

Tracing Satan's Development:

Theological Consolidation, Conceptual Amalgamation, and Greek Influence

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores how the concept of Satan developed within Judeo-Christian theology, tracing the influence of various cultural and philosophical ideas. Drawing on the works of scholars such as Michael Heiser and engaging with biblical texts, the study examines how the figure of Satan transformed from a minor adversarial role in the Hebrew Bible into a more consolidated, malevolent being in the New Testament. The paper introduces the terms “*Theological Consolidation*”¹ and “*Conceptual Amalgamation*”² to describe how disparate spiritual concepts were unified into a singular narrative that shaped early Christian understanding.

The research emphasizes how ancient audiences, steeped in these amalgamated ideas, would have grasped rich, layered meanings from scriptural references that often escape modern readers. Additionally, the paper delves into the impact of Greek philosophy and language on shaping theological concepts, such as the *Logos*, and how these influences refined or expanded ideas of spiritual warfare and divine opposition. The study also discusses how Greek cultural elements facilitated the adoption and adaptation of pre-existing notions, such as the *Memra* in Jewish thought, into a more comprehensive and integrated depiction of evil. By examining key texts and cultural shifts, this work illuminates how ancient beliefs about the spiritual realm evolved and were reshaped to form the complex and multifaceted figure of Satan known in contemporary Christianity.

¹ Theological Consolidation is the unifying of unrelated spiritual concepts into a coherent theological framework.

² Conceptual Amalgamation refers to blending different ideas or figures to form a more comprehensive understanding.

I. INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Paper

The objective of this paper is to explore contemporary views on Satan, the historical development of theological concepts surrounding his character, and the impact of Greek cultural evolution on these ideas. This study aims to unravel how ancient cultural and philosophical elements contributed to shaping the complex figure of Satan and to investigate the process of theological consolidation that gave rise to the understanding of spiritual opposition in Judeo-Christian thought.³

Relevance of the Study

Understanding the evolution of the concept of Satan holds significant implications for both theological and cultural contexts. It sheds light on how ancient beliefs influenced modern interpretations and highlights the dynamic interaction between scriptural revelation and cultural influence. This paper connects to the concept from the Paper on Babel, emphasizing that truth is not restricted to a sole source. Paul's exhortation in 1 Thessalonians 5:21, "*test everything; hold fast what is good,*" suggests that elements of truth can be found across various cultures and religions, provided they align with biblical revelation.⁴ This study affirms that other cultures may retain a "*kernel of truth*" about God, representing fragments of original divine knowledge dispersed and transformed throughout human history.

³ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm: Recovering the Supernatural Worldview of the Bible* (Bellingham: Lexham Press, 2015), 13-15.

⁴ N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 139-141.

Methodology

This paper employs a combination of primary source analysis and scholarly research, with a strong emphasis on Michael Heiser's contributions, particularly from works such as *The Unseen Realm, Angels, and Demons*.⁵ The study will analyze scriptural texts alongside historical and cultural research, exploring how Greek philosophy and Jewish theological developments coalesced to shape contemporary concepts of Satan and spiritual opposition. The methodology involves a comprehensive examination of how the original audience would have understood these concepts and the evolution of their meaning over time.

Critical Background

Understanding the spiritual and theological worldview of first-century Judaism requires recognizing the significance of *oral traditions* and the key Jewish writings that help us grasp these traditions. The New Testament does not exist in isolation but emerges from a rich cultural and religious heritage that extends beyond the Hebrew Bible. Without considering these influences, our understanding of the spiritual landscape of the New Testament can be incomplete, leading to misconceptions or overly simplified interpretations.⁶

⁵ Michael S. Heiser, *Angels: What the Bible Really Says About God's Heavenly Host* (Bellingham: Lexham Press, 2018), 45-47.

⁶ D. Gene Williams Jr., *Prima Scriptura: A Balanced Approach*, accessed November 19, 2024, <https://triinitysem.academia.edu/GeneWilliamsJr>; <https://defendtheword.com/insights-and-studies.html>.

Judaism's Oral tradition and Its Impact on the New Testament

Judaism during the Second Temple period was primarily an oral culture, with teachings, beliefs, and practices often transmitted through spoken tradition rather than written texts. This *oral tradition* carried rich and complex understandings of spiritual realities, angelology, demonology, and eschatology that went beyond what was formally written in the Hebrew Bible. For many first-century Jews, these *oral traditions* were an integral part of their worldview, shaping their expectations and understanding of spiritual matters.⁷

Although texts like *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* were written down during this period, this does not imply that their content originated at the time of their composition. Rather, their written form reflects the culmination of oral traditions that had been preserved and transmitted for generations. In ancient cultures, oral transmission was not only the dominant means of preserving history and theology but also a process of collective refinement, ensuring that core ideas remained intact while adapting to contemporary circumstances.

These traditions were dynamic, evolving in response to historical and cultural pressures. The decision to record them during the Second Temple period likely arose from the need to safeguard these narratives amidst challenges such as exile, Hellenistic influence, and the dispersion of Jewish communities. Their written forms provided continuity and clarity, preserving theological insights that might otherwise have been lost.

⁷ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 42–47.

It would be a mistake to view these texts' composition as a modern creative process, like that of a screenwriter inventing a story. Instead, these works represent the fruit of centuries of collective memory and reflection, rooted in much older oral traditions. By the time they were written, these texts likely held authoritative weight as interpretations of sacred history, shaped by and shaping the theological framework of their communities.

The reliability of oral tradition has been demonstrated across various cultures and historical contexts, suggesting that texts like *Jubilees* and *I Enoch*, though written during the Second Temple period, may have preserved narratives transmitted orally for centuries. For instance, the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, widely regarded as one of the earliest literary works, originated in oral poetry before being committed to cuneiform tablets, with its core themes remaining consistent across different versions.⁸

Similarly, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* showcase how oral epics, using mnemonic techniques like repetitive phrases, preserved complex narratives for generations before transcription.⁹ In the Jewish context, the Mishnah, compiled around AD 200, reflects intricate legal and theological traditions that align with earlier biblical principles, despite being transmitted orally for centuries.¹⁰

⁸ David Damrosch, *The Buried Book: The Loss and Rediscovery of the Great Epic of Gilgamesh* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2007), 47–50. Damrosch discusses the oral origins of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and its evolution into a written form while retaining consistent themes.

⁹ Gregory Nagy, *Homeric Questions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 13–16. Nagy explains the oral compositional techniques used in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, particularly the role of mnemonic devices.

¹⁰ Jacob Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), xv–xx. Neusner highlights the oral foundations of the Mishnah and its alignment with earlier biblical principles.

Other examples, such as Aboriginal Australian songlines and Native Hawaiian mele (chants), demonstrate how oral traditions preserved precise geographical, cultural, and genealogical knowledge over millennia, often verified by modern anthropological and historical research.¹¹ Even the Gospels of the New Testament, rooted in an oral culture, were transmitted with remarkable consistency before being written down.¹²

These examples affirm that oral traditions, especially in sacred and communal contexts, were not prone to casual invention but rather served as reliable means of preserving and transmitting foundational narratives over time.¹³ Thus, the written versions of Jewish traditions in the Second Temple period likely reflect a deliberate effort to record long-standing oral teachings rather than spontaneous creations.

The Value of Second Temple Writings and Jewish Commentaries

We are profoundly blessed to have access to Second Temple writings, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, apocryphal texts, and Jewish commentaries like the Midrash and the Talmud. These sources provide invaluable insights into the oral understandings that permeated Jewish thought and practice during this era. Without these writings, our understanding of the New Testament's spiritual worldview would be limited to *sola scriptura*, which would isolate the Bible from the rich cultural and theological context in which it was written.

¹¹ Paul S. C. Taçon, *Ancient Symbols, Sacred Narratives: Rock Art and Archaeology in Oceania* (Springer, 2013), 56–59. This work examines the precision of Aboriginal Australian oral traditions, particularly songlines.

¹² Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 93–96. Bauckham discusses the oral culture of the New Testament and the reliability of oral traditions in preserving the gospel accounts.

¹³ Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 78–80. Kelber analyzes how oral traditions influenced the development and preservation of New Testament texts.

The New Testament would then appear as if written in a vacuum, disconnected from the dynamic and evolving spiritual beliefs of the Jewish people. This is why I propose that the *Prima Scriptura* approach to hermeneutics is most faithful to the text. *Prima Scriptura* acknowledges the authority of Scripture as primary while valuing tradition as a means to understand the worldview of the biblical authors and early church fathers. It strikes a balance between *sola scriptura*, which is too narrow, and *sacra de traditio*, which can give too much weight to tradition.

The Danger of Misinterpretation: Plain Reading vs. Contextual reading

A common pitfall among certain interpretive approaches, such as *Young Earth Creationism* (YEC), is the reliance on a *plain reading* of the biblical text.¹⁴ YEC often takes advantage of widespread ignorance about ancient cultural and literary contexts by asserting that Scripture should be understood in its most straightforward, literal sense. However, what appears “*plain*” or obvious to modern readers may not reflect how the original audience understood these texts.¹⁵

Plain Reading:

This approach assumes that the biblical text should be interpreted at face value, often ignoring the historical, cultural, and literary context in which it was written. In the case of YEC, this leads to a strict, literal interpretation of the creation narratives in Genesis, suggesting a young earth and a six-day creation period in a way that aligns with modern scientific expectations rather than ancient cosmological understandings.

¹⁴ Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists: From Scientific Creationism to Intelligent Design* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 45-48.

¹⁵ Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 541.

Contextual reading:

In contrast, a *contextual reading* considers the audience to whom the text was originally addressed. It acknowledges that the Scriptures were written in a specific cultural and historical setting, using language and imagery familiar to ancient peoples. For example, the Genesis creation account, when viewed in its ancient Near Eastern context, communicates theological truths about God's sovereignty and the order of creation rather than offering a scientific explanation.

The Importance of Contextual Hermeneutics

By juxtaposing the plain reading approach with the *contextual reading* method, we see the limitations of a *sola scriptura* perspective when it insists on a surface-level interpretation. A plain reading can lead to misunderstandings and oversimplifications, while a contextual approach invites a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the text. Recognizing the *oral tradition* and the broader Jewish worldview of the time helps us avoid the dangers of imposing modern assumptions onto ancient texts, leading to a more faithful and informed reading of Scripture.

Key Jewish Sources

Midrash:

The Midrash is a collection of rabbinic writings that provide commentary and interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures. The word "*midrash*" means "*to seek*" or "*to inquire*," reflecting the purpose of delving deeper into the biblical text. The earliest Midrashic works likely began to be compiled around the 2nd century AD and continued to be developed over several centuries.¹⁶

¹⁶ Jacob Neusner, *Introduction to the Midrash* (New York: Yale University Press, 1994), 1-3.

Value: The Midrash offers moral and ethical lessons, fills in narrative gaps in the Scriptures, and expands on stories in ways that make them more relevant to Jewish life. It provides spiritual insights and reveals how ancient Jews understood and interacted with biblical texts, adding depth to our understanding of the religious mindset of the time.

Talmud:

The Talmud is a comprehensive collection of Jewish law, ethics, customs, and commentary. It is composed of the Mishnah (compiled around AD 200 by Rabbi Judah the Prince) and the Gemara (completed between the 3rd and 5th centuries AD).¹⁷ There are two versions: the Babylonian Talmud (completed around AD 500) and the Jerusalem Talmud (completed around AD 400), with the Babylonian Talmud being more authoritative and widely studied.

Value: The Talmud is a foundational text for understanding Jewish law and theology. It preserves the debates and discussions of the rabbis, offering a detailed look at how Jewish law was interpreted and applied. For modern readers, the Talmud provides essential context for New Testament teachings, revealing how certain theological and spiritual concepts developed and were understood in Jewish thought.

Incorporating Hellenistic Thought into Jewish Worldview

The New Testament authors, who wrote in Greek and frequently quoted from the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures), were undoubtedly influenced by Hellenistic culture to some degree. Of the 418 Old Testament quotations in the New Testament, approximately 340 (~81%) align more closely with the Septuagint,

¹⁷ Herman Wouk, *This Is My God: A Guidebook to the Jewish Faith* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1959), 97-100.

demonstrating its centrality in shaping their understanding of Scripture.¹⁸ This cultural and philosophical environment included a wide range of beliefs about the afterlife, souls, and spiritual beings, many of which can be traced back to classical Greek philosophy, including the works of Plato.¹⁹

Plato, particularly in *Phaedo* and *Republic*, discusses the immortality and nature of the soul. In *Phaedo*, he elaborates on the fate of souls after death, suggesting that those who have experienced untimely or violent deaths may linger restlessly.²⁰ This philosophical view could have influenced Hellenistic Jewish beliefs about spirits and the idea that a ghost or spiritual double of a deceased person might appear, especially if the death was unnatural or violent.²¹ Thus, in Acts 12:15, when early Christians assumed the figure seen might be Peter's angel or ghost, it is plausible that such Greek philosophical concepts shaped this interpretation. The idea of an angelic doppelgänger or the ghost of someone who met a violent end reflects a blending of Jewish and Greek understandings of the spiritual realm.²²

The account of Jesus walking on water has been interpreted through various lenses, each offering unique insights into its theological and cultural significance. One perspective draws on the allusions to the Hebrew Bible, particularly Job 9:8, which states, “*He alone has spread out the heavens and marches on the waves of the sea.*” This

¹⁸ Gregory Chirichigno and Gleason L. Archer, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament: A Complete Survey* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005), Reprint edition.

¹⁹ Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 409–412.

²⁰ Plato's discussion on the immortality of the soul can be found in *Phaedo*, trans. David Gallop (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 81a–84b.

²¹ Plato, *Phaedo*, 83d–84b.

²² Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 302–304.

connection positions Jesus as fulfilling the divine attributes associated with Yahweh, reinforcing His role as the Messiah within the framework of Jewish tradition. The calming of the storm and His dominion over natural forces also evoke Psalm 107:23-32, where the Lord's power is vividly displayed through His ability to still the chaos of the sea. These scriptural references provide a profound backdrop for understanding the event within its Jewish theological context.²³

Additionally, the cultural milieu of the Greco-Roman world provides another layer of significance to the narrative. Roman ghost stories often portrayed spirits as unable to traverse water, while only deities were believed capable of walking on its surface. This cultural detail offers a compelling perspective on the disciples' initial reaction when they mistook Jesus for a ghost. Their response may reflect the blending of Jewish and Hellenistic views on the supernatural, highlighting their struggle to fully comprehend Jesus' divine identity.²⁴

For a Greco-Roman audience, Jesus' act of walking on water could have served as a profound declaration of His divine nature. In this cultural context, the ability to command and tread upon the sea would have resonated as a direct assertion of deity.²⁵ This interpretation also underscores the irony of the disciples' reaction, as their fear reveals both their incomplete understanding of Jesus and the tension between prevailing Jewish and Greco-Roman beliefs.

²³ Job 9:8; Psalm 107:23–32. See also N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 186–190.

²⁴ Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 451–453.

²⁵ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 85–88.

The interplay between Jewish and Hellenistic traditions in this account is significant. While the narrative draws heavily from Jewish scriptures, such as Job and the Psalms, it also engages with broader cultural themes. This duality reflects the New Testament's nuanced engagement with its diverse audiences, illustrating how Jesus' actions were meaningful across cultural boundaries.²⁶

Finally, the broader theological implications of this event merit consideration. The New Testament authors, deeply influenced by the Greek language and culture, frequently quoted from the Septuagint. This blending of cultural and scriptural elements suggests that the traditions fulfilled by Jesus were not limited to the 613 mitzvot but extended to the broader cultural and spiritual understandings of the time.²⁷ By addressing both Jewish and Hellenistic expectations, the narrative emphasizes the universal scope of Jesus' mission and the transformative nature of His ministry.

I. ANCIENT ORIGINS AND CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

The Old Testament View of the Adversary

In the Hebrew Bible, *ha-satan* is understood as a title, meaning “*the adversary*” or “*the accuser*,” rather than a personal name. This figure is not presented as a singular, malevolent being but rather as a member of the divine council who acts in an official capacity as an accuser or prosecutor.

The use of *ha-satan* in texts such as Job 1-2, Zechariah 3:1-2, and 1 Chronicles 21:1 underscores this role. In Job, *ha-satan* appears before God as a challenger, questioning the righteousness of Job and testing his faith under God's permission. In

²⁶ Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 216–220.

²⁷ Herman Wouk, *This Is My God*, 97–100.

Zechariah, *ha-satan* functions, similarly, opposing Joshua the high priest. The passage in 1 Chronicles marks a transition, depicting satan as a tempter who incites David, suggesting a shift in how the adversary is perceived. This view emphasizes *ha-satan*'s function as an accuser within a divine framework rather than as an autonomous force of evil.²⁸

The Divine Council and Spiritual Beings

Michael Heiser's work on the divine council concept in the Hebrew Bible provides crucial insights into the structure of spiritual hierarchies. The divine council is a heavenly assembly of spiritual beings, subordinate to Yahweh, the supreme God, who delegates roles and responsibilities within His divine order. This council is referenced in passages such as Psalm 82 and 1 Kings 22:19-22, depicting God presiding over a host of spiritual entities.

This view reshapes traditional understandings of angelic beings, revealing a more complex spiritual hierarchy.²⁹ Within this council, there are different roles: messengers (commonly referred to as angels), Watchers (spiritual beings tasked with overseeing humanity), and members of the divine council who hold governing authority. Heiser's analysis challenges simplified conceptions of angels, highlighting their diverse functions and roles within the spiritual realm.³⁰

²⁸ John H. Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 240-243.

²⁹ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 32-35.

³⁰ Michael S. Heiser, *Angels*, 50-53.

Apocryphal Influence: *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*

Apocryphal texts like *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* expand the biblical narrative concerning spiritual beings and rebellion against God. *1 Enoch* elaborates on the story of the Watchers, a group of heavenly beings who descended to earth, led by Shemihazah, and corrupted humanity by taking human wives and teaching forbidden knowledge. The narrative further describes Gadreel as one who led astray and introduced violence and deception. These stories frame the spiritual conflict as a cosmic rebellion with dire consequences, laying the groundwork for later demonological traditions. *Jubilees* similarly recounts the descent of the Watchers and introduces the figure of Mastema, a chief adversary and tempter who embodies spiritual opposition.³¹

These apocryphal works influenced Jewish and early Christian theological developments, enriching the understanding of spiritual warfare and rebellion. By adding layers of complexity to the narrative of spiritual beings, these texts shaped the perception of evil forces and laid the foundation for New Testament demonology, where demonic spirits are often seen as disembodied spirits of the Nephilim, the offspring of the Watchers and human women. This integration of apocryphal traditions provided a more comprehensive and nuanced framework for understanding the origin and nature of spiritual opposition.³²

³¹ James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 15-20.

³² Michael S. Heiser, *Demons: What the Bible Really Says About the Powers of Darkness* (Bellingham: Lexham Press, 2020), 75-77.

The Unfamiliar Yet Accepted Reality of Demon Possession

A fascinating aspect of the New Testament is its frequent accounts of demon possession, an element that is notably absent from the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew Scriptures do not record explicit instances of individuals being possessed by malevolent spirits, yet by the Second Temple period, such occurrences were not met with surprise among Jewish audiences. What did astonish them, however, was the unparalleled authority with which Jesus dealt with these spirits. The people marveled at His ability to command demons to depart, an act that demonstrated an authority never before witnessed in Jewish history.

This evolution in understanding may find its roots in the cultural and theological developments of the intertestamental period. Second Temple writings, such as the Psalms of Solomon and other apocryphal texts, reflect a growing preoccupation with spiritual opposition and demonic forces. While the Hebrew Bible emphasizes Yahweh's supremacy over all spiritual beings, the literature of this later period begins to detail more active and personalized spiritual adversaries.³³

For instance, Psalm 151, an apocryphal psalm found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, reflects the spiritual milieu of the time and reveals a heightened awareness of evil's active presence in the world.³⁴ These writings, though not canonical, provide crucial context for understanding the New Testament world. They illustrate a theological progression where demons became increasingly prominent in the spiritual imagination of the Jewish people, setting the stage for the dramatic confrontations with evil spirits recorded in the Gospels.

³³ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 85–88.

³⁴ Craig A. Evans, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019), 75–77.

The Intersection of Jewish Tradition and Hellenistic Influence

In addressing Jesus' authority over demons, it is also essential to consider the Hellenistic cultural framework of the New Testament authors and their audience. As Greek philosophy and cosmology permeated Jewish thought during the Second Temple period, they introduced dualistic ideas that sharpened the perceived divide between good and evil, light and darkness, and the material and spiritual realms. Greek influence likely contributed to the development of demonology as a more structured and adversarial concept within Jewish theology.³⁵

The Greek term *daimonion*, used in the New Testament to describe unclean spirits, carries philosophical undertones from earlier Greek thought, where *daimones* were seen as intermediary spiritual beings. However, in the Jewish adaptation of this concept, these beings were entirely reframed as evil spirits opposed to God's purposes. This reinterpretation reflects the dynamic interplay between Jewish theological traditions and Hellenistic cultural elements, illustrating how these ideas were adapted and reshaped to align with a biblical worldview.³⁶

Jesus' Authority in a Greco-Jewish Context

The astonishment at Jesus' power over demons, however, was not due to the existence of demon possession itself but rather to the unparalleled authority He demonstrated in addressing it. For example, in Mark 9:29, Jesus explained that certain types of demons could only be cast out through prayer and fasting—a traditional reliance on divine intervention. Yet, Jesus Himself cast out such demons without invoking God in

³⁵ Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 452.

³⁶ N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 186–190.

this manner, a direct demonstration of His divine authority. His actions not only fulfilled Jewish traditions but transcended them, revealing a power that exceeded the expectations of the religious leaders and the people.³⁷

This authority would have been especially striking to audiences influenced by Greco-Roman thought. In Roman and Greek spiritual paradigms, control over spirits, particularly without the invocation of gods or rituals, was associated with divine beings. By casting out demons through His word alone, Jesus effectively challenged these paradigms, asserting a divine power that transcended both Jewish and Hellenistic expectations. His ability to command unclean spirits and elicit obedience highlighted His unique role as the divine Son of God, offering a profound revelation of His identity and mission.

By integrating these historical and cultural insights, it becomes evident that Jesus' ministry was both deeply rooted in Jewish tradition and dynamically engaged with the broader cultural context of His time. This dual engagement highlights the universal relevance of His mission and the transformative power of His authority over the spiritual realm.

Ancient Origins and Conceptual Background

The narrative of the Babel event provides crucial context for understanding how spiritual beings were assigned to the nations. According to *From Babel to the Nations*, this division of humanity and assignment of spiritual overseers at Babel had significant theological implications, as these beings later became corrupted and adversarial. This

³⁷ Michael S. Heiser, *Angels*, 45–47.

historical backdrop offers insight into the development of spiritual opposition and contributes to the consolidated depiction of Satan seen in later theological traditions.³⁸

II. THEOLOGICAL CONSOLIDATION AND CONCEPTUAL AMALGAMATION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Unifying the Adversary: The Concept of Satan

The Jewish understanding of divine plurality, including concepts like the Angel of the Lord and *Memra*, lays a foundational framework for interpreting the theological developments that follow. In *The Coherence of the Trinity in Jewish Texts*, these pluralistic elements are explored in depth, providing insight into how early Jewish beliefs influenced the Christian consolidation of various adversarial figures into a single portrayal of Satan in the New Testament.³⁹

The New Testament authors consolidate various adversarial figures found in the Hebrew Scriptures and Jewish apocryphal literature into the singular figure of Satan. This unification is evident in passages where Satan is depicted as a malevolent being with power and authority over evil forces, synthesizing roles that were previously distributed among different spiritual beings, such as *ha-satan* (the accuser in the divine council), the serpent in Genesis, and the tempter in apocryphal texts.⁴⁰

³⁸ D. Gene Williams Jr., *From Babel to the Nations: Tracing the Supreme God Across Ancient Cultures—Unveiling the Roots of Monotheism and Divine Language in Ancient Civilizations*, accessed November 20, 2024, <https://triinitysem.academia.edu/GeneWilliamsJr>; <https://defendtheword.com/insights-and-studies.html>.

³⁹ D. Gene Williams Jr., *The Coherence of the Trinity in Jewish Texts*, accessed November 18, 2024, <https://triinitysem.academia.edu/GeneWilliamsJr>; <https://defendtheword.com/insights-and-studies.html>.

⁴⁰ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 88.

When New Testament terms like “*Satan*” or “*the devil*” were used, the original audience would have recalled the rich narrative history from their cultural and religious background. These terms invoked a complex understanding of evil rooted in the Hebrew Bible and expanded through apocryphal traditions. Instead of a simplistic, anthropomorphized image like Dante’s red devil, early Christians would have envisioned an intricate and dynamic cosmic adversary woven from centuries of theological development.⁴¹

Gadreel, Shemihazah, and Mastema: Distinct Figures or One Satan?

The possibility that distinct spiritual figures such as Gadreel, Shemihazah, and Mastema were amalgamated into the New Testament concept of Satan is a subject of scholarly debate. Gadreel, mentioned in *I Enoch*, is associated with being the serpent in the Garden of Eden and leading humanity astray. Shemihazah, on the other hand, is depicted as the leader of the Watchers who sinned with human women, giving rise to the Nephilim.

Mastema appears in *Jubilees* as a chief adversarial figure, orchestrating evil and tempting humanity, often presented as a counterpart or subordinate to Satan.⁴² In this narrative, Mastema, a chief adversarial figure, requests that one-tenth of the spirits be allowed to remain on earth to fulfill his purposes: “*Lord Creator, leave some of them before me; let them listen to me and do everything that I tell them Let a tenth of them*

⁴¹ N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 305-308.

⁴² Michael S. Heiser, *Demons*, 112-115.

remain before him, ... and let nine parts descend into the place of condemnation.”⁴³ This concession reinforces Mastema’s role as a tempter and accuser, paralleling the emerging concept of Satan. These texts not only expand the roles of demons but also establish their connection to the Nephilim, providing a direct theological link to New Testament demonology.

Michael Heiser’s analysis suggests that this amalgamation served to create a more unified and potent adversarial figure for early Christian theology. By merging these roles into one entity, the New Testament authors offered a cohesive narrative of spiritual opposition, simplifying theological understanding while preserving the depth and gravity of the cosmic struggle between good and evil. This unification had significant implications for how early Christians understood the nature of spiritual warfare and the central role of Satan as the arch-enemy of God.⁴⁴

The Necessity of Theological Consolidation for a Gentile Audience

The amalgamation of adversarial figures like Gadreel, Shemihazah, and Mastema into the singular figure of Satan in the New Testament can be understood as a necessary adaptation for a predominantly Gentile audience. In the Jewish worldview, rooted in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple literature, nuanced understandings of spiritual beings and their roles were deeply ingrained and often taken for granted. A Jew referencing the Hebrew Scriptures to another Jew could rely on shared cultural and theological

⁴³ James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees, Chapters 1–50*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford, vol. 1 & 2, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2018), 394–397.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 116-119.

assumptions, allowing for subtleties and allusions that did not require extensive explanation.

However, as the New Testament message expanded beyond the Jewish community, it encountered audiences unfamiliar with these assumptions. Historically, Gentiles who converted to Judaism adopted the Jewish worldview, entering a cultural and theological framework that provided the context for understanding biblical texts. With the advent of the New Testament, the Gentile believers were not required to become Jewish (e.g., Acts 15:19-20).⁴⁵ This shift meant that many of the intricacies of the Jewish worldview would need to be conveyed explicitly rather than assumed.⁴⁶

Theological consolidation, therefore, served as a systemic effort to preserve these nuances by presenting them in a unified, accessible manner. It is plausible that this process was both divine and organic in nature.⁴⁷ From a divine perspective, it could be seen as part of God's sovereign plan to ensure that the gospel message transcended cultural barriers without losing its essence. At the same time, it likely occurred organically as human authors, inspired by the Holy Spirit, naturally adapted their communication to meet the needs of their diverse audience. Much like explaining complex concepts to a child, these authors may have instinctively simplified intricate

⁴⁵ Acts 15:19–20 provides the context for the Jerusalem Council's decision that Gentile believers did not need to adopt Jewish customs, marking a significant shift in the early church's approach to integrating non-Jewish believers.

⁴⁶ N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 391–392. Wright discusses how Paul's letters reflect the challenges of addressing Gentile audiences unfamiliar with Jewish traditions.

⁴⁷ Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 487–489. Ferguson explores how Jewish concepts of spiritual beings evolved and were communicated to Hellenistic audiences.

theological ideas to avoid overwhelming or confusing those unfamiliar with the Jewish worldview.⁴⁸

By combining roles and attributes of spiritual opposition into the figure of Satan, the New Testament authors provided a coherent narrative for Gentile audiences, ensuring the core theological messages were not lost in cultural translation. This consolidation not only simplified complex ideas but also allowed the emerging Christian faith to articulate a universal message that could resonate across cultural boundaries. Whether divine, organic, or a blend of both, this process reflects a providential adaptability that preserved the richness of biblical theology while ensuring its accessibility to all.⁴⁹

Demonology and the Spirits of the Nephilim

The concept of demons as the spirits of the Nephilim originates from *I Enoch* and other apocryphal texts. According to this tradition, the Nephilim were the offspring of the Watchers and human women, and their spirits became demonic entities after their physical destruction. This narrative profoundly influenced New Testament demonology, as demons are often depicted as malevolent spiritual beings who torment and possess humans.⁵⁰

The New Testament authors' consolidation of these demonological concepts simplified the spiritual landscape for early Christians. By presenting demons as the remnants of a primordial rebellion against God, the New Testament framed spiritual

⁴⁸ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 152–153. Heiser emphasizes how divine council concepts were adapted for broader audiences in the New Testament.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of theological consolidation in early Christian theology, see Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 61–65.

⁵⁰ James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 206–209.

conflict in a way that was both theologically coherent and easily understandable. This streamlined view allowed believers to engage more effectively with the spiritual realities of their faith, emphasizing the need for vigilance and spiritual preparedness.⁵¹

Hellenistic Philosophy and Theological Growth

During the Second Temple period, Greek cosmology, dualism, and philosophical ideas significantly influenced Jewish thought. *From Babel to the Nations* examines the impact of cultural fragmentation following the Babel event and how this set the stage for incorporating Greek philosophical influences. This context sheds light on how Jewish and Christian theology adapted and evolved, leading to a more sophisticated understanding of the spiritual realm and moral struggle between good and evil.⁵²

Greek philosophical concepts, such as the *Logos*, provided a foundation for theological growth and adaptation. The Aramaic term *Memra*, meaning “*Word*,” was developed in Jewish Targumic traditions to express God’s interaction with the world, while the Greek *Logos* articulated similar ideas within a philosophical framework. Early Christian authors, most notably the Apostle John, adapted the *Logos* to describe Christ in theological terms, bridging Jewish and Greek thought. This synthesis enriched and transformed Jewish theology, paving the way for deeper theological articulations of God’s relationship with the universe.⁵³

⁵¹ Michael S. Heiser, *Angels*, 134-137.

⁵² James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament*, 98-101.

⁵³ N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 452-455.

Memra and Logos: Bridging Jewish and Greek Thought

The concept of *Memra* in Aramaic traditions, especially in the Targumim, was used to express God's creative and communicative actions in the world, acting as a bridge between God and creation. Theologically, *Memra* signified God's Word as a distinct yet integral aspect of the divine. This concept predates the incarnation of Christ and reflects Jewish theological ideas developed during the Second Temple period. When early Christian theologians encountered Greek philosophical ideas, they drew a parallel between *Memra* and the Greek *Logos*, which represented reason, order, and divine expression.⁵⁴

The reference to *Memra* as walking in the garden appears in Targum Neofiti, Targum Onkelos, and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on *Genesis* 3:8. In these Aramaic translations and interpretations of the Hebrew Bible, the term *Memra* (Word) is used to describe God's presence, signifying that God's Word was actively engaged in creation and communication with humanity.

For example:

- A. The ESV rendering of *Genesis* 3:8: The verse describes, "*And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day,*"⁵⁵ while in Targum Neofiti, it is rendered as, "*And they heard the sound of the Memra of the Lord God walking within the garden at the breeze of the day.*"⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 153-156.

⁵⁵ *Genesis* 3:8, *English Standard Version* (ESV)

⁵⁶ Kevin Cathcart, Michael Maher, and Martin McNamara, eds., "*Cathcart, Kevin; McNamara, Martin; Maher, Michael,*" in *The Aramaic Bible A: Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, trans. Martin McNamara, vol. 1 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), Ge 3:8.

- B. Targum Onkelos and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Genesis 3:8, similarly, use *Memra* to emphasize God's interaction with the world through His Word.
- C. Early Christian authors, such as John, used the *Logos* to articulate the divinity and pre-existence of Christ, aligning with Greek philosophical language while maintaining a Jewish theological foundation. Over time, these concepts were refined or corrected in manuscripts and theological debates to align with orthodox Christian teachings, particularly concerning the nature of Christ and the Trinity. This ongoing theological negotiation illustrates the dynamic exchange between Jewish and Greek influences, ensuring doctrinal clarity while preserving the richness of these interwoven ideas.⁵⁷

The Impact on Angelology and Demonology

Greek dualism, emphasizing a stark division between the spiritual and material realms, shaped Jewish and Christian understandings of spiritual beings. This worldview contributed to a clearer delineation between angels, as beings of divine light and goodness, and demons, as malevolent spirits opposing God's will.

The moral and cosmic battle between good and evil became more pronounced, with Hellenistic influence reinforcing the idea of an ongoing struggle that had cosmic implications. This philosophical framework provided a more organized and morally charged view of the spiritual world, impacting early Christian theology and the broader understanding of spiritual warfare.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 216-220.

⁵⁸ Michael S. Heiser, *Angels*, 181-183.

II. MODERN IMPLICATIONS AND THEOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

The Legacy of Theological Consolidation

The consolidation of spiritual concepts from ancient Jewish and Christian thought has had a lasting effect on contemporary Christian theology. This unification has often resulted in a simplified or even misrepresented understanding of complex spiritual realities. For instance, modern portrayals of Satan as a purely evil figure or a demonic overlord frequently neglect the nuanced roles and functions described in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple literature.⁵⁹

Common misconceptions about Satan and spiritual warfare are prevalent in modern Christian thought. These portrayals, often influenced by popular culture rather than rooted in biblical scholarship, include simplified images like Dante's red devil or a personified force of evil exclusively opposed to God. Such representations differ from the more complex and multifaceted depictions found in ancient texts. Revisiting these texts may provide valuable insights into how these theological views developed over time.⁶⁰

Re-examining Satan's Role with Heiser's Framework

Michael Heiser's research offers a more nuanced perspective on Satan and spiritual beings. Heiser's approach emphasizes that the biblical worldview includes a diverse array of spiritual entities, some serving as accusers or challengers rather than inherently malevolent forces. This understanding may provide a broader and more

⁵⁹ N.T. Wright, *Evil and the Justice of God* (Downers Grove: IVP Books, 2006), 74-77.

⁶⁰ C.S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters* (New York: HarperOne, 2001), Preface.

complex view of the spiritual realm as depicted in Scripture, challenging oversimplifications and encouraging a more holistic understanding.⁶¹

The recovery of the richness of the original worldview, as found in the Hebrew Bible and early Christian thought, has the potential to deepen theological understanding and spiritual discernment. Such an approach might enrich contemporary discussions and provide a fuller appreciation of the spiritual dynamics described in ancient religious texts.⁶²

Addressing Greek Influence in Contemporary Theology

The impact of Greek cultural and philosophical thought on early Christian theology remains an important area of study. Recognizing these influences could help modern theologians and believers critically engage with traditional beliefs. This understanding may bring greater clarity and foster a more thoughtful approach to interpreting Scripture and theological concepts, given the historical and cultural contexts in which they were developed.⁶³

III. THE SERPENT IN THE GARDEN: CONTEXT AND MISINTERPRETATIONS

The identity of the serpent in Genesis 3 has long been a subject of debate and interpretation, especially as modern perceptions often impose assumptions not presented in the ancient Near Eastern worldview. A closer examination of the Hebrew text, the broader cultural context, and related Second Temple literature reveals a much richer and

⁶¹ Michael S. Heiser, *Demons*, 201-204.

⁶² Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 301-303.

⁶³ David Bentley Hart, *The Experience of God: Being, Consciousness, Bliss* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 145-148.

more complex picture. As previously mentioned in the section *Theological Consolidation and Conceptual Amalgamation in the New Testament*, subsection *Gadreel, Shemihazah, and Mastema: Distinct Figures or One Satan?*, Gadreel, mentioned in *1 Enoch*, is identified as the serpent.⁶⁴

Etymology and Identity of the Serpent

The Hebrew term *nāḥāš* (נָחָשׁ) carries multiple layers of meaning, each adding to the serpent's enigmatic role. As noted by Michael Heiser, *nāḥāš* can be understood as a noun (“*serpent*”), a verb (“*diviner*” or “*deceiver*”), and an adjective (“*shining one*”). This triple entendre suggests that the serpent in Genesis 3 may not merely be a literal snake but rather a serpentine, luminous divine being associated with deception and forbidden knowledge.⁶⁵

Symbolism and Cultural Associations

Snakes in the ancient Near Eastern and Mesopotamian worldview were not inherently negative. They were often symbols of wisdom, immortality, and divine power, as seen in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, where a snake consumes the plant of life and gains immortality.⁶⁶ Similarly, in the biblical account of Numbers 21:8–9, Moses lifts up a bronze serpent to heal the Israelites, further highlighting its positive association as a

⁶⁴ Michael S. Heiser, *Demons*, 112-115.

⁶⁵ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 94–97.

⁶⁶ *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Tablet XI:303–309, trans. Andrew George (London: Penguin Classics, 2003).

symbol of rejuvenation and divine intervention.⁶⁷ This aligns with Moses' Egyptian education, where the *uraeus* cobra symbolized sovereignty and divine authority.⁶⁸

The Serpent and the Seraphim

The overlap between the Hebrew *nāḥāš* and *śārāp* (seraph) in Isaiah 6 suggests that serpentine imagery extended to the divine realm.⁶⁹ Seraphim, often depicted as fiery beings guarding God's throne, were likely perceived as protective, exalted figures rather than adversaries. Seals from Isaiah's era, as described by Benjamin Sommer,⁷⁰ depict YHWH surrounded by seraphim, further emphasizing their divine role.⁷¹ Additionally, *I Enoch* portrays Gabriel as overseeing paradise, serpents, and cherubim, suggesting an interchangeability between these beings.⁷² This intriguing connection raises the possibility that the serpent in Genesis 3 may have originally been conceived as a fallen divine guardian.⁷³

Such a concept finds parallels in ancient Near Eastern traditions. Mesopotamian Lamassu, prominently associated with Babylon and other Mesopotamian cultures, were hybrid creatures stationed at gates, temples, and palaces to ward off evil and embody

⁶⁷ Numbers 21:8–9, English Standard Version (ESV).

⁶⁸ Benjamin Sommer, *The Bodies of God, and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 141–145.

⁶⁹ Heinz-Josef Fabry, “*שׂרָפִים וְנָחָשׁ*,” ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, trans. David E. Green, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, vol. 9 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 356–357.

⁷⁰ For a detailed discussion of the seals and their significance, see Appendix A.

⁷¹ Benjamin Sommer, *The Bodies of God*, 143–144.

⁷² *I Enoch 20:7–8; 71:6–7*, trans. George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012).

⁷³ *Ibid.*

divine authority, particularly in Assyria, where colossal Lamassu statues guarded the entrances of royal palaces in cities like Nineveh and Nimrud.⁷⁴ Egyptian Sphinx, for instance, were guardian figures symbolizing wisdom and royal power.⁷⁵

However, unlike these cultural symbols, Hebrew seraphim and cherubim are uniquely tied to Yahweh's holiness and sovereignty.⁷⁶ Their roles extend beyond mere symbolism, actively participating in divine worship and order. The potential reinterpretation of the Genesis serpent as a fallen guardian enriches this theological framework, highlighting the distinctiveness of Israelite theology while acknowledging shared cultural motifs.⁷⁷

Misinterpretations and Theological Implications

Modern interpretations often misrepresent the serpent as a literal, talking snake. However, ancient Hebrew literature employs symbolic language to convey profound theological truths. The curse "*you will eat dust all the days of your life*" (Genesis 3:14) is not a literal condemnation to a dietary change, but rather a metaphorical expression of humiliation and defeat. Such figurative language, while perhaps seemingly strange to modern readers, is deeply rooted in ancient Near Eastern cultural and religious beliefs. This is paralleled in descriptions like "*shining one*" (Helel ben Shachar) in Isaiah 14, where fallen divine beings are brought low. Serpents, being carnivores, primarily consume prey like rodents, birds, insects, and other small animals. Therefore, those who

⁷⁴ John H. Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern*, 100–102.

⁷⁵ Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World*, 62–64.

⁷⁶ Benjamin D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God*, 47–49.

⁷⁷ *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 744–746.

insist on a strictly literal interpretation of Scripture often overlook such nuances, failing to recognize the symbolic nature of biblical language.

Heiser and others argue that the serpent may represent a divine council member who rebelled against God's authority, similar to the fallen beings in Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28.⁷⁸ Both texts describe prideful figures who sought divine power and were cast down to the underworld, a fate metaphorically depicted as "eating dust." Similarly, the *Epic of Gilgamesh* refers to the underworld as the "house of dust."⁷⁹ By portraying the serpent as a fallen being condemned to crawl and consume dust, the Genesis narrative reinforces its demotion from a potentially exalted state to one of utter disgrace and subjugation. This theological framing connects the serpent's fall to the broader biblical theme of rebellion against divine authority, further enriching the depiction of throne guardians and their unique roles in Yahweh's cosmic order.⁸⁰

The Serpent as a Theological Archetype

The serpent's role in Genesis transcends a simple depiction of a deceitful animal. It embodies themes of rebellion, deception, and the perversion of divine wisdom. The portrayal of this being as both serpentine and luminous aligns with ancient conceptions of divine intermediaries who could wield power and influence but also fall into rebellion.⁸¹

This interpretation not only enriches our understanding of the Genesis account but also

⁷⁸ Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 71–73.

⁷⁹ Andrew George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 94–96.

⁸⁰ G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, trans. David E. Green (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 15:357–359.

⁸¹ Michael S. Heiser, *Demons*, 48–53.

connects it to broader biblical and apocryphal traditions, highlighting the interplay between divine hierarchy and human destiny.⁸²

This theological framing is reflected in the deliberate choices made by the Septuagint translators, whose rendering of key terms shaped the evolving depiction of the serpent and its later identification with Satan.

Translation Choices in the LXX: *Ophis* and *Echidna*

The Septuagint (LXX) translators' choice of ὄφις (*ophis*) in Genesis 3:1 to describe the serpent reflects the theological framing of the figure as a “crafty” and subtle being rather than an overtly venomous or malicious creature.⁸³ The term ὄφις generally refers to serpents and often carries connotations of cunning and deception, as seen in Matthew 10:16: “Be wise as serpents (ὄφεις) and innocent as doves.”⁸⁴ By contrast, ἔχιδνα (*echidna*), used in the New Testament (e.g., Matthew 3:7 and 23:33) to describe a “brood of vipers,” emphasizes malice, venom, and treachery.

If the serpent in Genesis were merely a literal animal, one might expect the LXX translators to use ἔχιδνα, a term for venomous snakes with dangerous intent. However, the deliberate use of ὄφις aligns with the Hebrew נָחָשׁ (nāḥāš),⁸⁵ which has a range of meanings, including “serpent,” “diviner,” and “shining one.” This suggests that the LXX translators recognized the serpent not as a typical animal but as a spiritual or divine

⁸² *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, ed. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 743.

⁸³ Rick Brannan, Ken M. Penner, et al., *The Lexham English Septuagint*, 2nd ed. (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2020), Gen. 3:1.

⁸⁴ Kurt Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th Edition (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012), Mt 10:16.

⁸⁵ K. Elliger, W. Rudolph, and Gérard E. Weil, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, electronic ed. (Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 2003), Gen. 3.

being, one who's cunning and deception transcended the natural realm. Such an interpretation is consistent with the broader biblical portrayal of the serpent as a rebellious spiritual entity, later identified with Satan in Revelation 12:9 as the "*ancient serpent.*"

The identification of the serpent with a seraphic being—similar to the שֶׁרָפִים (seraph) in Isaiah 6:2⁸⁶—further supports the idea that this figure was not a mere creature of the field. Seraphim, depicted as fiery and serpentine guardians of God's throne, align with the imagery of a supernatural being in rebellion. This interpretation enriches the theological understanding of the Genesis narrative, presenting the serpent as a divine adversary rather than a mere animal.

The choice of ὄφις in the LXX reflects a theological intent to portray the serpent's cunning as its defining trait. This decision by the LXX translators contributed to the gradual consolidation of adversarial figures in the biblical tradition, culminating in the New Testament's portrayal of Satan as the ultimate spiritual adversary.

IV. CONCLUSION

Recap of Key Arguments

This paper has explored how the concept of Satan and spiritual beings evolved through theological consolidation, conceptual amalgamation, and the influence of Greek philosophical thought. These historical and cultural developments have played a crucial role in shaping the biblical portrayal of spiritual conflict. Understanding these

⁸⁶ Ibid., Is 6:2

transformations is essential to fully appreciate the depth and complexity of the biblical narrative.⁸⁷

The Value of a Nuanced Understanding

Engaging with ancient and apocryphal texts, such as *I Enoch* and *Jubilees*, provides a richer theological perspective. This approach allows for a more accurate interpretation of Scripture and spiritual realities, illuminating the complex, layered nature of the spiritual realm as understood by ancient cultures. A nuanced understanding acknowledges the diversity and intricacies within these texts and contributes to a comprehensive theological framework.

Modern Implications and Theological Challenges

Addressing misconceptions about Christian theology's relationship with pagan myths remains a significant challenge. As discussed in *Jesus Christ and Pagan Mythology*, claims that Christian narratives, including those about Satan, are mere derivations from pagan stories often oversimplify or misrepresent the theological depth of these figures. It is important to distinguish between genuine theological developments and superficial parallels, clarifying how Christian thought evolved in a unique cultural and religious context.⁸⁸

Future Research Directions

Several areas remain open for future research, including a deeper examination of apocryphal influences on New Testament theology and the role of the divine council in

⁸⁷ Michael S. Heiser, *The Unseen Realm*, 305-307.

⁸⁸ D. Gene Williams Jr., *Jesus Christ and Pagan Mythology: A Critical Analysis of Claims Regarding Jesus as a Copy of Pagan Gods*, accessed December 11, 2024, <https://trinitysem.academia.edu/GeneWilliamsJr>; <https://defendtheword.com/insights-and-studies.html>.

biblical narratives. Comparative studies with other ancient cultures could also shed light on how various religious traditions conceptualized spiritual opposition and cosmic order, offering broader insights into the development of these themes.

Contemporary Relevance of Historical Understanding

The historical and theological evolution of Satan and spiritual beings in Scripture holds significant contemporary relevance. For modern believers, understanding these developments can lead to deeper spiritual insights and a more informed theological perspective. This knowledge has the potential to enrich spiritual engagement, encouraging thoughtful and meaningful reflection on the complexities of spiritual conflict and divine sovereignty.⁸⁹

For a deeper exploration of the development of Satan as the central adversarial figure in biblical theology, see *Tracing Angels and Demons: Their Development*, which examines the evolution of angelic and demonic concepts from the Old Testament to the New Testament. Together, these works offer a comprehensive understanding of the spiritual realm, its key figures, and their roles in God's redemptive narrative.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ David Bentley Hart, *The Experience of God*, 225-227.

⁹⁰ D. Gene Williams Jr., *Tracing Angels and Demons Development*, accessed December 14, 2024, <https://triinitysem.academia.edu/GeneWilliamsJr>; <https://defendtheword.com/insights-and-studies.html>.

APPENDIX A: THE EVOLUTION OF SATAN: A THEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL JOURNEY



Image 1 Description: This image symbolizes the theological and cultural development of the concept of Satan in Judeo-Christian theology. At its center, a serpent motif represents the adversarial role of ha-satan in the Hebrew Bible, intertwined with an angelic figure symbolizing the more consolidated, malevolent depiction in the New Testament. Surrounding the figures are faintly glowing scrolls and fragmented manuscripts, referencing ancient texts such as 1 Enoch and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The background features the divine council, Greek philosophical symbols, and an ominous tree evocative of the Garden of Eden, highlighting the amalgamation of cultural influences and theological evolution. This visual representation bridges the ancient and modern understandings of spiritual opposition, inviting contemplation of its layered history and significance.



Image 2 Description: This depiction synthesizes biblical and historical references to celestial beings, particularly those with serpentine features. The serpentine lower body reflects ancient Near Eastern depictions of divine or hybrid beings,⁹¹ often associated with Yahweh’s court, as argued by Michael S. Heiser in his analysis of spiritual hierarchies and rebellion narratives. Heiser identifies figures such as Lucifer (Helel ben Shahar, “*Son of the Morning*,” Isaiah 14:12) as a “*serpentine divine being*,” tying this motif to the broader theological narrative of divine hierarchy and rebellion. Similarly, the imagery of the *nāḥāš* (serpent) in Genesis 3 and the *šārāp* (seraphim) in Isaiah 6 reinforces the complex roles of serpentine beings in the biblical imagination.⁹² These beings were not exclusively adversarial but also served as throne guardians, emphasizing their multifaceted significance in ancient Israelite and Second Temple thought.

The majestic demeanor of the being draws from Revelation 10:1, which describes a “*mighty angel*” with a luminous appearance, while the six wings specifically reference Isaiah 6:2, where seraphim are described as having six wings: “*with two they covered their faces, with two they covered their feet, and with two they were flying.*” This combination of elements reflects the awe and reverence associated with such beings in biblical theology. Notably, this depiction features a serpentine lower body, functioning as the being’s feet. While some might expect human-like feet in a heavenly vision, it raises the question: what does “*feet*” represent in such a celestial context?

⁹¹ For serpentine imagery in ancient Near Eastern artifacts and their association with divine beings, see Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 150–52. For the biblical reference to seraphim, see Isaiah 6:2. The description of the mighty angel in Revelation is found in Revelation 10:1.

⁹² Michael S. Heiser, “*Jesus, the Morning Star*,” accessed November 2024.

APPENDIX B: TRIPLE ENTENDRE AND THE SERPENT

Now the serpent was more crafty than any other beast of the field that the LORD God had made.

Genesis 3:1 ESV

3:1	Now	the	serpent	was	more	crafty	than	any	other	beast	of	the	field
	וְ	הַ	נָחָשׁ	הָיָה	אֲרֻמִּים	מִ	כֹּל		•	חַיֵּי	הַ	שָׂדֵה	
	w	ha	nāḥāš	hāyâ	‘ārûm	mi	kōl			ḥayyat	ha	śāde	
	וְ	הַ	נָחָשׁ	הָיָה	אֲרֻמִּים	מִן	כֹּל			חַיֵּי	הַ	שָׂדֵה	
	w	ha	nāḥāš	hyh	‘ārûm	min	kōl			ḥayyâ	ha	śāde	

Image 3 Description: The image emphasizes the unique phrasing in Genesis 3:1, which describes the serpent as “*more crafty than any beast of the field.*” Notably, the Hebrew text does not classify the serpent as one of the “*beasts of the field,*” implying a distinct nature. Modern translations may add interpretive elements like “*other,*” which are not present in the original text. This visual and accompanying note challenge readers to consider deeper implications regarding the identity and role of the serpent in the garden narrative.⁹³

⁹³ Logos 10 Bible Software, Genesis 3:1 Interlinear Analysis (*English Standard Version*), accessed November 20, 2024.



Image 4 Description: The image breaks down the etymological complexities of the Hebrew term *naḥaš* (נחש), exploring its various meanings and associations as a noun, verb, and adjective. The noun *naḥaš* commonly refers to a serpent but also carries associations with divination (*nḥš piel*, “prognosticate”) and bronze (*neḥōšet*), creating a rich interplay of meanings. The adjective “shining one” links to the serpentine figure’s appearance and symbolic role.⁹⁴

The etymological analysis provided by Heinz-Josef Fabry delves into:

- **Noun Usage:** Referring to a serpent, particularly in Ugaritic and Hebrew contexts.
- **Verb Usage:** Indicating divination or magic, derived from associations with whispering or foretelling.
- **Adjective Usage:** Highlighting qualities like brightness or metallic sheen, associated with bronze.

The analysis emphasizes that *naḥaš* is more than a simple term for “serpent”; it conveys theological and symbolic significance, connecting the serpent to themes of deception, prognostication, and even divine or supernatural attributes. This multifaceted term invites deeper reflection on the serpent’s role in Genesis and its broader implications in ancient Near Eastern thought.

This image visually organizes these linguistic connections, illustrating the rich semantic field of *naḥaš* and its implications in understanding biblical narratives.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ YouTube, “Serpent Imagery in the Bible,” uploaded by Ben S., accessed November 2024. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BO13BSSjsYU>.

⁹⁵ Heinz-Josef Fabry, “נחש and נחש,” *TDOT*, 9:, 356–357.

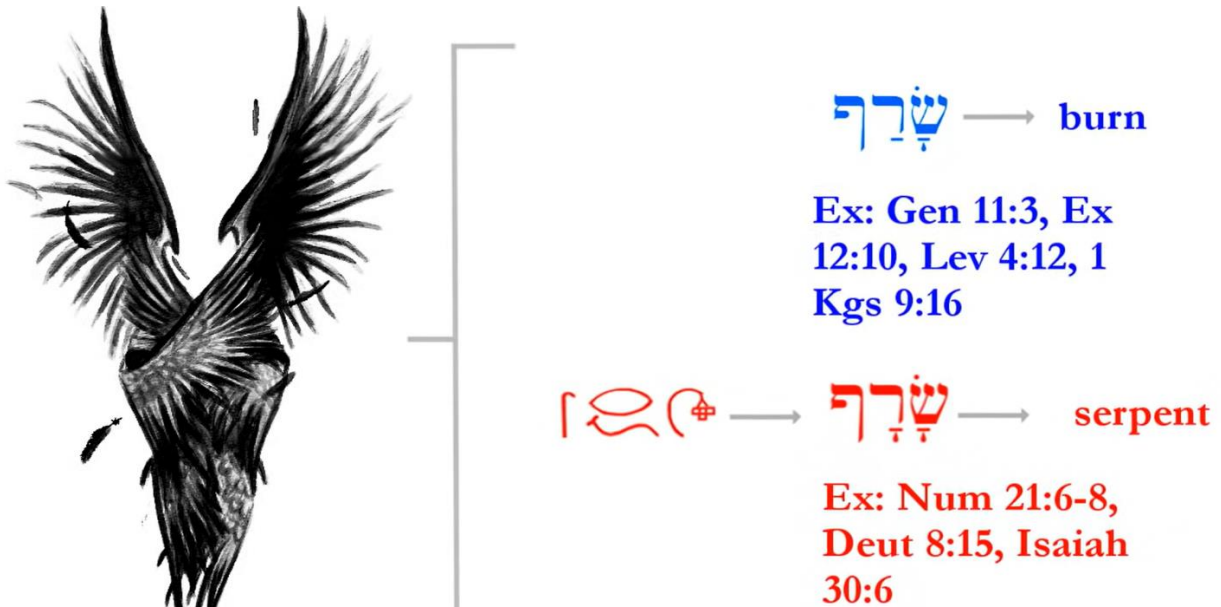


Image 5 Description: The slide highlights the connection between the Egyptian *uraeus* serpent and the biblical seraphim motif. According to Tryggve Mettinger, there is an emerging scholarly consensus that the *uraeus* serpent—symbolizing sovereignty, royalty, and divine authority in ancient Egypt—is the original source of the seraphim imagery. The text quotes *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, Page 743, as the source for this assertion.⁹⁶

Additional Notes:

- The Hebrew term *seraph* (שרף) is often associated with “fiery” or “burning” creatures, but in several biblical contexts, it refers directly to snakes or serpents (e.g., Numbers 21:6-8). This dual association links the seraphim to both divine and serpentine imagery.
- In the ancient Near East (ANE), serpents often symbolized divine authority and power, as seen in the *uraeus* cobra used in Egyptian iconography to represent sovereignty and deity.
- The resemblance between a *seraph* and a serpent emphasizes the possibility that the biblical seraphim draw on both angelic and serpentine symbolism, merging theological and cultural motifs.
- The *uraeus* cobra, standing upright, mirrors the biblical description of the seraphim as upright, fiery beings surrounding God’s throne (e.g., Isaiah 6), adding depth to the seraphim’s divine association.⁹⁷

This slide and its accompanying description provide valuable context for understanding how ANE symbolism, particularly from Egyptian traditions, influenced biblical imagery and theological concepts.

⁹⁶ ⁹⁶ YouTube, “*Serpent Imagery in the Bible*,” uploaded by Ben S., accessed November 2024. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BO13BSSjsYU>.

⁹⁷ Tryggve Mettinger, “*Seraphim*,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons*, 743.



Image 6 Description: The seals shown above date back to the eighth century BC during the reign of King Ahaz. Seal 273 portrays YHWH symbolically as a sun disk wearing a crown, a typical representation in Israelite-Judean art. Surrounding YHWH are the seraphim, depicted as throne guardians rather than hostile figures. These artistic elements align with Isaiah 6:1–7, where seraphim are described as guardians of God’s throne, reinforcing a theological tradition of divine imagery.⁹⁸

“[This seal] portrays Yhwh symbolically as a sun disk wearing a crown (a typical representation in Israelite-Judean art). Yhwh is thus portrayed as king, and surrounding him are the seraphs. The text on [this seal] states that it belonged to a courtier of King Ahaz named Ashna. In light of the similarity between the seal and Isaiah 6, it is worth noting that Jerusalem in the eighth-century was a very small town, that both Isaiah and Ashna lived during the reign of King Ahaz, and that Isaiah enjoyed very close connections to the royal court in which Ashna served (see Isa 7-9). Consequently, it is inconceivable that Isaiah and Ashna did not know each other.”- Benjamin Sommer⁹⁹

It is worth noting that serpentine beings, such as the seraphim, were not viewed as adversarial but rather as protectors in Jewish tradition. This understanding contrasts with later depictions of serpents in more negative contexts, such as interpretations of the Genesis narrative.

⁹⁸ YouTube, “Serpent Imagery in the Bible,” uploaded by Ben S., accessed November 2024. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BO13BSSjsYU>.

⁹⁹ Benjamin Sommer, “Seraph,” *Bible Odyssey*, November 2024, <https://bibleodyssey.com/articles/seraphs/>. Images sourced via Othmar Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst: Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977).



—— Reptile looking figurines are 7000-year old possibly made in the Ubaid period

Image 7 Description: This figurine reflects the ancient Near Eastern and Mesopotamian association of serpents with divinity, wisdom, and immortality. Snakes’ ability to shed their skin symbolized rejuvenation and renewal, which was interpreted as a connection to immortality. This theme is also present in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (XI:303–309), where a serpent consumes the plant of life, thereby symbolically attaining immortality. The figurine’s design and cultural origins may connect to broader Mesopotamian beliefs about divine intermediaries and their serpentine symbolism, further enriching the narrative context of immortality and transformation.¹⁰⁰

This figurine, discovered in Iraq and dated to approximately 7000 years ago, provides physical evidence of the cultural significance of serpentine forms, as discussed in sources such as the *How and Whys* exploration of reptile figurines from Mesopotamia.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Tablet XI:303–309

¹⁰¹ “7000-Year-Old Reptile Figurines Found in Iraq.” *How and Whys*. Accessed November 20, 2024. <https://howandwhys.com/7000-year-old-reptile-figurines-found-in-iraq/>

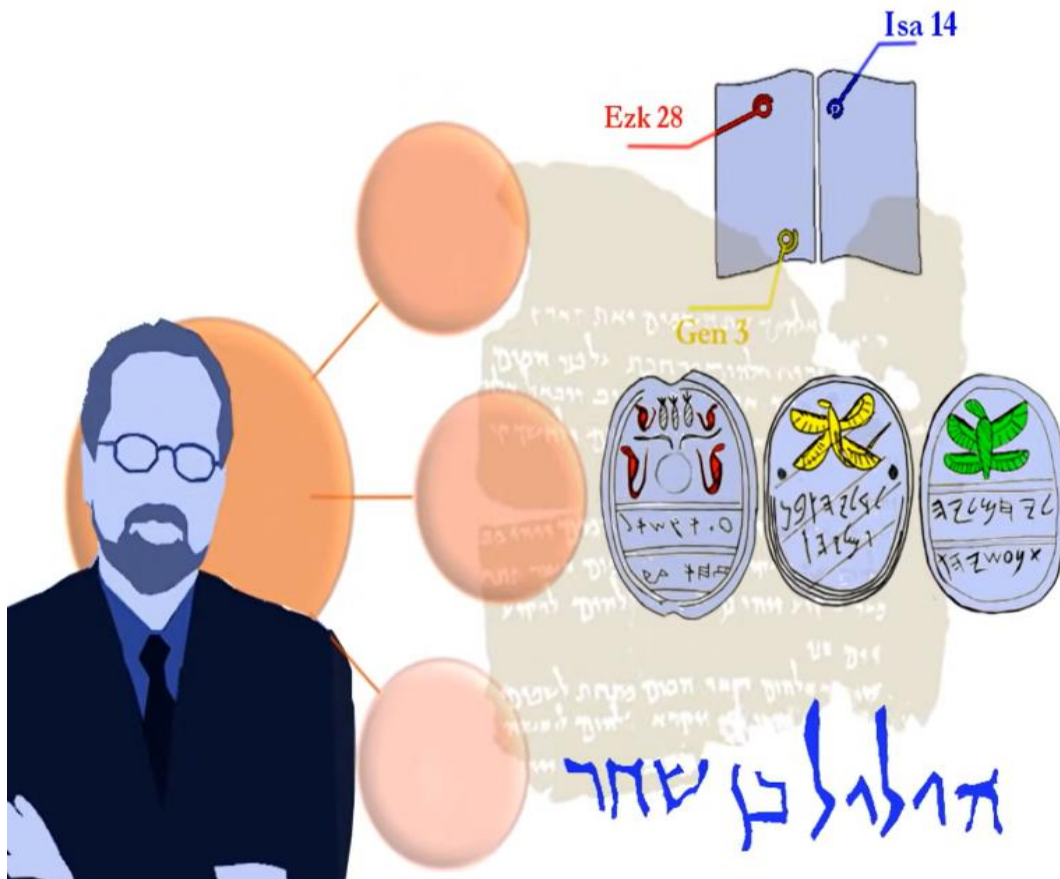


Image 8 Description: Heiser and other scholars highlight fascinating insights from the Dead Sea Scrolls, particularly the fragmented text known as *The Visions of Amram*.¹⁰² This Aramaic text, attributed to the father of Moses, recounts a vision in which Amram sees two Watchers contending over his soul. One of these entities identifies himself as the Angel Michael, while the other is referred to as the Prince of Darkness. The text describes the latter as “*terrifying in his appearance, like a serpent; his visage like a viper.*” This vivid imagery aligns with other ancient Near Eastern and Second Temple conceptions of serpentine beings, both divine and malevolent.¹⁰³

¹⁰² YouTube, “*Serpent Imagery in the Bible*,” uploaded by Ben S., accessed November 2024. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BO13BSSjsYU>.

¹⁰³ Michael S. Heiser, “*Jesus, the Morning Star*,” *Dr. Michael Heiser’s Blog*, accessed November, 2024, <https://drmsh.com/jesus-morning-star/>.

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