Inaugurating the Kingdom of God and Defeating the Kingdom of Satan

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IBR Jesus Project Paper 3. The exorcisms of Jesus constitute an essential component in his proclamation of the kingdom (or rule) of God. It is increasingly recognized that Jesus’ message and ministry cannot be adequately understood if the exorcisms are not taken into account. The present essay argues that the exorcisms signify the reduction and destruction of Satan’s kingdom, as God’s kingdom breaks into the world.

Key Words: kingdom of God, eschatology, exorcism, Satan, Beelzebul, Belial, Beliar, Mastemah

Jesus proclaims the kingdom of God and casts out demons (Mark 1:15, 23–27, 32–34). That his message is closely bound up with his ministry of exorcism is seen in a striking saying, “If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you” (Luke 11:20), and in his instructions to the disciples to proclaim the kingdom of God and to cast out demons (Matt 10:7–8; Mark 6:7). The present essay is concerned with the relation of the proclamation of the kingdom of God and the exorcisms. It is argued that these elements are closely linked, for the exorcisms demonstrate the reality of the presence of the kingdom (or rule) of God.

There is broad consensus that the central datum of the proclamation of Jesus is the “kingdom of God.” Its antecedents, referents, meaning, and context in the teaching and activity of Jesus, however, are much debated. Traditional interpretation has found the roots of Jesus’ proclamation in the Scriptures of Israel and its context in the hopes of Israel’s restoration. The work of the late George Beasley-Murray and the more recent studies of Bruce Chilton and Thomas
Wright, though emphasizing different features, are illustrative and among the better examples.\(^1\)

It is also now generally recognized that Jesus was perceived by his contemporaries as an exorcist, and as a successful exorcist at that.\(^2\) This recognition is consistent with a greater openness in current critical study to the importance of miracles in Jesus’ ministry\(^3\) and with serious efforts to assess signs and miracles in a Judaic context.\(^4\)

The focus of the present study is on the exorcisms and their relation to Jesus’ proclamation of the kingdom. Although the primary purpose is not to explore miracles as such, this study will have relevance for this broader topic. The thesis of the present study is that Jesus’ activity of exorcism was an essential component of his proclamation and ministry, clarifying the import of his proclamation and providing tangible evidence of its validity. Three aspects will be treated: (1) the rule of God and its Scriptural antecedents, (2) prophecies and expectations concerning the kingdom of God, and (3) Jesus’ proclamation and exorcisms in context.

THE RULE OF GOD: SCRIPTURAL ANTECEDENTS

Israel’s idea of the kingdom (or rule) of God is rooted in the nation’s ancient Scriptures, which depict God as king and warrior. After the destruction of Pharaoh’s army in the sea, Israel proclaims: “The Lord is a warrior; the Lord is his name. . . . The Lord will reign [יִמְלֹךְ] forever and ever” (Exod 15:3, 18).\(^5\) A patient and ever-faithful God ac-


companies wandering Israel: “The Lord their God is with them, and the shout of a king is among them” (Num 23:21b). In Deuteronomy the kingship of Yhwh is explicitly acknowledged: “The Lord came from Sinai, and dawned from Seir upon us; he shone forth from Mount Paran, he came from the ten thousands of holy ones, with flaming fire at his right hand. . . . Thus the Lord became king in Je-shurun, when the heads of the people were gathered, all the tribes of Israel together. . . . The eternal God is your dwelling place, and underneath are the everlasting arms. And he thrust out the enemy before you, and said, ‘Destroy’” (Deut 33:2, 5, 27b). Gideon tells Israel: “I will not rule over you, and my son will not rule over you; the LORD will rule over you” (Judg 8:23). Samuel reminds Israel: “And when you saw that Nahash the king of the Ammonites came against you, you said to me, ‘No, but a king shall reign over us,’ when the LORD your God was your king” (1 Sam 12:12; cf. 1 Sam 8:7; 10:19).

The prophets also proclaim the kingship and rule of Yhwh. This theme is especially pronounced in Isaiah and grows out of the prophet’s vision: “My eyes have seen the King, the LORD of hosts!” (Isa 6:5). In the face of grave political danger, Isaiah declares that the “LORD is our judge, the LORD is our ruler, the LORD is our king; he will save us” (Isa 33:22). In Second Isaiah this theme is quite pronounced. The LORD is “the King of Jacob” (41:21), and “King of Israel and his Redeemer, the LORD of hosts” (44:6). The eschatological herald of good news is to proclaim to Zion, “Your God reigns” (52:7). According to Isaiah’s Little Apocalypse, “on that day the Lord will punish the host of heaven, in heaven, and the kings of the earth, on the earth. They will be gathered together as prisoners in a pit; they will be shut up in a prison . . . for the LORD of hosts will reign on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem and before his elders he will manifest his glory” (24:21–23).

Likewise Jeremiah declares that there is none like YHWH; there is no one who will not fear the “King of the nations” (10:6–7a). Indeed, “among all the wise ones of the nations and in all their kingdoms there is none like” God (10:7b). In contrast to idols of wood, silver, and gold (10:8–9), “the LORD is the true God; he is the living God and the everlasting King” (10:10). According to the vision of the second part of Zechariah, “the LORD will become king over all the earth” (14:9); “every one that survives of all the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year after year to worship the King, the LORD of hosts” (14:16). Indeed, “if any of the families of the earth do not go up to Jerusalem to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, there will be no rain upon them” (14:17). Zephaniah enjoins Israel to fear evil no longer, for the “King of Israel, the Lord
is in your midst” (3:15, 17). Israel need no longer fear its oppressors, for the Lord, “a warrior who gives victory,” in among his people (3:16–19).

Perhaps the Psalms, particularly the so-called Enthronement Psalms, offer the most important passages in which God is conceived as Israel’s king. Many times Yahweh is declared king: “The LORD is king [מלך] forever and ever; the nations shall perish from his land” (Ps 10:16); or in the words of Psalm 24:

8. Who is the King of glory [מלך הכרובים]? The LORD, strong and mighty, the LORD, mighty in battle! 9. Lift up your heads, O gates! and be lifted up, O ancient doors! that the King of glory may come in. 10. Who is this King of glory? The LORD of hosts, he is the King of glory [מלך הכרובים]!

Psalm 47 declares that “the LORD, the Most High, is terrible, a great king over all the earth” (v. 2), enjoining the faithful to “Sing praises to God, sing praises! Sing praises to our King, sing praises! For God is the king of all the earth; sing praises with a psalm!” (vv. 6–7). For other declarations of God as king, see Pss 44:4; 48:2; 68:24; 74:12; 84:3; 93:1; 95:3; 98:6; 99:4; 145:1.

The Psalter also envisions God as enthroned: “The Lord sits enthroned over the flood; the Lord sits enthroned as king forever” (29:10); and as reigning: “God reigns [מלך] over the nations; God sits on his holy throne [כיסא]” (47:8); “The LORD reigns; he is robed in majesty; the LORD is robed, he is girded with strength” (93:1); “The LORD reigns; let the earth rejoice; let the many coastlands be glad!” (97:1); “The LORD reigns; let the peoples tremble! He sits enthroned upon the cherubim; let the earth quake!” (99:1); “The LORD will reign [מלך] forever, thy God, O Zion, to all generations” (146:10).

According to the Psalms, God “ordains victories for Jacob” (44:4), “works salvation in the midst of the earth” (74:12), “loves justice” (99:4), and “will judge the peoples with equity” (96:10). Moreover, as king God takes interest in Israel’s cultic activity (68:24; 84:3), and as king God regards Mount Zion as his city (48:2). Thus we see that in various ways God is depicted very much as playing the role of king, a king who is enthroned, who rules, who judges, who takes the field as a warrior, who resides in a capital city, and who takes interest in the cultus.

Two other OT writings make important contributions to ideas of the reign of God. First, in Isaiah we find linkage of God’s reign to the “good news” or “gospel” that is to be proclaimed:

Get you up to a high mountain, O Zion, herald of good news; lift up your voice with strength, O Jerusalem, herald of good news, lift it up, fear not; say to the cities of Judah, “Behold your God!” (Isa 40:9)

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings good news, who publishes peace, who brings good news of good, who publishes salvation, who says to Zion, “Your God reigns.” (Isa 52:7)

The herald of “good news” (בשָׂר; LXX: ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος) has announced the presence and reign (מלך; LXX: βασιλεύσει) of God, which in the language of the later Targum is understood as the revelation of the “kingdom of God [מלכותא דאלНа].” The first passage links the good news of God’s presence (“Behold your God!”) to the injunction to prepare the way of the LORD in the wilderness (cf. Isa 40:3), a motif that reflects the exodus tradition. A way of salvation is being prepared that will lead God’s people out of bondage. The second passage further defines the good news by declaring that Israel’s “God reigns” (or “will reign,” as it is in the LXX). The association of God’s reign with the restoration of Israel is an important point that will have relevance for understanding the context and meaning of Jesus’ proclamation of the kingdom.

Second, we find in Daniel several important aspects of the reign of God. Whereas Isaiah speaks of the powerful, saving presence of God, Daniel speaks of the soon triumph of God’s kingdom over the evil, oppressive kingdoms that persecute and enslave his people. Daniel’s message brings distinctive dynamic, cosmic, and temporal elements.

Daniel’s dynamic understanding of “kingdom” (מלכה) or “dominion” (משלח), whether in reference to God’s kingdom or in reference to a human kingdom, is very instructive. Usage suggests that kingdom refers to sphere of influence, capacity to rule (2:37), or even dynasty (2:39–42). There are also important and roughly synonymous features. After his troubling dream of the image, the Babylonian king is told: “You, O king, the king of kings, to whom the God of heaven has given the kingdom, the power, and the might, and the glory . . .” (2:37). Parallel to “the kingdom” are “the power” ((roכ), “the might”

(παράστασις), and “the glory” (הonne). These additional attributes function in an almost epexegetical sense, in that they qualify the significance of “the kingdom.” To be given the kingdom, in essence means to be given power, might, and glory (cf. 5:18).

Danielic tradition also brings a cosmic dimension to the idea of kingdom. We are to envision a struggle between the divine kingdom (which overlaps with or is in some sense to be identified with the kingdom of Israel) and the kingdom of evil (which also is to be identified with the succession of human kingdoms that dominated Israel). The idea of opposing forces struggling for dominion is seen in chap. 10, where an angel informs a trembling Daniel:

The prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me twenty-one days; but Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me, so I left him there with the prince of the kingdom of Persia and came to make you understand what is to befall your people in the latter days. For the vision is for days yet to come. (vv. 13–14)

The “prince of the kingdom of Persia” is Persia’s patron angel. Lying behind this idea is the tradition of angels acting as rulers over the nations, with Yahweh, or his delegate, ruling over Israel. This tradition seems to grow out of Deut 32:8–9 (where the number of “peoples” corresponds to the number of “sons of God”). Ben Sira alludes to it when he says that God “appointed a ruler for every nation, but Israel is the LORD’s own portion” (Sir 17:17; cf. 1 En. 89:59, where we are told of 70 angels, or “shepherds,” who represent the 70 Gentile nations). The prince of Persia is probably Satan himself (cf. 1QM 17:5–6, which refers to the “prince of the dominion of wickedness”; see also 4Q225 2 i 9; 2 ii 13–14; 11Q5 19:15, which pleads, “Let Satan have no dominion over me”; 11Q6 4 v 16), while the “prince of the host” in Dan 8:11 is probably Yahweh.

According to Dan 10:13, “Michael, one of the chief princes,” came to the aid of the unnamed angel (Gabriel? cf. Dan 9:21–23), who had been delayed three weeks. We probably are to imagine a cosmic battle, in which the host of heaven is engaged in battle with the host of Satan. Michael’s arrival made it possible for the angel to reach Daniel. The idea of Michael as Yahweh’s representative fighting Satan is attested in Rev 12:7 (“war arose in heaven, Michael and his angels fighting against the dragon; and the dragon and his angels fought”). Although Revelation dates to the end of the first century C.E., the tradition presupposed here is quite old, reaching back to a pre-Christian period. 8

8. For further discussion of the tradition of national angels, see J. J. Collins, Daniel (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 374–75.
There is also a temporal element in Daniel’s understanding of kingdom. Human kingdoms will come to an end, to be displaced by the everlasting kingdom that God will establish: “And in the days of those kings the God of heaven will set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall its sovereignty be left to another people. It shall break in pieces all these kingdoms and bring them to an end, and it shall stand for ever” (2:44). Every kingdom has been set up by God, including those to be destroyed. Because God established all of the kingdoms, including those that brought the kingdom of Israel (or Judah) to an end, it is within his sovereign power to raise up a final kingdom, which will permanently displace the pagan kingdoms. Israel will once again receive the kingdom (7:18, 27). Daniel lends this temporal dimension an element of imminence when he declares that “the time has come; the holy ones have taken possession of the kingdom” (Dan 7:22, apud Aramaic and Θ). But this imminence is qualified with the concluding admonition: “But you, Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, until the time of the end [עַד־עֵת קֵץ; Θ: ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας]” (12:4; cf. 12:9).

In sum, in Scripture God is understood as king, as ruling over a kingdom (which is understood as his presence and sphere of glory and power). The rule of God is regarded as the content of the “good news,” and it is a rule that is anticipated soon, as the grand finale of all human kingdoms. It is also a rule that has and will encounter deadly opposition from Satan—whose name means “opponent”—and his allies. For God’s rule to triumph, Satan’s rule will have to be shattered.

We have here virtually every element of Jesus’ proclamation of the kingdom of God. Before turning to this proclamation and its relationship to exorcism, it will be useful to consider briefly developments in sectarian prophecies and expectations relating to the appearance of the kingdom of God.

THE RULE OF GOD: PROPHECIES AND EXPECTATIONS

For the purpose of this study the conflict between the kingdoms of Satan and God is of primary interest. Such conflict may be hinted at here and there in other Scriptures, but it is in Daniel that it is made explicit. Several other intertestamental writings make significant contributions to this dimension of the topic. Our discussion will be limited to Jubilees, 1 Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and

the Testament of Moses, all of which predate or contain traditions that predate Jesus’ ministry.

The book of Jubilees offers two relevant passages. The first is found in an eschatological oracle in chap. 23 (i.e., vv. 23b–31). After a period of sin and suffering, Israel “will cry out and call and pray to be saved” (v. 24), but there will be no salvation until they return to the Law, to the way of righteousness (v. 26). Then restoration will begin, gradually, generation by generation, until human life-span is one thousand years (v. 27), until old age becomes a thing of the past (v. 28). Then

all of their days they will be complete and live in peace and rejoicing and there will be no Satan and no evil (one) who will destroy, because all of their days will be days of blessing and healing. And then the LORD will heal his servants, and they will rise up and see great peace. (vv. 29–30a)

We have here a form of millennial, restorative expectation. The era of sickness, oppression, and short sorrowful lives will give way to an era of longevity, youthfulness, healing, and peace. The oracle of Jubilees is at points indebted to Isaiah 65 (esp. vv. 20, 25, 13 = Jub. 23:28–30a) and 66 (esp. v. 14 = Jub. 23:30b).

The second passage is part of the recapitulation found in chap. 50, the concluding chapter of Jubilees. Harking back to elements of chap. 23, 50:5 sums up:

And jubilees will pass until Israel is purified from all the sin of fornication, and defilement, and uncleanness, and sin and error. And they will dwell in confidence in all the land. And then it will not have any Satan or any evil (one). And the land will be purified from that time and forever.

Satan, or Mastemah (cf. Jub. 10:8; 17:15–18:13; 48:2–3, 9–12; 4Q225 2 i 9; ii 13, 14), plays an important role in the book of Jubilees. His final defeat is an essential feature in this book’s vision of final restoration and bliss. Although Jubilees does not explicitly mention the kingdom


11. Some have wondered if “they will rise up” in v. 30 refers to the resurrection. However, this is doubtful (see R. H. Charles, “The Book of Jubilees,” The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament [2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913] 2.49 n. 30; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism [HTS 26; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972] 22), and in any case the scenario envisioned in our oracle appears to come about gradually (as in T. Levi 18), not suddenly, as is usually the case when resurrection is in view.

of God (or the Messiah), its vision of restoration coheres with those visions that do.\textsuperscript{13}

In \textit{1 Enoch} we find a passage that expressly describes the defeat and judgment of Satan (\(=\) Aza’el). According to the Greek version:

4. καὶ τῷ Ῥαφαήλ εἶπεν· Δῆσον τὸν Άζαήλ ποσὶν καὶ χερσίν, καὶ βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος, καὶ ἀνοιξόν τὴν ἔρημον τὴν οὔσαν ἐν τῷ Δαδουήλ κάκει βάλε αὐτόν, 5. καὶ ὑποθέσεις αὐτῷ λίθους τραχεῖς καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπικάλυψον αὐτῷ τὸ σκότος, καὶ οἰκησάτω ἐκεί εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ πῶμασον καὶ φῶς μὴ θεωρεῖτω· 6. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ [τῆς μεγαλής] τῆς κρίσεως ἀπαχθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἐνπυρισμὸν [τοῦ πυρός]. (10:4–6)

4. And to Rafael He said: “Bind Azaz’el hand and foot, and cast him into darkness, and open the wilderness which is in Dadou’el and there cast him. 5. And put him beneath jagged and sharp stones and hide him in darkness. And let him dwell there forever, and cover his face and let him not see light; 6. and in the day of [the great] judgment he shall be led away to the furnace [of fire].”

We find another reference to the judgment of Azaz’el, not preserved in either Greek or Aramaic, but in Ethiopic: “Kings, potentates, dwellers upon the earth: You would have to see my Elect One, how he sits in the throne of glory and judges Azaz’el and all his company, and his army, in the name of the LORD of the Spirits!” (55:4).\textsuperscript{14} This Azaz’el (or Aza’el) is related to the scapegoat tradition of Leviticus 16 and comes to represent in postbiblical literature the chief of the wicked angels, who in some traditions is also understood as a desert demon,\textsuperscript{15} which may in part explain the location of Jesus’ temptations (Mark 1:12–3; Matt 4:1–11 = Luke 4:1–13) in the desert. Rooted in Gen 6:1–7, Azaz’el is understood as one of the fallen angels (cf. \textit{1 En}. 6:7; 4Q201 3:9; 4Q204 2:26), who stands at their head (cf. 4Q180 1:7), ruling over hell (cf. \textit{Apoc. Ab}. 14:3), and who faces inescapable judgment (cf. 1 En. 13:1–2). This Azaz’el opposes humanity and all that is good (cf. \textit{Apoc. Ab}. 13:8; 14:4), as did the serpent who tempted Adam and Eve (cf. \textit{Apoc. Ab}. 23:6–8).

Although there is some diversity in the Azaz’el traditions, there is agreement in the essential details: Azaz’el is the chief of the fallen angels, who tempts humanity, opposes all that is good, and faces certain judgment, at which time he will be bound and cast into hell. It is very significant that according to Ethiopic \textit{Enoch} 55:4 (of which nothing is extant in Greek or Aramaic), Azaz’el will be judged by God’s

\textsuperscript{13} See Charles, Eschatology, 236–40 (the “messianic era”).

\textsuperscript{14} The discrepancy in the Greek and Ethiopic spellings of Aza’el and Azaz’el reflects the spelling variations in the Hebrew and Aramaic traditions, where we find variously עזאזל (in Leviticus) and עשּאל, עשּאל, עשזאל, or עשאל (at Qumran).

“Elect One,” who will sit on his “throne of glory” and will judge “in the name of the LORD of Spirits” (i.e., God). In context, this Elect One is none other than the “Son of Man” and “Messiah” of the Similitudes of Enoch (i.e., 1 En. 37–71), whose characteristics are heavily influenced by the imagery of Daniel 7 (cf. esp. 1 En. 46:1). Taken together, 1 En. 10:4–6 and 55:4 envision the judgment of Azaz’el (i.e., Satan) at the time God’s Elect One (or Messiah) sits on his throne of glory. Although the kingdom of God is not explicitly mentioned, the enthronement of Messiah (cf. 1 En. 51:3; 55:4; 61:8), the enthronement of God himself (cf. 1 En. 62:2–3), and the appearance of kings and governors before the Messiah and before God (cf. 1 En. 53:5–6; 55:4; 62:9) makes it clear that it is indeed the kingdom of God that is in view. When this kingdom is finally realized, then Satan will be judged.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs offer several relevant texts. In the Testament of Levi we have an interesting text that anticipates the granting of authority to God’s people to overpower evil spirits:

καὶ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἔσται ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁ Βελιᾶρ δεθήσεται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δώσει ἔξουσίαν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατείν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα (18:11b–12)

The spirit of holiness shall be upon them. And Beliar shall be bound by him, and he shall grant authority to his children to trample over the wicked spirits.

The binding of Beliar (yet another name for Satan; cf. 2 Cor 6:15) recalls the domimical tradition: “But no one can enter a strong man’s house and plunder his goods, unless he first bind [δήσῃ] the strong man; then indeed he may plunder his house” (Mark 3:27). In Mark 5:3 we are told that no one was able to “bind” the Gerasene demoniac, while in Luke 13:16 we are told of a woman whom Satan had “bound” for 18 years. The trampling over wicked spirits recalls Jesus’ promise to his disciples that they have been given the authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions (Luke 10:19).

Graham Twelftree thinks T. Levi 18:11b–12 is a Christian interpolation. To be sure, there are signs of Christian editing in T. Levi 18

16. In B. Aland et al. (eds.), The Greek New Testament (4th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993) Βελιᾶρ is read (with no variants mentioned in the apparatus). The same reading is given in B. Aland and K. Aland (eds.),Novum Testamentum Graece (27th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993), but the variants Beliavn (read by D K), Βελιάβ (read by F G), and Βελιᾶλ (read by pc lat; Tert) are cited in the apparatus. The word בְּלִיאל (Belial) appears more than 100 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g., IQS 1:18; 2:5, 19; 10:21; IQM 1:1, 5, 13, 15; 4:2; 11:8; and many more).

(e.g., “in the water” in v. 7; perhaps also elements in v. 6). But if a Christian composed some or all of this oracle, he did so in a remarkably restrained manner. There is nothing in this passage (with the noted exception) that is distinctively or obviously Christian. The imagery of T. Levi 18:11b–12 in all probability is drawn from the OT. The binding of Satan and his evil allies may be dependent on Isa 24:22–23, while the trampling of Satan probably derives from Gen 3:15 (“he shall bruise his [the serpent’s] head”) and Ps 91:13 (“you will tread on lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot”) and the interpretive traditions inspired by these passages.

A similar promise to the righteous is found in the Testament of Naphtali:

ἐὰν ἐργάσησθε τὸ καλὸν, τέκνα μου, εὐλογήσουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι· καὶ θεὸ δοξασθήσεται δι’ ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ὁ διάβολος φεύξεται ἀφ’ ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ θηρία φοβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀνθέξονται. (8:4)

If you achieve the good, my children, humans and angels will bless you; and God will be glorified through you among the Gentiles. The devil will flee from you; wild animals will be afraid of you; and the Lord will love you, and the angels will stand by you.

This verse is textually uncertain, but there is nothing about it that compels us to see Christian influence. The phrase “dwelling among humans” in v. 3 is probably an interpolation, but the rest of the oracle is Jewish. The promise that the “devil will flee from you” (ὁ διάβολος φεύξεται ἀφ’ ὑμῶν) closely parallels 4:7 “Resist the devil and he will flee from you” (ἀντίστητι δὲ τῷ διάβολῳ καὶ φεύξεται ἀφ’ ὑμῶν). It is more likely that James alludes to (perhaps even quotes) Naphtali than that we have another instance of a Christian interpolation. Satan and his evil spirits’ fleeing from the righteous is a topos in the Testaments that appears in various forms (cf. T. Dan 5:1, “Beliar will flee from you [φύγῃ ὁ Βελιάρ]”; T. Benj. 5:2, “If you continue to do good, even the unclean spirits will flee from you [φεύξεται ἀφ’ ὑμῶν] and wild animals will fear you”). “Wild animals” (θηρία) are sometimes partners of evil powers (cf. Psalm 91; Ezek 34:4, 8, “my sheep have


18. Charles (“The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” 314) and H. C. Kee (“Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in OTP 1.795) bracket off this phrase as a Christian interpolation. Charles (pp. 314–15) also brackets off part of v. 5 and the last line of v. 9.

become food for all the wild beasts [θηρία], since there was no shepherd,” 25). The variety recommends against seeing James as the inspiration of a later Christian interpolation.20 Satan’s flight, the presence of wild animals (θηρία), and the ministrations of angels recall the temptation story (cf. Mark 1:13).

In T. Jud. 25:3b we find a promise that Beliar will be cast into eternal fire:

καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἐν τῷ πυρί εἰς.

There shall no more be Beliar’s spirit of error, because he will be thrown into eternal fire.

The “spirit of error” (πνεῦμα πλάνης) reminds us of the “deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons” (πνεύμασιν πλάνοις καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονιῶν) of 1 Tim 4:1 (cf. 1 John 4:6, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης). Being “cast into the fire” (ἐμβληθήσεται ἐν τῷ πυρί) parallels similar expressions in the Gospels (cf. Matt 13:42, 50) and in the book of Revelation (esp. 20:10, 14). Because of these and other parallels, Twelftree again suspects that we may not have pre-Christian tradition.21 He could be correct, but the lack of distinctively Christian tradition in the Testaments argues against this conclusion. It is more probable that Christianity’s references to “spirit of error” and being “cast into fire” are drawn from a rich Jewish eschatological thesaurus. Moreover, the lateness of some of the NT parallels (i.e., in 1 Timothy, 1 John, and Revelation) favors the dependence of these books on the Testaments, rather than the reverse. One should note also that much of this language and imagery also appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which almost no one thinks are either Christian in origin or edited by Christians.22

An intriguing passage is found in the Testament of Zebulon:

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνατελεῖ ὑμίν αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, φῶς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ἱασίς καὶ εὐσπλαγχνία ἐπὶ ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ. αὐτὸς λυτρώσεται

20. Note also 1QM 3:5–6 “On the trumpets for their campaigns they shall write, ‘The Mighty deeds of God to scatter the enemy and to put all those who hate justice to flight [לָלַא] . . .’” Although the “enemy” envisioned here is primarily the human variety, it is probable that the demonic enemy was in view as well. They will be scattered and made to flee.

21. Twelftree, Jesus the Exorcist, 186.

22. On spirit of deceit and the like, see 1QS 4:9, “the spirit of falsehood results in ... cruel deceit and fraud” (= 4Q257 5:7); 1QH 9:22, “a spirit of error.” For judgment in fire, see 1QS 4:13, “for all eternity, with a shameful extinction in the fire of Hell’s outer darkness” (= 4Q257 5:12); 1QH 4:13, “fire [shall burn] in Sheol below”; 1QH 14:18–19; 4Q185 1–2 i 9, “flames of fire they mete out judgment”; 4Q429 4 i 6; 4Q491 8–10 line 15, “as a fire burning in the dark places of the damned. Let it burn the damned of Sheol”; 11Q13 3:7, “[they] destroyed Belial by fire.”
πάσαν αἱμαλωσίαν υἱῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τοῦ Βελιάρ, καὶ πάν πνεῦμα πλάνης πατηθήσεται. καὶ ἐπιστρέψει πάντα τὰ ἐθνικὰς παραξενείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὕπεσε θεόν ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου [ἐν ναῷ], ὃ ἀν ἔλεξηται κύριος, ἱερουσαλήμ ὅνομα αὐτῶ. (9:8)

And after these things the Lord himself will arise over you, the light of righteousness, with healing and compassion in his wings. He himself will ransom every captive of the sons of men from Beliar, and every spirit of error will be trampled down. He will turn all nations to being zealous for him. And you will see [God in human form [in the Temple],] that which the Lord may choose: Jerusalem is its name.

Not only do we have a Christian interpolation (set off in brackets), but the MS evidence is diverse. Some MSS omit most of the middle section of this passage; others read the last sentence differently. Whatever the original reading may have been, what is the origin of “He himself will ransom every captive of the sons of men from Beliar, and every spirit of error will be trampled down”? Charles thinks it is pre-Christian; so does Kee.24 Twelftree, however, once again doubts the pre-Christian origin of the material, arguing that “every spirit of error will be trampled down” is drawn from some of the NT passages considered above (esp. Luke 10:19–20).25 Perhaps this is so, but for the reasons given above (and in the notes), it is concluded that this material (with the exception of what has been set off in brackets) is probably of non-Christian origin.

For our purposes, the value of this passage lies in the contrasting juxtaposition of ransoming those held captive by Beliar (cf. Mark 3:26–27), on the one hand, and trampling “every spirit of error,” on the other. Once again we have the paradigm of Satan’s decline, upon the advent of God’s reign, even if some of this specific language is not employed.

Finally, we may consider a passage from the Testament of Dan:

10. And there shall arise for you from the tribe of Judah and (the tribe of) Levi the Lord’s salvation. He will make war against Beliar; he will grant the vengeance of victory as our goal. 11. And he shall

23. Or “All the nations will turn to zeal for him.”
take from Beliar the captives, the souls of the saints; and he shall
turn the hearts of the disobedient ones to the Lord.

Twelftree doubts that “He will make war against Beliar,” etc. is pre-
Christian material.26 He cites de Jonge with approval, who notes ap-
parent tension between the implied plural of “from the tribe of Judah
and (the tribe of) Levi” and the explicit singular of “he will make war
against Beliar; he will grant the vengeance,” etc.27 But Kee rightly re-
marks that what is envisioned is “the Lord’s salvation” (regardless of
the role of the figures raised up from the tribes of Judah and Levi).
It is God himself that is the singular subject of “he will make war
against Beliar.”28 This is not some clumsy Christian interpolation.

The result of this war against Beliar and the freeing of captives
(again, cf. Mark 3:26–27) is paradise regained: “the saints shall re-
fresh themselves in Eden; the righteous shall rejoice in the New Je-
rusalem,” etc. (T. Dan 5:12–13). Although the kingdom of God is not
explicitly mentioned, the oracle does go on to say that “the Holy One
of Israel will rule over them in humility and poverty, and he who
trusts in him shall reign in truth in the heavens” (5:13b). The hope of
restoration is expressed in the context of most of the passages from
the Testaments that have been considered. The patriarchs will be res-
urrected (T. Judah 25:1–2), and the righteous will rejoice and be vin-
aspects of the demise and judgment of Satan, on the one hand, and
the advent and consummation of the reign of God, on the other, are
almost a commonplace.

Finally, we must consider a very significant passage from the Tes-
tament (or Assumption) of Moses.

*Et tunc parebit regnum illius in omni creatura illius.*
*Et tunc Zabulus finem habebit,*
*et tristitia[m] cum eo adducetur.* (10:1)

And then his kingdom will appear in his whole creation.
And then the Devil will have an end,
And sorrow will be led away with him.

Here again we find juxtaposed the complementary ideas of the advent
of God’s rule (the antecedent of “his” in the first line is God) and the
demise of Satan. This text is especially important, for evidently it was
composed ca. 30 C.E., or at about the time Jesus was a public figure.
This text links the oppressive administration of the high priesthood

27. De Jonge (*Testaments*, 87) sees this as a Christian passage.
28. Kee, “Testaments,” 809 note d. God “is the agent of all that follows.” So also
Becker, “Die Testamente,” 95.
and the corruption of the Herodian princes to time of tribulation that immediately precedes the advent of God’s rule and the collapse of Satan’s rule. No other text offers a closer template against which the outline of Jesus’ eschatology may be compared.

To summarize what has been learned above: we find in the Scriptural antecedents the confession that God is king, that he is enthroned, and that he will bring judgment on behalf of his people. According to Isaiah, the reign of God is the “good news” that is to be proclaimed and stands at the center of Israel’s hopes of redemption and restoration. According to Daniel, the kingdom of God is locked in a struggle with the kingdom of Satan. God’s rule will eventually prevail, and his kingdom, which in some sense is the kingdom of Israel, will be an eternal kingdom. The triumph of God’s kingdom will lead to the destruction of Satan’s kingdom.

In the later prophecies and expectations of the intertestamental writings, the spiritual dimension of the kingdom hope is intensified. In this respect, these prophecies and expectations parallel, and in some instances may even grow out of, the Danielic tradition. Satan and his allies will be imprisoned or destroyed, no longer able to afflict the righteous. The righteous will live in peace and will experience the blessings of God’s benevolent rule.

It is in the light of these traditions that the proclamation of Jesus and the attendant exorcisms should be understood. This is not to say, however, that Jesus’ proclamation of the rule of God introduces nothing new. These materials provide a backdrop that Jesus and his contemporaries knew and presupposed. Familiarity with these traditions will enable us to see more clearly in what ways Jesus’ message was similar to or different from the teachings and expectations of his contemporaries.

JESUS’ PROCLAMATION AND EXORCISMS IN CONTEXT

Jesus speaks of the kingdom of God in many contexts: in public and private teaching, often with parables, in public calls for repentance, in acts of wonder and exorcism, and in his commissioning and sending of apostles. That Jesus’ proclamation of the kingdom of God was


understood to portend Israel’s restoration, with profound implications for society and ruling powers, is clearly seen in the request for a sign (Mark 8:11–13) and in Jesus’ crucifixion as “king of the Jews” (Mark 15:26). The request for a sign is especially important, for it suggests that at least some of his contemporaries, including those who were not numbered among his following, associated Jesus’ proclamation of the kingdom with the revolutionary messages of other men, who proffered “signs” (as in the case of Theudas in the 40s or the unnamed Jewish man from Egypt in the 50s). The signs of these men were based on major events of salvation, such as crossing the Jordan River (Joshua 4) or conquering the Promised Land (Joshua 6). Their proclamations and promises prompted deadly police action.31 Jesus’ proclamation and activity would likely have been viewed, at least generally, in this light.

We have in Mark 1:14–15 a summary of Jesus’ kingdom proclamation. We begin with it:

14. Now after John was arrested, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God [κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ], 15. and saying, “The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel [πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ· μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ].”

Two major components of this proclamation appear to reflect elements from Daniel and Isaiah. First, Jesus’ proclamation seems to reflect the perspective of Daniel 7, as seen in the following (with parallels to the Gospel tradition underlined):

Dan 7:22 Θ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἔφθασεν καὶ τίν βασιλείαν κατέσχον οἱ ἅγιοι

Dan 7:22ar מְטָת עַל מָתֵנָא אָבְרָהָם יְמִינָה מְטָת עַל מְטָת

Mark 1:15 πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ


Daniel’s “the time has arrived and the saints have gained the kingdom” (as seen esp. in Θ) closely corresponds to Jesus’ statements that “the time is fulfilled” and “the kingdom of God has come” (both ἔφθασεν and ἤγγικεν may translate מְתָת).

31. Theudas promises to divide the Jordan, as part of the reentering and reconquering of the Promised Land (cf. Josephus, Ant. 20.5.1 §§97–98), while the Egyptian Jew promised that the walls of Jerusalem would collapse, enabling his following to enter the city, probably on analogy with Joshua’s conquest of Jericho (cf. Josephus, Ant. 20.8.6 §§169–70).

32. See also Dan 4:21[24]: “This is the interpretation, O king: It is a decree of the Most High, which has come upon [ךְּלַם] my lord the king.”
Second, Isaiah’s “gospel,” namely that God is present (Isa 40:9) and that God is king (Isa 52:7), is probably what lies behind the words: “the kingdom of God is at hand.” This is likely so because of the verbal coherence between the Aramaic paraphrase of these passages and Jesus’ proclamation. “Behold, your God” (דַּהֲוָה אֱלָהֵיכֶם) in Isa 40:9 and “Your God reigns” (מָלַךְ אֱלֹהִיְךָ) in Isa 52:7 are rendered in the Aramaic as follows:

Tg. Isa. 40:9: The kingdom of your (pl.) God [אתגליאת מלכותא דאלהכון] revealed!
Tg. Isa. 52:7: The kingdom of your (sg.) God [אתגליאת מלכותא דאלאיה] revealed!

This is not the place to argue for Jesus’ familiarity with the emerging Aramaic paraphrase and interpretation of Isaiah, for that has been done ably elsewhere. It is enough to observe the contribution that Isaiah has made to Jesus’ proclamation (e.g., Isa 61:1–2 in Matt 11:5; Luke 7:22, “the poor have good news preached to them”). It is probably not coincidental that Jesus’ colleague John the Baptist was associated with Isaiah 40 (specifically with reference to v. 3, where the voice calls for the preparation of the way of the Lord), a passage that also speaks of the good news (in v. 9).

These succinct traditions of Jesus’ proclamation derive from Mark and Q, which are early and reliable sources of dominical tradition. Here there is no mention of Satan, evil spirits, or the cosmic struggle depicted in Daniel and in other intertestamental traditions, but these elements do appear elsewhere in the dominical tradition concerned with the kingdom of God. We may review this material under four heads: (1) temptation, (2) exorcism, (3) sending the twelve, and (4) healing.

The Temptation of Jesus

The temptation tradition is attested in both Mark and Q. Mark’s account is the simplest, saying only that

12. The Spirit immediately drove him out into the wilderness. 13. And he was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and he was with the wild animals; and the angels ministered to him. (1:12–13)

This text alludes to some of the themes observed above. The antithesis between the Spirit (of God—“Holy Spirit,” according to Luke 4:1) and Satan is clearly seen. Although not expressly stated, “being tempted by Satan” is surely to be understood as an attack, an attempt either to discredit or perhaps even to destroy Jesus. The presence of “wild animals” (θηρία) is interesting, immediately recalling T. Naph. 8:4b: “The devil will flee from you; wild animals [θηρία] will be afraid of you, and the angels will stand by you.” This parallel suggests that the wild animals are Satan’s allies (perhaps representative of demons?), who are then countered by angels. Thus we have the Spirit of God versus Satan, angels versus wild animals, and Jesus at the center of the conflict. Although the evangelist Mark makes very little of it, the story of the temptation bears important witness to the magnitude of the conflict that Jesus’ mission is about to provoke.

The Q tradition (Matt 4:1–11 = Luke 4:1–13) provides a tripartite form of the temptation that personalizes the confrontation between Jesus and Satan. In two of the temptations, Jesus is invited to demonstrate his divine sonship (“command these stones to become bread”; “throw yourself down”) and in one, Jesus is invited to worship Satan himself. This temptation (it is the third temptation in Matthew but the second in Luke) highlights the antithetical nature of the struggle. Will Jesus worship Satan, or will he worship God?35

Following the temptation, at least according to the Markan narrative sequence, Jesus begins to proclaim the kingdom of God (Mark 1:14–15). Having accepted God’s rule for himself, Jesus has begun to proclaim the rule of God for all of Israel. By remaining loyal to God, Jesus remains qualified, as God’s “son” (Mark 1:11), to proclaim God’s kingdom.

Exorcism

We shall trace examples from Mark, Q, and material special to Luke. The Markan passage does not explicitly refer to the kingdom of God, but the reference to the kingdom of Satan justifies its inclusion. Responding to the charge that he “is possessed by Beelzebul, and by the prince of demons he casts out the demons” (Mark 3:22), Jesus says:

23. Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν· 24. καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷν

35. This polarity is seen in Jesus’ rebuke of Simon Peter: “Get behind me, Satan! For you are not thinking the thoughts of God, but the thoughts of people” (Mark 8:33).
μερισθῇ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη· καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ’ ἐαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δυνήσεται ἡ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι. 26. καὶ εἰ ὁ σα- 
tανάς ἀνέστη ἐφ’ ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται στήναι ἄλλα τέλος ἐχει. 27. ἀλλ’ οὐ δύναται οὐδὲς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἱσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ 
σκεῦη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἱσχυρὸν δήσῃ, καὶ τότε τὴν 
οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ. (3:23–27)

23. And he called them to him, and said to them in parables, “How 
can Satan cast out Satan? 24. If a kingdom is divided against itself, 
that kingdom cannot stand. 25. And if a house is divided against it-
self, that house will not be able to stand. 26. And if Satan has risen 
up against himself and is divided, he cannot stand, but is coming to 
an end. 27. But no one can enter a strong man’s house and plunder 
his goods, unless he first binds the strong man; then indeed he may 
plunder his house.”

Comparing a divided Satan to a divided kingdom strongly implies 
that Jesus understands his great foe as the head of a kingdom that, by 
further implication, opposes God’s kingdom. The reference to Beel-
zebul as the “prince of demons” supports this interpretation.36 More-
over, the statement that a divided Satan “is coming to an end” (τέλος 
ἔχει, lit., “has an end”) matches exactly the Latin wording in T. Moses 
10:1: “And then his kingdom will appear in his whole creation. And 
then the Devil will have an end [finem habebit].” This important par-
allel suggests that Jesus understood that two kingdoms are at war and 
that, as one stronger than the “strong man” (cf. Mark 1:7, where 
John foretells the coming of one “stronger” than he), he has bound 
(δήσῃ) Satan and is now plundering his house, that is, liberating his 
hostages—those oppressed through demonic possession and illness. 
Probably related to the idea of binding the strong man and plun-
dering his house is the interesting vision of Satan’s fall from heaven, 
found only in the Lukan Gospel:

17. ὑπέστρεψαν δὲ οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα [δύο] μετὰ χαρᾶς λέγοντες· κύριε, 
kai τὰ δαμόνια ὑποτάσσεται ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ὄνομά σου. 18. εἶπεν δὲ 
aὐτοῖς· ἠθέωρον τὸν στατνᾶς ὡς ἄστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα. 
19. ἵδου δὲ ἔδωκαν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐσξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὀφελών καὶ σκορ-
pίων, καὶ ἔπι τῶν ἀναμικτῶν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς οὐ μὴ 
ἀδικήσῃ. (10:17–19)

17. The seventy returned with joy, saying, “Lord, even the demons 
are subject to us in your name!” 18. And he said to them, “I saw Sa-
tan fall like lightning from heaven. 19. Behold, I have given you au-
thority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power 
of the enemy; and nothing shall hurt you.”

36. See T. Sol. 3:6 “I am Beelzebul, the ruler of demons.” On this epithet, see W. Herr-
mann, “Baal Zebub,” in Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (ed. K. van der Toorn, 
In this material, Satan is seen as having fallen from heaven, implying his defeat and loss of heavenly access and powers. He has been bound and he has fallen from heaven. The description of Satan’s falling from heaven “like lightning” (ὡς ἀστραπήν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πε-σόντα) has led some to think the saying alludes to Isa 14:12: “How you are fallen from heaven [ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ], O Day Star, son of Dawn! How you are cut down to the ground, you who laid the nations low!” Interestingly, “above the stars of God I will set my throne” in MT Isa 14:13 becomes “above the people of God I will set the throne of my kingdom” in the Aramaic. If this passage and the Aramaic tradition that later emerged lie behind Jesus’ statement, then again we find the idea that Satan’s kingdom is in a state of collapse and that he is losing his power over God’s people. As mentioned above, the statement that Jesus has given his disciples “authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy” probably alludes to Ps 91:13 and perhaps to T. Levi 18:12.

Perhaps the most important text for our concerns is found in Luke 11, a tradition that combines Q material with the accusation narrated in Mark 3:22–27. The text reads as follows:

19. εἰ δέ ἔγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ διαμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν· διὰ τοῦτο ἠκούσατε ὑμᾶς. 20. εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. (11:19–20)

19. And if I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges. 20. But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you.

This passage is important because it directly links exorcism to the proclamation of the kingdom of God. Casting out demons is seen as proof that the kingdom of God has come. It is, as Twelftree says, “the exorcisms themselves are the coming of the kingdom.”


39. Twelftree, Jesus the Exorcist, 170.
Verse 19 replies to the charge that Jesus “casts out demons by Beelzebul, the prince of demons” (Luke 11:15). This accusation closely resembles the one found in Mark 3:22 (“He is possessed by Beelzebul, and by the prince of demons he casts out the demons”). The evangelist Luke draws upon his Markan source at this point, pulling together elements from Mark 3, as well as the request for a sign in Mark 8:11–13 (cf. Luke 11:16: “while others, to test him, sought from him a sign from heaven”). As the narrative unfolds, the Lukan evangelist will also make use of material from Q.\(^{40}\) Thus, the synthetic nature of the composition complicates the question of original context. It is quite possible that the saying in v. 20 derives from a different context, though more will be said on this below.\(^{41}\)

Verse 20 parallels Matt 12:28 almost verbatim, and in all probability has been drawn from Q:

\[\text{εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἃρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἣ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ} \]

But if it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you.

The only difference is Matthew’s ἐν πνεύματι in place of Luke’s ἐν δακτύλῳ. Most scholars of late think “Spirit of God” is original and that Luke replaced it with “finger of God.”\(^{42}\) It must be admitted that the Lukan evangelist’s use of “hand of God” (cf. Luke 1:66; Acts 4:28; and elsewhere) offers a measure of support for this position. But given his interest in the Spirit, the evangelist likely would not replace “Spirit of God.”\(^{43}\) Accordingly, I am still inclined to view “finger of God” as

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41. The parallel saying in Matt 12:28 also seems to be out of its original context, being coupled—somewhat at cross-purposes—with 12:27 (“by whom do your sons cast out” demons), implying that the exorcisms of others (and probably not the disciples) may just as clearly demonstrate the presence of the kingdom of God as Jesus’ exorcisms. Surely Jesus did not think this. Either the sayings of vv. 27 and 28 were uttered in different contexts, or they related to one another in a different way.


original and “Spirit of God” as Matthean redaction, intended to clarify the meaning of the expression and avoid an anthropomorphism.

Many have accepted Matt 12:28 = Luke 11:20, along with other related texts (such as Mark 3:27), as a genuine saying of Jesus. Among other things, the authenticity of the saying virtually guarantees the historicity of Jesus’ ministry of exorcism—at least as he and his contemporaries would have understood exorcism. But equally important is the light that this saying may shed on Jesus’ understanding of his exorcisms (and of his other acts of power), especially if the Lukan form of the saying is accepted.

The claim to cast out demons “by the finger of God” in all probability alludes to Exod 8:15[Eng. v. 19], however the Lukan evangelist himself adds reference to the Spirit in 1:18, 20; 12:18, 32.


45. See R. Bultmann, Jesus and the Word (New York: Scribner’s, 1934) 28, 173–74: “But there can be no doubt that Jesus did the kind of deeds which were miracles to his mind and to the minds of his contemporaries, that is, deeds which were attributed to a supernatural, divine cause; undoubtedly he healed the sick and cast out demons. . . . he obviously himself understood his miracles as a sign of the imminence of the Kingdom of God.” German original: Jesus (Berlin: Deutsche Bibliothek, 1926) 29, 159–60.

46. Fitzmyer, Luke X…XXIV, 922: “Jesus’ words allude to the story of the third plague in Exod 8:15.” See also Hengel, “Der Finger und die Herrschaft Gottes in Lk 11,20,” 91, 97–99. There is an ostracon of uncertain date and provenance in which one adjures “by the finger of god” (κατὰ τοῦ δακύλου τοῦ θεοῦ) that one Hor not open his mouth and speak with one Hatros. For discussion, see A. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East (London: Hodder & Stoughton / New York: George H. Doran, 1927) 305–6 + pl. 56.
list himself may have understood and applied its idiom. The Exodus
context is fascinating:

14. The magicians tried by their secret arts to bring forth gnats, but
they could not. So there were gnats on man and beast. 15. And the ma-
gicians said to Pharaoh, “This is the finger of God [אֱלֹהִים אֵצתָא /
דַָקְתַּלְוַכָּס θεου ֶסְתָי ַטָיוֻ].” But Pharaoh’s heart was hardened, and
he would not listen to them; as the LORD had said.

This passage mirrors in an interesting way Jesus’ saying, “if it is by
the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God
has come upon you.” Because the Exodus context involves hard-
heartedness and true and false miracle workers—that is, those who
perform wonders with the aid of God (i.e., Moses and Aaron) and
those who perform wonders with the aid of false gods (or demons)
and gimmickry (i.e., Pharaoh’s magicians)—it may be, after all, that
Jesus’ saying in its original setting was part of a controversy, as we
says nothing about demons, but in rabbinic tradition the passage
came to be understood that way: “As soon as the magicians realised
that they were not able to produce gnats, they recognised that the
deeds were those of God and not demons [שֵָדִים]. They no longer
claimed to compare themselves with Moses in producing the
plagues” (Exod. Rab. 10.7 [on Exod 8:15]).

Exodus 7–10 repeatedly refers to the signs (אֹתֹת/σημεῖα) that
Moses performed before Pharaoh, yet Pharaoh’s heart remained hard
and unbelieving. In the Lukan setting (i.e., 11:16), “others, testing
him, sought from him a sign [σημεῖον] from heaven.” We seem to
have a collocation of parallel ideas in Exodus and in the dominical
tradition: the phrase “finger of God,” performing miracles/signs,
viewing antagonists or protagonists as false, reference to the de-
monic (explicit in the Gospels, explicit in later Jewish interpretation),
conflict between two spheres of power (or kingdoms). If so, then it
suggests that Jesus appealed to the famous contest between Moses
and the magicians of Pharaoh. Jesus asserts that he casts out demons
“by the finger of God,” not “by Beelzebul, the prince of demons.”
This comparison may have typological meaning, implying that the
power of God at work in Jesus’ ministry is commensurate to the
power of God at work in the great deliverance from Egypt long ago.
Just as God dismantled the kingly authority of Pharaoh and his gods

47. The translation is based on S. M. Lehrman, “Exodus,” in Midrash Rabbah (ed.
translates “the deeds were those of God and not witchcraft.” However, שָדָא (or שֶָדָא)
is normally understood as “demon” (cf. Jastrow 1523–24). The word שֶָדָא is translated
dαίμονια in the LXX (cf. Deut 32:17; Ps 105[6]:37).
(or demons) and transferred his people under his own authority, so
now in Jesus’ ministry Satan’s kingdom is being dismantled, and Is-
rael is being invited to embrace divine rule.

The ease with which Jesus casts out demons (cf. Mark 1:27: “With
authority he commands even the unclean spirits, and they obey
him!”) constitutes prima facie evidence that indeed “the kingdom of
God has come upon” the people Jesus addresses. But in what sense
does Jesus mean “come upon” (ἔφθασεν ἐπί)? Nolland rightly won-
ders if the allusion to Exod 8:15[19] is threatening, in the sense of
“overtaking” someone. 48 For example, in 1 Thess 2:16 Paul says, “wrath
has finally come upon them” (ἔφθασεν δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ
αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος),” which evidently alludes to T. Levi 6:11: ἔφθασεν δὲ
ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος (see also Eccl 8:14). Nolland could be correct, for it is
odd that Jesus says, “the kingdom has come upon you” (with empha-
sis added). Why not say, “upon us”? Does Jesus mean to distinguish
between himself and his following, on the one hand, and those who
disbelieve and oppose his proclamation, on the other? Is he suggest-
ing that his critics oppose God and face judgment, just as surely as
did Pharaoh and his magicians?

We cannot answer these intriguing questions with certainty. Per-
haps Jesus has simply argued that his exorcisms offer clear proof of
the truth of his proclamation of the kingdom: the kingdom of God
has indeed arrived. But Jesus may have threatened his critics with
the judgmental aspect of the kingdom (as seen also in the preaching
of John the Baptist; cf. Mark 1:7–8; Matt 3:7–12; Luke 3:7–9, 15–17):
the exorcisms demonstrate that the rule of God (as opposed to the
perverse rule of wicked men) has finally overtaken those who reject
his authority. It is time to repent and accept God’s rule.

Sending the Twelve

Conflict with Satan and the proclamation of the kingdom of God are
found together in the teaching relating to the sending of the
Twelve. 49 The Markan and Matthean forms of the tradition should be
studied together:

7. And he called to him the twelve, and began to send them out two
by two, and gave them authority over the unclean spirits [ἐξουσίαν
tῶν πνευμάτων τῶν ἀκθάρτων].... 12. So they went out and preached
that men should repent. 13. And they cast out many demons [δαι-

49. The appointment of the twelve is rightly linked to covenant renewal and es-
See also J. P. Meier, “Jesus, the Twelve and the Restoration of Israel,” in Restoration (ed.
μόνια πολλὰ ἔξεβαλλον], and anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them. (Mark 6:7–13)


According to Mark’s version, Jesus gave the twelve “authority over unclean spirits,” and then they “went out and preached that men should repent.” The evangelist makes no mention of proclaiming the arrival of the kingdom of God. But surely that is to be understood as part of the preaching of repentance (as it is in Mark 1:15). This element is present in the Matthean version of the commissioning of the twelve. Jesus commands the twelve to preach that “the kingdom of heaven is at hand” and to “cast out demons.” Although Matthean editing is present (such as substituting “heaven” for “God”), the combination of healing, exorcism, and proclaiming the kingdom of God in the Lukan version of the discourse (cf. 9:1–2; 10:9, 11) suggests that this collocation is traditional and that Mark’s version is abridged.

Healing

Healing in general is part of the demonstration of the powerful presence of God and his rule, not only because it was part of the eschatological promise of Isaiah (cf. Isa 26:19; 35:5–6; 61:1–2 in Matt 11:5 = Luke 7:22; 4:16–30; and in 4Q521), but because there is evidence that some of the healings were linked in various ways to exorcism, or at least to the demonic world. We see this in the healing of Simon Peter’s mother-in-law, where Jesus is said to have “rebuked the fever” (Luke 4:39), as though a sentient being was responsible for the fever. Of course, many times exorcism and healing are mentioned together (e.g., Matt 10:1, 8; Mark 1:34; 6:13; Luke 9:1). But there is one episode in particular that is quite illustrative. With reference to the woman who was bent over and unable to straighten, Jesus asks:

And ought not this woman, a daughter of Abraham whom Satan bound [ἡν ἔδησεν ὁ σατανᾶς] for eighteen years, be loosed from this bond [οὐκ ἔδει λυθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τούτου] on the sabbath day?

(Luke 13:16)

This episode illustrates graphically what Jesus describes parabolically in Mark 3:27. Until Jesus’ appearance and the proclamation and

50. Allison and Davies, *Matthew VIII...XVIII*, 170: “Q’s missionary discourse contained the command to preach the nearness of the kingdom.”

powerful demonstration of the kingdom (or rule) of God, the children of Abraham were in bondage, in some cases literally “bound” by Satan. But Jesus has bound Satan and may now set at liberty his captives, or as he said to the infirm woman: “You are freed [ἀπολέλυσαι] from your infirmity” (Luke 13:12). What Satan had bound (δέω), Jesus has now loosed (λύω).

This contrasting terminology opens up a potentially new interpretation of an old, familiar saying, forms of which appear in two places in Matthew:

δόσω σοι τὰς κλείδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν δήσης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται λελυμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. (Matt 16:19)

I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅσα ἐὰν δήσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν οὐρανῷ. (Matt 18:18)

Truly, I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

Although there is nothing about the Matthean contexts to suggest exorcism or conflict with spiritual powers, it is possible that the original meaning of this saying had exorcism in view. This is suggested, not only because of the juxtaposition of δέω and λύω in Luke 13:16, but because other texts speak of the “binding” of Satan, where δέω is employed: καὶ ὁ Βελιάρ δεθήσεται ὑπʼ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δώσει ξουσίαν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ (T. Levi 18:12). “Beliar shall be bound by” the coming deliverer, and “he will give authority to his children,” just as surely as Jesus “will give” to Peter “the keys” (i.e., authority) to “bind” or “loose.” One also thinks of the binding of the demon Asmodeus in Tobit: “And Raphael was sent to heal the two of them . . . and to bind [δῆσαι] Asmodeus the evil demon” (3:17); “the demon . . . fled to the remotest parts of Egypt, and the angel bound [ἐδησεν] him” (8:3).

52. Allison and Davies (Matthew VIII...XVIII, 638) rightly conclude that in the Matthean context, the saying on binding and loosing is to be understood in terms of the rabbinic notion of deciding what is forbidden and what is permitted.

53. See also the various texts in the Testament of Solomon: “King Solomon, I brought the demon to you just as you commanded me; observe how he is standing bound [δεδεμένος] in front of the gates outside” (1:14); “[Beelzeboul] brought me the evil demon Asmodeus, bound [δεδεμένου]” (5:1); “I, Solomon . . . bound [δεσμευθήκα] him with greater care” (5:6); “I ordered her to be bound [δεσμευθήκα] by the hair and to be hung up in front of the Temple that all those sons of Israel who pass through and see might glorify the God of Israel who has given me this authority [ἐξουσίαν]” (13:7).
In sum, there is a significant body of material that documents and illustrates in various ways the linkage of Jesus’ announcement of the powerful presence of God’s rule with the dismantling of Satan’s kingdom. Perhaps the most important evidence outside the NT itself is the pseudepigraphal Testament of Moses, which may very well have been composed in Palestine at about the time of Jesus’ ministry. Not only does this document juxtapose the advent of the divine kingdom and the downfall of Satan, it also depicts an eschatological scenario that corresponds at important points with the scenario envisioned by Jesus.

The surviving literature from Palestine of late antiquity clarifies important aspects of Jewish eschatology, in the light of which Jesus’ proclamation of the kingdom and his ministry of exorcism would have been interpreted. In short, for Jesus and his following, the exorcisms offered dramatic proof of the defeat and retreat of Satan’s kingdom in the face of the advancing rule of God.