

RICHARD H. BELL

Deliver Us from Evil

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
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Mohr Siebeck

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Richard H. Bell

Deliver Us from Evil

Interpreting the Redemption from the Power of Satan
in New Testament Theology

Mohr Siebeck

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To Jack and Cameron

Preface

“They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia. When they had come opposite Mysia, they attempted to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit of Jesus did not allow them; so, passing by Mysia, they went down to Troas. During the night Paul had a vision: there stood a man of Macedonia pleading with him and saying, ‘Come over to Macedonia and help us’. When he had seen the vision, we immediately tried to cross over to Macedonia, being convinced that God had called us to proclaim the good news to them” (Acts 16.6-10). Just as Paul and his associates ended up taking a different route to that which they had intended, so, in writing this book, I have taken a path other than I originally planned. My initial goal was to write a book on the defeat of Satan in New Testament theology covering all the witnesses of the New Testament using a title such as “Falling like lightning”.¹ The ideas for the book were first developed in an extended paper I gave to the seminar group “Inhalte und Probleme einer neutestamentlichen Theologie” of SNTS (Bonn 2003) entitled “Interpreting the Defeat of Satan in New Testament Theology”. This paper forms the basic architectural framework of the whole book and has helped to produce what I hope is a work of considerable cohesion. But it became evident that although the defeat of Satan is central to the exorcisms of the synoptic gospels, many authors of the New Testament simply do not speak explicitly about a “defeat of Satan”.² For example, Paul, Ephesians and Colossians, if they explicitly speak of the devil (or allude to him), speak instead of being redeemed from the *dominion* of Satan. In order to get some overall theological framework for studying Satan in New Testament theology, I therefore moved more in the direction of considering how the human being is redeemed from the *effects* of Satan. And hence the title of this book: “Deliver Us from Evil: Interpreting the Redemption from the Power of Satan in New Testament Theology”.

¹ I later discovered that Girard had written a book with a similar title (René Girard, *I See Satan Fall Like Lightning* [Maryknoll: Orbis, 2001]).

² This became clear in discussion with Prof. Dr Hermut Löhr.

The paper I delivered in Bonn then indicated that there were some fundamental problems regarding the understanding of the human being in relation to this redemption. I did not receive any visions at nights but when three years later I was invited to give a paper on aspects of New Testament anthropology to the same seminar group (SNTS, Aberdeen 2006), I saw it as a truly providential request. The resulting paper was “Anthropological Implications of Participation: Towards a New Appreciation of the Soul” and much of that material forms the body of chapter four of the present work.

The result of all this is that the book does not so much concern the defeat of Satan but rather the “deliverance from evil” and hence the title of the book. Further, the work is not as comprehensive in covering the New Testament witnesses as I had originally intended. My focus is on being “delivered from evil” in relation to the exorcisms of the synoptic gospels and the redemption of the human being as found in Paul, Ephesians, Colossians and Hebrews. But although it is not as wide in its scope as far as New Testament witnesses are concerned, it is much deeper. In fact the exorcisms turned out to be much more involved than I had anticipated. The reason for this is that Jesus speaks of a devil, a mythological figure, whom he “casts out”; but this “casting out” is then related to an actual change in the physical world (i.e. a “healing” of some kind). Many historians seem agreed that Jesus was a “successful exorcist” but no one to my knowledge has satisfactorily addressed the question: How is such mythological language related to a change in the physical world? I then found I had to do some fundamental work on myth from a philosophical perspective. It is, of course, not unusual for a New Testament scholar to turn to philosophy. But today, the vast majority of those who do, deal almost exclusively with the philosophy of language. This may not be unreasonable since in studying the New Testament we are dealing with texts! However, the New Testament itself has a concern not just for “words” but also for the “world”. I have some sympathy with Stephen Hawking when he writes: “Philosophers reduced the scope of their inquiries so much that Wittgenstein . . . said, ‘The sole remaining task for philosophy is the analysis of language.’ What a comedown from the great tradition of philosophy from Aristotle to Kant!”³ In order to relate “mythol-

³ Stephen W. Hawking, *A Brief History of Time: From the Big Bang to Black Holes* (London: Guild, 1988), 174–75. Note that Bryan Magee, *Confessions of a Philosopher* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997), 215, writes of how he and Bertrand Russell have agreed in conversation “that Wittgenstein’s early philosophy was work of genius, whereas his later philosophy was a highly sophisticated form of intellectual frivolity”.

ogy” to the “world” I therefore turned to a philosopher whose work was relevant for both: Arthur Schopenhauer. Again an extended paper was written, this time on interpreting the exorcisms of Jesus, and presented to colleagues of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at Nottingham in Spring 2006. This paper forms the basis of chapter three.

I realize that very few now read a book from cover to cover. But this work, as I suggested above, is highly cohesive and a full reading may bring its benefits. In particular, chapters three, four and five form the heart of the book, where the fundamental “drama” takes place, and should be read as a whole. Chapters one and two lead up to this central section and chapters six, seven and eight flow from it.

I am indebted to many people. First, I thank the members of the seminar group “Inhalt und Probleme einer neutestamentlichen Theologie” of SNTS who read and commented upon the two papers which were circulated in advance. Then I thank a number of people who read the whole or part of the present work. Dr Matthew Howey, my former PhD student, went through more than half of the first draft in some detail making many valuable suggestions. His work is especially appreciated since he did this whilst in full time employment and with a wife and young son. My New Testament colleague at Nottingham, Dr Roland Deines, made many helpful insightful comments on the early chapters and pointed me to useful literature I had missed. My other New Testament colleague, Dr Angus Paddison, read through the whole work, made various corrections and offered a number of very interesting theological comments which in turn enriched the revision process. Dr Alison Milbank made helpful comments in regard to my work on myth, as did Dr Michael Mack regarding Kant and Schopenhauer, and Dr Mary Cunningham gave advice on the issue of baptism in the orthodox Churches. Dr Philip Goodchild made very helpful comments on the paper I presented to the Bonn SNTS as did Prof. Dr Hermut Löhr, who, in addition, read chapter six of the present book and made a number of useful suggestions. I also thank Georgina Lowe for reading the script in what was a busy summer and for pointing out where the argument could be made clearer. I have also benefited from many useful conversations with my Nottingham colleagues. In

They agree that “the current orthodoxy in philosophy was deeply, deeply in error in treating analysis as the sole and whole function of philosophy” and that “the central task of philosophy was still, as it had always been, the attempt to understand the world, or our experience of it”.

addition to the above I would like to mention Prof. Anthony Thiselton, Prof. John Milbank, Dr Karen Kilby, Dr Conor Cunningham, Mr Ed Ball and Dr Adrian Pabst, all from the Department of Theology and Religious Studies. I was also able to sharpen my philosophical thinking by having stimulating discussions with Dr Stephen Barker and Prof. Bob Kirk of the Department of Philosophy and I also had helpful discussions with Dr Heike Bartel of the Department of German on the issue of myth in German literature. Finally I am grateful to Prof. Anthony Grafton of Princeton for clarification regarding Kepler's view of time. Obviously any shortcomings in this work are my sole responsibility.

Because of family commitments it has been difficult to travel to other libraries and I have been heavily dependent on local facilities, namely the University of Nottingham library and the library of St John's College, Nottingham. Librarians of both institutions kindly allowed me to overstep my borrowing limit! I particularly want to thank the staff of Inter-Library-Loan who had to deal with my many requests whilst having to move offices several times over the summer because of building work in the Hallward library. They were able to deal with all my requests but unfortunately an article by Harold Attridge⁴ arrived when the typesetting and indices had been concluded. But on reading the article I am pleased to see that Attridge's article in many ways confirms my own approach to Hebrews 2.10-18.

I am also grateful to various colleagues at Nottingham who lent me their books for an extended period: Prof. Maurice Casey, Dr Alison Milbank, Dr Mary Cunningham, Mr Ed Ball, Dr Conor Cunningham, Dr Angus Paddison, Dr Philip Goodchild and Dr Karen Kilby. Above all I want to thank Dr Roland Deines for lending me many books (both English and German) from his fine and impressive collection.

My PhD student Peter Watts did the final checking, the page layout and the indices. This has been a mammoth task and I am extremely grateful to Peter for his characteristic thoroughness. Not only did he do technical work but also made a number of suggestions regarding the formulation of sentences and, as a young and promising theologian, put to me some searching questions which forced me to think again through certain theological issues. It was also a delight to have Peter working and sharing in the life of my

⁴Harold W. Attridge, "Liberating Death's Captives. Reconsideration of an Early Christian Myth," in *Gnosticism and the Early Christian World: In Honor of James M. Robinson*, J.E. Goehring, et al. (ed.) (Sonoma: Polebridge, 1990), 103-15.

home. The work was especially intense towards the end and I am grateful to Peter's understanding wife, Ruth. But despite the pressure we were under, I think we can both say that we have endeavoured to avoid creating "widows" (in Peter's case) and "orphans" (in mine) in more senses than one.

This work could not have been completed if it were not for a year of study leave granted by the University of Nottingham (2005-6). I am grateful to colleagues, especially Dr Karen Kilby, who took over most of my administrative responsibilities that year, and to the Head of Department, Prof. Alan Ford, for creating a happy and supportive atmosphere in which to work. I also thank Prof. Jörg Frey who encouraged me to expand my original SNTS paper given in Bonn into a full monograph and who accepted the larger work in the WUNT series. I am also grateful to the staff of Mohr Siebeck for their efficiency and encouragement, especially to Dr Henning Ziebritzki and Herr Matthias Spitzner.

Finally, I thank the Churches I have attended over the years which have helped form my thinking about deliverance from the power of Satan. Two of them stand out: "The Oxford New Testament Fellowship", which was led by Pastor Fred Smith, and the free Church which met in the house of Dr Günther and Frau Susanne Richter, in Bollingen, near Ulm. Although my aesthetic penchant is for "Sung Eucharist" or "Choral Evensong", these two Churches took seriously "spiritual warfare", and their hard work deserves recognition by those in the academic community and by those in "established Churches".

Karl Barth wrote: "Sinister matters may be very real, but they must not be contemplated too long or studied too precisely or adopted too intensively. It has never been good for anyone – including (and particularly) Martin Luther – to look too frequently or lengthily or seriously or systematically at demons."⁵ What Goethe wrote about looking into the crater of Vesuvius applies, he believes, to demons and the devil: "The prospect was neither instructive nor pleasing".⁶ It is for this reason that Barth's "glance" on the topic of demons is "brief".⁷ Barth would surely not approve of such an enterprise as the one I am engaged in. But my fear is that precisely because he glanced

⁵ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics. Volume III: The Doctrine of Creation, Part 3* (ET; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1960), 519.

⁶ Barth, *CD* 3.3, 519.

⁷ Barth, *CD* 3.3, 519. So his main analysis is in *CD* 3.3, 519-31 – brief indeed for Karl Barth!

only briefly at this topic that it became more sinister than it really is. Part of the purpose of this work is in fact to face demons and the devil head on and realise that for the Christian they are not to be feared for they are simply part of this world! Demoting them is a necessary and urgent task.

Finally, a word about the dedication. My two sons Jack and Cameron (now 14 and 12) are without doubt my greatest “creative works” and are a healthy reminder that bringing up children is one of the most wonderful and important things one can ever do. They have sacrificed a lot especially during the summer of 2007 in order that their father finish this relatively minor creative work. And so I dedicate it to them with the prayer that they may be protected from all evil. Amen.

Reformation Day 2007
Nottingham

Richard H. Bell

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Abbreviations

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- BA Bauer, Walter, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988 (völlig neu bearbeitet von Kurt und Barbara Aland)).
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- BDB Brown, F., S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament Based on the Lexicon of W. Gesenius* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978 (repr.)).
- BDF Blass, F., and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, translated and revised by R.W. Funk (Chicago/London: University of Chicago, 1961).
- DCH Clines, David J.A., (ed.), *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, 6 vols (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-2007).
- DDD van der Toorn, Karel, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst (ed.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden/New York/Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995).
- DJG Green, Joel B., Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall (ed.), *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (Leicester: IVP, 1992).
- DOTTE VanGemeren, W.A., (ed.), *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, 5 vols (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997).
- EDNT Balz, Horst, and Gerhard Schneider (ed.), *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, 3 vols (ET; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1990-93).
- EJud *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 16 vols (Jerusalem: Keter, 1978 (repr.), (1971-72)).
- GK Kautzsch, E., (ed.), *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (ET; Oxford: Clarendon 1910 (revised by A.E. Cowley).
- HDB Hastings, J., (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 5 vols (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898-1904).
- IB Buttrick, George A., (ed.), *The Interpreter's Bible*, 12 vols (New York/Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1952-57).

- IDB Buttrick, George A., (ed.), *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols (New York/Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1962).
- IDBSup Supplementary volume to IDB, 1976.
- ISBE Bromiley, Geoffrey, (ed.), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 4 vols (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 1979–88).
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- KP Ziegler, Konrat, and Walther Sontheimer (ed.), *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike*, 5 vols (München: Dtv, 1979).
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- LSJ Liddell, H.G., and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985 (¹1843) (revised H.S. Jones and R. McKenzie with a supplement 1968)).
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- LThK² Höfer, J., and K. Rahner (ed.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 11 vols (Freiburg: Herder, ²1957–67).
- MTH Moulton, James Hope, Nigel Turner, and Wilbert Francis Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978–80 (repr.), (¹1908–76)).
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- NDT Ferguson, Sinclair B., and David F. Wright (ed.), *New Dictionary of Theology* (Leicester: IVP, 1989 (repr.), ¹1988).
- NIB Keck, Leander, et al. (ed.), *The New Interpreter's Bible*, 12 vols (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994ff.).
- NIDNTT Brown, Colin, (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, 3 vols (Exeter: Paternoster, 1975–78).
- OCP Honderich, Ted, (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford/New York: OUP, 1995).
- PCB Black, M., and H.H. Rowley (ed.), *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962).
- RE³ Hauck, Albert, (ed.), *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 22 vols (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, ³1896–1909).

- RGG¹ Schiele, Friedrich Michael, and Leopold Zscharnack (ed.), *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung*, 5 vols (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), ¹1909–13).
- RGG² Gunkel, Hermann, and Leopold Zscharnack (ed.), *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 7 vols (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), ²1927–32).
- RGG³ Galling, Kurt, (ed.), *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 7 vols (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), ³1957–65).
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- ThWNT Kittel, G., and G. Friedrich (ed.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 10 vols (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933–78).
- TRE Krause, G., and G. Müller (ed.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 36 vols (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–2004).

2. Sources

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- AV Authorised Version
- APOT Charles, R.H., (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1977 (repr.), (¹1913)).
- BHS Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
- BSELK *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ¹⁰1986).
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte

GNT ³	Aland, Kurt, et al. (ed.), <i>The Greek New Testament</i> (New York: United Bible Societies, ³ 1975).
GNT ⁴	Aland, Kurt, et al. (ed.), <i>The Greek New Testament</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ⁴ 1993).
HK	<i>Heidelberger Katechismus (Revidierte Ausgabe)</i> (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997).
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LW	Pelikan, J., and H.T. Lehmann (ed.), <i>Luther's Works</i> (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
MPG	Migne, J.-P., <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> .
MPL	Migne, J.-P., <i>Patrologia Latina</i> .
NA ²⁶	Nestle, Eberhard, Kurt Aland, et al. (ed.), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ²⁶ 1979).
NA ²⁷	Nestle, Eberhard, Kurt Aland, et al. (ed.), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ²⁷ 1993).
NEB	New English Bible
NPNF1	Schaff, P., (ed.), <i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: First Series</i> , 14 vols (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994 (repr.), (¹ 1886-1889)).
NPNF2	Schaff, P., and H. Wace (ed.), <i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series</i> , 14 vols (Peabody: Hendrickson 1994 (repr.), (¹ 1890-1900)).
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
OTP	Charlesworth, James H., (ed.), <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , 2 vols (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983–85).
PGM	Preisendanz, Karl, (ed.), <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri I</i> (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, ² 1973, (¹ 1928)).
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SC	Sources chrétiennes
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger)
WAT	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden</i> (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger)
ZB	Die Zürcher Bibel, i.e., <i>Die heilige Schrift des Alten und des Neuen Testaments</i> (Zürich: Verlag der Zürcher Bibel, 1987).

3. Periodicals

APQ	American Philosophical Quarterly
Bib	Biblica
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester
BSFP	Bulletin de la société française de philosophie
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie
Exp	Expositor
ExpT	Expository Times
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IMJ	The Israel Museum Journal
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JPJ	Journal of Progressive Judaism
JScExpl	Journal of Scientific Exploration
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KantSt	Kant Studien
LQHR	London Quarterly and Hoborn Review
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
ModT	Modern Theology
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
Phil	Philosophy
PhSt	Philosophical Studies
PhT	Philosophy Today
PhysRev	Physical Review
RelSt	Religious Studies
RQ	Revue de Qumran
SCB	Science and Christian Belief
SEÅ	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
SHAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
ThBei	Theologische Beiträge
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VT	Vetus Testamentum
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

4. Series

AB	Anchor Bible
ABG	Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AC	Ancient Cultures
AiS	Advances in Semiotics
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
AMNSU	Arbeiten und Mitteilungen aus dem neutestamentlichen Seminar zu Uppsala
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
APRS	Ashgate Philosophy of Religion Series
ASRS	Ashgate Science and Religion Series
ASSW	Arthur Schopenhauer: Sämtliche Werke
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AUS.TR	American University Series, Series 7: Theology and Religion
BEL	Bibliotheca 'Ephemerides liturgicae'
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BETHL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium
BEvTh	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BRCP	Blackwell Readings in Continental Philosophy
BS	Bollingen Series
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
CNTC	Calvin's New Testament Commentaries
ECGWHA	Ernst Cassirer: Gesammelte Werke Hamburger Ausgabe
EF	Erträge der Forschung
EKGB	Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EL	Everyman's Library
Étbib	Études bibliques
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FThSt	Freiburger theologische Studien
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
HSNT	Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments
HThKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HUTH	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
HzAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HzNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ILP	International Library of Psychology
ILPSM	International Library of Philosophy and Scientific Method
IRS	Issues in Religious Studies
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
JP.HRL	The Jewish People: History – Religion – Literature
JPTSup	Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series

JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
KBG	Karl Barth: Gesamtausgabe
KEK	Meyers kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KT	Kaiser-Traktate
KUT	Kohlhammer Urban-Taschenbücher
KzNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
LCRL	Limited Classical Reprint Library
LHD	The Library of History and Doctrine
LL	Lutterworth Library
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
L.TB	Literaturwissenschaft. Theorie und Beispiele
MLBS	Mercer Library of Biblical Studies
NCB	New Century Bible
NCIB	New Clarendon Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NSPR	New Studies in the Philosophy of Religion
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTL	New Testament Library
NTR	New Testament Readings
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Oxford Theological Monographs
OWC	Oxford World Classics
PFL	Pelican Freud Library
PhB	Philosophische Bibliothek
PIS	Philosophical Issues in Science
RdE	Rowohlts deutsche Enzyklopädie
RPG	Routledge Philosophy Guidebook
RTrad	Radical Traditions
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SJTOP	Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SöPh	Studien zur österreichischen Philosophie
SPB	Studia Post-Biblica
SPCKLP	SPCK Large Paperbacks
SSEA	Schriften der Studiengemeinschaft der Evangelischen Akademien
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StDog	Studies in Dogmatics
StNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
STS	Semitic Texts and Studies
ThExH	Theologische Existenz heute
ThHK	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries

TSc	Theology and the Sciences
TTL	Theological Translation Library
TzF	Texte zur Forschung
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Debate about the Devil: Yesterday and Today

Helmut Thielicke began a series of sermons on the Lord's Prayer in Stuttgart in the middle of the Second World War when the city was "still more or less intact and its cultural life still flourished"; but they came to a close in "the declining days of a reign of terror, and finally through the period of total military and political collapse and the beginning of the occupation".¹ His sermon "Deliver Us from Evil", given during these latter times, explains that whereas a few decades earlier a preacher would have to apologize for talk of the devil, this is not so in 1945.

Dear friends, in our time we have had far too much contact with demonic powers; we have sensed and seen how men and whole movements have been corrupted and controlled by mysterious, abysmal powers, leading them where they had no intention of going; we have observed all too often how an alien spirit can ride people and change the very substance of men who before may have been quite decent and reasonable persons, driving them to brutalities, delusions of power, and fits of madness of which they never appeared to be capable before; year by year we have seen an increasingly poisonous atmosphere settling down upon our globe and we sense how real and almost tangible are the evil spirits in the air, seeing an invisible hand passing an invisible cup of poison from nation to nation and throwing them into confusion; I say that we have seen all this too clearly; we have been far too shocked by all this for me to have to prepare your mind and mine in order to discuss the question of the devil without embarrassing you. The overwhelming power of these experiences is so strong that it simply breaks through all the intellectual insulation which we are so prone to interpose in order to keep out these dark powers.²

I think it is easy to understand how Thielicke could say those things. Even those like myself who have not lived through the 1930s and 1940s can have

¹ Helmut Thielicke, *The Prayer That Spans the World: Sermons on the Lord's Prayer* (ET; London: James Clarke, 1965), 13. For the background to his time in Stuttgart, see Helmut Thielicke, *Zu Gast auf einem schönen Stern. Erinnerungen* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1984), 160–68.

² Thielicke, *Prayer*, 133.

some appreciation of what it was like to experience those dark times. We can read about the evils of nazism and we can see the reverberations of those disastrous events in post-war European history. I imagine many of those committing atrocious acts of cruelty were previously “quite decent and reasonable people” who had been taken over by “an alien spirit”. Further their acts were not just evil; many of them were also completely irrational. They were indeed “corrupted and controlled by mysterious, abysmal powers”.³

Neither the nazi tyranny nor any other evil proves the reality of the devil and no attempt will be made in my work to “prove” the existence of the devil. The New Testament assumes the devil “exists” (as it assumes that God “exists”) and I will share this assumption (although I will argue that such an assumption is not unreasonable). More importantly the New Testament speaks either of the defeat of Satan or of our redemption from the dominion of Satan. The central theme of this book concerns *interpreting* the redemption from Satan in New Testament theology. The New Testament texts themselves are, of course, concerned with this interpretative act in the light of the Christ event and a good deal of this book will look at this. But a major question will be how today, in the light of these texts, this redemption can be interpreted.

Thielicke in his sermon does not mention Rudolf Bultmann but it seems highly likely that Bultmann was not far from his thoughts. Bultmann’s lecture “Neues Testament und Mythologie. Das Problem der Entmythologisierung der neutestamentlichen Verkündigung” was given on 21 April 1941 in a meeting of the “Gesellschaft für evangelische Theologie” in Frankfurt am Main and again on 4 June 1941 in Alpirsbach for the “Alpirsbacher Woche”.⁴ Bultmann’s lecture on demythologizing was then published together with the essay “Die Frage der natürlichen Offenbarung” in a work

³ Although a case can be made that the evil of nazism was unique in the sense that a “Christian” nation (at least in name) was attempting to annihilate God’s people, there are many other cases of otherwise decent people being poisoned by an evil ideology. On 7 July 2005, 52 people were killed in London by British born Islamic terrorists (and around 700 were injured, 22 of whom were seriously or critically injured). It appears that the otherwise “ordinary” people who committed these crimes had been overtaken by an evil ideology, in this case radical Islam.

⁴ He gave a second lecture “Theologie als Wissenschaft” which remained unpublished for many years. However, it is now available (Rudolf Bultmann, “Theologie als Wissenschaft,” *ZThK* 81 [1984]: 447–69) together with an introduction by Klaus W. Müller (470–71).

Offenbarung und Heilsgeschehen.⁵ Whilst the essay on natural revelation remained largely ignored (despite its striking relevance to the contemporary political situation)⁶ the demythologizing essay caused a storm of protest⁷ although it found an admirer in no less a person than Dietrich Bonhoeffer.⁸ Thieliicke himself responded to *Offenbarung und Heilsgeschehen* in a theological memorandum in 1942 at the request of the “Oberkirchenrat” of the “Württembergische Landeskirche”. Like Bonhoeffer he welcomed the fact that Bultmann had initiated an important debate even though he disagreed with him.⁹

Bultmann did indeed open up a crucial debate and at certain points in the present work I will interact with him. Like Thieliicke I will argue that myth is fundamental for theology and it will prove to be fundamental for our inquiry

⁵ See Rudolf Bultmann, *Offenbarung und Heilsgeschehen*, BevTh 7 (München: Chr. Kaiser, 1941).

⁶ See Eberhard Jüngel’s introduction to Rudolf Bultmann, *Neues Testament und Mythologie (Nachdruck der 1941 erschienenen Fassung hrg. von Eberhard Jüngel)*, BevTh 96 (München: Chr. Kaiser, ²1985, (¹1941)), 8.

⁷ See Jüngel in Bultmann, *Neues Testament und Mythologie*, 8. So Hans Asmussen demanded that Bultmann’s work should be treated as “nicht anders . . . als den Irrtümern der Deutschen Christen”. Note that not only did Bultmann belong to the Confessing Church from its inception but also supported Barth’s document *Theologische Existenz heute* (made available 1 July 1933) as early as 13 July (see Klaus Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich, Volume 1: Preliminary History and the Time of Illusions, 1918–1934* [ET; London: SCM, 1987], 438).

⁸ See Bultmann, *Neues Testament und Mythologie*, 8–9. Bonhoeffer reacted with anger to the “Berliner Generalkonvent”: “Große Freude habe ich an dem neuen Bultmannheft. Mich beeindruckt die intellektuelle Redlichkeit seiner Arbeiten immer wieder. Hier . . . der Konvent hätte, wie ich höre, um ein Haar einen Protest gegen Bultmanns Theologie an Sie geschickt! Und das ausgerechnet von den Berlinern! . . . Diese Dünkelhaftigkeit, die hier floriert . . . ist für die Bekennende Kirche eine wirkliche Schande” (letter of 24 March 1942, quoted in Eberhard Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Theologe – Christ – Zeitgenosse. Eine Biographie* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ⁸2004, [¹1968]], 799). Although Bonhoeffer was grateful to Bultmann for opening the debate he himself was not in agreement with Bultmann. See his letter of 25 July 1942 to Winfried Krause (Bethge, *Bonhoeffer*, 800) and his later view in a letter of 5 May 1944 to Bethge (Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison. The Enlarged Edition*, Eberhard Bethge [ed.] [ET; London: SCM, 1971], 285). For Bonhoeffer’s disagreement with Bultmann’s position, see Georg Huntemann, *The Other Bonhoeffer: An Evangelical Reassessment of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (ET; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 123–37.

⁹ His memorandum is reproduced (with wartime references being removed) in Helmut Thieliicke, “The Restatement of New Testament Mythology: Preliminary Observations,” in *Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate*, Hans Werner Bartsch (ed.) (ET; London: SPCK, ²1964, (¹1953)), 138–74.

concerning the redemption from Satan. Yet at the same time I have some sympathy with Bultmann's position that myth is not always the appropriate category in dealing with New Testament theology. For I will argue that in certain respects the New Testament understanding of the redemption from Satan often has some non-mythical tendencies. Further, we shall see that some of the New Testament texts themselves engage in a form of "demythologizing". Since this is going on in the Old Testament, it would be surprising if the New Testament texts did not also demythologize.¹⁰ This, incidentally, puts in question the idea that the biblical authors were "primitive" or "gullible", a topic to which I will return in discussing the exorcisms of Jesus.¹¹

But even if the first century Jews and Christians were not as gullible as we often like to think, there can be little doubt that we in the "West" today have much more difficulty in speaking of the devil. We live in a "scientific age" and the development of the natural sciences over the last five hundred years has been one of humankind's greatest adventures. But this rise of the natural sciences has been accompanied by a structure of thinking which has made a discussion of the subject to hand difficult and confusing (and, of course, embarrassing).¹² I am here not just thinking about a "world view" which has developed which leaves little or even no "room" for the devil (or God!); I also have in mind the modern approach to the subject-object relation, an approach which can make the theological discussion opaque. This is a point I

¹⁰ So in Gen. 1.1-2.4a there is a particular view of God and the creation of the world which is at variance with "mythical views". On this issue, see Brevard S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*, SBT 1.27 (London: SCM, 1960), 42-43. Childs points out how the free creation of a transcendent God in Gen. 1.1-2 contrasts with the Near Eastern myth of creation (42) and how the Priestly writer has "broken this myth" (43). See also James Barr, "The Meaning of 'Mythology' in Relation to the Old Testament," *VT* 9 (1959): 7, who writes that in Genesis 1 "the old creation story is very thoroughly demythologised".

¹¹ Note that there may be an individualizing tendency in "biblical religion" associated with the divine/human distinction. Such individualizing may be a sign of demythologizing, myth emphasizing the collective. Compare Cassirer's discussion of Durkheim in Ernst Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen. Zweiter Band: Das mythische Denken*, ECGWHA 12 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), 226-28 (ET 192).

¹² In "An open letter to the Archbishops, the Bishops and the members of the General Synod of the Church of England" Don Cupitt and others wrote that "[t]he liberation of mankind from demonological and similar beliefs, since the Reformation and the rise of modern science, has been a great blessing" (Don Cupitt, *Explorations in Theology* 6 [London: SCM, 1979], 51). This is one reason why they conclude that "exorcism should have no official status in the Church at all". The problems with such an approach will become clear as we proceed.

will touch on below but extensive discussion will wait until chapters three and four.

Not only do we live in a scientific age, but also in a post-Kantian age.¹³ Part of the present work will involve interpreting myth and the redemption from Satan using a philosophical framework based on Kant and his “disciple” Schopenhauer. We are, whether we like it or not, shaped by the thought of Kant. Further, it is widely believed that he, along with Plato and Aristotle, form the trio of the finest philosophers ever.¹⁴ I will make use of the phenomenal-noumenal distinction introduced by Kant and especially as it was developed by Schopenhauer. This will facilitate a discussion as to how the mythical world of the devil can relate to “physical reality” and to questions of human existence, body and soul. But I will go beyond such a philosophical framework in order to take *revelation* seriously.

Although Thieliicke felt he was not embarrassing his hearers by talking about the devil, clearly such talk has been a source of embarrassment for many theologians since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Schleiermacher writes:

In the New Testament Scriptures the Devil is, indeed, frequently mentioned, but neither Christ nor the Apostles set up a new doctrine concerning him, and still less do they associate the idea in any way with the plan of salvation; hence the only thing we can establish on the subject for the system of Christian doctrine is this: whatever is said about the Devil

¹³ Bryan Magee, *The Philosophy of Schopenhauer* (Oxford/New York: OUP, 21997, (11983)), 234–35, writes: “Most of the central problems in philosophy remain to this day those towards which Kant pointed us. . . . [O]ne thing which nearly all major figures in contemporary philosophy have in common – though they may be as far apart in other respects as Wittgenstein and Heidegger – is that either the problems they confront or the methods they use in confronting them are in some recognizable sense Kantian.”

¹⁴ Cf. Bryan Magee, *Confessions of a Philosopher* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997), 248: “The standard view among professional philosophers is that – of those whose writings we have – Plato, Aristotle and Kant are in a class above the rest; and it is hard to see how anyone steeped in the literature of philosophy could differ far from that judgment”. He continues: “Certainly I would not, though if I had to award a single prize I would give it to Kant”. One reason he gives for awarding Kant such a unique place in philosophy is because he brought together the two basic approaches to philosophy which emanated from Plato and Aristotle, whether that be rationalism versus empiricism or idealism versus realism. “The unique greatness of Kant was that he integrated the two, and in doing so showed philosophy its true path”. See also the conclusion to Ernst Cassirer, *Kant's Life and Thought* (London/New Haven: Yale University, 1981), 418, where, after discussing Goethe's appreciation of Plato and Aristotle, he writes that “in Kant the basic tendencies Goethe contrasted in his portrait of Aristotle and Plato join and fuse, and both are in such perfect equilibrium that one can hardly speak any longer of a contrary preeminence of one over the other”.

is subject to the condition that belief in him must by no means be put forward as a condition of faith in God or in Christ. Furthermore, there can be no question of the Devil having any influence within the Kingdom of God.¹⁵

Such an argument is questionable. The figure of the devil is central to the New Testament view of redemption and, as I will argue, should also be central to Christian dogmatics. Further, as Elert argues: “Der Schleiermacher-sche Kanon, vom Teufel sei nicht zu reden, weil er innerhalb des Reiches Gottes keinen Einfluß habe, ist . . . unhaltbar”.¹⁶ Exactly the same argument could be put forward for not speaking about “sin” in Christian dogmatics.¹⁷

When looking at the vast sweep of Christian theology over two millennia, the devil has in fact had a central rôle. We find this, for example, in the second century and in Patristic writers in relation to exorcism¹⁸ and atone-ment;¹⁹ in medieval theology, not only in mainstream theologians²⁰ but also in various “dualist” groups.²¹ Subsequently, as is well known, the devil was

¹⁵ Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith* (ET; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994 (repr.), (1989)), 163.

¹⁶ Werner Elert, *Der christliche Glaube. Grundlinien der lutherischen Dogmatik* (Erlangen: Martin-Luther-Verlag, 1988, (1940)), 261–68. On this work of Elert, see Reinhard Hauber, “Werner Elert. Einführung in Leben und Werk eines ‘Lutheranismus’,” *NZST* 28 (1987): 125–28. On the thoroughly Lutheran character of his work, see also Karlmann Beyschlag, *Die Erlanger Theologie*, EKGB 67 (Erlangen: Martin-Luther-Verlag, 1993), 151–61.

¹⁷ Elert, *Der christliche Glaube*, 261.

¹⁸ Adolf von Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, Vol. I*, TTL (ET; London: Williams & Norgate/New York: G.P. Putman, 1904), 152–80, has an excursus on “The Conflict with Demons”, emphasizing the crucial rôle of exorcism in the early centuries. “It was as exorcisers that Christians went out into the great world, and exorcism formed one very powerful method of their mission and propaganda. . . . The whole world and the circumambient atmosphere were filled with devils; not merely idolatry, but every phase and form of life was ruled by them. They sat on thrones, they hovered around cradles. The earth was literally a hell . . . To encounter this hell and all its devils, Christians had command of weapons that were invincible” (160-61).

¹⁹ See, e.g., the “classic” (but dated) treatment of Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement* (London: SPCK, 1970 (repr.), (1931)), 16–60.

²⁰ See, e.g., Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas (see Henry Ansgar Kelly, “Teufel V: Kirchengeschichtlich,” *TRE* 33: 127–28).

²¹ See the overview given by Gerhard Rottenwöhler, “Dualism,” in *The Medieval Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Medieval Period*, G.R. Evans (ed.) (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 287–302.

fundamental for Martin Luther's theology,²² and Calvin, although having a more sober assessment of the place of the devil, nevertheless chides those who try to dismiss him.²³ Although the devil continued to have an important rôle for Pietist theologians (e.g. Oetinger),²⁴ with the rise of rationalism²⁵ and with the Enlightenment, the idea of a "personal" devil began to be pushed out of the theological picture.²⁶

In turning to the creeds of the early Church, it is true that there is no mention of the devil; but neither do they refer to issues of free will and predestination which are reflected in the Pelagian controversy or even to how Christ saves.²⁷ The devil, however, does appear in article 19 of the *Confessio Augustana* which concerns the origin of sin.²⁸ He is mentioned several times in the Heidelberg catechism (although he is not spoken of in answer to question 7, "Woher kommt denn diese böse und verkehrte Art des Menschen?").²⁹ References to the devil are found in the answers to questions 9 ("Der Mensch aber, vom Teufel angestiftet, hat sich und alle seine Nachkommen durch mutwilligen Ungehorsam der Gabe Gottes beraubt"),³⁰ 32 ("ich [streite] gegen die Sünde und den Teufel"),³¹ 34 ("Er hat uns mit Leib

²² One can simply consider the title of the celebrated book of Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther. Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel* (Berlin: Siedler, ²1987, (¹1982)). Luther's view of the devil will be discussed in chapter eight below.

²³ So in *Institutes* 1.14.19, he refutes the view of those "who babble of devils as nothing else than evil emotions or perturbations which come upon us from our flesh" (John T. McNeill, [ed.], *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, LCC 20–21, 2 vols [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960], 178). This is in a discussion of "the devils in the purposes of God", *Institutes* 1.14.13–19.

²⁴ A. Adam, "Teufel III: Dogmengeschichtlich," *RGG³* 6: 709.

²⁵ See H. Hohlwein, "Rationalismus," *RGG³* 5: 791–800.

²⁶ So Kant viewed the devil as "die Idee des absoluten Egoismus" (see Adam, "Teufel III," 709). Perhaps one of the ironies of the present work is that a Kantian (and Schopenhauerian) framework is employed to understand the "personal" devil.

²⁷ See Alan Richardson, *Creeds in the Making: A Short Introduction to the History of Christian Doctrine* (London: SCM, 1979 (repr.), (¹1935)), 95: "Many individuals attempted to think out the mode in which atonement had been made, but the Church as a whole embraced no theory".

²⁸ See *BSELK* 75: "Von Ursach der Sunde wird bei uns gelehret, daß, wiewohl Gott der Allmächtig die ganze Natur geschaffen hat und erhält, so wirket doch der verkehrte Will die Sunde in allen Bösen und Verachtern Gottes, wie dann des Teufels Will ist und aller Gottlosen, welcher alsobald, so Gott die Hand abgetan, sich von Gott zum argen gewandt hat, wie Christus spricht Joh. 8.: 'Der Teufel redet Lugen aus seinem Eigen'".

²⁹ See *HK* 11.

³⁰ See *HK* 12.

³¹ See *HK* 25.

und Seele von der Sünde und aus aller Gewalt des Teufels sich zum Eigentum erlöst und erkauft")³² and 127 ("Auch hören unsere erklärten Feinde, der Teufel, die Welt und unser eigenes Wesen, nicht auf, uns anzu-fechten").³³ It is also of interest that there are frequent references to "body and soul" throughout the catechism, the "soul" being a central concern in the present work on the redemption from Satan.³⁴

As far as some of the British confessions are concerned, there is no reference to the devil in the "Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England". However, the Westminster Confession, VI.1, refers to the devil in relation to the origin of sin: "Our first parents, being seduced by the subtilty [sic] and temptation of Satan, sinned in eating the forbidden fruit".³⁵

Together with confessions the liturgies of the Churches imply the "rôle" of the devil. The baptismal liturgies are especially important here. The Orthodox Churches have exorcism both as a preparation for and part of baptism. Three exorcisms precede baptism. The first exorcism begins thus:

The Lord layeth thee under ban, O Devil: He who came into the world, and made his abode among men, that he might overthrow thy tyranny and deliver men; who also upon the Tree did triumph over the adverse powers . . . who also by death annihilated death, and overthrew him who exercised the dominion of Death, that is thee, the Devil. I adjure thee by God, who hath revealed the Tree of Life, and hath arrayed in ranks the Cherubim and the flaming sword which turneth all ways to guard it: Be thou under ban. . . . Fear, begone and depart from this creature, and return not again . . . depart hence to thine own Tartarus, until the great Day of Judgment which is ordained.³⁶

This is followed by two further exorcisms. Although all three exorcisms are prefaced by "Let us pray to the Lord" the first two address Satan directly.³⁷ The priest then "breatheth upon his mouth, his brow, and his breast, saying: Expel from him (her) every evil and impure spirit, which hideth and maketh

³² See *HK* 26.

³³ See *HK* 81. This is in response to the question: "Was bedeutet die sechste Bitte: 'Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung, sondern erlöse uns von dem Bösen'?"

³⁴ See especially chapters four and five below.

³⁵ George S. Hendry, *The Westminster Confession for Today: A Contemporary Introduction*, LHD (London: SCM, 1960), 78.

³⁶ Isabel Florence Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church* (Englewood, New Jersey: Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese, 1975), 271–72.

³⁷ Therefore the comment by Cupitt, *Explorations* 6, 51, that "the Eastern Churches have exorcised by prayer to God, not by commanding demons" is incorrect.

its lair in his (her) heart. (*And this he saith thrice.*)”³⁸ Then “the Priest turneth the person who is come to Baptism to face the west, unclad, unshod, and having his hands uplifted” and asks the Catechumen to “renounce Satan, and all his Angels, and all his works, and all his service, and all his pride”.³⁹ The Priest commands the Catechumen “Breathe and spit upon him [Satan]” and then turns him to the east for conversion to Christ. This is then followed by the “Office of Baptism” itself which also contains elements of “exorcism”.⁴⁰

One issue which arose at the time of the Reformation in England was whether there should be a separate act of exorcism in the baptism service. The First Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549) included one:

I commaūde thee, uncleane spirite, in the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy ghost, that thou come out, and departe from these infantes, whom our Lord Jesus Christe hath vouchsaued, to call to his holy Baptisme . . . Therefore thou cursed spirite, remembre thy sentence, remembre thy judgemente, remembre the daye to be at hand, wherin thou shalt burne in fyre euerlasting, prepared for the and thy Angels . . .⁴¹

This was removed from the Second Prayer Book (1552) as a result of Martin Bucer’s influence. Nevertheless there remained the question for the godparents “Doest thou forsake the deuyll and al his workes, the vayne pompe and glorye of the worlde, with all couetouse desyres of the same, the carnall desyres of the flesshe, so that thou wylt not folow, nor be led by them?”⁴² which finds an equivalent in the “Book of Common Prayer”.⁴³ This may not be called an “exorcism” but the renunciation of Satan is clearly important in this liturgy.

³⁸ Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church*, 273.

³⁹ Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church*, 274. On the west as a symbol of darkness, see Alexander Schmemmann, *Of Water and the Spirit: A Liturgical Study of Baptism* (London: SPCK, 1976), 27.

⁴⁰ So the priest signs the water three times with the sign of the cross saying (each time) “Let all adverse powers be crushed beneath the sign of the image of thy cross” (Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church*, 278).

⁴¹ *The First and Second Prayer Books of King Edward the Sixth*, EL 448 (London: J.M. Dent/New York: E.P. Dutton, 1910), 238.

⁴² *First and Second Prayer Books*, 396–97.

⁴³ See *BCP*, 267: “Dost thou, in the name of this Child, renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desire of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them?”

The link between “baptism” and “exorcism” is of some theological importance and I will return to it in chapter seven below. But now I will turn to consider the place of the devil and demons in the Bible.

2. The Devil and Demons in the Old and New Testaments

If questions have been raised about the devil as a theme of systematic theology there can be no doubt of the importance of the devil for the New Testament itself. A substantial body of the synoptic gospels concerns exorcisms and healings which the evangelists view as redemption from Satan. Other New Testament witnesses may not mention the devil/Satan so frequently but the idea is often there.⁴⁴

In the New Testament the devil is referred to usually by the terms *διάβολος* (37 times) and *σατανᾶς* (36 times). Certain authors, as is well known, have a specific preference for one or the other of these terms. For example, the “genuine” seven Pauline letters use the latter (*σατανᾶς*), not the former (*διάβολος*).⁴⁵ The same is the case with Mark in that he uses *σατανᾶς* rather than *διάβολος*.

In the New Testament Satan is always a proper name. However, this is not generally the case in the Old Testament. Indeed it is only in the late text, 1 Chron. 21.1, that Satan is used as a proper name (where he tempts David to hold a census (cf. 2 Sam. 24.1)). In previous texts “Satan” refers rather to an office. So in Zech. 3.1-2 we have the article before Satan (note also the use of the cognate verb *שָׁטַן*). See Zech. 3.1:

וַיִּרְאֵנִי אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל עֹמֵד לִפְנֵי מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה
וְהַשָּׂטָן עֹמֵד עַל־יְמִינוֹ לְשֹׂטְנוֹ:

Then he showed me the high priest Joshua standing before the angel of the LORD, and ‘the Satan’ standing at his right hand to accuse him.

Likewise the article appears before Satan in Job (1.6, 7, 9, 12; 2.1, 2, 4, 7) where he appears as a son of God, a member of the heavenly council. There are then texts which refer to Satan as “an adversary” without the article. See,

⁴⁴ So Paul, for example, does not mention Satan often. But see the discussion below in chapter five where texts are discussed which imply the work of the devil.

⁴⁵ Accordingly, in the debate about the authenticity of Ephesians it is argued that *διάβολος* is used (Eph. 4.27; 6.11), a term not used in the authentic letters. See, e.g., C. Leslie Mitton, *Ephesians*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1976), 4; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, EKK 10 (Zürich/Einsiedeln/Köln: Benziger/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1982), 22.

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