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<sup>58</sup> This statement obviously raises a serious difficulty for the case of writers like Klassen and Klauck who wish to argue that Judas's actions were benign or even benevolent. Klassen distinguishes this statement as a woe, rather than a curse, a kind of lament for the misunderstanding and rejection Judas will encounter: "Doing the will of God, as Jesus himself knew well, was not easy. If he himself was so misunderstood, how much more so would be the informer" (Klassen, *Judas*, 83). Klassen cannot adequately account for the dark reprobation the text contains, and the apparent condemnation that accompanies it. Klauck is more realistic in his reading of this text, seeing in it an early theological attempt to understand and interpret Judas's act, putting God's plan and Judas's fault in dialectic tension. "Yet," he says, "the entire force of God's judgment strikes the man who here lends a hand." Mark's concern is not with the worldly fate of Judas—he does not recount the stories of Judas's demise—but rather with his eternal destiny (Klauck, *Judas ein Jünger des Herrn*, 61).

born (Matt 26:24). He goes further, however, and shows Judas's fate directly in his gospel. When Judas sees that Jesus was condemned, Matthew says that he "repented" (μεταμεληθείς) and confessed in his own voice that he had sinned in handing Jesus over (ἥμαρτον παραδοῦς αἷμα ἄθῳον, Matt 27:3–4). It is noteworthy that Matthew does not use the usual language of repentance (μετανοέω or ἐπιστρέφω),<sup>59</sup> and Judas's subsequent actions leave no doubt that he did not truly repent. When his return of the money is rejected, he hangs himself, and the leftover "blood money" is used to buy a potter's field to bury strangers. Klauck finds in the hanging an Old Testament echo of the story of Ahitofel, David's counsellor who joined the rebellion of Absalom, and ended his life by hanging himself in despair when his counsel was not followed, noting that the Old Testament found suicide to be an abomination.<sup>60</sup> Matthew's narrative clearly depicts Judas's act as an evil one for which he was justly condemned and attributes his motive to greed.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Klauck notes that Matthew's choice of μεταμελέω instead of μετανοέω is deliberate, in order to deny that Judas in any way truly repented or had an authentic conversion (Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 103).

<sup>60</sup> Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 105.

<sup>61</sup> Again, Klassen struggles to fit Matthew's text into his characterization of Judas as Jesus's loyal friend simply doing his will. He laments that Matthew has lost touch with the historical nature of Judas's deed (in his reading, a benevolent one) and instead casts Judas in light of the division in the community in which he writes. He argues the price paid is actually quite small, and so Judas is not so greedy. He finds ambiguity in the exchange that Matthew adds in the Last Supper, in which Jesus responds to Judas's question with "You said so" (σὺ εἶπας, Matt 26:25; Klassen, *Judas*, 98–107). Klassen, while continuing to force things to support his chosen view of Judas, at least recognizes that Matthew vilifies Judas, faulting him for "representing Judas as an 'evil' actor in the drama of divine redemption" (Klassen, *Judas*, 107). Klauck is more realistic in his reading, judging it useless to specify the value of Jesus's price, and pointing out that in any case Jesus was sold for "a derisory sum" (Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 51–52). Klauck interprets Matthew's dialogue between Jesus and Judas as demonstrating a willful mendacity on Judas ("a monstrous insolence," citing Schmid), that "casts a very unfavorable light on his character" and develops him into a traitor" (Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 62–63, citing Josef Schmid, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 5th ed., RNT (Regensburg: Pustet, 1965), 360). He notes in particular the distinction between the other apostles' address of Jesus as "Lord" and Judas's use of "Rabbi," which has been cast in a negative light as a title.

The Gospel of John adds to the characterization of Judas in the Synoptic Gospels, casting him in an even harsher light as motivated by greed and acting as the agent of the devil. John introduces an additional instance of Judas in the narrative to develop his character, using Judas's objections to Jesus's anointing in Bethany to establish his greed and dishonesty (John 12:4–6). John identifies him as having the role of treasurer among the apostles, which is reiterated later in the narrative when the other disciples fail to understand Jesus's words to him about the betrayal (13:29). However, when it comes time to relate Judas's actions, he does not explicitly cite greed as a motive, nor make any mention of money being given to Judas, which could simply be an example of John assuming knowledge of the tradition found in the Synoptics while adding his own supplementary amplifications. John takes the association that Luke makes between Judas and Satan and makes it even stronger. At a key moment in John's Gospel, where Peter has made his central profession of faith, John immediately inserts Jesus's condemnation of Judas: "Yet one of you is a devil" (6:70), a jolting contrast that echoes the divergent roles of Peter and Judas in Luke's passion and the beginning of Acts.<sup>62</sup> John then explains that Jesus was speaking of Judas, and directly connects this judgement to Judas's action of handing Jesus over: "For he was about to hand him over" (οὗτος γὰρ ἔμελλεν παραδιδόναι αὐτόν, 6:71).<sup>63</sup> Finally, as we have seen, John, like Luke, attributes Judas's

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<sup>62</sup> Klassen notes the connection between Peter's confession and the designation of Judas as a devil, and suggests that John is cleaning up the negative depiction of Peter in the Gospel of Mark (Klassen, *Judas*, 140). In Mark's text, Jesus calls Peter Satan after Peter objects to Jesus's prediction of his passion. This observation illuminates Luke's notable omission of Jesus calling Peter Satan in his parallel to the Markan text. Perhaps there can only be one apostle associated with the devil, and Luke and John find it more realistic for that to be Judas than Peter.

<sup>63</sup> The verb παραδίδομι in this context has a clear pejorative sense, complicating the efforts of Klauck and Klassen to read it in a benign sense. The New Testament clearly condemns Judas's act, and so one can say that παραδίδομι, in its *New Testament usage*, has a strongly pejorative sense in relation to Judas. Efforts to ascribe a benign or forensic meaning to it, in order to thereby diminish or at least recontextualize Judas, fail to account for the clear sense given to it within the New Testament by passages such as this. If John considers it a sufficient explanation of Judas being called a devil to say that he handed him over, the harsh sense of this word must be retained

betrayal to the influence of Satan, in two places in his Last Supper discourse. John includes it at the beginning, when setting the scene in elegant language, speaking of Jesus's love for his people, Jesus's knowledge of His Father and his origin and destiny as his Son. In a jarring juxtaposition, then, John says that the devil had put it in Judas's heart to betray Jesus (13:2). Later in the supper, when Jesus hands Judas the morsel and thereby identifies him as the one who will hand him over, John says that Satan entered into him (13:27; the same language that Luke uses). John has expanded Luke's account or the tradition underneath it, continuing to develop the theological interpretation of Judas's behavior, showing him to be a man motivated by greed and doing the work of Satan.<sup>64</sup>

Luke's Gospel fits chronologically alongside Matthew, after Mark and before John, and his treatment of Judas largely fits into this trajectory of an increasingly negative judgment against Judas and negative characterization of his motives. Luke, however, takes a slightly different approach than the other evangelists. Like Mark, he mentions the money that Judas obtained without specifying either its amount or how the transaction obtained. Despite a clear tradition, seen in Matthew and John, that Judas was greedy, Luke never directly characterizes him as such, a striking omission since it so neatly aligns with a core theological and narrative interest of Luke that condemns the love of money. It would be an easy occasion for Luke to emphasize this interest in the context of Judas's sin. But he does not, and instead hangs the explanation for Judas's action on the influence of Satan.<sup>65</sup> It is possible that Luke expects the reader to make the connection between

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and understood whether one chooses to translate it with the more strictly literal "hand over" or the more interpretive "betray."

<sup>64</sup> Klassen deals with the gospel of John's unambiguously negative characterization of Judas by dismissing its historical value and lamenting the theological stance of John that leads to such a portrayal. In his view, the theological perspective of John strips it of its value not only for history but also for theology. He cites Klauck's conclusion: "In reality, the Christian no can longer learn anything from the Judas of the gospel of John" (Klassen, *Judas*, 155, with the quotation taken directly from Klauck, *Judas un Disciple de Jésus*, 100).

<sup>65</sup> Brown says that "Satan has won control over Judas [by] 'the mammon of iniquity' (cf. 16:9)"

Judas's treachery and his profit from the deed. But in terms of direct explanation, Satan is mentioned and greed is not. For Luke it is sufficient to note that Satan enters Judas and that he acts under his influence, and to speak of greed would complicate matters and obscure the fundamental conflict that Luke wishes to depict and highlight. Luke is fitting the passion into the apocalyptic worldview that underlies his thought. This is a satanic attack on Jesus, perpetrated by Judas acting as Satan's agent.

Luke's answer to the question of Judas's motivation is therefore a straightforward one. Judas acted under the influence of Satan, and for Luke that is sufficient explanation. Once a son of light, Judas became a son of darkness.

### **4.3. Destroyed by God's power**

The death of Judas plays an important role for Luke, not only to render the final judgement on Judas's treachery, but to express the defeat of Satan by the power of God. Judas literally embodies Satan, as one whom Satan enters and therefore dwells within. He exercises his own agency and bears responsibility for his diabolical alliance, while acting with the power of Satan.<sup>66</sup> His destruction by God in the bizarre death narrated by Luke thus expresses ultimately the defeat of Satan who orchestrated Judas's deeds. Luke uses the form of a punitive miracle to show the power of God destroying the one who sought

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(Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance*, 85). This is at best implied, however, by Luke, especially in the light of Matthew and John who say it clearly. A reader of Luke without the benefit of those other gospels would have difficulty making the connection.

<sup>66</sup> Crump argues that because Satan entered Judas, Judas could not have exercised free will, and thus construes Satan's entry as genuine possession (Crump, *Jesus the Intercessor*, 162–66). As argued above, the presentation of Judas is inconsistent with any other picture of possession. The data in Luke show that he holds both that Satan influenced Judas and that Judas was held accountable for his actions (something that holds for no victim of mere possession in the Gospel—those are liberated). Crump is making the theological mistake of opposing free will and the influence of external forces that we will discuss in chapter six. Proposing complete possession of Judas as the explanation for his betrayal is another way of erasing the *mysterium iniquitatis* that Luke maintains. Cf. the discussion in Brown, which Crump attempts to refute (Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance*, 82–97).

to oppose the kingdom of God by destroying Jesus.<sup>67</sup> Luke places the account of Judas's death in Acts, probably for narrative reasons—as background needed to explain the replacement of Judas—but it also shows within Acts how the power of God defeats the power of Satan, thus picking up this plot structure from the Gospel.

According to Luke, there are two consequences to Judas's betrayal of Jesus: his exclusion from the Twelve and his gruesome death that is construed as the wages of his wicked deed.<sup>68</sup> Judas's exclusion from the Twelve leaves “the Eleven.” Luke does not initially call attention to this exclusion, but narrates it within the Gospel as a matter of fact (Luke 24:9, 33). The expression “the Eleven” is a distinctively Lukan appellation to refer to the Twelve after the departure of Judas.<sup>69</sup> The use of “the Eleven” in place of “the Twelve” highlights that Judas has been excluded from the company of Jesus's followers as a result of his action. Luke indicates this when Judas is absent from the listing of the apostles (Acts 1:13), with the narrative effect of making his absence more keenly felt by giving the familiar list without him. His exclusion is referenced again when Peter uses the past tense to say that Judas “was numbered among us” (1:17), which Johnson finds to be a “chilling reminder” of Satan entering Judas, where Luke identified him as of the “number of the twelve” (Luke 22:3).<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Fitzmyer calls it a “stereotypical literary form, otherwise known as the horrible death of a notorious persecutor” (Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB 31 [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1998], 220). Klassen, in a brief analysis of the death accounts of Judas in Matthew and Luke, claims that the later church saw the stories of Judas's death “in the genre of death stories of other evil men and how they died” (Klassen, *Judas*, 170–71). But he does not need to look to the later church for that view, which is within Acts itself, where Luke tells such stories about Ananias and Sapphira as well as Herod (Acts 5:1–11; 12:21–23).

<sup>68</sup> For a complete study of the death of Judas in Acts, see Arie W. Zwiep, *Judas and the Choice of Matthias: A Study on Context and Concern of Acts 1:15–26*, WUNT 2/187 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

<sup>69</sup> Matthew speaks of “the eleven disciples” who made their way to Galilee after the resurrection (28:16), but this is not a parallel expression to “the Twelve.” The long ending of Mark, which shows the influence of the Gospel of Luke, also has a reference to “the Eleven” (16:14).

<sup>70</sup> Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, SP 5 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 35.

The need to explain Judas's fate arises immediately in the life of the church as told in Acts. Peter poses this as the first issue that the church must confront after the ascension: what to do to fill Judas's place among the Twelve. His absence raises a prominent difficulty, since the number twelve was essential for Luke's understanding of the church as the New Israel (cf. Luke 22:30).<sup>71</sup> Luke's direct concern is how to address this problem, but it affords an opportunity to speak of Judas's fate, which allows the narrative to show Judas's accountability and subjection to the power and justice of God.

Luke describes the death of Judas using the form of a punitive miracle, in which an evildoer is punished by God, thus enforcing God's justice through his power.<sup>72</sup> In a thorough study of Luke's account in light of other ancient accounts of death, Robertson concludes that Luke strongly condemns Judas and that "Judas' fall and prostration convey the humiliation and defeat of Judas as an enemy of Jesus."<sup>73</sup> Though punitive miracles are absent from Luke's Gospel (in fact, Luke 13:1–19 contains a caution against them, though finishing on a note of promise of divine punishment), the death of Judas is one of a series of punitive miracles that Luke places in Acts: the death of Ananias and Sapphira (5:1–11), the death of Herod (12:20–23), the blindness of Paul (9:1–19a) and of Elymas

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<sup>71</sup> Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 220–21. Cf. the discussion in Jacques Dupont, "Le douzième apôtre (Ac 1, 15–26) a propos d'une explication récente," in *Nouvelle études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Cerf, 1984), 186–92; and Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary. Volume 1: Introduction and 1:1–2:47* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 752–53.

<sup>72</sup> Oddly, Theissen does not include the death of Judas here in this category, perhaps because the mechanism of Judas's death is not clearly miraculous. He claims that "punishment miracles are almost entirely absent from the New Testament," citing the story of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11) as the only example (Theissen, *The Miracle Stories of the Early Christian Tradition*, 109). But as Pervo notes, "Unlike healings or exorcisms, they do not need to be 'miraculous.' People do die from dreadful illnesses, and vipers can be deadly. These stories clearly demonstrate that 'miracle' is a matter of interpretation" (Pervo, *Acts*, 52). For the background and parallels of retributive miracles, see Zwiep, *Judas and the Choice of Matthias*, 63–72.

<sup>73</sup> Jesse E. Robertson, *The Death of Judas: The Characterization of Judas Iscariot in Three Early Christian Accounts of His Death*, NTMon 33 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012), 108.

(13:6–12), and the punishment of the sons of Sceva (19:13–17).<sup>74</sup>

Luke’s account of the death of Judas illustrates two crucial elements of punitive miracles: the fulfillment of God’s plan and the punishment of his opponents. Peter begins by speaking of the events of Jesus’s death as being according to the will of God: “Brothers, the Scripture had to be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit spoke beforehand through the mouth of David about Judas, who was a guide to those who arrested Jesus” (Acts 1:16). This is an important theological claim, and one that Luke has made before: that everything that happened was according to the plan of God as laid out in the Scriptures (Luke 24:25–27; 24:44–47). It is difficult to know what Scripture Luke has in mind here. It might be that he is applying one or both of the two scriptures cited in v. 20 (Ps 69:26 and 109:8) to Judas’s defection and replacement.<sup>75</sup> This, however, leads to some awkwardness given that the reference is interrupted by the story of Judas’s death. Others have suggested that Psalm 41:10 may be in mind (“My ally in whom I trusted, even he who shares my bread, has been utterly false to me,” NJPS; LXX [40:10] has καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς εἰρήνης μου ἐφ’ ὃν ἤλπισα ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ’ ἐμὲ περνησιμόν, “Indeed, the person at peace with me, in whom I hoped, he who would eat of my bread, magnified trickery against me,” NETS). Conzelmann states that the question is itself unnecessary, because Luke “does not deal with the Scriptures in an isolated manner.”<sup>76</sup> Luke is probably thinking of a broad scriptural fulfillment that takes place in the death and resurrection of Jesus, which includes Judas’s betrayal. While later interpreters have suggested that since Judas’s actions were foreseen by the Holy Spirit and took place to fulfill the Scriptures, he is not blameworthy, Luke does not draw this

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<sup>74</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 52–53.

<sup>75</sup> Bock holds that he is referring to both, thus numbering Judas among the enemies of God (Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007], 82). Cf. Carl R. Holladay, *Acts: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2016), 82–85; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 223. Also Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 1, 765–66.

<sup>76</sup> Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 11.

conclusion.<sup>77</sup> Rather, the punitive miracle inflicted on Judas shows not only his guilt, but also that God’s plan entails the destruction of Satan and his collaborators.

Peter’s speech leaves no doubt that he considers Judas’s deed to be evil. Peter calls it such, using the word *ἀδικία*, which means “an act that violates standards of right conduct, wrongdoing.”<sup>78</sup> He explains that Judas bought a field with the “wages of his evil deed” (*ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας*, Acts 1:18).<sup>79</sup> The money is thus construed as his reward for the wickedness of betraying Jesus. Judas’s evil character is implied by his use of his ill-gotten gain. He uses the money to buy a field,<sup>80</sup> which violates one of Luke’s primary values in Acts, the sharing of goods that is the key manifestation of the unity of the community (1:44–45; 2:32–35). By using the money for his own selfish ends, Judas confirms that he has left the community of the church and the Twelve.<sup>81</sup> Judas’s selfish use of this property thus corresponds to the more fully constructed narrative of Ananias and Sapphira, who are victims of a punitive miracle for holding back property from the church. Luke indulges in a bit of irony by calling the money gained by Judas the “wages of his evil deed.” His gruesome death is in fact the true wages of his evil deed.

Luke describes Judas’s death using vivid language that is characteristic of punitive miracles. He uses the opaque expression *πρηνῆς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ* (Acts 1:18). The word *πρηνῆς* is an adjective

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<sup>77</sup> Pagels says that in Luke, “Jesus himself declares that neither Satan’s role nor God’s preordained plan absolves Judas’ guilt” (Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 93).

<sup>78</sup> BDAG, s.v. “ἀδικία.”

<sup>79</sup> The genitive is often translated as an abstract noun (“wickedness”), but given the context in which Judas had received money for the handing over of Jesus, the sense here is to refer to that single unjust deed (BDAG, s.v. “ἀδικία.”).

<sup>80</sup> Some interpreters see this as more of a “farm or country estate” (Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 36).

<sup>81</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 53. Johnson interprets Judas’s purchase of the field as a symbolic expression of Judas’s rejection of his place among the Twelve (Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts*, SBLDS 39 [Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977], 174–83).

describing a bodily position of laying prostrate, face down.<sup>82</sup> The most obvious sense is that Judas fell down, face forward, resulting in his death when his midsection was ripped open, but readers have long wrestled with the exact sense of this expression. At least some of the confusion has sprung from a desire to reconcile Luke’s accounts with those of Matthew and Papias. The ancient Armenian and Old Gregorian versions render this “being swollen up,” which seems to correspond to a fragment of Papias that survives in a citation in Apollinaris of Laodicea, saying that Judas “became so bloated in the flesh that he could not pass through a place that was easily wide enough for a wagon—not even his swollen head could fit (4.2–3, LCL [Ehrman]).”<sup>83</sup> In 1911, Ely proposed that *πρηνής γενόμενος* should be read as a technical medical term meaning “to become swollen,” both on the basis of Luke’s writing style and the evidence found in the ancient Armenian and Georgian versions and other parallels.<sup>84</sup> While this argument was accepted by a number of subsequent commentators (including Harnack and Goodspeed), more recently commentators have rejected it due to the lack of other clear examples of this meaning.<sup>85</sup> Ancient Latin versions take a different approach to harmonization by inserting a reference to Judas hanging: *collum sibi alligavit* (“he bound himself around the neck”).<sup>86</sup> These variant readings all arise from the desire to reconcile competing accounts or to remove an ambiguity,<sup>87</sup> and so do not shed light on the original sense of Luke’s text. The meaning of *πρηνής γενόμενος* is actually quite clear, and if there were not competing accounts of

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<sup>82</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. “πρηνής.”

<sup>83</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 247–48. In citing Papias, Apollinaris gives a beautiful example of the effort to harmonize accounts, explaining that “Judas did not die by hanging, but he survived after being taken down, before he had choked to death” (4.1, LCL [Ehrman]).

<sup>84</sup> F.H. Ely, “On *πρηνης γενομενος* in Acts i 18,” *JTS* 13 (1911): 278–85.

<sup>85</sup> Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 11; BDAG, s.v. “πρηνης”; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 224; C.K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 1:98.

<sup>86</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 247.

<sup>87</sup> Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 99.

Judas's death, there would not be a desire to understand it differently.<sup>88</sup> Most likely, Luke chose his language to echo the Wisdom of Solomon, which describes the fate of the unrighteous man (ἀδίκος) who scorns the righteous man: “the Lord will dash them speechless on their faces [prostrate]” (ὅτι ῥήξει αὐτοὺς ἀφώνους πρηνεῖς, Wis 4:19). Thus Luke describes the fate of Judas, the unrighteous one, who scorned the righteous one, Jesus (cf. Luke 23:47, where the centurion calls Jesus δίκαιος).<sup>89</sup> Pervo elegantly expresses the contrast drawn by saying that “Jesus rose while Judas fell flat on his face.”<sup>90</sup>

The consequence of Judas's fall, according to Luke, is that “his midsection burst open and all his entrails poured out” (ἐλάκησεν μέσος καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ, Acts 1:18). There are other ancient examples of this kind of fate as a punishment for evil.<sup>91</sup> The details are less important than the point that Luke is making: Judas receives a just recompense for handing Jesus over to his death, expressing God's power to inflict a just recompense on the wicked for their deeds.<sup>92</sup> Pervo points out that by purchasing the field with his proceeds, Judas has inverted the conduct of the disciples, and interprets the entrails spilling out as a symbolic expression, “Judas literally turns

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<sup>88</sup> Robertson, *Death of Judas*, 102.

<sup>89</sup> Pierre Benoit, *Jesus and the Gospel*, trans. Benet Weatherhead (New York: Herder and Herder, 1973), 194. Another text in the background could be the passage of 3 Maccabees, in which the Lord again vindicates the just by sending two angels to punish the evil king Ptolemy and his forces. At seeing his friends and supporters destroyed and fallen on their faces in destruction (πρηνεῖς ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, 3 Macc 6:23), he is moved away from insolence to tears.

<sup>90</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 50.

<sup>91</sup> Barrett finds a parallel with Josephus's description of the death of Catullus at the end of Jewish War (“and his entrails fell out and were corrupted,” καὶ τῶν ἐντέρων αὐτῷ κατὰ διάβρωσιν ἐκπεσόντων, *J.W.* 7.453; Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 98).

<sup>92</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 50. Barrett thinks that Luke has the same thing in mind as Josephus in explaining the death of Catullus, “and so he died, affording a demonstration, no less striking than any, how God in his providence inflicts punishment on the wicked” (οὕτως ἀπέθανεν οὐδενὸς ἦτρον ἐτέρου τῆς προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ τεκμήριον γενόμενος ὅτι τοῖς πονηροῖς δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν, *J.W.* 7.453; LCL [Thackeray]; Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1:98).

inside out.”<sup>93</sup> Bock connects the verb ἐκχέω to the pouring out of the Spirit in Acts 2:17, another kind of inversion in which Judas embodies the opposite of the life of faith and discipleship.<sup>94</sup> Judas and his fate are a counterpoint to the outpouring of the Spirit on the church. God’s power in the Spirit gives victory to Christ and success to the gospel, but also destroys Judas and defeats the power of Satan.

Punitive miracles serve a theological purpose, and Luke uses Judas’s death to show God’s control of the narrative. As Pervo describes it, “At the macro level, providence is manifested in the unfolding of God’s plan. At the micro level, providence is manifested in a judicious distribution of rewards and punishments.”<sup>95</sup> Luke is transparently concerned with the macro-level: showing that not only Judas’s fate, but even the deed for which he is condemned, unfolded according to God’s plan as contained in the Scripture. Luke’s concern is also for the micro-level: that God has rightly vindicated his power against his opponent. Judas acted as an agent of Satan, and Luke is making the theological point that Satan’s power, having been defeated, is not able to protect his coworkers from being defeated themselves by the power of God. The destruction of Judas is a sign of this defeat.<sup>96</sup> Jesus and the apostles are vindicated by the evil fate that befalls Judas as the consequence of his infidelity, and the power of God is shown superior to the power of Satan in the life of the church just as it was in the life of Jesus.

#### **4.3.1. Ananias and Sapphira**

The story of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11) is another punitive miracle in Luke, more fully developed than the short account of Judas’s death that he has inserted into Peter’s speech, that has much in common with the story of Judas. As such, it can

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<sup>93</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 53.

<sup>94</sup> Bock, *Acts*, 84–85.

<sup>95</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 53.

<sup>96</sup> Robertson, *Death of Judas*, 97–98.

provide insight into how Luke sees the power of God interacting with the power of Satan in the death of Judas. Ananias and Sapphira are punished for deeds done under the influence of Satan but for which they still bear responsibility. Satan enters their hearts, but Luke shows that each of them is culpable and justly punished for their wicked deed. This corresponds to what Luke claims for Judas: Satan entered him, and yet he remained responsible for betraying Jesus.<sup>97</sup>

This story has long been an interpretive difficulty for commentators.<sup>98</sup> Marguerat says that it causes theological “shock” and “embarrassment” to the reader.<sup>99</sup> In fact, readers as early as the Manicheans rejected the book of Acts because of the way that God’s conduct is portrayed.<sup>100</sup> Its length and placement in Acts indicate that Luke considers it an important episode, yet it seems to be out of character in several respects for Luke’s writings. It has a legendary, even magical, flavor to it, as Peter seems to possess not only magical knowledge but power to defeat his opponents. The image of God that underlies the narrative appears cruel and vindictive, inflicting a harsh punishment for an apparently small offense, a contrast from the gentle and merciful God characteristic of the Lukan writings. This apparent moral injustice, more than any other aspect, has offended readers both ancient and modern.<sup>101</sup> Finally, some of the narrative details seem implausible and inexplicable for a careful narrator such as Luke.

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<sup>97</sup> Johnson briefly draws attention to the parallel between Judas and Ananias and Sapphira (Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 40).

<sup>98</sup> Though note Keener’s discussion of how such a “miracle of judgment” would have been less concerning to ancient readers (Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary. Volume 2: 3:1–14:28* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013), 1192–94).

<sup>99</sup> Daniel Marguerat, “Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11): The Original Sin,” in *The First Christian Historian: Writing the “Acts of the Apostles”*, SNTSMS 121 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 155–56.

<sup>100</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 131.

<sup>101</sup> Harrill relates the outrage of the ancient philosopher Porphyry that Peter, who had himself denied Christ, would react so violently to a more minor infidelity (J. Albert Harrill, “Divine Judgement Against Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11): A Stock Scene of Perjury and Death,” *JBL* 130 (2011): 351–52).

Research and commentary on the episode have followed a range of different approaches to understand and explain this episode in light of these interpretive difficulties. There are no parallels or known traditions underlying this story, and so source criticism has done little to help understand its genesis or significance.<sup>102</sup> In surveying the literature, Fitzmyer identifies six different modes of interpretation.<sup>103</sup> An etiological reading seeks to account for the death of Christians prior to the parousia by showing it to be the consequence of the sin of lying to the Holy Spirit. A Qumran reading compares it to regulations in the Manual of Discipline for the handing over of property to the community (1QS VI, 22–25). Typological readings compare it to similar episodes in the Old Testament, such as the story of Achan in Joshua 7:1, 24–25, or Aaron’s sons Nadab and Abihu in Leviticus 10:2. An institutional reading sees it as a case of excommunication from the church. A salvation history reading casts it as the defeat of an attempt to prevent the spread of the gospel in the life of the church. Finally, an original sin reading makes it into a kind of protological sin in the life of the church. Since Fitzmyer’s 1998 survey, studies have appeared reading it in light of Greco-Roman stories of perjury and oath-breaking,<sup>104</sup> as a “rule breaking miracle story” serving as a stylized account of excommunication,<sup>105</sup> and as an improper offering in the Temple, seen by Luke as reconstituted by the Holy Spirit in the church.<sup>106</sup> While these approaches offer useful

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<sup>102</sup> Marguerat, “First Christian Historian,” 155–56. Keener outlines some parallels for this narrative, however, from the Essenes and Pythagoreans (Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1186–88).

<sup>103</sup> Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 318–20. Cf. a similar review of patristic readings and five modern exegetical approaches in Daniel Marguerat, *The First Christian Historian: Writing the “Acts of the Apostles”*, New Testament Studies Monograph Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 157.

<sup>104</sup> Harrill, “Divine Judgement Against Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11): A Stock Scene of Perjury and Death.”

<sup>105</sup> Henriette Havelaar, “Hellenistic Parallels to Acts 5.1–11 and the Problem of Conflicting Interpretations,” *JSNT* 67 (1997): 63–82.

<sup>106</sup> Anthony Le Donne, “The Improper Temple Offering of Ananias and Sapphira,” *NTS* 59 (2013): 346–64.

insights, they all struggle to explain what the passage means for Luke in light of his own theological and narrative interests.

Luke's concern with the role of Satan as antagonist to Jesus in the Gospel offers a new light in which to read this episode, drawing upon Luke's own interests and context instead of ancient precedents that, while useful, cannot adequately explain this story. A more fruitful approach will be to examine the role that this episode plays within Luke's own narrative and theology.<sup>107</sup> Luke's framing of the sin as the result of Satan entering Ananias's heart justifies connecting it to the theme of the conflict between the kingdom of God and the power of Satan. Luke constructs parallels between his Gospel and Acts that allow the story of Jesus's ministry to be continued in the life of the church. The story of Ananias and Sapphira fits into this pattern by showing Satan's ongoing opposition to the kingdom of God, now manifest in the life of the church, and the power of God defeating the power of Satan. Just as the temptations of Jesus in the desert served as a framing device for the conflict between the power of God and Satan in Luke's Gospel, this episode recalls and extends that frame of conflict into Acts. The power of Satan is still active, though ineffective, in opposing the church. Just as Satan was defeated by Jesus in his initial foray in the desert, so Satan is defeated in this first foray against the church.

The story of Ananias and Sapphira is part of larger narrative unit that includes an idealized description of the community (Acts 4:32–35) and the brief narrative of Joseph Barnabas who sold a field and laid the money “at the apostles' feet” (4:36–37).<sup>108</sup> The traditional chapter division here separates this section from Ananias and Sapphira, but it

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<sup>107</sup> This is the approach taken by Marguerat, in focusing on its narrative placement to understand it within Luke's narrative rather than by appeals to extrinsic concerns (Marguerat, “First Christian Historian,” 157–58).

<sup>108</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 126. Marguerat also includes this whole section as one narrative unit (Marguerat, “First Christian Historian,” 158). Cf. Keener, who also observes this structure (Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1173–1204).

is more coherent to see this as a two-part story with an introduction, in which the first (albeit shorter) element shows a righteous man giving his possessions to the apostles and the second contrasts it with an unrighteous couple and their selfish dishonesty.<sup>109</sup> The positive description of the life of the early community as well as the good example of Joseph Barnabas are important for understanding the nature of Ananias and Sapphira's sin and its consequences. Further, the passage that immediately follows Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:12–16), which speaks of the many signs and wonders that were done by the apostles, must be considered as connected to the narrative and theological purpose of this narrative.<sup>110</sup>

The prior narrative sequence sets the stage for this episode by showing the development of the early community under the influence of the Holy Spirit. The numbers of believers are growing (4:4), but the first serious opposition to the gospel after Pentecost occurs as Peter and John are arrested (4:1–3). In the resulting inquiry, Peter defends himself and John after being “filled with the Holy Spirit” (4:8). After their release, the community joins its voices in a prayer of praise and petition, asking “to speak his word with all boldness” (4:29). In the last verse before we come to the summary of early community life with regard to possessions, a crucial event takes place in the second outpouring (after Pentecost) of the Holy Spirit. Luke says that the place where they were gathered together was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit (ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, Acts 4:31). This outpouring of the Holy Spirit demonstrates the continued presence and influence in the life of the early community. Luke is following a pattern that he followed in his gospel: pointedly and repeatedly showing that the Holy Spirit is driving events through the influence and power he exerts over individual persons and the community as a whole. Luke then gives an idealized

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<sup>109</sup> Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 316.

<sup>110</sup> Marguerat, “First Christian Historian,” 158–59.

summary of the community life of the early church, showing that it flows directly from the influence of the Holy Spirit. It demonstrates that the right use of wealth and property are key to Luke's understanding of the gospel and the kingdom of God.

With this established, Luke turns to Ananias and Sapphira who provide a counterexample to the unity of the church, filled with the Holy Spirit, and sharing possessions.<sup>111</sup> They are filled rather with Satan, retain their possessions, and thus separate themselves from the church. In the apocalyptic framework in which Luke operates, that makes them agents of Satan and they are destroyed. Luke considers their deed to be a fundamental treachery, an instantiation of satanic opposition to the action of the Holy Spirit in the church.<sup>112</sup> By keeping back a portion of the proceeds of the sale of their land and laying only a part of it “at the apostles’ feet” (5:2), they have violated an essential component of community life in the Holy Spirit. By this act of separation from the community of the church, not only do they align themselves with the power of Satan by placing themselves on his side in the apocalyptic conflict Luke presupposes, but they also threaten to corrupt the church. Peter makes this connection explicit when he interprets their deed in terms that recall the influence that Satan had upon Judas: “Ananias, why has Satan filled your heart...” (διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου;, Acts 5:3). This echoes, in slightly different language, Satan’s entry into Judas (εἰσῆλθεν δὲ σατανᾶς εἰς Ἰούδαν, Luke 22:3). This expression more fully describes what Luke sees taking place through satanic influence: Satan is filling the heart of a human being. Even more immediately, the language echoes that of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit just prior, where the disciples were all filled with the Holy Spirit (ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, Acts 4:31). The contrast could hardly be more clear. Ananias and Sapphira are filled with Satan, while the church is filled with the Holy Spirit.

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<sup>111</sup> Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts*, 204–11.

<sup>112</sup> Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1188–90.

The importance that Luke attaches to possessions indicates a blind spot of many commentators who view the destruction of Ananias and Sapphira as a moral injustice, a disproportionate response to what strikes them as a slight offense. Luke has a much different view of this offense, which it is better to understand than to object to. For Luke, it is a paradigmatic sin that strikes at the very heart of the community's life and is inspired by Satan, an attack on the church and the Holy Spirit. To correctly understand the role that the destruction of Ananias and Sapphira plays in Acts, the reader needs to be tutored by Luke about the nature of their deed rather than bring his or her own judgements to the text.

Luke's use of the language of the heart is significant as an expression of the core of personal being.<sup>113</sup> In continuity with other Jewish and New Testament writers, Luke uses the heart to represent the center of the person's moral and spiritual life (Luke 1:17; 2:19; 6:45; 8:12; 12:34; 16:15; Acts 4:32). Luke chooses this language of heart here to show Satan entering into the core of Ananias's being. Twice Peter makes reference to Ananias's heart being involved in the evil deed: "Why has Satan filled your heart?" (5:3) and "How is that you have put this deed in your heart?" (τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο;, Acts 5:4). The juxtaposition of the two phrases is essential, for it corrects the possible interpretation that would absolve Ananias for acting as he did under the influence of Satan. One cannot say that "the devil made him do it." Satan has filled his heart, and yet, Ananias bears responsibility as the one who acted in concert with Satan.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> This is consistent with the place of the heart in Old Testament and Second Temple understanding. Newsom says that in the Old Testament, the heart is "the locus of the person's moral will" (Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self," 10). Behm says, "The NT use of the word [καρδία] agrees with the OT use as distinct from the Greek. Even more strongly than the LXX it concentrates on the heart as the main organ of psychic and spiritual life" (Friedrich Barumgärtel and Johannes Behm, "καρδία," *TDNT* 3:611). Cf. BDAG, s.v. "καρσία," and HALOT, s.v. "לֵב."  
<sup>114</sup> Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1190. Johnson calls it "a double level of intentionality," with the cosmic battle between God and Satan running alongside human freedom (Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 88).

In fact, the crux of Luke's moral anthropology is revealed in these two complementary statements: the competing influences of the Spirit and Satan invite and shape the actions of human beings, who yet retain their agency and responsibility for their actions. Satanic influence then is a force that corrupts without controlling, leaving the person fully responsible for the evil that he undertakes at the same time as it leads to his destruction. Just as Luke clearly demonstrates Judas's responsibility for handing over Jesus, he makes it clear that Ananias and Sapphira bear responsibility for their offense. Rather than absolving them of responsibility, the involvement of Satan heightens the gravity and responsibility of their deed, for it shows the depth of the wickedness of their behavior. They are explicitly and directly cooperating with Satan to oppose the designs and action of God.

In the story of Ananias, the consequences of his evil deed follow immediately through the mediation of Peter. Luke has Peter interpret Ananias's deed in terms of the same conflict he has been presenting throughout his narrative. Having expressed the role of Satan in this conflict, Peter also expresses the other side of the conflict by construing Ananias's deception as an offense against the Holy Spirit: "to lie to the Holy Spirit" (5:3). In his accusation of Sapphira, Peter again characterizes the deed as an offense against the Holy Spirit: "How is it that you have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?" (τί ὄτι συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου;, Acts 5:9). The vocabulary here echoes that of the temptation narrative, in which Jesus under the influence of the Holy Spirit is tempted by Satan. Here, Ananias and Sapphira, under the influence of Satan, tempt the Holy Spirit. In the parallelism that Luke constructs between his Gospel and Acts, this episode fills the role of the temptation scene, showing the conflict between the kingdom of God and the power of Satan, now taking place between the church and Satan who is

still active though defeated.<sup>115</sup>

Satan's defeat in the story of Ananias and Sapphira is more decisive than in the temptations. In the desert, the devil departs for a time, but Ananias and Sapphira pay with their lives, being immediately and completely destroyed. Something has indeed changed in the middle of the story with Jesus's resurrection and ascension. At the cosmological level, the Holy Spirit's power is superior to Satan's, and the power of God is now ascendant over the authority of Satan. In the total destruction of his agents, the impotence of Satan against the church is on full display. Luke's interest in this tale is less about the personal destruction of two faithless members of the community than about the superiority of God's power over Satan's. The story of Ananias and Sapphira frames the narrative in terms of conflict once more between the power of Satan and the power of God, embodied in the working of the Holy Spirit in the church. At various points in the narrative of Acts, Luke will relate episodes where this conflict is visible. As in the Gospel, though, he sees it quietly underlying all the events that he narrates. Marguerat characterizes the external conflict in Acts as between the unified Christian community and the hostile Jewish authorities, to which the story of Ananias and Sapphira is an exception showing the internal conflict in the community which threatens the church's

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<sup>115</sup> Marguerat acknowledges that this parallel might be "implied by Luke," but sees the more important parallel being with the sin of Adam and Eve in Genesis. He notes O'Toole's objections to this comparison (on the basis of a lack of verbal connection and differences between the accounts and in particular no parallel in the Genesis account to the role of Peter or the death of the couple), but says that typological associations are not exact (Marguerat, "First Christian Historian," 175 n. 51). Marguerat argues for the Adam and Eve parallel on the basis of the common elements: (1) "the destruction of the original harmony"; (2) "the figure of Satan"; (3) the sin of a couple; (4) "the lie to God"; and (5) the expulsion. Although many of these connections are conceptual rather than specific, Marguerat makes a convincing argument. Such an association, though, is no more implied than the one with the temptation, which is a much closer parallel to posit. The two associations may well coexist, for the temptation of Jesus in the desert itself may echo the fall of Adam and Eve, in which Jesus as a type of Adam prevails over the temptation to which the first Adam fell. (Marguerat, "First Christian Historian," 173–75). The article Marguerat discusses is Robert F O'Toole, "'You Did Not Lie to Us (Human Beings) but to God' (Acts 5,4c)," *Bib* 76 (1995): 182–209.

external mission.<sup>116</sup> It is certainly true that Luke shows conflict between the church and Jewish authorities, but there is more to it than that. As in the Gospel, Luke in fact sees human agents as cooperating in the fundamental conflict between God and Satan. All the conflict between human agents is an overlay on that, a visible component of an underlying cosmological conflict.

The story of Ananias and Sapphira allows Luke to express in a coherent manner how he views satanic influence, moral responsibility, and the superiority of God's power over Satan in the kingdom of God. The structure of their behavior corresponds to that of Judas: under the influence of Satan, they act out of greed to betray their commitment to God and so oppose his power and rule. At the same time, Luke leaves little doubt that Ananias and Sapphira, like Judas, are morally responsible for the wicked deeds that they did under the influence of Satan. The destruction of Ananias and Sapphira thus ultimately expresses the victory of God over Satan through the punishment of his agents.

In his Gospel and Acts, Luke casts Judas as a traitor and an agent of Satan who is destroyed by the power of God. He has significantly enhanced the moral drama and significance of Judas's actions by saying that Satan entered into him. By this association he makes both Judas's deeds and his destruction a way of narrating Satan's malicious opposition to God's work and his destruction by the power of God. Judas went from one side of the apocalyptic struggle to the other, from light to darkness, and was destroyed. In this, he reflects Satan's own fate: Satan attempted to destroy Jesus and was instead destroyed himself. In light of this narrative strategy, Luke's overall plot is developed and continued from the passion into the life of the church in Acts, showing that the progressive victory of the power of God over Satan continues in the life of the church.

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<sup>116</sup>Marguerat, "First Christian Historian," 162–63.

Satan's role in guiding Judas's actions does not, however, mitigate his responsibility according to Luke. The way that Luke tells of his death makes it clear that Judas was held personally responsible for his deed. Modern readers find this puzzling and even unjust, but Luke holds both points clearly, whatever tension we may perceive between them. Judas acted under the guidance of Satan and was still fully responsible for his deed. As Conzelmann expresses it: "Nor should his [Satan's] part in the acts against Jesus be confused with that of the human agents. If he had a hand this does not make them less guilty but simply discloses the real depth of these events."<sup>117</sup> In Luke's view, not only is Judas's culpability not diminished by his alliance with Satan, it is enhanced. It is one thing to act selfishly, but a much more terrible thing to act in concert with Satan.

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<sup>117</sup> Conzelmann, *TDNT* 7:439 n. 146

## 5. The Apostles in the Conflict with Satan

The apostles also play a role in the conflict that Luke depicts between God and Satan. The conflict in Luke's plot is not only between Jesus and the devil, but rather a larger apocalyptic confrontation taking place between forces, in which everyone must be somehow aligned. Accounts of Satan in Luke rarely give serious consideration to the role that the apostles, in particular Peter and Paul, play in this conflict. Garrett gives it the most attention by studying Paul's role in defeating magical powers in Acts, but she gives no treatment to Satan's role in Peter's denials.<sup>1</sup> Pagels does not comment on Satan's sifting of Peter and the apostles, nor the explicit references to Satan in Acts, episodes that would surely complicate her reading of Satan as a social construct to demonize opponents.<sup>2</sup> Kelly does note the episodes studied in this chapter, but his reading is tainted by his implausible efforts to see Satan playing the same role in Luke as he does in Job.<sup>3</sup> In a strange characterization, Kingsbury writes of the disciples as Jesus's opponents as part of his study of conflict in Luke, thus missing the point that they engage with Satan on Jesus's side in the basic conflict of the narrative.<sup>4</sup>

The apocalyptic conflict in Luke's narrative is not solitary combat. Satan has his unclean spirits and demons, and Jesus has his apostles and disciples. As we have seen, one apostle falls victim to the influence of Satan, aligns himself with his power, and is destroyed. But the rest of the apostles continue in their commission from Jesus to participate in the defeat of the devil through exorcism and healing, and Luke shows this power continuing to work in the church of Acts. In particular, Luke shows how Satan attacks both Peter and Paul and the role they play in turning hearts from the authority of

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<sup>1</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 79–99.

<sup>2</sup> Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 87–98.

<sup>3</sup> Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 101–7.

<sup>4</sup> Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples*, 109–39.

Satan to God. Each in his own way is a contrast to Judas and his fate. Peter endures the sifting of Satan in the passion, but despite his failure returns to the Lord and proceeds in Acts to serve the gospel by the power of his preaching and mighty works in the name of the Lord. Paul for a time joins in implicitly satanic opposition to the church, but is converted by the power of God and serves the mission of the gospel to the Gentiles. These are all distinctively Lukan elements that contribute to understanding Luke's overall view of an elemental conflict taking place between God and Satan. Luke's treatment of the apostles, Peter and Paul in particular, are important pieces of the cumulative argument we are making about the importance that Satan plays in Luke's narrative and theology.

### **5.1. The Apostles and their Mission**

The twelve apostles play a key role in Luke's narrative and theology as the ones to whom Jesus entrusts the expansion of his ministry in the Gospel and its continuation in Acts.<sup>5</sup> Luke several times designates a role for the apostles to carry on the ministry of Jesus with his own power and authority. Jesus enlists the apostles as his coworkers in the fight against Satan, entrusting them with his power that they wield effectively against Satan (Luke 9:1–2). They are promised places of authority, sitting on thrones judging the twelve tribes in the kingdom of God (22:28–30), a commission reiterated in the Gospel's final scene (Luke 24:47–48). The apostles play a key role in the kingdom of God, in

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<sup>5</sup> There is extensive literature on the role of apostle in the New Testament and Luke. For helpful overviews and introductions, see the discussion in Nolland, *Luke 1 – 9:20*, 265–69, with an excellent bibliography on pp. 262–264; Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, “ἀπόστολος,” *TDNT* 1:407–47; Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Fifty-Five Years of Research (1950–2005)*, 407–16; and Francis H. Agnew, “The Origin of the NT Apostle-Concept: A Review of Research,” *JBL* 105 (1986): 75–96. Major works include Günter Klein, *Die zwölf Apostel: Ursprung und Gestalt einer Idee*, FRLANT (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961); Jürgen Roloff, *Apostolat—Verkündigung—Kirche: Ursprung, Inhalt, und Funktion des Apostelamts nach Paulus, Lukas, und den Pastoralbriefen* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1965); and Walter Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1969).

Luke's understanding, and part of that role is exercising power and authority against Satan in the name of Jesus (Acts 16:18, cf. 5:3–5).

After having shown Jesus's power over the devil through healings and exorcisms, the commission of the apostles (9:1–6) represents an enlargement of the campaign against the power of Satan and the advance of the kingdom of God.<sup>6</sup> Luke has made clear Jesus's power over demons and illnesses, but until this point, the confrontation has been between Jesus alone on one side against Satan and his demons on the other. As Jesus's mission advances, he enlists those he has most closely associated with himself to engage in the battle on his behalf.<sup>7</sup> Luke says Jesus “gave them power and authority over all demons and to heal diseases and he sent them out to proclaim the kingdom of God and to heal” (9:1–2). The apostles will now be engaged in this conflict personally, not just in this instance but through the life of Jesus and after it,<sup>8</sup> and others will be joined to the effort as

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<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the sources and historicity of the account, in relationship with its parallels, see Francis Wright Beare, “Mission of the Disciples and the Mission Charge: Matthew 10 and Parallels,” *JBL* 89 (1970): 1–13, and Ferdinand Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament*, trans. Frank Clarke, SBT 47 (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1965), 41–46. Bovon discusses how Luke has taken an account found in Q and used its content both for the mission of the Twelve and the mission of the seventy, which is unique to his Gospel. The two missions serve a concern to reflect the two stages of Christian proclamation and to ground the mission to the Gentiles in the life of Jesus (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 343). Bovon connects this commission with the missionary practice depicted in Acts: power and authority are given by the Lord (Acts 26:15–18), preaching and healing go together (Acts 3:1–26), and the proclamation is received with either acceptance or rejection (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 344). Though Luke has taken this material from Mark, he has stamped it with two key additions: the joining of δύναμις to ἐξουσία and the addition of the word “everywhere” (πανταχοῦ) to the scope of the apostles' mission (Luke 9:6), thus reflecting his concern for the universality of the mission and “as a prolepsis of the future mission of the apostles (Acts 1:8)” (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 347).

<sup>7</sup> Luke's account does not have them sent out in pairs, as does the Markan parallel (6:7) and Luke's own account of the mission of the seventy (10:1). Bovon attributes this to the christological focus of the Lukan account, in which he stresses the relationship with the Lord and their participation in his ministry: “What is decisive is that they have assumed a shared responsibility with Jesus” (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 347).

<sup>8</sup> While Luke uses the aorist ἔδωκεν in places of Mark's imperfect ἐδίδου, this does not imply that he sees this authority as given only for this occasion (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 344 n.11). Most likely a simple compositional choice, it may also emphasize that the grant of authority was complete. Bovon says that “the narratives in Acts show a relationship between the missionary practice

well. The two main manifestations of power, to cast out demons and to heal, are evidence of the arrival of the kingdom of God (11:18–21), and the broader scope of the apostles’ mission expands the narrative of the kingdom of God defeating Satan’s authority.<sup>9</sup>

Luke gives a particularly forceful expression to the commission given to the apostles by Jesus. Whereas Mark and Matthew speak of Jesus giving the apostles ἐξουσία, Luke adds δύναμις (Luke 9:1; cf. Mark 6:7; Matt 10:7). Luke makes these terms a hendiadys that is unique to him in the gospels.<sup>10</sup> Though there is a distinction between these two terms,<sup>11</sup> there is a broad range of semantic overlap, and the effect is to emphasize and strengthen what is given to the apostles. Luke sees Satan as only having authority in the world, in a real though limited manner. Jesus, however, not only has authority, but he also possesses power, something that Luke generally ascribes only to God and not to Satan.<sup>12</sup> Jesus thus grants the apostles a share in what he himself possesses.<sup>13</sup> By accenting the fact that Jesus possesses both (cf. Luke 4:32) and gives both to the apostles, Luke again shows that Jesus is superior to Satan as the narrative about his defeat by the kingdom of God develops, who only possesses authority and not power (4:6).

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shown in the pre-Easter and post-Easter periods” (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 344). Nolland calls the mission of the Twelve “a dress rehearsal for the post-Pentecost role of the Twelve” (Nolland, *Luke 1 – 9:20*, 428).

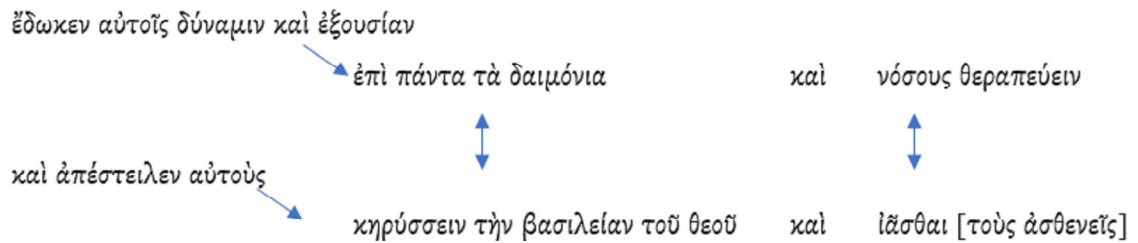
<sup>9</sup> Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 813.

<sup>10</sup> The other instance of this hendiadys is at 4:32, when the crowd marvels at Jesus’s authority and power, again with regard to demons. Bock calls it a “more comprehensive hendiadys,” that derives from Luke’s recurrent interest in δύναμις (cf. Acts 1:8; 2:22; 10:38; Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 813). On hendiadys, see Maximilian Zerwick, *Biblical Greek. Illustrated by Examples*, trans. Joseph Smith, Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici 114 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), 155.

<sup>11</sup> Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, 69–93; Foerster, “ἐξουσία,” *TDNT* 2:560–575; Grundmann, “δύναμαι/δύναμις,” *TDNT* 2:284–317.

<sup>12</sup> The exception to this is at Luke 10:19, where it is likely used to avoid repetition in a parallel construction.

<sup>13</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 753.



Luke uses a parallel construction that connects the defeat of demons with the kingdom of God in his grant of power and instructions to the Twelve. The power and authority given the Twelve are specified in two ways: “over all demons” and “to cure diseases.”<sup>14</sup> Jesus sends them out (ἀπέστειλεν) with the instruction to preach the kingdom of God and to heal the sick (using complementary infinitives of purpose κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ and ἰᾶσθαι [τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς]<sup>15</sup>). Thus there are two sets of two elements that are in parallel: power and authority “over all demons” and “to cure diseases” parallel the clauses “to preach the kingdom of God” and “to heal [the sick].” There is a clear relationship between the second elements of this parallelism: the power to cure diseases is the basis for the mission to heal the sick. There is a relationship between the first elements of the parallelism as well: the power over all demons is the basis for the mission to proclaim the kingdom of God. Luke has introduced the kingdom of God into the instructions from the Markan source, which allows him to make this connection between the expulsion of demons and the proclamation of the kingdom, a connection he

<sup>14</sup> Bovon sees a chiasmic structure here, in which δύναμις is related to the curing of diseases and ἐξουσία is related to the expulsion of demons (Bovon, *Luke 1*, 344). But this relationship is obscured by the reversal of order, and it makes more sense to see the relationship between δύναμις and ἐξουσία in terms of hendiadys.

<sup>15</sup> τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς is missing from Codex Vaticanus and Syriac manuscripts, though it is present in the rest of the most important witnesses. Metzger confesses uncertainty as to its originality. It could be a scribal expansion, though Luke always gives a direct object to ἰάομαι (Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 122–23.)

will make more explicit in the mission of the seventy.<sup>16</sup> The kingdom of God supplants the kingdom of Satan, and so the power over demons is exercised in proclaiming the kingdom of God.

Luke amplifies the stress on the power over demons by the changes he makes to the Markan account. In place of Mark's "unclean spirits" (τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων, Mark 6:7) he refers to "all the demons" (ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια, Luke 9:1). The word choice of demon over unclean spirits is probably only of marginal importance,<sup>17</sup> but the introduction of "all" specifies the universal scope of this engagement and emphasizes that the apostles have complete power over all the forces allied with Satan. In concluding this episode, Luke summarizes their activity, saying that they were preaching the gospel and healing everywhere (πανταχοῦ, 9:6). The repetition of the lexical form παν- forms an inclusio with the phrase ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια in the commission, emphasizing the broad scope of Jesus's grant of power and the apostles' exercise of that commission.<sup>18</sup>

The commissioning of the apostles, and in particular the granting of Jesus's power and authority to them, calls to mind Satan's offer of authority (ἐξουσία) to Jesus in the desert (4:5–7). Satan claimed authority of the kingdoms of the world, and the ability to give that power to whomever he wished, at the price of worshipping him. Jesus refused this offer of authority over the kingdoms of the world, and in the process defeated Satan in this initial engagement. Luke then showed in the narrative how Jesus possessed by his own right a power (δύναμις) that was greater than the authority offered him by Satan.

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<sup>16</sup> Matthew has Jesus instructing the Twelve to preach that the "kingdom of heaven is at hand" (10:7), repeating Jesus's own preaching (4:17; and that of John the Baptist, 3:2) in his account. As we have discussed, Luke has delayed that announcement until the mission of the seventy. Nonetheless, he introduces the preaching of the kingdom here in connection with the work of exorcism and healing which corresponds to the defeat of satanic influence.

<sup>17</sup> Fitzmyer says that Luke considers the two terms to be equivalent (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 737). Cf. Nolland, *Luke 1 – 9:20*, 206.

<sup>18</sup> Bovon, *Luke 1*, 347.

Now, Jesus demonstrates his own ability to give his power to others, as he confers on the Twelve this power and authority over demons and illnesses, thereby showing a power that is greater than Satan's—he is the “stronger one” (Luke 11:22). The price for the apostles to receive Jesus's grant of power is the same with regard to God that Satan demands for himself. They must have faith in God through their acceptance of Jesus. In accepting Jesus's power and authority, the apostles are allied with the kingdom of God in this apocalyptic conflict between God and Satan. As Satan attempted in vain to enlist Jesus on his side by granting him his own authority, Jesus now enlists coworkers in his confrontation against Satan and grants them his power and authority. Satan demanded that Jesus worship him, but at the end of the Gospel Luke will show the apostles worshipping Jesus (24:52). To align oneself in the apocalyptic conflict is to engage in worship.

Luke constructs a farewell discourse for the Last Supper narrative, that while utilizing sources is original to him, contains a commission of the apostles to carry on Jesus's own ministry.<sup>19</sup> As Neyrey and Kurz have explained, Luke follows the conventions of a farewell discourse,<sup>20</sup> a key element of which is the appointment of

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<sup>19</sup> Soards has a detailed investigation of Luke's sources in Soards, *The Passion According to Luke*. See also Fernando Morell Baladrón, “El relato de la pasión según San Lucas: De Streeter a Brown: 70 años de investigación de la composición de Lc 22–23,” *EstBib* 54 (1996): 79–114, 225–60. There is an extensive bibliography of works on the passion account in Luke. As Bovon remarked in 1993, “There exist ten or so recent monographs on the Lukan story of the passion!” See his bibliography there. (François Bovon, “The Lukan Story of the Passion of Jesus [Luke 22–23],” in *Studies in Early Christianity*; François Bovon [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003], 91, reprint of François Bovon, “The Lukan Story of the Passion of Jesus [Luke 22–23],” in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Testament*, ed. Camille Focant, BETL 110 [Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1993], 493–523). See Senior, *The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke*; Jerome Neyrey, *The Passion According to Luke: A Redaction Study of Luke's Soteriology*, Theological Inquiries. Studies in Contemporary Biblical and Theological Problems (New York: Paulist Press, 1985); Robert J. Karris, *Luke, Artist and Theologian: Luke's Passion Account as Literature* (New York: Paulist, 1985); Joel B. Green, *The Death of Jesus: Tradition and Interpretation in the Passion Narrative* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> Neyrey, *The Passion According to Luke*, 7–9. Neyrey describes four features of farewell discourses: predictions of death, predictions of attacks on the disciples, ideal behavior urged

successors, which he does in 22:28–30 by giving the apostles positions of authority in his kingdom.<sup>21</sup> He appoints (or “covenants”)<sup>22</sup> a kingdom for them as his Father did for him, telling them they “will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” The immediate co-text references the conflict with Satan, as Jesus grounds this saying by observing that the apostles are “those who have stayed with me through my trials/testings” (ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς μου, Luke 22:28), an implicit reference to Satan who stands behind every πειρασμός.<sup>23</sup> The apostles are intimately involved with Jesus in his conflict with Satan, and are about to enter into a new stage of that conflict as they are sifted in the passion, which will be considered below. As the kingdom of Satan is defeated, Jesus constitutes the kingdom of God that will endure in its place, putting the apostles in positions of authority in it. The nature of their role is supplied by the commission given them in chapter 9 and their ministry in Acts, where they preach and perform the same mighty works that Jesus did.<sup>24</sup>

Luke uses the final scene of his Gospel to again assign a role to the apostles as successors to Jesus and bearers of his power, building upon the earlier commissions of

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(exhortation), and commission (appointment of successors). All of these elements are contained in Luke’s Last Supper discourse: Jesus predicts his death in 22:15–18, again in speaking of his betrayal in 22:21–23, and finally again in 22:37; he predicts attacks on his disciples in 22:31; he exhorts his disciples to proper conduct in 22:24–27 and perhaps also in 22:35–38; and he appoints his disciples as successors in 22:28–30 and again in 22:32–34 with the command to Peter to strengthen his brothers. Cf. William S. Kurz, “Luke 22:14–38 and Greco-Roman and Biblical Farewell Addresses,” *JBL* 104 (1985): 251–68.

<sup>21</sup> See especially Charles H. Talbert, “Succession in Luke-Acts and in the Lukan Milieu,” in *Reading Luke-Acts in Its Mediterranean Milieu*, ed. Charles Talbert, NovTSup 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 19–55.

<sup>22</sup> The Greek word used, διατίθημι, is from the same root as the word for covenant, διαθήκη, and in that context is used to mean “make a covenant.” Though there is no specific mention here of a covenant, the presence of the verb gives the nuance of “covenanting” a kingdom, especially in light of the recent reference to covenant in the institution narrative (22:20).

<sup>23</sup> Schuyler Brown argues that the apostles, except for Peter who denied Jesus, actually did remain with Jesus during his passion, albeit at a distance (Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance*, 66–74). Cf. Raymond E. Brown, Karl P. Donfried, and John Reumann, eds., *Peter in the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1973), 120, 122–23.

<sup>24</sup> Talbert, “Succession in Luke-Acts,” 46, 50, 53.

the Twelve and the seventy.<sup>25</sup> In this commission, Jesus gives them the task to be “witnesses to these things,” and says that “in his name repentance for the forgiveness of sins must be preached to all nations” (24:47–48). The promise of power from on high provides a link to the same promise at the beginning of Acts (1:8). This promise of power recalls and renews the powers already specified by Luke that have been given to his followers and exercised by them. As the ministry of the apostles and their coworkers is exercised in Acts, we will see that power being exercised. The ambiguity of “already and not yet,” typical of apocalypticism, is still present, but something has in fact changed through the events of Jesus’s passion and resurrection. Satan’s power has been broken, and the apostles will exercise power over him.

As Luke continues his story in Acts of the Apostles, he shows the apostles exercising the power that they received from Jesus, including the power over Satan and his spirits.<sup>26</sup> Notably, Peter shows power over Satan’s treachery in Ananias and Sapphira (5:1–11), which we will consider more fully later when we consider how Luke shows Peter and Paul participating in the defeat of Satan and the spread of the gospel.<sup>27</sup> Paul is shown exercising power over Satan when he defeats Elymas Bar Jesus the magician,

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<sup>25</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1582. Bovon considers this to be a distinctively Lukan composition (François Bovon, *Luke 3: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 19:28–24:53*, trans. James Crouch, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2012], 387).

<sup>26</sup> The way that Luke constructs the narrative of Acts to parallel the Gospel has been widely studied. See the overview and charts in Keener, *Acts, Vol. 1*, 555–74. See also Charles H. Talbert, *Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, SBLMS 20 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974), 15–23 and Michael D. Goulder, *Type and History in Acts* (London: SPCK, 1964), 72–74.

<sup>27</sup> Garrett includes the account of Philip’s victory over Simon Magus as an example of the church’s defeat of Satan in Acts 8:4–25. Satan is not mentioned directly in this account, but Garrett shows persuasively that Luke associates magic with the devil, and reads this story in that light as “contributing to the overarching story... about the cosmic struggle that results in Satan’s fall from authority at the time of the resurrection and ascension of Christ” (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 75). This is in fact one more piece of evidence to support the cumulative argument being made here, but since Satan is not explicitly mentioned here and the association would require a full summary of Garrett’s argument about magic, we will not go into detail about it here. See Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 61–78.

whom he calls “son of the devil,” who opposes his preaching the word to the proconsul Sergius Paulus (Acts 13:7–12), and expelling the spirit of divination from the slave girl in 16:16–18. Paul’s power over demons is also indicated by the evil spirit who acknowledges his authority in contrast to the sons of Sceva (Acts 19:15). Perhaps even more important than the power Peter and Paul are shown explicitly exercising over Satan in these episodes is the implicit testimony of God’s power over Satan demonstrated by their own biographies. Peter was sifted by Satan at the passion and denied Christ, but repented and is restored to his position as first among the apostles. Paul implicitly engages in the work of Satan persecuting the church, but is converted and engages the mission given him by Jesus of turning people from the authority of Satan to God. The power of God accounts for the conversion of both. We shall now consider the lives of these figures and how they contribute to Luke’s plot of conflict between God and Satan.

## **5.2. Peter: Sifted by Wheat but Strengthening the Brothers**

Peter is a central character for Luke’s plot both in the Gospel and in Acts, chief among the Twelve, who is attacked by Satan but restored through the prayer of Jesus to lead the community by strengthening their faith. One of Luke’s theological goals is to promote and improve the image of Peter, downplaying his faults and amplifying his position and status.<sup>28</sup> Much has been written on Peter and his place in Luke’s writings, and this section cannot detail the entire role that Peter plays for Luke, and even less analyze it in detail.<sup>29</sup> In a significant change from Mark and Matthew, though, Luke omits

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<sup>28</sup> Finn Damgaard, “Moving the People to Repentance: Peter in Luke-Acts,” in *Peter in Early Christianity*, ed. Helen K. Bond and Larry W. Hurtado (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015), 121; Richard J. Cassidy, *Four Times Peter: Portrayals of Peter in the Four Gospels and at Philippi*, Interfaces (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007), 36–56; and Timothy Wiarda, *Peter in the Gospels: Pattern, Personality and Relationship*, WUNT 2/127 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 106.

<sup>29</sup> See the recent collection of essays in Helen K. Bond and Larry W. Hurtado, eds., *Peter in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015); PHEME PERKINS, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000); Bart D. Ehrman, *Peter, Paul, and Mary*

Peter's objection to Jesus's passion and death and the subsequent harsh condemnation by Jesus as a "Satan" that Peter receives in the other Synoptic Gospels (Luke 9:18–21; cf. Mark 8:33; Matt 16:23). This is consistent with Luke's overall promotion of Peter and the apostles, as the implication of Peter colluding with Satan by opposing God's plan was too much for Luke's characterization of Peter.<sup>30</sup> Luke tells Peter's story differently than the other gospels by rewriting his Markan source to introduce Satan to account for Peter's denial. Where Mark and Matthew put Peter briefly in the role of Satan after his confession of faith, Luke removes that episode and instead shows Peter being attacked by Satan. The reversal of roles constructed by Luke is significant. Where his sources imply a satanic attack on Jesus by Peter, Luke has Peter being attacked by Satan and defended by Jesus.

The story of Peter strengthening the brethren is then told by Luke in Acts, in which he is shown as the leading witness to the gospel and exercising the power given to him and the apostles by Jesus. Luke shows the conflict between the kingdom of God and Satan continuing, though in different terms. Besides engaging in the same healing ministry as Jesus, Peter also continues the conflict with Satan by defeating his attack on the church in Ananias and Sapphira. Luke thus draws Peter into his narrative of conflict between God and Satan. After facing the forensic side of the apocalyptic battle by being faced with the personal decision to align with God or Satan, Peter engages in the cosmological side of the battle by defeating Satan and proclaiming the kingdom of God in Acts.

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*Magdalene: The Followers of Jesus in History and Legend* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3–86; Oscar. Cullmann, *Peter, Disciple, Apostle, Martyr; a Historical and Theological Study*, trans. Floyd V. Filson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1953); Brown, Donfried, and Reumann, *Peter in the New Testament*; and Wiarda, *Peter in the Gospels*.

<sup>30</sup> Brown, Donfried, and Reumann, *Peter in the New Testament*, 111.

### 5.2.1. Demanded by Satan

Luke introduces Satan into the passion narrative not only to explain Judas's betrayal, but also to account for Peter's denials as part of a satanic attack on the apostles. By introducing this element into the passion narrative, he has transformed the sense and significance of Peter's denials and incorporated this episode into his plot of conflict between Satan and Jesus. Luke also introduces a prayer by Jesus for Peter that accounts for his return.<sup>31</sup>

Luke's Last Supper discourse contains another expected element of farewell discourses, the prediction of attacks on the teacher's disciples, which takes the form of an attack by Satan rather than by human authorities.<sup>32</sup> Luke satisfies this expectation of the genre with 22:31–32: "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan demanded you (ὁμᾶς), to sift you like wheat. But I have prayed for you (σου), that your (σου) faith not fail. And when you have turned back, strengthen your brethren."<sup>33</sup> In putting together this account,<sup>34</sup> Luke has made a different choice from the other evangelists to attribute Peter's denials to a satanic attack, and thus show that the passion at its deepest level is not a conflict of Jesus with human powers but with cosmic ones. In the other gospels, human opposition is the primary force driving the passion and the attacks on the disciples. Luke does earlier include Jesus's prediction of the persecution of his disciples by human powers (Luke 12:11; 21:12), which is fulfilled at many points in Acts (4:3; 5:18; 8:3). But here in the climactic conflict of his plot, he does not speak of the disciples' persecution by human

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<sup>31</sup> An excellent exegesis of these verses is found in Marc Rastoin, "Simon-Pierre entre Jésus et Satan: la théologie lucanienne à l'œuvre en Lc 22,31–32," *Bib* 89 (2008): 153–72.

<sup>32</sup> See above, note 20 on page 221.

<sup>33</sup> The initial plural pronoun ὁμᾶς indicates that Satan's attack will fall on all the apostles, even though Jesus is addressing Peter. See F.J. Botha, "Hymas in Luke 22:31," *ExpTim* 64 (1953): 125; and Brown, Donfried, and Reumann, *Peter in the New Testament*, 120–21.

<sup>34</sup> Fitzmyer attributes this section in general to L (Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1421). Soards calls Luke 22:31–34 a "Lukan composition designed to replace Mark 14:27–28" (Soards, *The Passion According to Luke*, 52–53).

powers, but by Satan himself. This is a deliberate choice that Luke makes in accord with the basic structure of conflict that runs underneath all of his narrative.

By introducing Satan into the narrative to account for Peter's denials, Luke engages in a type of rewriting of biblical narrative that is characteristic of other Second Temple literature.<sup>35</sup> Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* consistently engages in efforts to diminish the responsibility of prominent figures for embarrassing episodes, as can be seen its account of the golden calf episode, where Aaron opposes the production of the golden calf rather than overseeing it (LAB 12:2–3). The Book of Jubilees introduces the figure of Mastema at various places in its retelling of the biblical narrative, using him to account for the testing of Abraham in the testing of Isaac (17:16). Chronicles introduces the figure of Satan in its retelling of David's census to deflect responsibility from both David and God (1 Chr 21:1, cf. 2 Sam 24:1–17). Luke's introduction of Satan to the narrative of Peter's denials follows the same strategy to account for Peter's embarrassing act of infidelity. It corresponds to what Luke did in introducing Satan to account for Judas's betrayal, where Satan serves as Luke's explanation for Judas's treachery. While Satan's role does not diminish Judas's accountability, nor Peter's, it does narratively explain something that demands some kind of explanation.<sup>36</sup> Luke recruits Satan, not only narratively but theologically, as an explanation for these events.

Luke's arrangement of material references the conflict between Satan and God by putting Jesus's saying about Satan's sifting immediately after the appointment of the Twelve to positions of authority in the kingdom. Just prior to Jesus's words to Peter, Jesus has established the apostles as his successors in a passage we have already

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<sup>35</sup> See the discussion in Goulder, *Luke I*, 123–28. For a discussion of Luke as rewritten Bible, see Craig A. Evans, "Luke and the Rewritten Bible: Aspects of Lukan Hagiography," in *Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. L. Evans (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1993), 170–201.

<sup>36</sup> Perkins, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church*, 86.

considered (22:28–30). By immediately turning to speaking of Satan’s opposition to the Twelve, Luke connects Satan’s opposition not merely to the individual persons of the Twelve, but to the kingdom over which they have just been given authority. As the Twelve will succeed Jesus and exercise his power, they will also inherit Satan’s opposition. As the representatives of the kingdom of God, the disciples are subject to the same malevolence that Jesus receives, though Satan will be stripped of authority by Jesus’s glorification.

The language Luke uses to say that Satan demanded the apostles (ἐξητήσατο ὑμᾶς) suggests to some the Job narrative where Satan asks God for permission to afflict Job,<sup>37</sup> but as we explored above this is a different dynamic and conception of Satan. The verb ἐξαιτέομαι is not used in Job, where Satan never actually asks for permission to afflict Job, but rather asks God to do so himself (Job 1:11; 2:5). It occurs only here in the Greek Bible, but it is used elsewhere in the context of demons seeking to afflict persons.<sup>38</sup> In the Testament of Benjamin, he tells his children that “if the spirits of Beliar seek to afflict you with every evil” (ἐὰν τὰ πνεύματα τοῦ Βελιάρ εἰς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν θλίψεως ἐξαιτήσωνται ὑμᾶς), they will not overcome you (3:3). Plutarch, in his *Moralia*, speaks of “powerful and violent demons demanding a human soul” (ἰσχυροὶ καὶ βίαιοι δαίμονες ἐξαιτούμενοι ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, 417d, LCL [Babbitt]). The idea that Satan’s request of Peter reflects Satan’s affliction of Job is anachronistic, for Luke is using a different encyclopedia of knowledge about Satan, which comes out of his milieu of Second Temple apocalypticism, and in which Satan is not part of God’s court, but his opponent. The nature of the conflict present in Luke’s passion narrative, where Satan orchestrates

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<sup>37</sup> See Crump, *Jesus the Intercessor*, 154–55, especially n. 1, Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1742, and Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1424. Bovon, while acknowledging that this language does not actually occur in Job, makes the same connection (Bovon, *Luke 3*, 177). But as Neyrey says, this passage “does not seem to envision a Job-like testing of the disciples so much as a warlike attack on them” (Neyrey, *The Passion According to Luke*, 33).

<sup>38</sup> BDAG, s.v. “ἐξαιτέομαι”; Gustav Stählin, “ἐξαιτέω,” *TDNT* 1:194.

the death of God’s emissary and son, sufficiently illustrates this. A more fitting understanding of the sense of ἐξαιτέομαι in Luke’s context is given by Stålin as “demanding the surrender of,” a fitting image in light of the apocalyptic framing of cosmological combat between good and evil.<sup>39</sup> Satan’s demand is one of malicious intent, which is “granted” only insofar as Satan has been given authority over the kingdoms of the earth (4:6),<sup>40</sup> which he is now bringing to bear against the kingdom of God. In fact, Jesus will oppose Satan’s destructive plans through his prayer. Satan does not act with God’s authorization, but rather his designs are opposed to God and ultimately thwarted by the prayer of Jesus.

Luke says that Satan demanded the apostles<sup>41</sup> in order to sift them like wheat<sup>42</sup> (τοῦ σινιάσαι ὡς τὸν σῖτον), a metaphorical way to describe the assault of Satan on the apostles. While σῖτος is a common word in biblical Greek for wheat (or more generically, grain, cf. Luke 3:17; 12:18; 16:7; Acts 27:38), σινιάζω occurs only here in the Greek Bible. Luke probably does not mean to reference any particular text or tradition, but has simply chosen a word that indicates that the disciples will undergo a “violent agitation” by Satan as implied by the action of sifting wheat.<sup>43</sup> Bock associates it with the dismembering of a head of grain in a sieve, and suggests the English expressions “picking

<sup>39</sup> Gustav Stålin, “ἐξαιτέω,” s.v. “αἰτέω,” *TDNT* 1:194.

<sup>40</sup> As we have noted, Luke’s interests do not extend to the etiology of this authority held by Satan, but only its present reality as the situation into which Jesus’s mission of bringing the kingdom of God intrudes.

<sup>41</sup> Jesus is speaking directly to Peter, but the plural ὑμᾶς in the first clause indicates that the sifting foretold will afflict all the apostles. See Botha, “Hymas in Luke 22:31,” 125.

<sup>42</sup> Taking the genitive articular infinitive τοῦ σινιάσαι in its final sense. See Maximilian Zerwick, *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, 5th rev. ed., trans. Mary Grosvenor (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1996), 272.

<sup>43</sup> The expression comes from Zerwick, who says that the “tertium comparationis is violent agitation,” in a note curiously omitted from the English translation, but in the Latin original (Maximilian Zerwick, “Analysis Philologica Novi Testamenti Graeci” [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1953], 201). Fuchs cites Julicher to say “What σινιάσαι means in Lk. 22:31 may be pretty well guessed without a dictionary from the accompanying comparison ὡς σῖτον” (Ernst Fuchs, “σινιάζω,” *TDNT* 7:292 n. 6).

someone to pieces” or “taking someone apart” to convey its meaning.<sup>44</sup> The point is that Satan wishes to attack Peter, to tear him apart, to leave him in ruins. He wants to destroy his faith in the same way he destroyed Judas.

The language of sifting that Luke uses to describe Satan’s activity with respect to Peter, however, is different than the language he used for Judas. Both Judas and Peter are attacked by Satan, but Satan enters Judas, while Peter (and the other apostles) are sifted by him. While Jesus ascribes a woe to Judas, he promises his prayer for Peter, and foretells that he will turn back from this experience. So while there is a parallel between Satan’s action with both Judas and Peter, there are also important differences in Luke’s view. Both come under the attack of Satan, but while Judas goes completely to the side of Satan, Peter turns back to Jesus after his failure. The different outcomes account for the different language and imagery that Luke uses for Judas and Peter. In Judas’s case, the language used allows for Satan’s successful penetration of Judas’s interior. In Peter’s case, the attack remains at the exterior level without fully entering Peter’s heart, reflecting Judas’s destruction and Peter’s subsequent turning back.

Jesus’s prayer explains for Luke the different fates of Judas and Peter, who could otherwise be seen as parallel figures of infidelity. Both Judas and Peter are beset by Satan and act unfaithfully at the time of the passion. To distinguish the two, then, Luke introduces Jesus’s prayer for Peter into the narrative. Jesus’s prayer is a consistent element of Luke’s narrative, something that he repeatedly inserts into the story, often at places of particular importance. Here Luke specifies the specific content of Jesus’s prayer: that Peter’s faith not fail. Jesus’s prayer for Peter (and implicitly the other apostles as well<sup>45</sup>) shows a marked difference between Peter and Judas that accounts for their

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<sup>44</sup> Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1742.

<sup>45</sup> Crump, *Jesus the Intercessor*, 158–62.

different fates: Jesus prays for Peter but does not pray for Judas.<sup>46</sup> Luke does not say why Jesus prays for one and not the other. But the fact that he does accounts for Peter's repentance, while Judas's life ends in destruction.

The intention that Luke ascribes to Jesus's prayer, that Peter's faith might not fail, is consistent with the connection he makes between faith and salvation and Satan's opposition to them. Luke is particularly fond of the expression "your faith has saved you" (ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε), which he takes from his Markan source in the story of the healing of the hemorrhaging woman (8:48; cf. Mark 5:34) and the blind man Bartimaeus (18:48; cf. Mark 10:52), but which he introduces into the story of Jesus's anointing by the sinful woman (7:50) and puts in his unique story of the ten lepers (17:19).<sup>47</sup> In the parable of the sower, Luke specifies that Satan's intent is to thwart faith and thus salvation, removing the seed "that they may not believe and be saved" (Luke 8:12). The conflict between Jesus and Satan is reflected in their contrary designs with regard to Peter. Satan wants to destroy Peter's faith by sifting it, while Jesus's prayer is that Peter's faith not fail. The conflict between Jesus and Satan is clearly expressed in this contrast. They are at war over a human soul. Since Jesus's power is greater, his prayer will prove effective and Satan's efforts will fail.

With his next expression, "and when you have turned back," Luke invokes his favored term for conversion, ἐπιστρέφω, to foretell the path ahead for Peter. The word ἐπιστρέφω has a long history in classical, biblical, and Hellenistic use in an ethical sense beyond its immediate spatial meaning.<sup>48</sup> Luke has a strong predilection for both

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<sup>46</sup> Crump, *Jesus the Intercessor*, 162–66.

<sup>47</sup> As Fitzmyer notes, Luke retains it from Mark and expands it "because it was so apt for his theology of salvation" (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 583). Cf. Bock, *Luke Volume 1*, 707.

<sup>48</sup> Summarized beautifully by Georg Bertram, "ἐπιστρέφω," s.v. "στρέφω," *TDNT* 7:722–29. When used in an ethical sense, it is used to speak of a moral change or conversion, both in a positive sense but also in the negative sense of corruption, a turn to evil. While the spatial sense is common in the Old Testament, the ethical sense is also frequently used to refer to a change of heart toward God or away from him. The Psalms use it to speak of conversion, as in Ps 19:7 (18:8

ἐπιστρέφω and the related (though distinct) μετανοέω.<sup>49</sup> Of 27 occurrences of ἐπιστρέφω in the gospels and Acts, 18 are from Luke’s writings. Of 21 occurrences of μετανοέω in the same literature, 14 are from Luke. While some of his uses are in the simple spatial sense,<sup>50</sup> he also uses the language in its Old Testament sense of being converted to God. Consistent with the character of his infancy narrative being written in Septuagintal style, he uses ἐπιστρέφω to describe the mission and identity of John, saying that “he will turn the hearts of many of the sons of Israel to the Lord their God” (καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιστρέψει ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν, Luke 1:16) and going before the Lord “to turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the disobedient to the understanding of the just” (ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων, Luke 1:17). The sense is to convert, a moral movement away from sin and toward God, though in context the English word “convert” does not fit here. The turning of the fathers’ hearts to their children is an apocalyptic image from the book of Malachi, where Elijah is sent

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LXX), which says that the law of Lord converts souls (ὁ νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἄμωμος ἐπιστρέφων ψυχάς). The verb is used often by the prophet Jeremiah, both in its negative and positive senses. In Jer 11:10, the people have turned to the wicked deeds of their forefathers, and thus away from the Lord (ἐπεστράφησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀδικίας τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν τῶν πρότερον). But in 24:27, he prophesies that the people will again have the Lord as their God, that they will convert (return) to him with their whole heart (ὅτι ἐπιστραφήσονται ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν). In the Second Temple period, μετανοέω begins to take the place of ἐπιστρέφω to speak of conversion, though there remain differences in meaning between these two words.

<sup>49</sup> Michiels finds a distinction in the usage of these two verbs with reference to Jews and pagans. He says that Luke uses μετανοέω to indicate that Jews must repent of the death of the Messiah, but not ἐπιστρέφω, since they already know of God (Robrecht Michiels, “La conception lucanienne de la conversion,” *ETL* 41 [1965]: 47). He argues Luke uses ἐπιστρέφω to describe the conversion of the Gentiles, sometimes alongside of μετανοέω, but describing their need to repent of idolatry (51). Michiels’s distinction is insightful, but, as is often the case with such distinctions, it is less rigorously observed by Luke than he claims. He acknowledges in a footnote that it does not hold in Acts 9:35 (47 n. 26). His discussion of Luke 3:19, where the two verbs are used together, also complicates the distinction that he attempts (45). While the words may not be exact synonyms, they are very close in meaning and are essentially interchangeable with each other. Both indicate the act of conversion with slightly different accents that arise from their derivations. A sense of repentance through the change of mind is implied by μετανοέω, while ἐπιστρέφω imparts a sense of movement, of going (or returning) to God.

<sup>50</sup> Luke 2:39; 8:55; 17:31; Acts 9:40; 15:36; 16:18

“before the great and glorious day of the Lord,” and the image of turning hearts is one of repentance and conversion (Mal 3:23; cf. Sir 48:10). The word thus means for Luke a fundamental moral decision for the Lord made under apocalyptic pressure. John, like Elijah, will pressure people to make this “turn” before the coming of the Lord. The density of the language of ἐπιστρέφω is much heavier in Acts, where Luke often uses the language of conversion in the context of the acceptance and spread of the gospel (Acts 3:19; 9:35; 11:21; 14:15; 15:19; 26:18, 20; 28:27).

Luke gives the verb ἐπιστρέφω apocalyptic resonance near the end of Acts by using it to describe the turning from the power of Satan to God. In Paul’s final apology for his life before King Agrippa, he reports that at his conversion Jesus said to him, “I send you to open their eyes so that they turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to the power of God” (ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω σε ἀνοίξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν, τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, Acts 26:17–18). Though we shall examine this passage in detail later, for now it helps understand that Luke sees the act of conversion as a moral realignment from the kingdom of Satan to the kingdom of God. The verb ἐπιστρέφω in this expression reflects the apocalyptic worldview that Luke has, in both the cosmological and forensic senses. There are two sides contending for Peter, who retains the capacity to decide which side to align with. In the context of this vision of “conversion” or “turning,” the significance of Jesus’s words to Peter can be seen to denote a moral victory in which he turns away from Satan’s power, to which he briefly falls victim in the sifting he undergoes, and back to God. Judas became a traitor, aligning with Satan, and never turned back.<sup>51</sup>

Jesus’s words to Peter include a command to strengthen the brethren that is the primary commissioning scene for Peter in the Gospel of Luke. The other gospels include

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<sup>51</sup> The fact that Luke does not use the language of ἐπιστρέφω with regard to Judas should not obscure that his biography reflects this same dynamic.

this traditional element in different places,<sup>52</sup> but Luke puts it here and gives it a distinctive formulation as strengthening the brethren. Luke will illustrate what this means through the role that Peter plays in Acts. He implicitly creates a criterion for establishing Peter's "return" or conversion: if he is seen strengthening the brethren, that will serve as a fulfillment of Jesus's words.

Luke has created a narrative expectation in three parts with this element of his farewell discourse: that Peter be assaulted, that he turn back to faith, and that he strengthen the community in the plan of salvation. A careful narrator, Luke will show all three of these expectations coming to pass.

### **5.2.2. Peter is sifted in the denial but turns back at the Lord's look**

Having created an expectation for Peter to be sifted, Luke uses the tradition about his denial of Jesus to meet it. Luke makes this association by placing Jesus's prediction of Peter's denials directly after telling Peter that he will be sifted and commanding him to strengthen the brethren after he repents. In Luke's view, then, the concrete form of Peter's sifting is this traumatic experience that leads him to deny his relationship with Jesus. Fitzmyer calls it "his *peirasmōs*," and it is significant that it takes place at night.<sup>53</sup> It is not an act of "handing over" as Judas accomplished, but nonetheless an act of disloyalty and betrayal. Luke's literary crafting, then, is to take this well-established tradition of Peter's

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<sup>52</sup> The special role given to Peter by Jesus is an ancient tradition that is incorporated into the gospels in different ways (Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 258–59). Matthew places it just after Peter's confession, with Jesus saying he will give him the keys to the kingdom of heaven (Matt 16:18–19). In John's Gospel, it placed at the end with Jesus's command given three times that Peter feed his sheep (21:15–17; cf. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 259, and Brown, Donfried, and Reumann, *Peter in the New Testament*, 124–25). Even if, as many scholars have argued, John 21 is an addition not originally part of the Gospel, the point is clearly seen that some account of Peter's role among the apostles was considered to be an important element of a gospel narrative. Its absence in Mark is an example of Mark's antagonism toward the apostles and Peter in particular (Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 258. Cf. Theodore J. Weeden, *Mark: Traditions in Conflict* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971], 43).

<sup>53</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1459.

denials and interpret it in terms of the basic conflict that underlies his narrative, casting it as the result of a hostile action by Satan against an agent of the Lord.

Luke puts his own stamp on his account of Peter's denial that accents its role in the apocalyptic conflict underlying his plot. Luke has changed the narrative order present in the other gospels by placing Peter's denial immediately after Jesus's arrest.<sup>54</sup> In this arrangement, the last thing said by Jesus before Peter's denials is that "this is your hour and the power of darkness" (Luke 22:53). Jesus is then arrested, and Peter follows at a distance. The satanic dimension of this time is thus seen as not only the attack on Jesus, but on Peter as well. By placing Peter's story between the expository words of Jesus about the hour and power of darkness and Jesus's own subsequent trials and suffering, Luke specifies that Peter's own trial (and failure) takes place under the power of Satan. Satan's attack on Peter takes place at the same time that Jesus is undergoing his attack.

Luke has edited the story of Peter's denials to simplify and clarify the narrative but also to make it better serve his theological purposes.<sup>55</sup> He removes the interruptions to the narrative of Peter in Mark and Matthew, and tells the story of Peter continuously without any interruptions about Jesus's trial. The three denials are more clearly defined by having them occur to three different people (Mark 14:66–70 has the first two take place at the behest of one of the maids of the high priest). Luke also removes the second cock crow, and thus makes a more dramatic conclusion when the cock crows for the first time. But Luke also prepares for Peter's rehabilitation by removing Mark's statement about Peter "beginning to curse himself" in the third denial (ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν, Mar 14:71; cf. Matt 26:72, 74, where he inserts an oath into Jesus's second denial), as the implications of this self-cursing are problematic for the contrast drawn between Peter and

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<sup>54</sup> As Bovon notes, "The simplicity of this sequence does not reflect the historical events; it is the result of a literary construction." (Bovon, *Luke 3*, 224).

<sup>55</sup> Bovon describes Luke's elegant editing (*Luke 3*, 226).

Judas.<sup>56</sup> It was Judas about whom Jesus ascribed a woe (22:22), not Peter. Judas was cursed in a way that Peter was not, and so Luke removes that difficulty.

Yet for all his streamlining, Luke does not diminish Peter's deed. Peter's weakness is highlighted by the fact that his first accuser is a mere serving girl, a figure with no power or strength.<sup>57</sup> Keener cites a wide array of Jewish texts to show that "denying the Lord was a terrible sin."<sup>58</sup> As Bovon notes, the language for denial, ἀρνέομαι, is harsh, harkening to Luke 12:9, Jesus's saying that anyone who denies him will be denied before the angels of God.<sup>59</sup> The word itself contains the implication of apostasy, as Schlier says it "is a failure of the whole man in respect of his total truth before God."<sup>60</sup> Peter's denial of Jesus is an act of apostasy, something that Brown strangely mitigates in his discussion, claiming that Peter did not lose faith in Jesus but merely showed passing weakness and cowardice.<sup>61</sup> But as Bovon notes, "denial is the opposite of confession," and Peter's denial recalls the "cruel and final word of the Master, who refuses to open the gate of the kingdom and who does not know those who knock at the gate (13:25). Here, as there, the rupture appears to be consummated."<sup>62</sup> Senior notes that Peter's threefold denial touches his relationship with Jesus, his membership in the Twelve, and his identity as a disciple.<sup>63</sup> While Luke makes some small changes from

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<sup>56</sup> Fitzmyer says that Luke "has too high an esteem for Peter to include that" (Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1465; cf. Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1786), which may be true, but in the context of such an embarrassing story seems a rather slight mitigation. The desire to limit the curse to Judas makes better sense of this change.

<sup>57</sup> Bovon, *Luke 3*, 230. Cf. Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1783.

<sup>58</sup> Keener, *Acts, Vol. 2*, 1092.

<sup>59</sup> Bovon, *Luke 3*, 230.

<sup>60</sup> Heinrich Schlier, "ἀρνέομαι," *TDNT* 1:471.

<sup>61</sup> Schuyler Brown, *Apostasy and Perseverance*, 71. Brown's conclusion is probably driven by his contention that a πειρασμός is always an act of apostasy, which requires a forced reading of some passages to make this fit. It is better to say that Peter's failure in faith was only temporary.

<sup>62</sup> Bovon, *Luke 3*, 231.

<sup>63</sup> Senior, *The Passion of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke*, 96–97.

Mark to mitigate the depiction of Peter (he does not curse himself and he does not warm himself by the fire), he does not reduce the force of Peter's failure.

Luke's most original contribution is not in his version of Peter's denials themselves, but in the context he gives them through Jesus's prediction in the Last Supper, which reframes the denials as the consequence of a satanic attack. This is yet another expression of the conflict that Luke uses to structure his plot. There is a struggle between the forces of good and evil, between Jesus and Satan, and it is not accidental that Satan attacks the apostle whom Jesus has made the head of his followers. The attack is successful, for Peter falters in faith, in contrast to Jesus's victory over the devil's attack in the desert. Luke accounts for Peter's denials by placing them in the context of his apocalyptic worldview. In rewriting Mark and his other sources, he engages in the tradition of biblical rewriting in Second Temple literature by attributing the misdeeds of heroic figures to the influence of Satan.

Luke satisfies the expectation of Peter's turning back by inserting the detail of Jesus's look at Peter into the narrative. When the cock crows, Luke adds a sentence not found in Mark or Matthew: "And the Lord turned and looked at Peter" (καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ κύριος ἐνέβλεψεν τῷ Πέτρῳ, Luke 22:61). In terms of the narrative, this is a problematic encounter. Peter is in the courtyard, and the implication is that Jesus is somewhere inside the building. It is difficult to see how Jesus could have been located in a place to look at Peter.<sup>64</sup> Luke is a careful narrator who usually cleans up such difficulties, but here he is freely introducing one. This look, however, triggers Peter's memory and his tears: his turning back.<sup>65</sup> When we next see Peter, he will be in a position of authority after the Resurrection, implied to be the first to see the risen Lord (24:34). This encounter between

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<sup>64</sup> Fitzmyer feebly comments "the reader has to presume that [Jesus] has been somewhere in the courtyard" (*Luke X–XXIV*, 1465). Cf. Bock's attempts to explain some mechanism for this encounter (*Luke Volume 2*, 1787).

<sup>65</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1460.

Jesus and Peter thus fulfill the word that Jesus had spoken, and once again Jesus's word is efficacious.

Luke uses two literary associations to deepen the connection between this incident and the words of the farewell discourse. First, there is a verbal echo between the participle *στραφεῖς*, used when Jesus turns to Peter, and the participle *ἐπιστρέψας*, which Jesus used to indicate Peter's return or conversion in 22:32.<sup>66</sup> By saying that Peter remembered "the word of the Lord" (*τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου*, Luke 22:61)—an expression also not found in either Mark or Matthew—Luke invites the reader as well to remember the word of the Lord, specifically, his word about Peter's turning back. Second, Luke twice uses the title *κύριος* for Jesus here in the authorial voice, which creates an echo of Peter's response to Jesus's prediction of his passion, which was to address Jesus as *κύριε* (22:33).<sup>67</sup> This verbal echo creates a link between these two episodes, reminding the reader of what the Lord said to Peter on that occasion, which has just been fulfilled. Peter has been sifted, but Jesus's prayer, signified by his look, has helped him to turn back.

Luke allows the conclusion of the traditional story to stand for Peter's repentance. It is enough to have the Lord turn to Jesus and look upon him, and Peter's response of bitter weeping indicates his repentance.<sup>68</sup> To firmly establish Peter's return, Luke inserts him specifically into the post-resurrection narrative as having seen the risen Christ, something that neither Mark nor Matthew do, even though an appearance to Peter was apparently an early part of the tradition (cf. 1 Corinthians 15:5).<sup>69</sup> The early appearance to Peter (which the narrative implies was the first appearance, although it is the appearance

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<sup>66</sup> This word association is noted by Bovon, *Luke 3*, 178.

<sup>67</sup> C. Kavin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 178–79.

<sup>68</sup> Perkins, *Peter: Apostle for the Whole Church*, 86–87.

<sup>69</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1569.

at Emmaus that is narrated) confirms for Luke's reader that Peter has returned and that the word of the Lord had indeed been accomplished. The implication is that he will go on to strengthen the brethren. Fitzmyer says this apparition is "the basis on which he will reinforce his brothers."<sup>70</sup> When Luke composes his sequel, that role will be made apparent. There, the fate of Peter is a marked contrast with Judas. Judas does not turn back and so loses his place among the Twelve and the ministry entrusted to him by Jesus.

The story of Peter's denial of Jesus is thus highlighted and reinterpreted in Luke's narrative by the additions he makes to the Last Supper discourse and the changes he makes to the denial itself. He turns it into a story of satanic opposition to Jesus and his followers, foretold by Jesus and shown accomplished in Peter's repentance and subsequent restoration to the Twelve.

### **5.2.3. Returning to strengthen the brethren**

The pattern of prophecy and fulfillment is a regular theological and narrative concern for Luke. Having inserted a prediction by Jesus about Peter's future strengthening of the brethren into the Last Supper discourse, the reader will naturally look for that to be fulfilled. Having seen Jesus's words about Peter's sifting by Satan and denials fulfilled, the reader will expect to see the next part of Jesus's words fulfilled as well: that Peter return, or convert (*ἐπιστρέφω*), and strengthen the brethren. Luke gestures to this fulfillment in the text of the Gospel itself, while showing it amply with Peter's prominent role in the early chapters of Acts.

Peter's rehabilitation is shown indirectly by Luke's use of the distinctive expression "the Eleven" to refer to the apostles until a replacement for Judas is selected (Luke 24:9, 33; Acts 1:26; 2:14).<sup>71</sup> Judas has defected to the side of Satan and so

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<sup>70</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1569.

<sup>71</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1546. See Joseph Plevnik, "The Eleven and Those with Them According to Luke," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 205–11.

surrendered his place among the Twelve. The expression “Eleven” thus points implicitly to Peter’s repentance, for the Twelve have lost but one member, Judas. In contrast to Judas, Peter has returned to faith and his membership in the Twelve, as will be indicated by his role as the primary witness to the resurrection.

Luke immediately shows Peter among the disciples after the resurrection, as the first among the Twelve to witness the empty tomb (24:12).<sup>72</sup> While this verse is one of the Western non-interpolations in Luke whose originality has been questioned, its presence in P<sup>75</sup> and a wide number of other witnesses argues strongly for its authenticity, manifested by its inclusion in NA<sup>28</sup> and UBS<sup>5</sup>.<sup>73</sup> But after seeing the empty tomb, Luke says Peter left for home wondering at the things that had happened (καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός, Luke 24:12). This wonder implies a lack of understanding, though it should not be read as a lack of faith.<sup>74</sup> Rather, it accords with Luke’s narrative structure in which the events of Jesus’s death and resurrection are not understood until Jesus himself comes to make them clear, to “interpret to them in all the scriptures all the

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<sup>72</sup> See the discussion in Brown, Donfried, and Reumann, *Peter in the New Testament*, 125–27.

<sup>73</sup> Missing in the Western tradition, as attested by Codex Bezae and the Old Latin tradition, this verse was rejected by scholars who hold to the theory that the “Western non-interpolations” are secondary. The discovery of the Bodmer Papyri has called this evaluation into question. Its presence in P<sup>75</sup> and in all of the other ancient witnesses makes a strong case on the basis of the external evidence. Besides the argument of Western non-interpolation, it has been argued that the verse shows the influence of John’s resurrection account, in which Peter plays a prominent role as the first to see the empty tomb (20:1–7). While there is some similarity in vocabulary between Luke and John in these verses, there is ample evidence that Luke and John have knowledge of similar traditions about the passion, and that is quite plausibly the case here. The committee for the Nestle-Aland critical text has changed its estimation of this verse, excluding it in the 25th edition, but restoring it for editions 26–28. The UBS committee accords it a relatively high level of confidence (“B” in their four tier arrangement, raised from an earlier “D”), and Metzger accords with this (Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 157–58). This seems the best conclusion, in light of the strong evidence of its originality, and P<sup>75</sup> in particular, and a reasoned sobriety about the utility of the principle of Western non-interpolation as an absolute criterion for originality.

Bock concurs and includes a helpful list of scholars on each side of the question (Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1902). See also the discussion in Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers*, 59–62.

<sup>74</sup> Bock, *Luke Volume 2*, 1899–1900. The parallel in John says that the other disciple saw and believed, but that both Peter and that disciple did not understand.

things regarding himself’ (24:27). This is a critical element in the Emmaus narrative and again in the appearance to the Eleven and others in Jerusalem (24:45–46). According to this theological and narrative structure, then, it is important that Peter does not initially understand, since the interpretation needs to come from Christ himself.

Luke also specifies that Jesus first appeared to Peter after the resurrection. Given that Peter’s presence at the empty tomb was part of the tradition and so could not function as that appearance, Luke inserts a reference to it at the end of the Emmaus account. When the disciples return to Jerusalem to share their experience of having encountered the risen Lord, the Eleven already know what they are reporting and confirm it by saying, “The Lord has truly risen, and has appeared to Simon” (24:34). It is an odd narrative device that Luke uses in putting the Emmaus narrative in the narrative foreground, using it to inform the reader of the resurrection, while within the narrative itself, the disciples learn of the resurrection through Peter. While from the reader’s perspective, the disciples of Emmaus are the first to understand what has happened, from the perspective of the Eleven within the narrative, the first to report the truth of the resurrection was Peter, whom Fitzmyer calls “the first official witness of the resurrection.”<sup>75</sup> This accords overall with Luke’s attention to giving Peter the position of leadership among the Twelve, but it also meets the expectation that Jesus’s words to Peter to strengthen the brethren would be fulfilled, which he does by witnessing to the resurrection.<sup>76</sup>

Luke provides a complete picture of Peter’s role strengthening the brethren in Acts. From the very beginning of Acts, Peter is shown taking the leading role among the Twelve and the church as a whole. Immediately after the ascension of Jesus, Peter stands up “among the brethren” (ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, Acts 1:15), an expression which directly

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<sup>75</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 1569.

<sup>76</sup> Dillon, *From Eye-Witnesses to Ministers*, 100.

invokes Jesus's command to him to strengthen the brethren.<sup>77</sup> He proceeds to address the problem created by the vacancy left by Judas, which is, as considered above, the major problem immediately confronting the nascent church. By showing Peter's leadership, Luke satisfies the reader's expectation to see Jesus's word fulfilled, because Peter has both returned and assumed the role of strengthening the brothers. Luke emphasizes the contrast with Judas by showing that the first exercise of Peter's office of leadership is to preside over his replacement.

Peter's second speech after Pentecost in Acts is cleverly composed by Luke to exhort the people of Israel in terms that reflect Peter's own experience in the passion.<sup>78</sup> Apparently no scholar has noted how Luke places in Peter's speech echoes of his experience of denying Jesus and turning back. In explaining the healing of a man crippled from birth (3:1–10), Peter describes his listeners' role in Jesus death, using language that echoes the roles of Judas and Peter in the Gospel. Peter says that they "delivered up and denied Jesus" (ὕμεῖς μὲν παρεδώκατε καὶ ἠρνήσασθε, Acts 3:13), using the same language as the passion narrative: the language of παραδίδομι is used to say that Judas handed over Jesus, and ἀρνέομαι echoes the more intensive ἀπαρνέομαι used to say that Peter denied Jesus. In the Gospel, Luke has shown Judas and Peter guilty of exactly what Peter accuses his listeners of doing.<sup>79</sup> Luke uses the language of denial again in describing the people's response to Pilate's desire to release Jesus, saying that they "denied the Holy and Just One" (ὕμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἠρνήσασθε, Acts 3:14).<sup>80</sup> This is exactly what Peter did on the night of Jesus's arrest..

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<sup>77</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke X–XXIV*, 222.

<sup>78</sup> A thorough analysis of this speech is found in Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1075–1122.

<sup>79</sup> Keener notes these associations (Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1088).

<sup>80</sup> In both these cases, Luke has Peter highlight the personal responsibility of his listeners by including the emphatic personal pronoun ὕμεῖς.

Peter's story continues to be reflected in his speech as Luke has him call the people to follow the same path of repentance by turning back to God. Luke returns to the language used in the Last Supper, as Peter calls his audience to turn back, saying "Therefore, repent and turn back, in order that your sins be wiped away" (μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξάλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας, Acts 3:19).<sup>81</sup> In this exhortation, Peter implicitly narrates his own experience of going from denial to conversion (ἐπιστρέφω). Here, Peter says that the consequence of turning back is described as the forgiveness of sins, expressed by the telic clause εἰς τὸ ἐξάλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας. Luke has not explicitly said that Peter's denial was forgiven, though it has been implied in every way. In the midst of Jesus's prayer for him and look upon him, Peter was forgiven and restored. Peter's own story of denial, conversion, and forgiveness is mirrored in this speech, providing a model to which he exhorts his listeners.

Peter's speech also echoes Jesus's prayer that his faith would not fail, which neutralized Satan's efforts that Peter "not believe and be saved." The speech is prompted by the healing of a crippled man, which Peter twice attributes to faith in Jesus: "through faith in his name" (ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος, Acts 3:16) and "the faith that is through him" (ἡ πίστις ἣ δι' αὐτοῦ, Acts 3:16). Peter has faith, and that is how it is possible that he can heal, not by his own power, but by that given to him by Jesus. In healing the man and explaining the healing in terms of faith, Luke shows that Jesus's prayer for Peter has been effective. Peter's faith is intact, and he is effectively exercising the role given to him by Jesus, strengthening people through his witness to the resurrection that leads to faith

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<sup>81</sup> The verb ἐξαλείπω is not common in the New Testament and may echo Psalm 51, where the same verb is used twice: at the beginning in verse 1 (50:3 LXX: κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρισμῶν σου ἐξάλειψον τὸ ἀνόμημά μου, "according to your great mercy wipe away my lawless deeds") and again at verse 9 (50:11 LXX: πάσας τὰς ἀνομίας μου ἐξάλειψον, "wipe away all my lawless deeds").

and thus salvation. In the apostolic commission in Luke 9:1–2, Peter was given the power to heal, and here is seen exercising it.

Luke also uses the story of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11) to show Peter’s role strengthening the brethren in the context of an attack on the church by Satan. Peter exercises power over Satan, which corresponds to the other power enumerated in the apostolic commission of Luke 9:1–2. Consistent with their general lack of attention to the role of Satan in Luke’s narrative, many commentators have failed to appreciate the nature of this story as speaking to conflict with Satan and his defeat, consistent with Luke’s overall literary interest.<sup>82</sup> But as Marguerat notes, Luke has given this episode the character of an assault by Satan, so that “Ananias becomes the instrument of Satan in his combat against the Church.”<sup>83</sup> Satan has filled the heart of Ananias, in sharp distinction to the Spirit filling the church at Pentecost and again in Acts 4:31. Peter is the one who exposes and defeats Satan’s malicious efforts in this story. There is a parallel in the narrative structure of the Gospel and Acts: just as the Spirit fills Jesus before he defeats Satan in the desert, the Spirit in Acts fills the church before the church is attacked by Satan.<sup>84</sup> And just as Satan left defeated by Jesus in the desert, so Satan’s power is defeated by the authority and leadership of Peter in its first direct attack against the church. The story shows that the conflict continues between Satan and God in Acts, but that God’s power is still superior over a defeated Satan. The “already and not yet” character of Luke’s Gospel, consistent with that theme in apocalypticism more generally, is evident here. Something important and dramatic has changed from the beginning of Luke’s story, where the world was in darkness and the shadow of death and the devil had

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<sup>82</sup> Cf. the discussion on page 211. Tannehill, in a rather short treatment of this passage, makes virtually no reference to Satan’s place in the story, and no connection to Satan’s role in Luke’s narrative (Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 2, 79).

<sup>83</sup> Marguerat, “First Christian Historian,” 170. Keener also notes the deeper conflict here between God and Satan (Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1189).

<sup>84</sup> Marguerat, “First Christian Historian,” 173–74, and Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1190.

authority over the kingdoms of the world. While Satan does not have a prominent role in the narrative of Acts, it is important that Luke show that Peter exercises power over his malicious designs. Satan is still active, but no longer has the upper hand and is easily and completely defeated by the power of God.

Luke has made significant changes and additions to bring Peter into his plot of conflict with Satan. His denials are explained by Satan's sifting, and his return is understood to be the result of Jesus's prayer for him against Satan's efforts to destroy his faith. That prayer had a purpose: to ensure Peter would fill the role appointed for him of strengthening the brethren, which Luke shows being fulfilled in Peter's post-resurrection ministry. That ministry contains a dramatic call to the people to turn back, just as he did, after having denied the Lord. It also contains a dramatic defeat of Satan in the story of Ananias and Sapphira. The victory of God in the apocalyptic struggle against Satan and the sons of darkness, Luke's overarching plot, is made clear in the life of Peter.

### **5.3. Paul: Persecutor to Promoter of the Church**

In Acts, Luke draws Paul into the overarching narrative of conflict between God and Satan as one commissioned to turn the hearts of the people from the authority of Satan to God. Paul is a persecutor of the church who is converted, himself turning from the authority of Satan to God.<sup>85</sup> In Paul's ultimate explanation and apology of his life, he recounts the words of Jesus at the moment of his conversion, saying that he was sent to both Israel and the Gentiles "to open their eyes, so that they turn from darkness to light

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<sup>85</sup> As many scholars have noted, Paul's experience was not of conversion from one religion (Judaism) to another (Christianity). Such an understanding is anachronistic, since at the time of Paul's conversion, Christianity was still tied to Judaism as a development within it rather than a new religion (Bart D. Ehrman, *Peter, Paul, and Mary Magdalene: The Followers of Jesus in History and Legend* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006], 101. See also Krister Stendahl, "Call Rather Than Conversion," in *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976], 7–23, and Keener, *Acts, Vol. 2*, 1614–17). Nonetheless, I will use the traditional language of conversion, since Paul did in fact move from opposing this movement to promoting it, while granting the important clarification about not thereby meaning a change of religions.

and from the authority of Satan to God” (Acts 26:18). Luke thus sets all of Paul’s ministry in terms of the ongoing struggle between Satan and God for the hearts of the people. The structure that Luke gives the process of conversion makes a subtle claim about Paul’s own life: that he was himself converted from the authority of Satan to God, having been doing the work of Satan in persecuting the church prior to his conversion.

### 5.3.1. Persecutor of the Church

Luke introduces Paul as a persecutor of the church, a role that implicitly associates him with Satan and Satan’s activity of opposition to God and his plan.<sup>86</sup> Though Luke does not say it explicitly, in opposing the church, Saul was doing the work of Satan. The apocalyptic frame that runs through Luke’s narrative places Satan and Jesus in conflict with each other. Anyone who is against Jesus is aligned with Satan, as Jesus says just after the strong man parable, which is itself strongly rooted in a worldview of apocalyptic conflict between God and Satan: “He who is not with me is against me” (Luke 11:23). The role that Saul plays in the death of Stephen, which is constructed by Luke as a parallel to Jesus’s own death, parallels the role that Judas played in orchestrating the death of Jesus on behalf of Satan. In light of his belief that whoever opposes Jesus is implicitly on the side of Satan, Luke implies that Saul is working on behalf of Satan in his role in Stephen’s death and the persecution of the church.

Luke introduces Paul as Saul, the persecutor of the church who presided over the stoning of Stephen.<sup>87</sup> He is introduced *in media res* at the end of the Stephen story,

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<sup>86</sup> There is a massive literature on the life of Paul. See most recently Douglas A. Campbell, *Framing Paul: An Epistolary Biography* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014) with an extensive bibliography and N.T. Wright, *Paul: A Biography* (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2018). Important older works include Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch: The Unknown Years* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), John Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), Gerd Lüdemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology*, trans. F. Stanley Jones (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), and Thomas E. Phillips, *Paul, His Letters, and Acts*, Library of Pauline Studies (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson,

without any background about his own life or how he came to be involved in the stoning of Stephen. Luke says only that “the witnesses were laying their garments at the feet of a young man named Saul” (Acts 7:58), an odd and indirect way to introduce Saul to the narrative. But introductions are important, and Luke wants to associate Saul with the death of Stephen.<sup>88</sup> Just after Stephen’s death, Luke again says that “Saul was consenting to his death” (8:1), leaving no doubt that he incurs responsibility. On his first presentation of Saul, Luke presents him as the primary opponent and persecutor of the church. He is not just one opposed to the church, but the leader and most prominent activist against it, as indicated by the witnesses laying their clothes at his feet.<sup>89</sup> As Satan leads the sons of darkness, so Saul was leading the forces arrayed against the church.

The gravity of Saul’s offense in orchestrating the persecution is aggravated by Luke’s construction of Stephen as a figure parallel to Jesus. In telling the story of Stephen, Luke shows Stephen going to his death in a manner that echoes in numerous ways the death of Jesus.<sup>90</sup> This parallelism places Saul in the role occupied by Judas in the death of Jesus as the figure responsible for the death of Stephen. As Judas aligned with Satan in Jesus’s death, so Saul is aligned with Satan in Stephen’s death. Though Luke does not say so directly, in light of the parallelism between these two deaths and

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<sup>87</sup> For a study of Paul as a persecutor, including historical issues, see Murphy-O’Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life*, 65–70, and Arland J. Hultgren, “Paul’s Pre-Christian Persecutions of the Church: Their Purpose, Locale, and Nature,” *JBL* 95 (1976): 97–111.

<sup>88</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 2, 99.

<sup>89</sup> Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1445.

<sup>90</sup> Stephen, at the beginning of his passion, looks to heaven and sees Jesus standing at the right hand of God, and his exclamation of this vision echoes Jesus’s own words at his trial in Luke’s gospel (Acts 7:55–56; cf. Luke 22:69). Stephen forgives his persecutors in terms similar to those in which Luke has Jesus forgive his own (Acts 7:60; cf. Luke 23:34). As he is being stoned, Stephen says “Lord Jesus receive my spirit,” echoing Jesus’s words at his death, “Father, into your hands I commit my spirit” (Acts 7:59; cf. Luke 22:46). This is a fine example of an intertextual echo: the language varies and yet the reference is clear, with a theologically significant adaptation, changing the addressee from the Father to the Lord Jesus. See Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1294–95, also Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 2, 99–100.

Luke's understanding that all opposition to God is implicitly satanic, Saul is aligned with Satan in the conflict between good and evil. Saul is doing Satan's work.<sup>91</sup>

Saul's involvement with the death of Stephen was part of a repeated pattern of behavior that Luke emphasizes. This is only the first mention of an ongoing attack on the church. Just following Stephen's death, Luke describes a "great persecution" (διωγμὸς μέγας, Acts 8:1) in Jerusalem that "scattered" (διεσπάρησαν, Acts 8:1) the church. He says that Paul was "ravaging the church, and entering house after house, he dragged off men and women and committed them to prison" (Acts 8:3). When the narrative returns to Saul at the beginning of his conversion narrative, Luke uses the same inflammatory language to describe him as "still breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord" (9:1). His intention is to bind any members of the Way that he finds, men or women, and bring them to Jerusalem (9:2). According to the narrative, this malicious plan was widely known, as Ananias objects on its ground to God's command to go see Saul (9:13–14). Luke builds Saul's character in this way to be an inveterate and consequential opponent of the church and the divine plan. Later, Paul's persecution of Christians will be referenced repeatedly in the narrative as the starting point for Paul's testimonials in his life.

Within Luke's description of Paul's hostility to the church are three verbal associations with the role of Satan that invoke important aspects of Satan's activity as described elsewhere by Luke. The first is the language of "scattering" the church (διασπείρω, Acts 8:1), a concept that Luke associates with the activity of Satan at two points, albeit using different terms. In the parable of the sower, who sows (σπείρω) the word, Satan's role is explained as taking away the word from their hearts (αἶρει τὸν λόγον

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<sup>91</sup> Garrett reaches a similar conclusion based on the parallel Luke draws between Paul and the magician Elymas Bar Jesus (Acts 13:4–12), saying "The parallels suggest that Luke saw Paul, too, as a one-time servant of the devil" (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 84).

ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, Luke 8:12). There is a verbal echo here on the basis of the σπείρω form, but the conceptual association is much stronger. The devil opposes the faith by scattering what God has sown. We discussed above how gathering is a characteristic activity of God, which Satan opposes by scattering.<sup>92</sup> There is also an echo here of the activity of Satan in the passion, in which he sifts the apostles like wheat (Luke 22:31). The language is different, but the image is the same of an attack that leads to dispersal, an activity that Luke ties to Satan.

Paul's intent to bind members of the church also creates a verbal association with the activity of Satan. The description of Paul intending to bring Christians "bound" from Damascus to Jerusalem (9:2) is reinforced when Ananias objects that Saul "has authority (ἐξουσία)... to bind (δησαί) all who call upon your name" (9:14). Binding is an activity Luke associates with Satan, as seen when Jesus says he bound the woman afflicted with an infirmity for eighteen years (ἔδησεν ὁ σατανᾶς, Luke 13:16). Jesus's liberation of souls from the devil is how Luke conceives him satisfying the proclamation at the synagogue in Nazareth that he has come to bring release to captives and release to those who are oppressed. So when Luke says that Saul intends to bind members of the church, there is a strong allusion to this characteristic activity of Satan. By binding believers, Saul is doing the same kind of thing that Satan does. The mention by Ananias that Saul has authority (ἐξουσία) to bind (Acts 9:14) further echoes Satan's claim in the temptations to be able to give authority to whomever he wishes. Whether he knows it or not, Paul is acting on Satan's behalf.

Finally, Luke uses an unusual word in 8:3 to describe Saul as "ravaging" the church (Σαῦλος δὲ ἐλυμαίνετο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν). The verb λυμαίνω occurs only here in the New Testament, but occurs in the Septuagint and elsewhere in Greek to mean to destroy

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<sup>92</sup> Page 160.

or corrupt.<sup>93</sup> This verse could also be translated, “Saul was destroying the church” (NABR has “trying to destroy”). Destruction is broadly associated with the activity of Satan, both in Luke and in Second Temple literature. In 4 Maccabees, the nominal form of this verb is used as a title for Satan and the verb itself is used to describe his activity. The righteous mother of the seven sons describes her virginity, saying, “No destroyer (λυμεών) or seducer in a desert corrupted me, nor did the destroyer (λυμεών), the serpent of deceit, destroy (έλυμήνατο) the purity of my virginity” (4 Macc 18:8).<sup>94</sup> The previous verse refers to Eve in speaking of keeping guard over the rib that was built,<sup>95</sup> creating an allusion to Genesis, but the λυμεών ἀπάτης ὄφις is nonetheless a reference to Satan.<sup>96</sup> The identification of the desert as a location for Satan’s activity also suggests the temptation narrative in the desert: Satan as a destroyer who attacks in the desert. The presence of this unusual term in Acts to describe Paul points to an identification with the activity of Satan. Luke has again used vocabulary for Saul’s activity of persecuting the church that is consistent with ways of talking about Satan’s activity, here as one who destroys and corrupts. It is not inconceivable that Luke knew of 4 Maccabees, since there are “verbal and structural similarities” in his account of Paul’s conversion to 4 Macc 4:1–14.<sup>97</sup> In any case, the use of the same vocabulary to directly refer to Satan in the roughly contemporaneous 4 Maccabees<sup>98</sup> indicates that Luke conceives that Saul is doing the

<sup>93</sup> LEH, s.v. “λυμαίνω.”

<sup>94</sup> οὐδὲ ἔφθειρέν με λυμεών ἐρημίας φθορεὺς ἐν πεδίῳ οὐδὲ ἔλυμήνατό μου τὰ ἀγνά τῆς παρθενίας λυμεών ἀπάτης ὄφις, translation adapted from NETS.

<sup>95</sup> ἐφύλασσον δὲ τὴν ἠκοδομημένην πλευράν, 4 Macc 18:7. Cf. the Charles translation, which adds the gloss “the rib that was builded *into Eve*” (APOT 684).

<sup>96</sup> APOT 684. Cf. David A. deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Sinaiticus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 258. DeSilva focuses his commentary on the characterization of the virtue of chastity rather than the figure of the serpent as destroyer.

<sup>97</sup> Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 167.

<sup>98</sup> Anderson dates 4 Maccabees to the period 63 BC–70 AD, most likely between 18 AD–54 AD (OTP 1:533–34).

work of the destroyer Satan in seeking to destroy the church.

While Luke does not directly call Saul an agent of Satan in persecuting the church, there is ample reason to think there is an implicit association present in the text. Luke sees anyone opposing the plan of God as implicitly engaging in Satan's work, part of his overall worldview of apocalyptic conflict: "whoever is not with me is against me" (Luke 11:23). More specifically, there are three verbal allusions to Satan's activity in the way Luke describes Saul persecuting the church: scattering, binding, and destroying (ravaging). These are what Satan does, and they were what Saul was doing as well.

### **5.3.2. Conversion**

Paul's conversion tells the story of a man who goes from being Jesus's enemy to his evangelist, from the side of darkness to light, from the unwitting ally of Satan to the apostle of Jesus. The turning from darkness to light will be specifically invoked when Luke tells the story of Paul's conversion for the third time in Acts. After Paul's conversion, Luke shows him with power over the devil and defeating him on several occasions, notably his conflict with Elymas Bar Jesus, the girl with a Pythian spirit, and indirectly with the seven sons of Sceva. While Paul's conflict with Satan is not given prominence by Luke in the narrative, it is a point that Luke does not fail to include. Luke's overall conception of conflict between God and Satan in the world and his story continues to influence the narrative.

This first account of Saul's conversion is placed in the narrative and constructed so as to show Saul as the enemy of the church who is defeated by God.<sup>99</sup> Luke has

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<sup>99</sup> Luke tells the story of Paul's conversion three times, indicating the importance he gives it as a definitive part of Paul's identity. After the narrative of Paul's conversion (Acts 9:1–29), he has Paul twice tell the story himself as an apology, first in Jerusalem "in the Hebrew language" (Acts 21:40–22:21), and then to King Agrippa in Caesarea (Acts 26:1–23). Witherup explains this using the category of functional redundancy, a deliberate rhetorical strategy designed to deepen the character of Paul and lend the story greater power (Ronald D. Witherup, "Functional Redundancy in the Acts of the Apostles: A Case Study," *JSNT* 15 [1992]: 67–86). Much has been written about the historical reconstruction of Paul's life and the historicity of the various accounts

painstakingly characterized Saul as an enemy of the church and thus of God, and Gaventa calls his conversion a narrative of “the reversal of an enemy.”<sup>100</sup> As the story unfolds, Jesus asks, “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?”<sup>101</sup> The word “persecute” (διώκω) is used by Luke almost exclusively for Saul’s persecution of the church.<sup>102</sup> For Luke, Saul was simply *the* persecutor. Jesus’s question to him, “Why do you persecute *me*?” makes explicit the implicit assumption that runs throughout Acts that the church is identified with Christ, bearing witness to him and continuing his teaching and ministry. While Tannehill is too quick to dismiss the importance of this association for Luke, he is right to understand how Luke is identifying Saul as one who falls under the condemnation of those responsible for the death of Jesus.<sup>103</sup> The way that Luke tells the story is meant to create poles of opposition between Jesus and Saul. As the conversation continues, Luke uses emphatic pronouns in Jesus’s response, “I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting”

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of his claimed persecution of the church and subsequent conversion. Among the many works on Paul’s life and conversion, see Gerhard Lohfink, *The Conversion of St. Paul: Narrative and History in Acts*, trans. Bruce J. Malina, Herald Scriptural Library (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1976), C.W. Hedrick, “Paul’s Conversion/Call: A Comparative Analysis of the Three Reports in Acts,” *JBL* 100 (1981): 415–32, and Beverly Roberts Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament*, OBT (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986). Luke, for all his narrative concern for accuracy, allows a number of discrepancies to enter into the different accounts he presents in Acts. Gaventa takes a narrative approach to considering the differences between the three accounts, and locates the differences in the different narrative contexts where they occur. In each case, Luke is using the story differently, to make a different point, and so adjusts the presentation and the details of the story: “What Luke has is *one story*, or one tradition, which he has employed in different ways” (Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 90, emphasis in original). In accord with our particular concern for how Luke’s narrative choices serve his theology, questions about historical foundation will be set aside in favor of looking at the story as Luke presents it.

<sup>100</sup> Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 65.

<sup>101</sup> Gaventa points out that the double vocative is associated in the Old Testament with divine revelation. See Gen 22:11; 46:2; Exod 3:4; and 1 Sam 3:4 (Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 57–58). Luke uses the double vocative in a number of instances, all freighted with significance. Besides the instances associated with the conversion of Paul, see Luke 8:24; 10:41; and 22:31, all of which are of original Lukan composition.

<sup>102</sup> Exceptions are Luke 11:49; 17:23; 21:12; Acts 7:52.

<sup>103</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 2, 114. Cf. Johnson, for whom the association of Jesus and the community is clear (Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 169).

(ἐγώ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὃν σὺ διώκεις, Acts 9:5). As Gaventa notes these emphatic pronouns heighten “the distance between Jesus and Saul.”<sup>104</sup> Jesus and Saul are enemies in conflict with each other as this story begins.

This conflict between Jesus and Saul thus is another formulation of the overall plot structure of opposition between God and Satan. In this case, the conflict is seen between Jesus and Saul, agents respectively of these two fundamental powers. In persecuting the church, Paul has made himself the enemy of God. The story of Paul’s conversion is thus a story of the triumph of God’s power over an enemy, who rather than being destroyed is converted. In different circumstances, God’s power over an enemy is manifested differently, as when Judas is destroyed but Peter is rehabilitated. In Acts, Ananias and Sapphira were destroyed but Paul is converted.

Luke invokes the classical imagery of darkness and light, here expressed as blindness and sight, to indicate the reversal that Saul undergoes. Saul is blinded, a highly symbolic consequence that speaks of his ignorance but also his alignment with evil.<sup>105</sup> The light that blinds Paul recalls Simeon’s words in the Temple, “a light for revelation to the Gentiles” (2:32), as well as the Benedictus that spoke of Christ giving “light to those who dwell in darkness and the shadow of death (1:79). The blindness that he is afflicted with represents the darkness that he served as a persecutor of the church (just as the passion was characterized by Luke as “the power of darkness,” Luke 22:53). Saul’s conversion is from darkness to light, from blindness (not just physical, but spiritual: he is ignorant of who Jesus is and who he is persecuting) to vision (also spiritual: to know Jesus and witness to the resurrection). Here Saul is experiencing in himself the mission that he is given by Christ in the final version of the story, “to open their eyes, so that they

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<sup>104</sup> Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 58.

<sup>105</sup> See Keener’s discussion (Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1640–42). He notes that Luke uses the Isaiah passage about spiritual blindness as his “closing programmatic text” (Isa 9:9–10 in Acts 28:26–27).

may turn from darkness to light, from the authority of Satan to God” (26:23).<sup>106</sup> In the total reversal represented by Saul’s conversion, God’s enemy is defeated, and the power of God is asserted as superior to the power of Satan. Paul himself will exercise power over Satan in his ministry in three main episodes.

The placement of Saul’s conversion in the narrative is strange since Luke does not immediately continue Saul’s story. As Keener notes, like many historians, Luke struggles with arranging material both to tell a continuous story and to respect chronology.<sup>107</sup> After the story of Paul’s conversion and its immediate aftermath, Luke leaves aside the story of Paul’s life to follow events chronologically. Insofar as he refers to Saul and his activity, Luke confines himself to an annalistic account of events, cataloging Saul’s activity over long periods (at Antioch, Saul and Barnabas are said to meet with the church for a “whole year,” Acts 11:26), without narrating stories in which Saul is an active character. Saul never speaks directly in these passages. In Luke’s construction of his historical narrative, he includes both broad historical cataloguing and narrative accounts. The stories he chooses to tell are important, for he has chosen to include them for a reason, and in this section, he does not include stories about Saul, which he is reserving for a particular occasion.

The first story that Luke chooses to tell about Saul’s active ministry, his conflict with Elymas Bar Jesus, is an important narrative choice, just as Luke’s choice to make the temptations the first story of Jesus’s adult life was important. He chooses an account of a conflict with the devil, in the person of the false prophet and magician Elymas Bar

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<sup>106</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 2, 121. Hamm argues that the blindness and vision theme is developed through the three accounts of Paul’s conversion, from an act of punishment and healing to a metaphor describing the apocalyptic mission of Paul and the church. Despite this development, there is the implication even in Acts 9 that the blindness has a spiritual meaning as well as a physical one (Dennis Hamm, “Paul’s Blindness and Its Healing: Clues to Symbolic Intent [Acts 9; 22 and 26],” *Bib* 71 [1990]: 63–72).

<sup>107</sup> Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 1598.

Jesus, as the first story about Paul’s public ministry, the occasion on which he begins to be called by his missionary name Paul.<sup>108</sup> Garrett says this episode “illustrates... Christian authority over Satan... [and] a pattern of conflict between good and evil, between the purposes of God and the purposes of Satan.”<sup>109</sup> Luke constructed the narrative of the Gospel to make the confrontation with Satan the first event of Jesus’s adult life, and he has done the same thing with Paul, making a confrontation with a “son of the devil” the first narrative of his missionary career and the first time he speaks after his conversion.

As Garrett notes, Luke formulates the confrontation between Saul and Bar Jesus as one between God and Satan, creating the sharpest possible contrast between these characters.<sup>110</sup> Paul’s first words spoken after the account of his conversion are to address Bar Jesus as “the son of the devil” (υιὲ διαβόλου), casting him as the “enemy of all righteousness” and “full of all deceit and villainy” (Acts 13:10). These epithets serve to characterize Bar Jesus as the agent of the devil and the enemy of God, maliciously opposed to Paul’s mission of spreading the faith. Luke says that he was “seeking to turn away the proconsul from the faith,” using his favored term for conversion, ἐπιστρέφω, only this time in the negative sense. This effort to turn a person away from the faith corresponds to the way Luke understands Satan’s malicious activity of taking away the word “so they will not believe and be saved” (Luke 8:12; cf. the language of Satan sifting the apostles so that their faith will fail, Luke 22:31–32). As Keener notes, Bar Jesus was “emulating Satan’s role.”<sup>111</sup> Luke continues to amplify this characterization by accusing him of “making crooked the straight paths of the Lord,” an expression that recalls the

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<sup>108</sup> See Garrett’s detailed exegesis, which largely corresponds to the view taken here (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 79–87).

<sup>109</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 87.

<sup>110</sup> Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil*, 80.

<sup>111</sup> Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 2, 2016.

mission of John to “prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight” (Luke 3:4).<sup>112</sup> Luke thus casts Bar Jesus as playing an antithetical role to John, seeking to inhibit the saving action of God in the world rather than prepare for it. In Luke’s understanding, Bar Jesus is an agent of Satan, opposing the spread of the gospel according to the will of God and the action of the Holy Spirit in the life and ministry of Paul. As Garrett puts it, he is “the very antithesis of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>113</sup> Luke sees any such opposition to the gospel as satanic, which is confirmed in the way he has Paul address Bar-Jesus. Saul’s reversal is complete: this one-time opponent of God is now his agent working against the devil.<sup>114</sup>

Luke describes a complete victory over Satan by the power of God that Paul wields. Paul strikes Bar Jesus blind by invoking “the hand of the Lord,” an expression denoting God’s power, echoing the saying in the Gospel “if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you” (Luke 11:20).<sup>115</sup> Luke then says that “mist and darkness immediately fell upon him” (13:11). This is another “punitive miracle” that recalls the defeat of Satan in the persons of Ananias and Sapphira, in that case through the agency of Peter.<sup>116</sup> By including a punitive miracle showing victory over Satan in the lives of both Peter and Paul, Luke shows that this is a key narrative element in his plot.<sup>117</sup> Blindness and darkness are symbols of the power of the

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<sup>112</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 81; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 2*, 163.

<sup>113</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 80.

<sup>114</sup> Garrett notes a number of parallels between the stories of Paul and Bar Jesus, although there are of course differences. Since Bar Jesus is clearly identified with the devil, she notes “The parallels suggest that Luke saw Paul, too, as a one-time servant of the devil,” corresponding to the argument made here (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 84).

<sup>115</sup> The language is obviously not exact, but the imagery is enough to invoke that saying in the mind of a reader who knows the text. The phrase “hand of the Lord,” which occurs also in Luke 1:66 and Acts 11:21, demonstrates Luke’s comfort with such anthropomorphic expressions, supporting the possibility that Luke’s phrase “the finger of God” in Luke 11:20 is his redaction.

<sup>116</sup> Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 503.

<sup>117</sup> Neiryneck identifies these as parallels (Frans Neiryneck, “The Miracle Stories in the Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction,” in *Les Actes des Apôtres*, ed. J. Kremer [Gembloux: Duculot, 1979], 172–82). Many commentators who note parallels in Acts between Peter and Paul fail to connect these two punitive miracles over an agent of Satan. See PHEME PERKINS, *Reading the New*

devil. Jesus came to give sight to the blind (Luke 4:18), and the apogee of Satan's power in the passion is described as the "power of darkness" (Luke 22:53). In casting Bar Jesus into blindness and darkness, Luke shows that this false prophet is aligned with Satan against God (as Paul himself once was).<sup>118</sup> Even more importantly, it shows that Paul acts with the power of God that is superior to the power of Satan, as Garrett observes.<sup>119</sup> The impotence of the devil is shown through his agent Bar Jesus reduced to going about "seeking people to lead him by the hand" (13:11). Curiously, Luke has Paul say that he will be unable to see the sun "until a time," using the same expression (ἄχρι καιροῦ, Acts 13:11) with which he concludes the temptation narrative (Luke 4:11). The reader's expectation of learning how long this time will last is disappointed, as Luke never returns to finish this story about Bar Jesus. By echoing the temptation narrative but leaving the expectation unmet, he makes the point that Satan's power is broken as the future time never returns and Bar Jesus never returns to the light. So the story ends here, with his defeat, a defeat that is not undone. This defeat leads the proconsul to believe, which is the ultimate expression of victory of the word of the Lord over the power of the devil who opposes it.

Luke structures the narrative so that Paul's public ministry begins in a way that is parallel with Jesus's first public action in the Gospel.<sup>120</sup> In the Gospel, Luke precedes

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*Testament: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Paulist, 1988), 264; Keener, *Acts, Vol. 1*, 561–62.

<sup>118</sup> Garrett says it is "a consignment to the authority of his master, Satan," and cites other instances where the agents of Satan are punished with darkness: Matt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30; 2 Pet 2:17; 1QS IV, 12–14; cf. Rev 22:5, 14–15; Barn. 20.1; Acts Pet. 4.8 (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 83).

<sup>119</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 84.

<sup>120</sup> Tannehill observes this connection but curiously does not include the element of conflict with the devil, focusing rather on how prayer and the Holy Spirit lead to an inaugural address (Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 2*, 160–61). Goulder also details parallels between the Gospel and Acts, played out in Acts repeatedly with the apostles, deacons, Peter, and Paul. In relation to the argument advanced here, Goulder sees parallels with the life of Jesus in Paul's "choosing" (13:1), the descent of the spirit (which he places at 19:1, which is odd since the Holy Spirit is

Jesus's first conflict with Satan (which was also the first narrated action of his adult life) with the baptism in the Jordan, where Jesus is at prayer and the Holy Spirit comes down upon him (Luke 3:22) and the voice of God is heard commissioning Jesus. Luke then begins the temptation narrative by saying twice that Jesus is acting under the direction of the Holy Spirit: he was full of the Holy Spirit and was led by the Holy Spirit (Luke 4:1). There is then a direct confrontation with the devil, followed by Jesus's first preaching event in the synagogue of Nazareth, which leads to his rejection by the people.

Now in Acts, Luke sets up Saul's first public action in the same way, including these same narrative elements. First, Luke includes a preparatory commissioning scene for Saul that corresponds to the baptism of Jesus, situated when the people were at prayer ("worshiping the Lord and fasting," Acts 13:2).<sup>121</sup> As in the baptism, the Holy Spirit appears, but here, it is most unusually the Holy Spirit himself who speaks, commissioning Saul and Barnabas: "Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them" (13:2). By constructing the commissioning of Saul and Barnabas as the result of a direct command of the Holy Spirit, Luke has given this event considerable weight in identifying Saul as the direct agent of God and his power. The next event constitutes for Saul the first event of the mission that is inaugurated by the commissioning event. Luke begins by saying that Saul and Barnabas were "sent forth by the Holy Spirit" (Acts 13:4), just as he has Jesus being "led by the Spirit" at the start of the temptation narrative (Luke 4:1). After some travels, Luke brings Saul into conflict with the devil in the person of the false prophet, Bar Jesus, who is called the "son of the devil." Within this story, Luke again says that Paul was "filled with the Holy Spirit"

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clearly present in 13:2, which he acknowledges as a "rare and powerful expression"), and the preaching of the kerygma with baptisms (13:16) (Goulder, *Type and History*, 65–84). Goulder also misses, at least with respect to Paul, the intervening parallel episode of a confrontation with the devil.

<sup>121</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 2, 159.

(13:9), as Luke repeats this for Jesus (Luke 4:1). In each case, there is an expression of being full of the Holy Spirit and moved by the Holy Spirit into conflict with the power of the devil.<sup>122</sup> In the Gospel, Jesus is tested in the desert and is victorious. In Acts, Paul confronts a “son of the devil” and likewise prevails. In each case, this victory is followed by each figure’s initial inaugural address: Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth (Luke 4:16–30) and Paul in the synagogue of Antioch of Pisidia (Acts 13:16–47). In both cases, the initial enthusiasm with which their address is received is followed by rejection and persecution. The narrative parallels that Luke constructs between the commencement of Jesus and Paul’s missions are deeply structural.

Luke first refers to Saul’s new name at the beginning of his address to Bar Jesus, stating simply that he is “also Paul” (13:9). Luke had a number of options for where to introduce the new name of Paul, and it is significant that he chooses to do it at this critical juncture where he first exercises God’s power against Satan.<sup>123</sup> Luke does not specifically mention any reason or explanation for the change of name for either Peter or Paul, the only two figures who receive a new name in his writing, but the name change seems to reflect a changed life associated with a new mission.<sup>124</sup> At first glance, Luke has placed Paul’s name change at an odd juncture. Consonant with its reflection of a changed life or the call to missionary work, it would make sense in the conversion story itself, or even at the commissioning by the Holy Spirit and the church of Antioch. By choosing to place it

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<sup>122</sup> Johnson notes this parallel between the lives of Jesus and Paul, going into conflict with demonic powers just after their empowerment by the Holy Spirit, followed by a speech and rejection (Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 226, 237).

<sup>123</sup> Fitzmyer discusses how Paul is likely his Roman cognomen, while the Semitic name Saul was his supernomen. As such, he does not consider it to be a true name change (Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 502–3). Whatever the historical truth of this claim, Luke has clearly constructed his narrative to include a change in reference to this man from Saul prior to this event to Paul after it. Fitzmyer does not arrive at an explanation as to why Luke introduces the shift here, other than discomfort at the implications of the Greek adjective, meaning an awkward or effeminate gait.

<sup>124</sup> Matthew, by contrast, explains Peter’s new name on the basis of his designation as the “rock” of the church (Matt 16:18).

here, he identifies Paul with the exercise of God's power over and against the devil. As Garrett says, Luke apparently had a notion that "the change in Paul's life that had occurred at his conversion was somehow perfected by his victorious confrontation with the 'son of the devil.'"<sup>125</sup> Paul's first action in the role identified by his new name is the defeat of an agent of Satan, thus ratifying his conversion. Paul goes from acting for Satan to against him. As Paul will tell the story himself near the end of the narrative, he has passed "from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God" (26:18).

This episode is an important element by which Luke continues the plot of conflict between God and Satan and assigns Paul a role in this conflict. In parallel with the story of Jesus, Luke shows Paul to be commissioned by the Holy Spirit, filled and led by the Spirit, and to engage in direct conflict with the devil's power which he defeats. Paul is shown to be an agent of God acting with the power of God against Satan and his agents. Garrett concludes that the prominent narrative position of this story is because in Luke's eyes "*Paul must himself be invested with authority that is greater than Satan's own.*"<sup>126</sup> Luke thus cleverly reinforces Paul's complete reversal, from working for Satan in opposing the gospel, to opposing Satan by proclaiming the gospel.

Luke again shows Paul having power over unclean spirits in the story of the exorcism of the slave girl with a Pythian spirit (Acts 16:16–18).<sup>127</sup> The girl's identification of Paul and companions as "servants of the Most High God, who proclaim to you the way of salvation" recalls the identification of Jesus as the son of the Most High

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<sup>125</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 85.

<sup>126</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 84. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>127</sup> The Greek is πνεῦμα πύθωνα, or a Pythoness spirit, a reference to the Pythia, Apollo's oracular priestess, a spirit of prophecy. For a detailed study of this term, see Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary. Volume 3: 15:1–23:35* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2014), 2422–29. Garrett has only a few scattered mentions of this passage although it surely touches on the question of the satanic and magic (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 93).

in the Gospel by the Gerasene demoniac (8:28; cf. 4:34; 4:41).<sup>128</sup> As Johnson notes, this indicates that the God whom Paul serves is higher than the one she serves.<sup>129</sup> When Paul orders the spirit in the name of Jesus Christ to come out, it obeys immediately. The nature of this exorcism has much in common with the gospel accounts: the naming by the demon, the command to come out, and the immediate efficacy of the word. As in the Gospel, it demonstrates the superior and complete power of God over Satan and his demons. Here it is being exercised in the name of Jesus, which shows the continuity of the ministry of Paul and the church with that of Jesus himself. It also keeps alive Luke's overarching plot of conflict between God and Satan.

In the last direct confrontation between Paul and Satan, Luke again shows Paul's power over Satan and his agents in the narrative of the seven sons of Sceva (Acts 19:11–20). Garrett says this episode continues “the theme of the ongoing Christian triumph over Satan.”<sup>130</sup> The story is introduced by a summary statement like those in the Gospel, saying that God did extraordinary miracles by the hands of Paul, including the healing of diseases and the exorcism of evil spirits by means of cloths carried away from Paul's body. The odd detail about cloths notwithstanding,<sup>131</sup> this summary statement places Paul within the narrative of Luke's story: that through healings and exorcism Jesus brings release from the power of Satan, a ministry continued in the church. When the seven sons of Sceva, itinerant Jewish exorcists, try to expel an evil spirit “by the Jesus whom Paul preaches,” the spirit responds, “Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are you?” This strange story confirms the power of Paul exercised in the name of the Jesus through the

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<sup>128</sup> Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 3, 2457. Keener rejects the notion that this spirit is a good one (2458–2460).

<sup>129</sup> Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 294.

<sup>130</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 90.

<sup>131</sup> Garrett's analysis of this detail, with its magical connotations, is particularly unsatisfying (Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 91). Cf. Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 3, 2840–42.

very mouths of the unclean spirits.<sup>132</sup>

The subsequent defeat of these exorcists represents a defeat of satanic powers.<sup>133</sup> These sons of Sceva are construed by Luke as agents of Satan, who act with his authority and are thus overcome by the superior power of God. The exorcists reveal that they were working magically, and thus for Satan, by attempting to use the name of Jesus as they would the name of another spirit by which they cast out demons.<sup>134</sup> The name of Jesus grants them no power, since they are Satan's agents and not Jesus's, unlike Paul who is on the side of Jesus and not of Satan. The rebellion of those demons and their attack on the exorcists shows that Satan's kingdom is divided against itself and falling apart in the face of a greater power.<sup>135</sup> As in the story of Bar Jesus, the result is amazement and faith on the part of those who witness the defeat of the devil. Witnessing this and understanding the uselessness of magic leads many to believe, and they express that faith by the destruction of magical books, which Garrett says "symbolize outwardly and visibly Satan's invisible authority over human lives."<sup>136</sup> The power of Satan is further broken by the superior power of God, furthering the story line of conflict between these two powers. Though Paul plays only a silent role in this event, his name is invoked as one who has authority over unclean spirits, playing an essential role in the ongoing defeat of the agents of Satan.

Luke thus continues the theme of conflict between God and Satan into the story of Paul's ministry in Acts. His conversion is a change from the side of darkness to light, from doing the work of Satan in persecuting the church to preaching the gospel. Luke

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<sup>132</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 2, 237. This again is reminiscent of demons acknowledging Jesus and his power in Luke's gospel (Luke 4:34, 41).

<sup>133</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 97–99.

<sup>134</sup> Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 3, 2843–44. Most commentators read this story as a rejection of magic, contrasting magic with the greater power of Jesus. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 646.

<sup>135</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 98. Cf. Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 3, 2850.

<sup>136</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*, 99.

tells the story of his ministry by selecting a confrontation with satanic forces in the person of Bar Jesus as the first story narrated. In the story of the girl with the Pythian spirit and the seven sons of Sceva, Paul is shown to exercise God's power over Satan. The narrative of God's power in the kingdom of God displacing the authority of Satan continues.

### **5.3.3. Darkness to Light**

The third and final account of Paul's conversion in Acts, in the context of a defense speech to King Agrippa, contains the programmatic phrase that we have had many occasions to reference, which frames Luke's narrative and theology as turning the world from the authority of Satan to God. While it is fashionable for scholars to identify certain stories and statements in Luke's work as "programmatic," this original and creative statement of Paul's ministry indeed gives a blueprint for the conflict that drives all of Luke's narrative, from the life of Christ in the Gospel to the life of the church in Acts. Tannehill calls it "a climatic review and interpretation of [Paul's] mission."<sup>137</sup> It makes explicit the conflict that underlies Luke's entire plot, the power of God in Jesus and the church displacing the authority that Satan held in the world.

The importance of Luke's portrayal of Paul's conversion in his final apology for his life near the end of Acts can hardly be overstated.<sup>138</sup> As Kilgallen says, "this speech of Paul, occurring as it does at the end of the Lucan work, fittingly sums up a great deal of Luke's editorial preoccupations."<sup>139</sup> Paul's final defense of his life and account of his

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<sup>137</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 2, 316.

<sup>138</sup> For an analysis of the speech, see Marion L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 122–26; Robert F. O'Toole, *Acts 26: The Christological Climax of Paul's Defense (Ac 22:1 - 26:32)*, AnBib 78 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978); C.J.A. Hickling, "The Portrait of Paul in Acts 26," in *Les Actes des Apôtres*, ed. J. Kremer (Gembloux: Duculot, 1979), 499–503; and Jacques Dupont, "La mission de Paul d'après Ac 26, 16–23 et la mission des apôtres d'après Lc 24, 44–49 et Ac 1,8," in *Nouvelle études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Cerf, 1984), 446–56.

<sup>139</sup> John J. Kilgallen, "Paul Before Agrippa (Acts 26:2–23): Some Considerations," *Bib* 69 (1988): 194.

conversion to King Agrippa in Caesarea is presented as a high point in the narrative, the ultimate rhetorical expression of his life and ministry.<sup>140</sup> Luke signals this by the ceremonial setting before the king and all the important people in the city, before whom Paul is invited to speak by the king himself (Acts 25:23; 26:1).<sup>141</sup> The speech itself is the most elegantly expressed speech in Acts in terms of Greek rhetorical style. Pervo calls it “the best-crafted oration in the book, with a skillful structure and a relative abundance of stylistic niceties.”<sup>142</sup> It follows the conventions of the defense speech in classical rhetoric, though with evangelical elements added toward the end.<sup>143</sup> The speech, although made in a different setting and language from the previous one, is nonetheless once more an attempt to show that Paul is a faithful Jew, and that his preaching is in accord with all the Scriptures and the promises of God.<sup>144</sup>

In the high context of this oration, Luke has Paul express the most authoritative and comprehensive statement of his mission from the Lord.<sup>145</sup> Pervo calls verses 16–18 “among the mostly densely packed in Acts.”<sup>146</sup> Paul says that “the Lord” told him, “For I have appeared to you for this, to appoint you a servant and a witness to what you have seen and what I will show to you, delivering you from the people and from the Gentiles, to whom I send you to open their eyes, so that they turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those sanctified by faith in me” (26:16–17). As Paul recounts his encounter, he reports Jesus’s

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<sup>140</sup> O’Toole calls the speech “climactic” (Robert F. O’Toole, *Acts 26*, 44–45). Cf. Paul Schubert, “Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts,” *JBL* 87 (1968): 8.

<sup>141</sup> Keener describes the significance of the setting and audience (Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary. Volume 4: 24:1–28:31* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 3484–87).

<sup>142</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 625.

<sup>143</sup> Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 754–55.

<sup>144</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 2*, 316–18.

<sup>145</sup> Keener, *Acts, Vol. 4*, 3516.

<sup>146</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 632.

speech to him directly, something that occurs only rarely in Acts, since the character of Jesus is not present in the narrative except in the opening scene.<sup>147</sup> By placing these words on the lips of Jesus, Luke signals the importance of this expression. The program that Paul carries out reveals the basic structure of the plot and worldview throughout Luke's Gospel and Acts: a turning of hearts and minds from darkness to light, from the kingdom of Satan to the kingdom of God.<sup>148</sup> This conversion, which entails the forgiveness of sins, even the sin of having contributed to Christ's death, is available to anyone who will believe in the Lord. Paul's own life bears witness to this, so that his mission calls others to turn from darkness to light as he did.

The mission that Jesus gives to Paul here is directed to both Jews and Gentiles, which can be seen by a careful reading of the text of Acts 26:17. Jesus promises to deliver Paul “from the people and from the Gentiles (ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν)—to whom I send you” (εἰς οὓς ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω σε). The verb ἀποστέλλω (*mitto* in Latin, from which comes the English “mission”) is preceded by the relative clause εἰς οὓς, which refers back to both of the audiences in the clause just prior (ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν). In this

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<sup>147</sup> God's speech and the words of Scripture are often cited in the speeches, but not the words of Jesus himself. Jesus speaks at the beginning of Acts before his ascension. But then, having left the stage of the narrative, he does not again speak directly until his appearance in the narrative account of Paul's conversion (9:4–6, 11–16). Paul includes citations of the Lord's words to him when first recounting his conversion in Acts 22:1–21. In this account, he cites additional words of Jesus to him, to escape Jerusalem, and to “Leave, for I will send you far away to the Gentiles” (22:21). While in prison in Jerusalem, Luke says that Paul received an apparition from the Lord who said, “Take courage, for as you have testified about me in Jerusalem, so you must also testify in Rome” (Acts 23:11). Paul cites an expression of “the Lord Jesus” that “It is more blessed to give than to receive,” at the end of his farewell discourse to the elders at Ephesus (20:35). Peter recalls the historical words of Jesus without directly citing them in the dispute over the observance of Jewish law (11:16), implying that Jesus was behind the instructions he got in visions about the need to observe Jewish law. There is most unusual direct speech from the Holy Spirit when Paul is set aside for his missionary work (Acts 13:2). But the direct speech of Jesus, even if reported, is a rare occurrence in Acts, and a narrative cue that the content is of particular importance.

<sup>148</sup> In his analysis of the speech, Soards neglects even a mention of the role of darkness and light or Satan (Soards, *Speeches in Acts*, 122–26).

case, the noun *λαός*, when used together with *ἔθνη*, refers to the people of Israel, or the Jews.<sup>149</sup> While some scholars have maintained that the pronoun in *εἰς οὓς* refers only to the latter group, the Gentiles, most think that the reference is to both groups.<sup>150</sup> As Keener points out, if the reference were only to Gentiles, the relative pronoun would be feminine.<sup>151</sup> Reading this expression not in isolation, but in the context of the entire speech, shows that it can only refer to being sent to both Jews and Gentiles. Later in this speech, Paul describes his fulfillment of this mission by saying that he preached “first to those in Damascus and in Jerusalem, and in all the country of Judea, and to the Gentiles” (26:20). The addition of the Gentiles at the end makes obvious that his audience in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Judea was Jews. Further, the speech ends with the same conjunction of Jews and Gentiles, saying that light would be proclaimed to the people and Gentiles (26:23). The speech is thus referring to a mission to the Jews and Gentiles, which corresponds to the framework of Luke’s entire narrative and one of his most pronounced theological concerns. Fitzmyer also connects the expression to the mission given to Paul through Ananias in the first conversion story, when the Lord gives Paul the mission to go to “the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel” (9:15).<sup>152</sup> Like the mission of the church, Paul’s mission is directed to both Jews and Gentiles. Luke sees Paul’s mission as one that corresponds to the activity of the entire church.

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<sup>149</sup> BDAG, s.v. “*λαός*.” Cf. Hermann Strathmann, “*λαός*,” *TDNT* 4:52–53.

<sup>150</sup> Haenchen argues that the reference is only to Gentiles “in accordance with what follows” (Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, trans. Bernard Noble, Gerald Shinn, and R. McL. Wilson [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971], 686). Schneider likewise takes it to refer to the Gentiles, largely on the basis of Paul’s designation as the “Apostle to the Gentiles” (Gerhard Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* 2 vols., HThKNT 5 [Freiburg: Herder, 1982], 2:374, cf. n. 60). However, the majority of scholars see the reference to both groups. See Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 760; Tannehill, *Narrative Unity, Vol. 2*, 323–24; Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1160–61; Holladay, *Acts*, 476.

<sup>151</sup> Keener, *Acts, Vol. 4*, 3519.

<sup>152</sup> Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 760.

Luke has Jesus express Paul's mission in terms reflective of Jesus's own mission, that entails release from the authority of Satan. Tannehill observes that the language in Acts 26:18 "suggests the continuity of Paul's mission... with the mission of Jesus announced in the Nazareth synagogue."<sup>153</sup> As Tannehill explains it, Jesus announces that he was sent to bring sight to the blind and bring release (ἄφεσις) to captives, which includes those under the authority of Satan. Likewise, Paul is to open the eyes of the people, bringing them release (ἄφεσις, or forgiveness) of sins and liberating them from the authority of Satan.

The primary expression of Paul's mission is to open the eyes of the people and the Gentiles, an image of conversion from darkness to light that recalls Paul's own conversion, an image with rich biblical and Second Temple background.<sup>154</sup> Most immediately it recalls Paul's own experience of being spiritually blind and then physically blind after his conversion.<sup>155</sup> Though Luke chooses not to include Paul's blindness and the role of Ananias in this account of Paul's life, the story has already been told twice and will be well known to the reader. Paul's blindness, like the blindness of those to whom Christ is sending him, was more than a physical affliction. The opening of Paul's eyes represents his own conversion from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God. The only other circumstances in the Gospel or Acts where Luke uses this language is with regard to the raising of Tabitha by Peter in Acts 9:40. There, the opening of the eyes expresses the passage from death to life, which corresponds to the way this

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<sup>153</sup> Tannehill, *Narrative Unity*, Vol. 2, 323 Cf. Pervo, *Acts*, 633.

<sup>154</sup> See O'Toole's discussion of the background (Robert F. O'Toole, *Acts* 26, 72–74). He notes Philo (QG 1.39); 1 En 1:2; Gen 3:5–7; Ezek 12:2; Ps 122:1; 150:8; CD 2.

<sup>155</sup> See Keener's thorough treatment of the classical (especially Platonic) and biblical background for blindness understood in intellectual or spiritual terms (Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 4, 3520–22). Pervo does not think there is reference to Paul's own experience because the emphasis is on him opening the eyes of others (Pervo, *Acts*, 633), but Keener rightly notes that the readers' knowledge of Paul's own experience is what makes the image compelling (Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 4, 3522).

turning is conceived by Luke in the life of Paul and in the life of those who come to faith. At the conclusion of his speech, Paul will associate light with the gospel itself as proclaimed by the risen Christ, saying “by being the first to rise from the dead, [he] will proclaim light to the people and the Gentiles” (26:23). The commission to open their eyes, then, is to cooperate in the mission of Christ as Luke described it in the first pages of his Gospel, to bring light to those in darkness (cf. Luke 1:79; 2:32).

The first purpose clause specifies what it means to open their eyes with the genitive articular infinitive τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι.<sup>156</sup> While its basic sense is simply to turn in a spatial sense, as Pervo notes, “for the Hebrew Bible, ‘turn’ becomes ‘repent’ in more abstract language.”<sup>157</sup> It is Luke’s favored term for the act of conversion, as seen in the Last Supper discourse when he used it to describe Peter’s return (Luke 22:32) and in Peter’s call to repentance in his second post-Pentecost speech (Acts 3:19), where it is paired with μετανοέω.<sup>158</sup> The two verbs are connected in several places to express a single act of conversion, but each verb can be used individually as well to speak of conversion. When Paul reports what he proclaimed (ἀπήγγελλον) to the Jews and

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<sup>156</sup> I have translated these genitive articular infinitives as final clauses (cf. Zerwick, *Grammatical Analysis*, 445). Fitzmyer reads a different structure, with the articular infinitives also dependent on ἀποστέλλω, so that there are three elements of Paul’s mission: to open (eyes), to turn them, and that they receive (forgiveness) (Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 760). However, that fails to reflect that ἀνοῖξαι is a simple infinitive and ἐπιστρέψαι and λαβεῖν are both articular. The articular infinitives are better understood as specifying the purpose (and perhaps the result) of ἀνοῖξαι .

<sup>157</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 633. See also Jacques Dupont, “Repentir et conversion d’après les Actes des Apôtres,” in *Repentir et conversion*, in *Études sur les Actes des Apôtres*, LD 45 (Paris: Cerf, 1967), 421–32, and Bertram, “ἐπιστρέφω,” s.v. “στρέφω,” *TDNT* 7:714–29.

<sup>158</sup> There is a close relationship between these two verbs, which can be used together or separately, and it is difficult to specify a distinction between them. The spatial verb ἐπιστρέφω is used to speak of a return that entails repentance. The verb μετανοέω is used by itself, for example, in Peter’s first speech after Pentecost to call the Israelites to repentance (μετανοήσατε, καὶ βαπτισθήτω, Acts 2:38, cf. Acts 8:22). However, the verb ἐπιστρέψαι can also be used by itself to express conversion, as in Acts 11:21, “And a great number believed and turned to the Lord (πολύς τε ἀριθμὸς ὁ πιστεύσας ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, cf. Acts 9:35; 14:15; 15:19). The fact that in the second Pentecost speech he joins the two verbs together shows how closely linked these two verbs are.

Gentiles, he uses these two verbs in concert with each other: “to repent and turn to God (μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν) and do works worthy of repentance” (Acts 26:20). It would be parsing things too closely to posit a distinction between the command of Jesus to “turn” them from Satan to God in 26:17 and Paul’s fulfillment of the command by exhorting them to “repent and turn” in 26:20. These verbs, by themselves or together, connote a process of conversion, which in Luke’s apocalyptic frame means turning from one power to another.

Conversion implies a change from one thing to another, and Luke specifies that in what follows, a parallel construction between darkness and the authority of Satan on one hand, and light and the power of God on the other.<sup>159</sup> As was seen with Luke’s description of the passion as “the power of darkness,” there is a deep connection between Satan and the imagery of darkness that corresponds to its general usage in apocalyptic literature.<sup>160</sup> Gaventa calls the language of “from darkness to light” “stereotypical conversion language,”<sup>161</sup> which as Pervo notes gives a dualistic character to this passage.<sup>162</sup> The sense of Luke’s parallel construction is exegetical: the darkness is the authority of Satan and the light is the power of God.<sup>163</sup> Luke thus specifies in this

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<sup>159</sup> Robert F. O’Toole, *Acts 26*, 70–71.

<sup>160</sup> See the extensive article by Hans Conzelmann, “φῶς, κτλ,” *TDNT* 9:310–58, and Conzelmann, “σκότος, κτλ,” *TDNT* 7:423–445. Keener has a detailed cataloging of biblical, Second Temple, and rabbinic references to the imagery of light and darkness (Keener, *Acts*, Vol. 4, 3524–26). He gives little attention, however, to the expression of turning from the authority of Satan to God.

<sup>161</sup> Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 86–87.

<sup>162</sup> Pervo, *Acts*, 633. Pervo gives a late date to Acts (110–120 AD) and believes Luke knew Paul’s letters, and so ascribes this dualism to his use of Colossians 1:12–14 and Ephesians 1:7. See Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists*, ed. Harold W. Attridge (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 2006), 275–78. Pervo’s book contains a complete argument for a later date for Acts based on its relationship to the deutero-Pauline letters, Pastoral Epistles, and apostolic fathers. Though Pervo’s conclusions are debated, even granting them, Luke has chosen to adopt this dualistic imagery in a composition where he had considerable freedom. He does so because it corresponds to the narrative scheme and theology present elsewhere in his writing. See O’Toole’s argument for the Lukan origin of Acts 26:12–18 (Robert F. O’Toole, *Acts 26*, 53–55).

<sup>163</sup> Robert F. O’Toole, *Acts 26*, 75.

construction what conversion entails: a turn from the authority of Satan to the power of God. Paul's own life is reflected in the way this mission is construed, as his personal history serves as an illustration of this transformation. As he narrates in this speech, he did many things to oppose the name of Jesus (πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου δεῖν πολλὰ ἐναντία πράξειν, Acts 26:9). But the Lord whom he persecuted (26:15) appointed him to this mission (26:17–18) to which he has been obedient. In his own life, Paul had turned from the authority of Satan to God.

While Luke does not speak often of Satan's authority, it underlies the vast majority of his writing. Luke's is the only gospel that speaks of the devil having authority (ἐξουσία). Satan's dominion in the world is the *status quo* of the Gospel, the starting point, the problem in the narrative that needs to be resolved. As O'Toole says, "for Luke Satan is much more the dominator [rather than tempter] of those who belong to his sphere of influence."<sup>164</sup> Luke sees Jesus coming to replace Satan's authority with God's power. Luke has in effect bracketed his two-volume narrative with references to Satan's authority, with a third reference to it in the middle in the darkness of the passion. At the beginning of Jesus's adult life, he inserted an offer of authority from Satan into the second temptation. The devil offers Jesus not only glory (as in the parallel in Matthew 4:9), but also authority (ἐξουσία), which he claims to be able to give to whomever he wishes (Luke 4:6). At the time of the passion, Luke has Jesus refer to the time as the "authority of darkness" (ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους, Luke 22:53, usually translated as "power," a legitimate choice given the confluence of these terms), a clear reference to Satan's authority as the narrative proceeds to the ultimate expression of the conflict. Now, near the end of his narrative, he again refers to the authority that Satan holds in the

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<sup>164</sup> Robert F. O'Toole, *Acts 26*, 75.

world. Paul's mission, as given to him by Jesus, has at its foundation the overthrow of Satan's authority.

The next purpose clause further specifies the process of conversion foreseen by Luke: "so that they will receive the release (ἄφῃσις) of sins and a place among those sanctified by faith in me." This could be read either as another specification of the commission "to open their eyes" or as a sequential explanation, giving the purpose and effect of the turn from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God. The distinction is not one of much consequence, and in fact the overlap of all these terms is more productive than confusing. Luke is expressing Paul's mission through this series of mutually overlapping and complementary expressions. The forgiveness of sins is an expression of the gospel that Luke is particularly fond of (see Luke 24:47; Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43; 13:38; 26:18; and also with respect to John the Baptist at Luke 1:77; 3:3). It reflects Jesus's mission to bring release to captives described by the prophecy from Isaiah in his Nazareth synagogue speech. The expression "a place among those sanctified by faith in me" (κληρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πίστευει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ, Acts 26:18), on the other hand, is rather distinctive. The verb ἀγιάζω is not a common word either in Luke or the New Testament. Its most obvious use is in the Our Father (Luke 11:2; Matt 6:9). It is also used, however, by Paul in his farewell speech to the elders at Ephesus in a very similar context. There, he commends them to God, "who is able... to give the inheritance among all those who are sanctified" (τῷ δυναμένῳ... δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πᾶσιν, Acts 20:32). In Christian usage, κληρονομία means "transcendent salvation (as the inheritance of God's children)."<sup>165</sup> The word κληρος typically means "lot," as in the lot that was cast to select Matthias as Judas's successor (Acts 1:17, 26), but its use in Acts 26:18 is related etymologically and conceptually with κληρονομία. In

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<sup>165</sup> BDAG, s.v. "κληρος." The use of κληρονομία is prominent in Pauline and deutero-Pauline writings (Gal. 3:18; Eph. 1:14, 18; 5:5; Col. 3:24; cf. Heb. 9:15; 11:8; 1 Pet. 1:4).

Acts 26:18, Luke specifies that it is faith that leads to sanctification and thus salvation. This saying thus depicts the other side of the process of turning or conversion: the turn from the power of Satan to the power of God entails the forgiveness of sins (away from Satan) that leads to an inheritance among those sanctified (to the power of God). Consistent with the connection Luke makes between salvation and faith, he identifies faith as the basis for sanctification. Faith is the basis of one's alignment with either the power of Satan or God. To turn to the power of God is to have faith in him, while Satan works to destroy faith in God, as seen when he sought to turn Jesus's faith away from God to himself in the desert and when he sifted Peter that his faith would fail. The battle between Satan and God is a rivalry over the faith of human beings.

The expression "to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God" is a programmatic statement essential for understanding Luke's narrative and theology. Luke typically expresses his theology by means of narrative, which we have labored to understand through reading the various ways in which Satan and his authority are treated in the course of his Gospel and Acts. But on some occasions, like this one, Luke makes explicit theological claims. Luke shows how he sees Paul's mission, which expresses the mission of the church, which in turn continues the mission of Jesus: to displace Satan's authority with God's, and to turn human hearts from Satan's rule to God's, from oppression and bondage to salvation. This saying frames what Luke began on the other side of the narrative, when Jesus's first adult action was a confrontation and victory over the devil in the desert.

While this saying expresses the plot and worldview of Luke's narrative, it also points to Luke's view of the ongoing life of the church. Paul's mission does not end when Acts ends or when Paul dies. Luke sees an ongoing labor of the church to displace Satan's authority with God's power, through opening the eyes of people and turning them from darkness to light. The apocalyptic conflict that Luke shows in his narrative between

God and Satan has not been concluded. Its terms have been changed by the establishment of the kingdom of God that renders Satan's authority impotent, but Satan is still active while the gospel is being proclaimed, seeking to oppose it but being forced to withdraw in defeat when confronted with the power of God exercised by Jesus's followers. Luke sees the world both through a cosmological apocalyptic eschatology, in which God and Satan are still in conflict along with their allied parties, and through a forensic apocalyptic eschatology, in which the personal decision to turn to God's power or Satan's remains essential. Luke takes the worldview and expectations of Second Temple apocalypticism, where God's power is held to be greater, and interprets it in light of the life of Jesus and the kingdom of God. Because of the death and resurrection of Jesus, Satan is no longer in control in the world, oppressing and afflicting the faithful who are powerless over him. God, acting in the church through the Holy Spirit, is in control, liberating the faithful and bringing them to salvation. The terms of the battle have changed, and the apocalyptic expectation for a final resolution has entered into a new phase. Though the conflict is not resolved, its outcome is determined, and now the power of God is moving forward toward the final victory.

The apostles, Peter and Paul in particular, play an essential role in Luke's narrative, and in particular participate in the fundamental conflict between God and Satan. In the life of Jesus, Satan is stripped of his authority and defeated, but it is not solitary combat. During his life, he enlists the apostles on his side of battle, entrusting them with his own power and authority. After the decisive moment of the passion, where Satan's ultimate assault on both Jesus and the apostles (Peter in particular) is repelled, the terms of the battle change, because after Jesus's glorification in his resurrection and ascension, Satan's power is broken. The apostles continue to extend Satan's defeat as the gospel advances in Acts, and Peter returns after his denials, according to the word of the

Lord, to strengthen the brethren and exercise power over Satan. A new character arises, Paul, who is aligned with Satan in persecuting the church, but who by an extraordinary demonstration of God's superior power, is turned to the side of Jesus. He exercises Jesus's power over Satan in his own ministry, most importantly in the first narrated episode of that ministry, when he defeats the "son of the devil," Bar Jesus. Near the end, Luke expresses the structure he has been working with, having Jesus describe Paul's mission, and that of the whole church, as to "turn them from the authority of Satan to God" (Acts 26:18). The story that Luke tells of Satan's defeat by God in the life of Jesus is not ultimately concluded within the narrative. The story of apocalypticism has been recast, however, as Luke shows the world entering into a new era. At the start of his narrative, Satan has authority over all the kingdoms of the world. But no more, for the kingdom of God has arrived, and will continue to displace a defeated Satan as the gospel advances to the ends of the earth.

## 6. Apocalypticism and Moral Agency

Satan is a figure of great consequence for Luke's narrative and theology. By examining the wide scope of Satan's role in Luke's writing, we have made a cumulative argument that in Luke's apocalyptic worldview that generates his particular form of salvation history, Satan plays a key role. There is no single episode that decisively illustrates the importance of Satan for Luke, but taken together, his references to Satan show that he is a critical character for Luke. The story begins with Satan's dark authority ruling the world. Jesus engages in conflict with him and defeats him, but Satan continues to attack God's plan and all his followers. It is a narrative that expresses a theology, not only of Satan but of the human person. To speak in the categories of apocalyptic eschatology we have been using, Luke's cosmological apocalypticism has consequences for the forensic. Satan's role as the malicious opponent of God affects the individual moral agency of the person. Luke's theology of Satan thus provides a window to investigate his conception of the human person and moral agency. It will be the task of this chapter to situate Luke's theology in the context of Second Temple apocalypticism and notions of moral agency and then consider the theological implications of his view. Understanding Luke's understanding of Satan shows that Luke has an apocalyptic worldview, with the features of both the cosmological and forensic forms, that has been mostly unappreciated, and that his view of salvation history is consonant with apocalypticism rather than a rejection of it. His view of moral agency in light of God's power and Satan's authority shows that he simultaneously upholds the significance of that external agency and the moral responsibility of the human person. While God's power exists in a non-competitive relationship with human agency, Satan's power is

competitive, and as human persons cooperate with his authority, they are diminished and destroyed.

### **6.1. Luke's Apocalypticism**

In order to understand whether Luke has an apocalyptic worldview and what form that might take, it is essential to describe apocalyptic eschatology to see if the features of Luke's theology correspond to it. While apocalypticism is diverse and lacks a systematic or unified expression, there are nonetheless common features that can be observed among its different forms. In the first chapter, we used the work of Martinus de Boer to describe apocalyptic eschatology and identify two forms of it, cosmological and forensic, and we will continue to use his description to understand Luke's relationship with apocalyptic eschatology. As we will see, Luke's depiction of Satan shows he has all the most important features of apocalyptic eschatology, in both its cosmological and forensic forms.

The importance of Satan in Luke's narrative as the primary antagonist to Jesus, whose authority is defeated and displaced by the kingdom of God, shows that Luke has the worldview characteristic of apocalyptic eschatology in its cosmological form. Apocalyptic eschatology is marked by a division of the world into conflicting forces headed by God and Satan. Despite the reality of their conflict and Satan's authority in the world, God's sovereignty is protected by upholding his ultimately greater power and assurance of his final victory. We see this prominently in the War Scroll of Qumran, in which the sons of darkness, or the army of Belial, are in conflict with the sons of light: "the sons of light and the lot of darkness shall battle together for God's might... God's great hand will subdue Belial, and all the angels of his dominion and all the men of his lot... for the destruction of the sons of darkness" (1QM I.11–16). Luke communicates the same ideas in his narrative, for the most part in a different symbolic key. Jesus is in conflict with Satan, from the temptations throughout his ministry of exorcism and

healing, into the passion. He enlists his apostles and his disciples in this campaign, and Satan attacks his followers and attempts to turn them to his side, as he did with Judas. But Jesus is the “stronger one” (Luke 3:16; 11:22) who expels demons and so defeats Satan with “the finger of God” (11:20) demonstrating that the kingdom of God is arriving. The Acts of the Apostles shows a new stage in the conflict, in which something has changed with Jesus’s glorification in his resurrection and ascension with the gift of the Holy Spirit. The kingdom of God is now in the ascendancy, with the apostles and their coworkers exercising power over Satan, who is nonetheless still active. Though Luke does introduce some military language into the allegory of the strong man (11:21–22), he substitutes the narrative of Jesus’s life and ministry, with his conflict with Satan, for the symbolic world of a battle between armies. The difference is that the latter is symbolic and the former is historical and real. The structure and theology of conflict between good and evil is the same as in Qumran and other forms of cosmological apocalyptic eschatology, but Luke shows it being played out in a different, historical narrative, in the mission of Jesus to bring release to captives and the kingdom of God. It is a cosmological apocalyptic eschatology in which the age of Satan’s authority is replaced by a new age of the kingdom of God.

Luke also shows the features of forensic apocalyptic eschatology in the narrative. In this form, the activity of demons and angels recedes and personal decision is accented. In this worldview the focus is on the individual’s capacity to align with the side of light or darkness. This can be seen in Qumran in the Rule of the Community, in which instruction is given to members of the community about how to walk on the path of light instead of darkness (1QS III–IV). There is still a role for spirits, especially the Angel of Darkness who corrupts the good, but the accent is on the individual and the importance of his or her choice: “This is the rule for the men of the Community who freely volunteer to convert

(לְשׂוּבָה = ἐπιστρέφω<sup>1</sup>) from all evil and to keep themselves steadfast in all he commanded in compliance with his will” (1QS V, 1). This corresponds to Luke’s vocabulary of “turning” (ἐπιστρέφω) as a way of speaking of conversion. The individual must turn to God, and the emphasis is on the need for the individual moral decision to do so. This is the language that Luke uses with regard to Peter’s return to the Lord after being sifted by Satan and denying Jesus (Luke 22:32), as well as the language in Acts of turning to the Lord (Acts 3:19; 9:35; 11:21; 14:15; 26:20; 28:27), most prominently in Jesus’s commission to Paul to “turn them from darkness to light, from the authority of Satan to God” (Acts 26:18). As in Qumran (“From the Angel of Darkness steps the corruption of all the sons of justice” and “The God of Israel and the angel of truth assist all the sons of light,” 1QS III, 21–22, 24–25), God and Satan still influence human decision. There is a battle for hearts going on, and humans are assisted by God, as seen most vividly in Jesus’s prayer for Peter and intervention with Paul on the road to Damascus. Satan also seeks to corrupt, not only as seen in his entry into Judas and sifting of Peter and the apostles, but as explained by Luke by inserting Satan’s purpose into the parable of the sower: “that they not believe and be saved” (Luke 8:12).

As de Boer observed about Qumran, so in Luke we see both types of apocalyptic eschatology present, as made abundantly clear by the observations we have just made.<sup>2</sup> Luke understands Jesus to be in conflict with Satan in a cosmic battle engaged through his ministry, but he also views each human person bearing moral responsibility to align with the side of good over evil: “who is not with me is against me” (Luke 11:23). Luke’s care to preserve both of these forms raises questions about his conception of human agency in the interplay between external influence from God and Satan and personal agency, which we will consider subsequently.

<sup>1</sup> Bertram, “ἐπιστρέφω,” s.v. “στρέφω,” *TDNT* 7:723. Cf. LEH, s.v. “ἐπιστρέφω.”

<sup>2</sup> de Boer, “Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology,” 22.

De Boer also describes the characteristics of God's definitive intervention in the world as anticipated in apocalyptic eschatology according to four points,<sup>3</sup> which Luke expresses in his narrative in ways that he adapts in accord with his own theology and the historical form of his narrative. First, that intervention is expected to be cosmic in scope and implication, so that all peoples and times are affected. This corresponds to Luke's concern for the salvation of the Gentiles (Luke 2:30; 3:6; 24:47; Acts 2:17; 28:28). As Luke begins his Gospel, he sees Satan having authority over "all the kingdoms of the world" (4:5–6), and he takes care to show that the power that Jesus exerts through the ministry of the apostles is over *all* demons and is exercised *everywhere* (Luke 9:1, 6). Second, de Boer identifies the intervention as an act of God, where God invades the human cosmos since human beings are in no position to liberate themselves from the evil powers. This corresponds to Luke's view of Jesus's ministry, which is fundamentally a mission of healing the sick and releasing captives (Luke 4:18–19; Acts 10:38; cf. Luke 13:16), unfolding according to the plan of God (Acts 2:23). Next, this event will be rectifying, so that God puts right what has gone wrong in the world. The "rectifying" nature of Jesus's ministry saturates Luke's entire narrative. The Benedictus speaks of bringing light to those who sit in darkness (1:79), Jesus says he has seen Satan fall from heaven (10:18), he interprets the exorcism of demons "by the finger of God" as showing that "the kingdom of God has come upon you" (11:20), and Peter explains Jesus's ministry as "doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil" (Acts 10:38). Finally, this event is eschatological, that is, final, definitive, and irrevocable. Luke's understanding of the event of Jesus points in this direction, but there is some difficulty here because of the expectation of Jesus's future return which gives the character of "already and not yet" to the final eschatological resolution. There are indications that it is

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<sup>3</sup> de Boer, *Galatians*, 34. Cf. de Boer, "Appropriation of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," 18–19.

definitive and irrevocable, as in the saying that Jesus saw Satan fall from heaven like the lightning (10:18) and that “the kingdom of God has come upon you” (11:20). And yet the narrative of Acts shows Satan still active even as the gospel is preached and the kingdom of God extended. Clearly, the events of Jesus are not the end of the story, and however definitive and irrevocable they may be, the resolution of the conflict is not yet final.

The observation that Luke does not show a final resolution to the problem of evil raises the question whether his eschatology is truly apocalyptic, for the distinguishing feature of *apocalyptic* eschatology is that the transformation takes place through a new age that is different from the old, and not merely the transformation of the current age, which would be characteristic of prophetic eschatology.<sup>4</sup> There are some indications that Luke sees a new age being inaugurated by Jesus. In Peter’s first post-Pentecost speech, Luke changes the citation of Joel 3:1 to say “in the last days” rather than the original “after these things” (Acts 2:17), thus identifying the last times with the events then taking place. However, there is also the expectation of a future, final resolution, as indicated by the apostles’ question about the time for the restoration of the kingdom of Israel (Acts 1:7) and the expectation of Jesus’s return from heaven (Acts 1:11). Luke believes that something has changed through the life, and especially the glorification, of Jesus, but that something more remains to happen.

For Luke, the decisive change effected by Jesus can be understood in terms of the plot of his narrative: Satan’s authority has been displaced by the kingdom of God. At the start of his narrative, Satan has authority over the kingdoms of the earth and people dwell in the darkness and the shadow of death. Jesus brings the kingdom of God that displaces Satan’s kingdom and authority, which is a decisive and irrevocable change. The advent of the kingdom of God is seen by Luke as concurrent with the preaching of the kingdom,

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<sup>4</sup>Hanson, “Apocalypticism,” 29–30.

which in turns corresponds to the displacement of the kingdom of Satan. As we have argued, Luke has connected these events in the mission of the seventy, which signifies the preaching of the gospel to the nations, and to which Luke has linked the proclamation that the kingdom of God has drawn near and the vision of Satan falling from heaven. The circumstances at the beginning of Acts are much different. Now light has dawned and the Holy Spirit descends upon the apostles and disciples, who are empowered to preach the kingdom and to exercise the same power to heal and exorcise. No longer is Satan in the ascendancy, but God is, and Satan is being oppressed. To correct a phrase from Conzelmann, the situation in Acts is not *ecclesia pressa* but *diabolus pressus*.<sup>5</sup> The church must still engage the task of defeating Satan by preaching the gospel to the nations, and turning them from the authority of Satan to God, as Luke frames Paul's mission (Acts 26:18). The preaching of the gospel to the nations and the progressive displacement of Satan's reign is a process that Christ's followers pursue in Acts.

The life of Jesus is a decisive turning point in the cosmological apocalyptic confrontation, but it must still become manifest in the hearts of humans. Cosmologically, things have changed. But in respect to the forensic character of Luke's apocalyptic eschatology, there is still a battle to be waged around the decision of each human heart. The life of Jesus is the necessary condition for Paul's mission—that of the whole church—to turn people from Satan to God. That battle, which corresponds to the extension of the kingdom of God, is engaged by the preaching of the gospel, which is the story that Luke tells in Acts.

The three-fold scheme of salvation history proposed by Conzelmann<sup>6</sup> thus misses something important. Luke does not see Jesus's life as an age unto itself, as in Conzelmann's conception, but the start of a new age, the age of the kingdom of God. The

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<sup>5</sup> Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, 16–17.

<sup>6</sup> The argument runs throughout Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, but especially pp. 16–17.

previous age was one in which Satan had authority, and Jesus brings the kingdom of God to displace Satan's kingdom. Conzelmann's reading of Jesus's life as a Satan-free period, though seemingly not of great consequence, caused him to miss the continuity between Jesus's ministry and the church's, that what Jesus's life begins is continued in the church. After Jesus's glorification, the kingdom of God reigns superior, but there remains the task of extending that rule to the nations, which takes place through the preaching of the Gospel. Luke does not replace eschatology with salvation history, but rather uses salvation history to make a claim that the expectations of apocalyptic eschatology have been met in Jesus's glorification, and that history enters into a new age in which the kingdom of God, and not Satan's authority, are in the ascendancy. Luke does then have a scheme of three ages: the age of Satan, the "interim" age that Jesus inaugurates in which the kingdom of God progressively displaces an already defeated satanic authority, and a third age that will be marked by the return of Jesus.<sup>7</sup> In the meantime, the world remains in a circumstance of "already and not yet": Satan has already been defeated and the kingdom of God established, but Satan has not yet been completely displaced by the preaching of the gospel throughout the world. In other terms, the cosmological battle has been definitively resolved, but the forensic battle takes place over the hearts of those to whom the gospel is preached. Luke takes the expectations of apocalyptic eschatology and tells the story of their fulfillment in Jesus. If apocalyptic expectation seems muted in Luke, it is because he sees it as fulfilled in Jesus. God's hoped for intervention has taken place, that in de Boer's terms, was an act of God, cosmic in scope, rectifying, and

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<sup>7</sup> Whether Luke has given up on the expectation of an imminent return is a longstanding debate in Lukan scholarship. Conzelmann's interpretation of Luke is based on the view that Luke has abandoned the expectation, and so replaced eschatology with salvation history, a view shared by Käsemann (Conzelmann, *Theology of St. Luke*, esp. 95–97; Käsemann, "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," 28). Many other scholars have questioned these assumptions, either saying that Luke continues to have this expectation or at least noticing the nuance and complexity of his view (Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 18–22; Kümmel, "Current Theological Accusations Against Luke," 136–37).

definitive. The decisive battle has been had, God's is the victory and Satan is defeated. It is not the end of history, but a new stage, for God is now in the ascendancy.

This largely corresponds to Conzelmann's critics who would prefer a two-stage salvation history, divided into the period of Israel and the period of Jesus/the gospel/the church. They read Luke 16:16 as pointing to just such a two-period scheme: the period up to John the Baptist and the period after.<sup>8</sup> Conzelmann uses the same text to develop his own scheme, but he joins to that his notion of Jesus's ministry as a Satan-free period to differentiate Jesus's life from what follows. Fitzmyer thinks that one can discard the notion of a Satan-free period and retain the three-period scheme of history.<sup>9</sup> It becomes quite difficult, however, to justify marking off Jesus's life as a separate period of history, though it is without question the pivotal event. Luke is too concerned with the continuity between the ministry of Jesus and the ministry of the church, and focused on the progressive extension of the kingdom of God to view these as two separate eras. Rather, the turning point for Luke is the kingdom of God, which is established by Jesus while arriving progressively during his own ministry and in the mission of the church. A better way of viewing his scheme would be in three periods: not yet (the period of Israel, but also the authority of Satan), already and not yet (the kingdom of God progressively displacing a defeated satanic authority), and already (the complete establishment of the kingdom after Jesus's return).

As has been noted, apocalyptic eschatology is diverse, lacking a unified and coherent conception, but rather consisting of different strands with different features, ideas, and expectations. Within that realm of diversity, Luke can certainly claim a position as a variety of apocalyptic eschatology. Luke interprets apocalyptic expectation

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<sup>8</sup> Kümmel, "Current Theological Accusations Against Luke," 137–38. Cf. the excellent overview of the debate about Luke's eschatology in John T. Carroll, *Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts*, SBLDS (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 1–30.

<sup>9</sup> Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 186–87.

in terms of the story of Jesus and the church, claiming the defeat of Satan by Jesus, which dramatically changes the terms of the conflict as understood by apocalyptic eschatology, but also saying there is a continuing conflict that will continue as this good news is spread. It is the same theology, expressed in a historical rather than a symbolic key. The dynamic in which humans must turn either to Satan or God, but are affected by external forces that seek them, raises the next question to consider: how to understand Luke's conception of human agency in respect to those divine and demonic powers?

## **6.2. *Classifying Luke's View of Moral Agency***

The relationship of human agency to external forces was the subject of Carol Newsom's 2011 presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature, in which she laid out the taxonomy of conceptions of human agency that we described in chapter one. In that paper, she concluded that the Hebrew Bible had a default model of human agency of "an internalized conceptualization of the self in control," that is, that the human person had person agency free of interference from external beings.<sup>10</sup> But in the Second Temple period, Jewish thought developed in a way that gave greater credit to the role that external forces play with respect to human agency. This corresponds largely to the development in the figure of Satan that we observed in the first chapter, a process into which Luke fits. Within that period, she finds three ways of thinking of moral agency: 1. moral agency is affirmed, 2. moral agency is impaired (internally or externally), but the impairment can be overcome, and 3. moral agency is denied.<sup>11</sup> In her paper, Newsom described how all three (or four, if the impairment in point two is considered separately as internal or external) models can be found in Second Temple literature, focusing on instances of each at

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<sup>10</sup> Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self," 10.

<sup>11</sup> Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self," 15. When laying out these three categories, she gives the second in the form "Moral agency is internally impaired," but in the subsequent analysis, includes "moral agency is externally impaired" as a fourth (and very important) category. In light of that, it would be better to speak of four models here, but I have instead chosen to insert the qualification "internally or externally" to the second point.

Qumran. In her conclusion, she called for “more fine-grained stud[ies] of particular formulations” of moral agency in other biblical and Second Temple texts.<sup>12</sup> This analysis of Satan in the writing of Luke has been just such a fine-grained analysis of Luke. By studying Satan we can see the nature of Luke’s idea of moral agency, which we will now consider in light of Newsom’s categories.

Our study of Luke’s conception of Satan allows us to place him within Newsom’s categories, although some qualification will be necessary. Luke shows Satan, and his forces, as active realities in the world that afflict souls, as seen not only in the many people released from demons by Jesus and the apostles in their ministry, but most prominently in the characters of Judas and Ananias and Sapphira. That would place Luke’s theology on the side of externalized conceptions of control, in which the self is subject to external forces, in this case the action of Satan and demons (but also, in other circumstances, of the Holy Spirit). That is not the whole story, however, for while Luke sees the self being affected by these external forces, he also credits a role for the internal source of human agency, often referred to with the language of the heart (as in the case of Ananias, Acts 5:3).<sup>13</sup> Luke holds these two poles in tension, as a person’s agency is internal and yet still affected by external agencies, which he accounts as real. The placement of Luke’s model of the moral self would be placed in the middle of this axis, perhaps even skewed toward the internalized conception as the more consequential. On

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<sup>12</sup> Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 25. A 2015 issue of the *Journal of the Study of the Old Testament* was dedicated to essays carrying out this program laid out by Newsom, with articles about Lamentations, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Psalms, Ruth, Esther, and Daniel, with a response from Newsom. See the introduction, Robert Williamson Jr., Brennan Breed, and David Hankins, “Writing the Moral Self: Essays in Honor of Carol A Newsom,” *JSOT* 40 (2015): 3–6. This project can be extended sensibly and fruitfully into the New Testament.

<sup>13</sup> Newsom identifies the heart (בֶּלֶם) as the “locus of the person’s moral will” in the Hebrew Bible (Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 10). Cf. Behm, who says, “The NT use of the word [καρδία] agrees with the OT use as distinct from the Greek. Even more strongly than the LXX it concentrates on the heart as the main organ of psychic and spiritual life” (Friedrich Barumgärtel and Johannes Behm, “καρδία,” *TDNT* 3:611).

the other axis, the situation is clearer, for he maintains the self-in-control, regardless of the effects of external forces on the self. So Luke holds the self responsible for collaboration with those external forces in the key cases of Judas and Ananias and Sapphira (but as also can be seen in the cases of figures like Elymas Bar Jesus and the Seven Sons of Sceva in Acts). This puts Luke's model of moral agency in a different location from that of the Hebrew Bible as described by Newsom, which is strongly in the quadrant represented by self-in-control with internalized conceptualization of agency. Luke would still be in the area of self-in-control, but with a conceptualization of agency that gives much greater weight to the influence of external forces, particularly that of Satan. This view corresponds to a broad current of development that occurred in Second Temple Judaism that accorded greater attention and importance to evil spirits and their leader.

Luke can also be situated reliably in Newsom's taxonomy of Second Temple conceptions of moral agency in the category of "moral agency is externally impaired, but the impairment can be overcome." For the purposes of Luke, this could be better expressed as "moral agency is externally affected, but without destroying personal agency." Luke shows that the action of Satan has a real effect on characters such as Judas and Peter, but they retain their moral agency and bear responsibility for their deeds. Newsom explains that in this view "what earlier conceptions of moral psychology attributed to a person's own desires and flawed perception is externalized, but in a manner that does not absolve the individual of the moral responsibility to choose (this is not demonic possession)."<sup>14</sup> This description, which Newsom identifies with Jubilees, corresponds exactly to how Luke depicts the human person confronted with divine or satanic influence. Confronted with the mystery of Judas's unspeakably evil deed, Luke

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<sup>14</sup> Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self," 19.

recruits the action of Satan as an explanation. Rather than accounting for it with some considerations of moral psychology, even of greed as in Matthew and John, he externalizes it by attributing it to Satan within his plot of conflict between Jesus and Satan. However, this does not absolve Judas of moral responsibility for his choice. If anything, in Luke's view, that moral responsibility is heightened because of his collaboration with Satan.

The case of Peter shows that God's action also affects individual agency. Newsom notes how in Jubilees, "demonic spirits can be resisted, for when Mastema tempts Abraham, he proves himself righteous (Jub 17.15–18.19)."<sup>15</sup> However, Qumran shows a different perspective, that internal strength and virtue are not sufficient to resist the power of evil forces "but also through an external force that operates on one's own internal spirit of truth" (1QS III, 24–25: "However, the God of Israel and the angel of his truth assist all the sons of light.").<sup>16</sup> Peter's return, or conversion, after being sifted by Satan, is accounted for by the prayer of Jesus, and triggered by the look of the Lord. It is this external force that differentiates the experience and fate of Peter from Judas. Peter is rehabilitated and returns to fulfill his role of strengthening the brethren on account of Jesus's help, while Judas is destroyed. Luke does not question the justice of this or account for why one is redeemed and the other not. He only explains Peter's redemption by the action of God in Jesus's prayer. Newsom says that the view of agency represented by this strain of Qumran sits at the intersection of the two axes, "as it represents the drama of moral conflict simultaneously internal and external, psychological and cosmological."<sup>17</sup> Luke belongs somewhere slightly different, since he steadfastly upholds the self-in-control, and so his model would be on that side of that axis.

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<sup>15</sup> Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self," 19.

<sup>16</sup> Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self," 20.

<sup>17</sup> Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self," 21.

The difficulty, which is intrinsic to the model adopted by Newsom, is the modern conception of agency being in a competitive relationship, in which the more effect an external agent has on the self, the less the self is in control.<sup>18</sup> There is an inverse relationship between agents, and the more the effect of Satan, the less responsibility of the individual, leading to the age-old excuse “the devil made me do it.” This is a limitation of this model, for it is a particularly modern way of conceiving agency that does not correspond to Luke’s. In fact, what Luke sees is that the more the effect of Satan, the more the responsibility of the individual. To understand that theologically, we now turn to the work of Kathryn Tanner.

### **6.3. A Theological Critique**

The difficulty with the model proposed by Newsom for classifying models of moral agency lies in its assumption that as external influences, satanic or divine, increase, human agency decreases. There is an inverse relationship between outside forces and personal agency, a zero-sum game. This is a particularly modern conception of agency that, as we will see, is not shared by Luke and Christian theology in general. Luke’s view is much more complex than that. He simultaneously maintains the significance of external influence and moral agency, and thus accountability. Luke is operating with a different conception of the relationship of human agency to God and Satan, in which God’s agency does not compete with human agency but grounds it, and humans persons grow in power as God’s power works in them. With Satan, the picture is different. Human beings, in some circumstances, bear full responsibility for joining their agency to Satan’s power, so that as Satan’s influence on a person increases, his responsibility does

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<sup>18</sup> In the article on which Newsom bases her study, Heelas observes that “modified idealist varieties [i.e., conceptions of moral agency that have externalized conceptions of agency with the self in control] are apparently contradictory. How can the self in control be conceptualized in terms of externalized agencies?” (Paul Heelas, “The Model Applied: Anthropology and Indigenous Psychologies,” in *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self*, ed. Paul Heelas and Andrew Lock [London: Academic Press, 1981], 42).

as well. But Satan's power *is* in a competitive relationship with humans, and collusion with him leads ultimately to human destruction.

In her book *God and Creation in Christian Theology: Tyranny or Empowerment?*, Kathryn Tanner argues that Christian discourse has mistakenly adopted grammar from modern thought that places divine and human agency in conflict with each other.<sup>19</sup> She proposes instead a set of grammatical rules for theological language that are shaped by revelation rather than critical of it. These rules allow for divine agency and human agency to exist alongside each other instead of competing. Speaking as she does in a theological register, her interlocutors are theologians such as Aquinas, Rahner, and Barth, rather than biblical texts. The theological grammar she proposes, however, corresponds well with the view of human and divine agency present in Luke's writings, which both lends support to her argument and helps conceptualize the view of the human person that Luke is proposing.

Tanner begins by observing that "Christian talk about God as an agent in relation to created beings, particularly those assumed to have their own power and efficacy... has taken an odd turn."<sup>20</sup> The problem is that Christians claim God's absolute power and sovereignty over the world, but also that human beings are free creatures who are morally responsible for their decisions. Modern thinkers find these two claims irreconcilable, and look to limit either divine or human agency in order to allow space for the other. This way of thinking finds its roots in Reformation theology that opposed the efficacy of grace and free will in disputes between Catholic and Protestant theologians that spill over into other theological debates over "God's providence, grace and predestination."<sup>21</sup> She attributes this to a "wide ranging breakdown of the church's own discursive habits" and proposes a

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<sup>19</sup> Kathryn Tanner, *God and Creation in Christian Theology: Tyranny or Empowerment?* (Oxford; New York: Blackwell, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 1.

<sup>21</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 3.

recovery of “proper Christian talk” that supports claims of Christian coherence.<sup>22</sup> She observes that “the problem of Christian coherence will not, then, be *solved* by engaging in arguments from *within* a framework of modern common sense. Instead, the absolute claim that traditional ways of formulating Christian statements about God and world are simply incoherent is to be *dissolved* by disturbing the complacent self-evidence of modern assumptions used to interpret traditional Christian language.”<sup>23</sup> Her intention is not to reconstruct an anachronistic theological language, but one shaped by the modern context that instead of being corrupted by modern claims is able to effectively interrogate them and advocate its own coherence.

The circumstance that Tanner observes and triggers her study of language about agency is seen in Newsom’s model with an axis that places human and divine agency in tension. The axis she adopts from Lock and Heelas’s work in *Indigenous Psychologies* places “self in control” and “self under control” on opposite ends, and places each culture’s anthropology somewhere on that axis.<sup>24</sup> In this view, human and divine agency are mutually opposed, and as far as one increases, the other decreases. On a second axis is placed internal or external conceptualizations of that agency, which correspond largely to psychological factors or angelic/demonic beings. The investigation Newsom proposes and begins to engage is how to classify various conceptions of moral agency in Second Temple Judaism in these categories. However useful these axes are for thinking conceptually about the features of different cultural conceptions of the human person, they illustrate exactly the opposition that modern thought postulates between these

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<sup>22</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 5.

<sup>23</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 6. Emphases in original.

<sup>24</sup> Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 7–10, citing Andrew Lock, “Universals in Human Conception,” in *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self*, ed. Paul Heelas and Andrew Lock (London: Academic Press, 1981), 33.

categories. Tanner argues that Christian claims require a grammar that allows these poles to be simultaneously upheld, a grammar that is in fact presupposed by Luke.

Tanner begins her exploration by investigating contrastive conceptions of God's transcendence and involvement in the world. Greek conceptions of divinity placed divinity and immanence in competition with each other, in an inverse relationship so that either God's transcendence was qualified or his participation in the world was limited.<sup>25</sup> In order to elude this opposition, Tanner says that Christian theologians must "radicalize claims about both God's transcendence and involvement with the world" so that the two claims are not contrasted or competitive with each other.<sup>26</sup> There are two rules for discourse that are necessary to accomplish this. "First, a rule for speaking of God as transcendent vis-à-vis the world: avoid both a simple univocal attribution of predicates to God and world and a simple contrast of divine and non-divine predicates.... The second rule is as follows: avoid in talk about God's creative agency all suggestions of limitation in scope or manner."<sup>27</sup> In studying how theological language is actually used in accordance with these rules, she counsels the avoidance of *a priori* and abstract analyses and "keeping conclusions in constant correspondence with the evidence at hand, make an in-depth and exhaustive investigation of the manner in which theological statements are actually used."<sup>28</sup> She argues that these rules for discourse about God not only allow one to hold the possibility of both God's transcendence and involvement in the world, but that the two imply one another. The language is thus more than merely consistent. It is coherent.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 45–46.

<sup>26</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 46–47.

<sup>27</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 47.

<sup>28</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 52.

<sup>29</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 81–82.

Tanner moves on to work out the implications for these rules with regard to divine and human agency. “If God’s agency must be talked about as universal and immediate,” she says, “then, conversely, everything non-divine must be talked about as existing in a relation of total and immediate dependence upon God.”<sup>30</sup> The implication of this rule is that the theologian must “maintain a direct rather than inverse proportion between what the creature has, on the one hand, and the extent and influence of God’s agency, on the other.”<sup>31</sup> In this way, a creature realizes its full nature and capacity not in separation or conflict with divine being, “but within the intimacy of a relationship to divinity as its total ground.”<sup>32</sup> Therefore, a creature’s power and efficacy increases the more that divine power and efficacy are effective in it. “A created cause can be said to bring about a certain created effect by its own power, or a created agency can be talked about as freely intending the object of its rational volition, only if God is said to found that causality or agency directly and *in toto*—in power, exercise, manner of activity and effect.”<sup>33</sup>

Tanner proposes forms of her rules for speech that are particular to the question of the efficacy of created beings. All such speech, she says, must hold “created efficacy as immediately and entirely grounded in the creative agency of God.”<sup>34</sup> And yet, such speech does not overwhelm the agency of the creature, which genuinely acts with its own agency. Within the created order, creatures can truly cause things from their agency. Human and divine agency cannot be spoken of as combining to form a single effect, with each supplying part of the action. Rather, both are entirely necessary and sufficient. She sums this up as the rule: “God’s agency is not to be talked about as partial, or as composed or mixed with created causality.”<sup>35</sup> Neither, though, can divine agency be

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<sup>30</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 84.

<sup>31</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 85.

<sup>32</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 85.

<sup>33</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 86.

<sup>34</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 91.

<sup>35</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 94.

described as “any sort of *working on* created operations already in act.”<sup>36</sup> God’s influence on created beings is not in the mode of the effect that one created being has on another, but as of a transcendent being that is very ground of the existence and agency of the creature. She cites Thomas to say, “God [can] cause a movement of the will in us without prejudice to freedom of the will.”<sup>37</sup> Neither can created causes influence God or God’s agency in the strict sense, though she allows “a weak sense supposing the prior extension of God’s creative agency for that influence.”<sup>38</sup>

Likewise, while it is true that God’s transcendence permits him to create a world with created causes that account for effects in the natural world, it is also possible for him not to. He can cause effects in the created world that cannot be explained by created causes. In other words, God can effect miracles. This does not mean that he does, but that he can. Tanner intends merely to show that the consistency and coherence of theological claims about God’s transcendence and agency permit such claims against modern metaphysical and empirical claims that preclude such events.<sup>39</sup> If there are effects without sufficient created causes, she points out that the rules observed about sufficient created causes do not hold in the same way. Specifically, effects can be spoken of as composed. “If created causes are allegedly inoperative, either in general or in particular cases, the theologians may say that a creature acts by the infusion of a divine power—the creature acts not by its own power but by the power of God.”<sup>40</sup> Unlike instances, though, where

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<sup>36</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 95.

<sup>37</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 95, citing Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles*, 3.89.1, trans. Bourke, pg. 35.

<sup>38</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 96. The concern is for how prayer can be effective. She writes, “We have to say that a statement like ‘God grants petitions’ holds, not because God’s agency is itself altered by prayer, but because prayer is according to God’s will a necessary created condition in particular cases for a created effect or for the alteration of the usual order of created cause and effect” (97–98).

<sup>39</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 98–100.

<sup>40</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 100.

two created effects combine in the natural order in order to produce an effect, so that both are necessary and neither sufficient, in this case, the divine cause is both necessary and sufficient by itself to produce the effect. “God helps the creature to attain effects that would otherwise be beyond its capabilities; but the creature’s activities are not, in the process, making up for any deficiencies in God’s own agency.”<sup>41</sup>

Tanner notes that her rules for theological language are two sided:

On the positive side: we can say that the creature is everything with God; that God grants us our own powers and in that sense works with us; that our doing may be a necessary moment of the created order God wills. On the negative side: we must say that we are nothing without God; that God’s will is not constrained by anything we do; that God can work without us by creating a world that does not include creatures with power.<sup>42</sup>

On the one side, the focus is on the agency of the creature, on the other side, on the agency of God. The side of the rules that is emphasized in any context is determined by a number of factors. A particular philosophical milieu will often point in one direction or the other. So Platonism’s emphasis on transcendent forms inclines to an emphasis on divine causality, while Aristotle’s emphasis on causes would incline to focus on created causality.<sup>43</sup> Theological conceptions and methodology likewise influence the perspective taken, such as a perspective that relies heavily on personal relationship that would sway the perspective toward the negative side of the rules. Most importantly, she says, “the side of the rules emphasized by a theologian may follow his or her estimation of the relative importance of claims about either divine sovereignty or the integrity of the created order,” which “may depend in turn upon the particular practical agenda of a theologian.”<sup>44</sup> Concerns about behavior and other practical consequences cause a theologian to stress one or the other. A concern for humility and dependence on God in light of human

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<sup>41</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 101.

<sup>42</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 105.

<sup>43</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 106–7.

<sup>44</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 113.

sinfulness might lead one to stress divine agency and so the negative side of the rules. A concern for moral action, doing good and avoiding evil, would place emphasis on human agency and so on the positive side. On each side, there is the danger of improper conclusions being drawn that lead to unchristian behavior: if divine agency is overemphasized, a moral slothfulness could result, but if human agency is overemphasized, a prideful ingratitude.<sup>45</sup> While these inferences are not legitimate, theologians will seek to guard against them when they seem a danger by stressing the other side of the rules. Much of this depends on a theologian's particular evaluation of circumstances and audience. She cites instances where shifting circumstances and differing practical considerations led Augustine and Calvin to move from their usual stress on the negative side to the positive side of the rules.<sup>46</sup> The two sides of the rules complement each other. When properly invoked, they are not only productive but allow for a diversity of theological thought that guards against illegitimate claims.

Tanner interrogates the contemporary context to see how modern thought influences and distorts the emphasis on the rules. Modern talk about human agency distorts the positive side of the rules: "talk of the creature's power and freedom suggests a power and freedom vis-à-vis God's own agency."<sup>47</sup> In theological analysis, there is a tendency to distort both sides of the rules: "Talk of the creature's capacities moves in a Pelagian direction while talk of God's sovereignty approaches an advocacy of divine tyranny."<sup>48</sup> These distortions, she says, are not merely the construals of a broader audience, but misconstruals on the part of theologians themselves, responding inappropriately to the pressure of modern modes of thought. The "general deformation of the rules" on both positive and negative sides, as well as the general pervasiveness of the

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<sup>45</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 113–15.

<sup>46</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 117.

<sup>47</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 121.

<sup>48</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 121–22.

problem, is new to the modern era, she says.<sup>49</sup> She takes as examples of the distortion of this discourse the early modern theologian Gabriel Biel and the *de Auxiliis* controversy as engaged by Banez and Molina. She accuses Biel of distorting the positive side of rules by placing all emphasis on the role of created agency, to the point of creating a “dome” of created causes that excludes divine agency even if it is founded in a divine creative act, thus violating the rule for discourse about God’s agency being universal and immediate.<sup>50</sup> In the *de Auxiliis* controversy, she critiques both sides as founding their arguments on a flawed conception of human agency standing apart from divine agency in a competitive relationship, leading one side to subsume human agency within the divine, and the other to set human agency apart. On either side, these distortions violate the rule for discourse that places human and divine agency in direct, rather than inverse, relationship. The various attempts to account for both human and divine agency are all based on a competitive relationship between the two as though they were both forces acting within the created order.<sup>51</sup>

In our current context, Tanner finds a dangerous emphasis on human agency (the positive side of the rules), which she attributes to “a modern emphasis on autonomous human powers of self-determination and self-assertion, and a modern tendency to perceive and comprehend the world apart from any reference to God.”<sup>52</sup> The modern view of human agency sees an intrinsic conflict between human and divine agency, placing them axiomatically in an inverse and thus competitive relationship. Freedom is construed as freedom from outside interference, and so independence from the influence of divine agency. Further, “the modern propensity to restrict the understanding of nature to immanent explanations will promote an improper use of talk about sufficient created

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<sup>49</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 122–23.

<sup>50</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 132–41.

<sup>51</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 141–52.

<sup>52</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 152.

causes in which those causes are no longer subordinated to the overarching agency of God.”<sup>53</sup> Modernity’s propensity, therefore, is toward a distortion toward the positive form of the rules, focusing on human agency independent of God’s power. In light of this, she faults modern theologians for not seeking to offset this tendency by stressing the negative side of the rules and God’s power, but rather succumbing to the modern bias and skewing their theology in accord with it. She notes that the modern valuation of “‘pure’ inquiry into the nature of God and the world, uninfluenced by practical theological agendas or attempts to meet the needs of particular audiences” leads to a decontextualized theology that does not see the risks presented by the modern emphasis on human agency.<sup>54</sup> But since traditional formulations about human and divine agency are read in an idealistic, decontextualized way, they are made into absolute claims rather than arising out of particular theological pressure and circumstances, and in every case balanced by statements that emphasize the other side of the rules:

It is proper to say that the creature is nothing in itself—without power and freedom, an empty vessel to show forth transparently the will of God—when addressing an opponent who presumes the creature is something independent of the will of God. Taken as simple referential discourse, such statements appear to conflict with affirmations of the creature’s own existence, power and operations under a loving, creator God: the creature is simply nothing at all. Improper inferences are drawn from statements according to the negative side of the rules: God becomes a tyrant—one who acts only to keep down and deny.<sup>55</sup>

Another destructive tendency in modern theology is to “reify the clear distinctions of abstract theological analysis.”<sup>56</sup> This results in human and divine agency being viewed as distinct entities that are inevitably placed in a linear relationship with each other. God’s power is thus either what causes human action directly, or is something added to

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<sup>53</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 153.

<sup>54</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 155.

<sup>55</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 156.

<sup>56</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 156.

an already existing and thus independent human agency. Either then there is no human agency that is not subsumed under God's power or there is a realm of creation that is outside of God's direct creative agency. Or the two exist alongside each other in a competitive, inverse relationship: "If the creature is free, the creature must also be free from God; if the creature has power, that must be a power that may be exercised with respect to divinity. The creature's freedom and power are therefore potential limitations on God's. The creature gains at God's expense."<sup>57</sup> And since God's power does not extend over all creation, his transcendence is limited. God's power is either separated from the world in deist fashion, or God's power is exercised within creation as another cause within the causal order. These conclusions result from failing to observe the rules for talk laid out for coherent theological talk, in particular those requiring talk of God's creative agency influencing all of creation and that divine and human agency are in a direct relationship with each other. In fact, the opposition between divine and human agency posed by modern systems of thought needs to be answered by theologians not on its own terms through choosing which to privilege absolutely. Rather, the modern pattern of thought that posits this opposition needs to be critiqued. Divine agency and human agency must be proposed as being in direct relationship to each other, with divine agency founding human agency without being diminished or challenged by it. Theologians need to understand the challenges presented by modernity and respond with emphases that account for them by using language that highlights God's power with respect to human agency. They need to challenge rather than accept the assumptions that modernity makes about the competitive relationship between God and creation: "The theologian must correct the assumption that freedom and power are had by the creature only in independence of God's creative agency for them. The theologian must talk of creaturely

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<sup>57</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 158.

freedom and agency as freedom and agency *under God*.<sup>58</sup> She proposes that the order of the rules be observed: talk of God and his power must come first in order to ground the power of the creature, which is only in dependence on God.

Tanner engages the problem of human and divine agency as a theological problem, in dialogue with philosophers and theologians. She does not engage with biblical texts or biblical theology directly in her analysis. But the Bible is a source for theology, and Luke is rightly called a theologian. Tanner's rules for coherent talk about God provide a lens through which to view Luke's theology and point to what his concerns are. In the first place, it will allow us to see how he can conceive of the human person retaining moral agency in the midst of the external influence from God or Satan. It will also allow us to dissolve the purported tension in Luke between ethical living and apocalyptic expectation, between the already and the not yet. It will also help to see how Luke can ascribe power to both God and Satan, and how the two are related.

Luke consistently illustrates Tanner's rule that God's power is seen to be immediate and universal. From the beginning of his Gospel to the end of Acts, Luke tells the story of God's power working in the world. Much of this is mediated through the Holy Spirit, which as we have seen is one of Luke's expressions for God's power. Luke consistently strives to show, especially in the early pages of the Gospel and Acts, how the Holy Spirit drives events by filling people and inspiring their words and deeds. The Holy Spirit fills Mary and Simeon and comes down upon Jesus at his baptism, drives him into the desert to confront the devil and then into his ministry to defeat him. The Holy Spirit comes down upon the church in Acts and leads to the spread of the gospel through effective preaching and mighty works. These events are remarkable not as amazing deeds

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<sup>58</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 162. Emphasis in original.

of their human agents, but as manifestations of the power of God working in the world. Luke sees God's power behind everything.

Yet Luke also sees human agents as significant. There are holy women and men, models of Christian behavior, who are credited for their faith and piety. God's power is not viewed as dominating them or crushing them, but lifting them, empowering them in a positive way. Luke's view of the role of God's power in the Holy Spirit working in women and men corresponds to Tanner's description of God working in the world outside of sufficient created causes. It is not that God adds something to human power or works alongside it. God's power is totally necessary and sufficient for these deeds. Each person "acts by the infusion of a divine power—the creature acts not by its own power but by the power of God."<sup>59</sup> They are thus able to do what is beyond their natural powers and abilities, and yet they remain responsible moral agents themselves.

Luke speaks in exactly the same language. Anytime he speaks of the Holy Spirit, we can read a reference to God's power, as Luke establishes by describing the conception of Jesus in Mary taking place when "the Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High overshadow you" (Luke 1:35). Jesus proceeds in "the power of the Spirit" out of his confrontation with the devil in the desert and into his inaugural sermon in Nazareth (Luke 4:14). Luke also speaks directly of Jesus's power to teach effectively (Luke 4:32) and to have power over demons (Luke 4:36). The power of God is said to be with Jesus to heal (Luke 5:17; cf. 6:19, 8:46). This power is communicated to his apostles and disciples to allow them to do accomplish what they themselves cannot, to teach, heal, and cast out demons (Luke 9:1; cf. 10:19). After the resurrection, Jesus again speaks of giving this power to his apostles and disciples in order to carry out the same mission on a world-wide scale (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:8). The narrative of Acts then shows that being

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<sup>59</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 100.

carried out through the power of God (3:11–16; 4:8–11). The implication of Luke’s narrative is that all the deeds done by Jesus and his followers, in both the Gospel and Acts, take place through the power of God, whose effects are immediate and universal, to use Tanner’s language. All these men and women who act through the power of God accomplish what is beyond their innate, created ability and powers. And yet they are true human agents, acting freely and responsibly. The power of God within them does not threaten or diminish their own power, but amplifies it. It is not a competitive relationship, in which God’s power acts at the expense of the creature. Rather, God’s power is to the credit of the creature.

Satan is also a creature. Luke does not explore the nature or origins of Satan, and gives no account of how he came to be or his exact relationship with God. But from the beginning, Luke speaks of Satan (and by extension the demons that are his agents), in accord with the apocalypticism of his encyclopedia of knowledge, as a creature within creation, rather than a god that transcends it. The claim that Satan makes in the temptations, to have been given power, speaks to his place in the created order. Satan has to be given power; he does not have it of his own right. He has agency as a created being, and God’s power grounds that agency in an immediate way. Insofar as he is a creature in the order of being, all that he is and has is grounded in God’s agency. He cannot be separate from that.

Satan, however, is the malicious opponent of God. How is it possible that a creature, whose agency is grounded in God’s power and can never be exercised separately from that power, could establish himself as the malicious opponent of God? Tanner does not consider the role of Satan in her work, nor indeed does she consider the origins of sin

or the problem of evil.<sup>60</sup> But according to her rules, the agency of God must be the ground of Satan's own power, which can never be exercised independently. Luke expresses this when he says (adding to the account in his sources) that power has been given to the devil (Luke 4:6). He does not have it of his own right, it has to be given to him. For that agency to be truly meaningful, there must be the possibility for it to be exercised wrongly, and in Satan we see the perfect example of that. God cannot directly will evil, nor can his power effect evil, however, so how can Satan's malicious opposition to God be understood?

Some insight to this question can be gained by the curious and problematic claim that Luke makes that Jesus's death was according to the will and plan of God. This claim, made directly by Luke in a number of contexts (most explicitly in Acts 2:23, "in the definite plan and foreknowledge of God," τῆ ὀρισμένη βουλῆ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ; cf. Luke 22:22; Acts 1:16; 4:28) is also implied in the many places where Luke speaks of Jesus's death as happening according to Scripture. This coheres with Tanner's rule that God's agency is immediately and universally felt. The circumstances of Jesus's death are repugnant, and quite contrary to the human expectation for what would happen according to God's plan, and yet the claim is made by Luke that Jesus's death in God's plan. It did not occur outside of God's agency or in any way represent a defeat of his power. In a mysterious way, the evil perpetrated by Satan, and in all of his malicious deeds, is incorporated into the plan of God.

Luke's claim that Jesus's death was according to God's plan is sometimes used to excuse Judas. Ignorantly or not, it is said, Judas was simply doing God's will and so cannot be held responsible for his actions. Yet this is manifestly not what Luke thinks of Judas. At the Last Supper, when the claim is first made that Jesus's death is according to

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<sup>60</sup> "Questions of sin and evil are left out of account in what follows; the intelligibility of evil if a theologian follows our rules is a further question not addressed in this work" (Tanner, *God and Creation*, 174 n. 12).

the will of God, Jesus also says “woe to that man by whom he is betrayed” (Luke 22:22). Luke shows that Judas bears the consequences of his deed by depicting his death as a punitive miracle. Luke holds these two claims fully, even if they appear to the modern mind to be in tension or even in conflict: that Judas was morally culpable for his role in Jesus’s death and that the death was according to the plan of God.

The death of Jesus took place through created agents and Luke takes care to explain the chain of responsibility for this. Satan enters into Judas and Judas betrays Jesus and is held responsible. This is another place where readers will try to exculpate Judas: it was not really he who acted, but Satan who entered him. Clearly, as has just been argued, Luke continues to hold Judas blameworthy despite Satan’s influence, just as he holds Ananias and Sapphira responsible for their misdeeds under the influence of Satan in an analogous tale. We have here two *created* powers that work in unison with each other to effect a single cause. Satan enters Judas, giving him thereby some of his power (which he has claimed the ability to do in the temptations; Luke 4:6). Judas thus acts with some of the power of Satan, but retains his own agency and thus his responsibility. This is a different mode, however, from how created agents act with the power of God, for here two created agents join power to act in unison. Neither would be able to effect the desired cause of their own power alone, but together, they accomplish this malicious end. In Tanner’s terms, since they are two created causes, both are necessary and neither are sufficient. When the religious authorities sought Jesus’s death, their own efforts were not sufficient. It was necessary for the power of Satan to be joined to their efforts, and when Satan entered Judas, both of the necessary causes were present and the plot against Jesus moved forward.

When a human agent acts with the power of God, his capacities and abilities are elevated. He becomes more truly himself. This can be seen in the lives of the apostles and disciples, in particular Peter and Paul, whose interaction with Satan and the power of God

have both been considered. Both of these men fell under the power of Satan and cooperated with his malicious designs, actions for which they retained full responsibility. In both cases, however, the power of God prevailed in their lives. In Luke's particular language for conversion (ἐπιστέφω), Peter was turned through Jesus's prayer and his look back to the power of God. Paul was turned from the power of Satan to God through his direct encounter with the risen Lord. It is the immediate effect of the power and agency of God that effected these turns, and yet each of these men as human agents is responsible for them. The agency of God and these men are not in inverse relationship. Luke does not see God taking over their persons or agency, but restoring what has been corrupted by the influence of Satan. So as the power of God penetrates these men and they turn back to God, their human power and agency is amplified and elevated, not diminished. It was Satan who diminished them, and God who increases them.

The reverse can be seen in those who come under the power of Satan, who differs from God in that he is a created being within the order of creation. The power of Satan destroys. Some seem to be afflicted by his power involuntarily, as are the many oppressed by him through possession and illness and are healed by Jesus and the apostles. They are not held morally accountable and it is part of Jesus's mission to release them from Satan's power. But some figures are morally accountable for allowing Satan's entry into their lives, for the choice of joining their agency to his. This is the story that Luke tells with respect to Judas and Ananias and Sapphira. Judas is held responsible for Satan entering into him, and falls most precipitously, away from the dignity of his numbering among the Twelve to his ignominious death. The purpose of repeatedly narrating that Judas was one of the Twelve calls attention to the deformation of humanity that takes place when one chosen by God as an apostle and given power and authority instead submits to the authority of Satan. He is destroyed. Unlike Peter and Paul who become more truly themselves and grow in agency under the power of the Holy Spirit, Judas's

identity as one of the Twelve is destroyed by his association with Satan. Ananias and Sapphira undergo the same destruction. In their case, Luke states the circumstances more directly, expressing the two poles of the relationship he sees between satanic influence and human agency: Satan filled the heart of Ananias, but nonetheless Ananias himself contrived this deed in his heart and is destroyed on account of it (Acts 5:3–5). What happens after their decision to allow the influence of Satan to enter them, in which their agency is joined to Satan’s and corrupted by it, does not obscure the fact that they retain responsibility for the moral choice of aligning with Satan.

Each person who has been oppressed by Satan, voluntarily or involuntarily, has his or her human agency and power diminished by the effects of Satan’s power. This is truly an inverse relationship of power: as Satan’s power increases in their lives, their human power and agency decrease. Some figures come under that power involuntarily: those who suffer disease or illness, or affliction by an evil spirit. They are oppressed by Satan and Jesus releases them from that bondage. When they are freed by the power of God, and the power of God works in them, their human power and agency increases. As Tanner understands it, this is a direct relationship between divine and human agency, between the Creator and a creature that are not in a competitive relationship. Others come under the power of Satan as the result of their own moral decision: to allow Satan to enter their hearts and so align themselves with him. This is a relationship between two creatures, and though the human has agency and so responsibility for choosing to allow that entry (in whatever way such moral psychology works, a subject not explored by Luke), their person is ultimately destroyed. This *is* a competitive relationship, and once entered into, Satan’s power destroys the individual.

So what kind of theologian is Luke, according to the terms laid out by Tanner of emphasizing the positive or negative side of the rules, that is, human agency or divine agency? Luke maintains a careful balance between human and divine agency. In fact, his

clear insistence on both has confused modern readers who presuppose that the two are in conflict, for Luke sees them in a non-competitive relationship. Human agents are responsible for their deeds, and yet the power of God is moving and grounding everything. Human beings are most fully responsible and powerful when the power of God acts in them. In terms of Tanner's requirements for theological language, Luke balances the positive and negative sides of the rules for talk about God. With regard to sin and Satan, which Tanner does not explore, the circumstances are different. Satan is a creature within creation, and while humans maintain their agency and responsibility at the point of aligning with him, when they do so, they enter into a competitive relationship. They are two created agents whose agencies are united, but the human is ultimately destroyed by Satan. In the words of Luke, his purpose is "that they might not believe and be saved" (Luke 8:12).

Tanner claims that the particular focus a theologian takes will be determined by his or her circumstances and "particular practical agenda."<sup>61</sup> What does Luke's focus tell us about his circumstances and agenda? It is clear that Luke wants to emphasize the importance of ethical behavior, and the demands of the gospel penetrate his writing. He wants people to live lives of faith, of moral conduct and upright behavior. Therefore, he stresses the moral responsibility of human beings, their agency. In the spread of the gospel, human beings as responsible agents are called to conversion, in the language of repentance and turning, in a way that implies their freedom to do so. Luke wants his readers to behave ethically, and yet he emphasizes that the power of God, especially through the Holy Spirit but also through the direct intervention of Jesus as in the lives of Peter and Paul, is what brings people to faith. Luke sees the world through this apocalyptic framework: the power of God is in conflict in the world with the power of

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<sup>61</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*, 113.

evil and in competition for human hearts. While the power of God is the true power, the power of evil is also real though subordinate. Human beings as free agents can align themselves with one power or the other, though all things happen according to God's plan. The two sides of Tanner's rules are thus present in Luke's work: the positive side in human agency which must join the power of God or of evil, and the negative side in the power of God which leads human hearts to conversion. The ethical dimension of Luke's work is thus not a diminishment of his apocalyptic view or the urgency it entails, but a consequence of it.

Luke's ability to maintain both the influence of external agents on the human person (both creative and destructive) as well as the reality of human agency allows us to come full circle and see how Luke fits into and builds upon the apocalyptic worldview of his time. His clarity about the reality of Satan and his role in opposing God, oppressing humans, and destroying faith aligns with the cosmological form of apocalyptic eschatology. His equally clear insistence on human agency and responsibility, the need to turn away from Satan to God, aligns with the forensic form of apocalyptic theology. He does not primarily communicate this theology propositionally, but through his narrative. He tells the story of a world under the authority of Satan, into which Jesus brings the kingdom of God that entails release from the various forms of oppression that Satan is behind. Jesus is in conflict with Satan's authority and defeats that authority progressively by the proclamation of the kingdom. The defeat of Satan inaugurates a new age, in which Satan is defeated but continues to oppose God as that kingdom is spread through the world through the proclamation of the gospel.

## Conclusion

This study of Luke's writings has shown that Satan is a key figure in his narrative and theology. Luke does more with Satan than any other canonical gospel and continues to incorporate Satan into his story of the Acts of the Apostles. Satan appears more often in Luke and in more important places, most prominently in the passion, where Luke has consciously introduced him in rewriting his sources. The importance of Satan for Luke has been widely overlooked by scholars both of Satan and of Luke, and until now there has not been a complete study of Satan in Luke's writings. Susan Garrett made a perceptive start on such a study,<sup>62</sup> but ultimately neglected much in light of her primary focus on magic in Luke. This dissertation has looked at the entire scope of Satan in Luke, and considered Luke's apocalypticism and view of moral agency in light of it.

Besides analyzing Luke's many original and adopted references to Satan, care has been taken to see how he structures his narrative in light of Satan. He constructs a narrative in which Satan is the primary antagonist to Jesus, part of a plot in which the primary conflict is between Jesus and Satan. Jesus enters into a world in which Satan has authority, with the mission to defeat Satan and so release those he has bound through possession, illness, and every kind of evil affliction (cf. Luke 4:16–21). Satan's objective is to destroy people's faith so that they not be saved (Luke 8:12; Acts 13:8–10; cf. Luke 22:31–32). The confrontation is inaugurated in the temptations in the desert (Luke 4:1–13), which Luke has constructed to be the beginning of Jesus's adult life and the first conflict in the narrative. After Jesus emerges victorious, he conducts an offensive against Satan through his public life, enlisting his followers in the battle by giving them his power and authority (Luke 9:1–2; 10:1, 17). Luke connects the arrival of the kingdom of God, effected by the preaching of the gospel, with the defeat of Satan and the

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<sup>62</sup> Garrett, *Demise of the Devil*.

displacement of his authority, conveyed by Jesus's vision of Satan falling from heaven (Luke 9:17–20; cf. 11:14–23). Luke's most significant innovation is to introduce Satan into the passion, when Satan reasserts his offensive against Jesus by entering into Judas (Luke 22:3). Judas is held accountable for this vicious collusion, and Luke tells in Acts how Judas is destroyed through a punitive miracle that reflects God's power and victory over Satan (Acts 1:18–19). Luke shows Satan further involved in the passion by attacking Peter and all the apostles. Luke attributes Peter's denials to the sifting of Satan, but through the prayer of Jesus, Peter repents and turns back to strengthen the faithful (Luke 22:31–32). Peter asserts God's power over Satan most notably in the episode of Ananias and Sapphira, which Luke constructs as a diabolical attack on the church (Acts 5:1–11). Paul, whom Luke shows implicitly doing the work of Satan in persecuting the church, is converted from the side of Satan to God, once more demonstrating God's power and victory. Paul is given a mission that provides a programmatic description of the entire plot: to turn hearts "from darkness to light, from the authority of Satan to God" (Acts 26:18).

The importance of Satan for Luke can only be appreciated by seeing all this at once, and thus this has been a cumulative argument made by working through Luke's long and complex writing. No one instance demonstrates conclusively the significance of Satan, but the many references to Satan collectively lead to the unmistakable conclusion that Satan plays an essential role in Luke's narrative and theology. One must appreciate Satan in order to understand Luke rightly. To overlook Satan is to miss something important about Luke, but once one has seen it, it opens up new perspectives on old scholarly debates about Luke.

Satan shows how Luke is in fact an apocalyptic writer. He adopts all the essential elements of both the symbolic world of apocalypticism and the expectations of apocalyptic eschatology, though not writing in the literary genre of an apocalypse. Luke is

writing history, and what literary apocalypses communicate in a symbolic key, he expresses through the real events of the life of Jesus and the church. He sees the world both through the lens of cosmological apocalyptic eschatology, as seen in his plot structure of conflict between Satan's authority and the greater power of God, as well as forensic apocalyptic eschatology, with his emphasis on the conflict between Satan and God over human hearts which must turn and thus align themselves with one side of this conflict. In accord with the apocalyptic worldview, Luke sees the world initially in darkness, under the authority of Satan and his evil spirits who oppress and bind people, a situation which demands an act of God to rectify it. Luke's narrative tells the story of how that expectation has been met in Jesus and the kingdom of God. He interprets apocalypticism in light of the events he narrates, not abandoning it but showing how Jesus has fulfilled those expectations, defeating Satan and releasing people from his authority. Luke's salvation history is built on apocalyptic expectation rather than opposed to it. One does not have to choose between salvation history or apocalypticism to understand Luke, for he does both. While the views of Conzelmann have long since been critiqued, this study provides new weight to those criticisms by showing the fundamental and structural shortfalls of his reading of Luke. Luke neither sees Jesus's life as a Satan-free period, nor does he discard apocalyptic eschatology in favor of salvation history. Rather, Luke builds salvation history on apocalypticism, and holds that the expectations of apocalyptic eschatology have been met. To those holding apocalyptic expectations, he would say they have been fulfilled in Jesus and the church.

Satan also provides a window to see how Luke understands moral agency in light of divine and satanic influence. His narrative shows that he upholds human agency and responsibility but also the reality of Satan's influence as he campaigns for human hearts, most notably in the cases of Judas and Ananias and Sapphira. Carol Newsom's work on classifying conceptions of human agency provides an attractive framework for

understanding Luke's conception of moral agency.<sup>63</sup> In her taxonomy, Luke's view of moral agency would be of the self-in-control while subject to external forces, or as "moral agency is externally impaired, but the impairment can be overcome." But as the work of Kathryn Tanner helped see,<sup>64</sup> this scheme has intrinsic limitations, insofar as it places divine and human agency in competition with each other. Luke has a different view of this relationship that sees divine and human agency in a direct rather than inverse relationship. It is seen throughout Luke's narrative that divine power increases human agency, since God is the ground of all creation and human capacity. Satan is not a rival god, though, but a creature, and his power does not ground human agency but rivals it. As Luke shows in his narrative, his influence is real as he seeks to turn people away from faith, but he does not destroy human agency. When humans do turn away from God and align with Satan, their collusion with him leads to destruction. Rather than diminishing a person's culpability, Satan's influence increases it. A person who turns to Satan and submits to his influence has aligned with him in the apocalyptic conflict, and that is an act of the greatest evil.

Luke's worldview is thus apocalyptic through and through, both at the cosmic and personal level. He has the most important components of that worldview: a world in bondage to Satan seen in the image of darkness, a conflict between his evil forces and God, and the capacity and necessity for human beings to align themselves in this struggle. Luke cannot be understood without grasping this, for he is telling the story of how God has fulfilled the expectations of this worldview to rectify this situation by a decisive act that can only come from him. God accomplishes that through Jesus who brings the kingdom of God, and that liberation from the authority of Satan is the mission of the church in spreading the gospel.

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<sup>63</sup> Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self."

<sup>64</sup> Tanner, *God and Creation*.

These conclusions have implications that merit further study. Studies of apocalypticism in the New Testament and early Christianity will have to take more seriously the specifically Lukan contribution to its development. Luke needs to be seen as a legitimate representative in this diverse constellation of thought rather than an exception to it or a late development that moves away from it. Luke has given new shape to the expectations of apocalyptic eschatology by proposing Jesus as its resolution, and that deserves to be appreciated as a variety of apocalypticism rather than an example of how it is diminished. There is also more to be said about Luke's understanding of history and his scheme of salvation history in light of the conclusion that Satan is central to his narrative rather than unimportant.

Luke's apocalypticism and view of moral agency also provides a new avenue to consider the relationship of Lukan theology to Pauline. In the first place, Luke is much closer to Paul's acknowledged apocalypticism than previously thought. Martinus de Boer did much of his work on apocalypticism in the service of his study of Paul, judging Paul to contain both varieties of apocalyptic eschatology, cosmological and forensic.<sup>65</sup> The presence of those elements in Luke as well points to a confluence of their theologies. Paul's thought also has a role for the powers of evil that oppose God and harm humans, and the connections and differences with Luke need to be further explored. The insight that Satan gives into Luke's understanding of moral agency also suggests new connections with Paul's understanding of freedom and grace. For both Luke and Paul, the human person stands in need of God's deliverance from the authority of Satan, while still remaining morally responsible for his conduct. Writing in different genres and using different language, these two writers seem to be articulating the same theology.

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<sup>65</sup> de Boer, *Galatians*.

Understanding the role that Satan plays in Luke's theology will certainly shed new light on old questions about the relationship of Luke and Paul.

Luke has given the world a distinctive narrative of the life of Jesus and the early days of the church. Like all writers, he uses narrative not only to tell a story, but to communicate ideas, and in this case, theology. In his attempt to give an orderly account of the things that have happened, he enlists the character of Satan to supply the main conflict and the problem that must be solved. Building upon the worldview and expectations of apocalyptic eschatology, Luke is offering an answer to the problem of evil in the world, at both the cosmic and personal levels. The problem is that Satan is in authority in the world, afflicting people with his bondage, and the solution is the mission of Jesus to bring the kingdom of God. The church continues that mission through the spread of the gospel that displaces Satan who has been defeated by Jesus. Luke has advanced the story significantly, and yet there is not a complete resolution. The tension of "already and not yet" remains, and though Luke has shifted the emphasis toward the already, something more is expected. Evil remains and so there remains a mystery, the *mysterium iniquitatis*, that is not entirely resolved. Luke's enigmatic ending to Acts gestures to a resolution that will be effected as the church continues its work of preaching the gospel and carrying out the mission "to open their eyes, so that they turn from darkness to light, from the authority of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by me" (Acts 26:18).

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