

THE END OF SATAN

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Introduction

"Then Satan will have an end, and sorrow will be led away with him."

These words, which according to the *Testament of Moses* 10:1 were included in Moses' farewell speech, foretell the end of Satan.¹ Though not expressed anywhere in the Hebrew Bible, the event of his end became a subject of some discussion in Jewish apocalyptic documents, especially 1 (Ethiopic) Enoch. In the NT it is briefly alluded to in the following ways: as binding a strong man in Matt 12:29, in connection with everlasting fire prepared for him in Matt 25:41, his destruction by Christ in Heb 2:14, and his knowing his time is short in Rev 12:12. The most explicit, detailed account of his end is found in Rev 20:1-3, 10. The purpose of this article is to explore the history of metaphors employed to describe Satan's end in Rev 20.²

Previous Studies

Scholarly and not-so-scholarly literature on Satan is extensive, but surprisingly no thorough study of accounts of his end has appeared, in spite of its explicit treatment in Rev 20:1-3 and 10. Turn-of-the-century commentaries on Revelation by Wilhelm Bousset³ and R. H. Charles⁴ provided brief studies of traditions providing literary background information for the understanding of the description of Rev 20. Both applied the assumptions of source criticism and of the history-of-religions school to their

¹ In *Jubilees* the similar expression "no Satan" is employed in a relative sense to denote a period of time during which Satan apparently was inactive: in 23:29 the time following Abraham's death and burial; and in 40:9, 46:1, 2, 5 the time Joseph lived in Egypt. Usage in *Assumption of Moses*, in contrast, is absolute, expressing a final, complete end of Satan.

² Initial stimulation for this article came from a lecture by the Rev. Dr. Mark Harding at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Early Christianity at Macquarie University, Sydney, May 1996.

³ *Offenbarung Johannis* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1906).

⁴ *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1920).

studies. This comparative method resulted in useful discoveries of possible sources and parallels to the ideas expressed in Revelation.

Subsequent twentieth-century commentaries, prior to that by David Aune, failed to build on the groundwork provided by Bousset and Charles in explaining chap. 20. J. Webb Mealy, in his monograph *After the Thousand Years*,⁵ devotes a seven-page chapter to the exegesis of the description of Satan's imprisonment in Rev 20:1-3, and concludes that Isa 24:22ff. lies behind the passage. His work does not further our understanding of the imagery, nor does he relate Revelation to Jewish or other ancient traditions in any detail. He concludes that according to Rev 20:10 there is in fact no end of Satan; he spends eternity in the lake of fire. In his monograph *Powers of Evil*, after the briefest summary of the fate of Satan as described in Rev 20:1-10, Sydney H. T. Page devotes his attention to two issues: the different views of the period of the time of Satan's imprisonment in the abyss, and whether Satan faces eternal punishment or total annihilation at the end of the millennium.⁶

New Testament theological dictionaries devote only a sentence each in a passing reference to Satan's end.⁷ *Anchor Bible Dictionary* articles on "Devil" by Duane F. Watson and "Satan" by Victor P. Hamilton devote a sentence each to the end of Satan.⁸

Students of Revelation are indebted to David Aune, who in his recent commentary on the book⁹ has updated and advanced earlier work on its tradition history begun by Bousset and Charles. While not omitting the Hebrew Bible and its Greek translation, and postbiblical Jewish apocalypses and related literature, he also includes a wide range of Jewish sources now available, including material from Jewish magical texts and incantation formulas, which is roughly contemporary with Revelation and not known by previous generations of commentators on the book. He also cites extensive Græco-Roman parallels. His exhaustive cataloguing of possible parallels, of

⁵(Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 95-101, 139f.

⁶(Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 217-221.

⁷"Satan will . . . be bound for the millennial period, will be released for his last assault, and will finally be judged in the lake of fire." Werner Foerster, *diabolos*, *TDNT*, 2:80. In his article *satanas*, published nearly thirty years later, the same author adds: "The only direct references to the final destruction of the devil are in Matt 25:41 and Rev 20:10. Naturally it may be presupposed in Paul, but it is worth noting that in 1 Cor 15:24-26 Paul speaks of the end of every *archê* and *exousia*, and also of the end of death, but not of the end of Satan or of sin" (*TDNT*, 7:162). Hans Bietenhard writes, "Matt 25:41; Rev 20:10 (cf. 1 John. 3:8 Heb 2:14), and possibly also Rom 16:20, speak of the destruction of the devil at the end" (*NIDNTT*, 3:471).

⁸*ABD*, 2:183; 5:985-988.

⁹David Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, WBC 52A (Dallas, Tx: Word, 1997); *Revelation 6-16*, WBC 52B (Nashville: Nelson, 1998); *Revelation 17-22*, WBC 52C (Nashville: Nelson, 1998). The pagination in these three volumes is continuous; items related to Rev 20 are in the third volume.

varying degrees of relevance, places students of Revelation under obligation to him. Even Aune gives little study to their description of the end of Satan, however, and assumes wrongly, as this article will argue, that in the 1 Enoch accounts of the binding of Azazel and Semyaza, these two fallen heavenly watchers¹⁰ serve as synonyms for Satan. This leads him to conclude that 1 Enoch 10:4-6 and 10:11-13 “closely parallel” Rev 20.¹¹ This article argues that 1 Enoch does not describe the end of Satan, and that the binding and destruction of the fallen watchers is a separate event from the end of Satan described in Rev 20.

It comes as no surprise that Aune’s attention has focused on 1 Enoch 10 as background for the Revelation narrative of the end of Satan. Its formal structural parallels are striking and Aune’s comparison of them is depicted in **Figure 1**.

Rev 20:1-3, 7-10	1 Enoch 10:4-6	1 Enoch 10:11-13
Angel descends from heaven with key and chain	God sends angel Raphael	God sends angel Michael
Angel seizes and binds Satan	Azazel is bound by the angel	Angel binds Semyaza and associates.
Satan imprisoned one thousand years	Azazel thrown into darkness and imprisoned forever	They are imprisoned under the earth.
Satan cast into locked and sealed pit	Time of imprisonment will actually end at the judgment	Time of imprisonment limited to seventy generations
Satan released for unspecified period		
Satan cast into lake of fire	On day of judgment Azazel is thrown into the fire.	On day of judgment they are thrown into the abyss of fire

Figure 1. Structural parallels between Rev 20 and Enoch 1, based on Aune.

If the descriptions in 1 Enoch 10 were eschatological, Aune would be

¹⁰“Watchers” is a literary term used in Jewish apocalypses to designate archangels. Azazel and Semyaza (more precisely Asael and Sembazah) were among the two hundred watchers who came to earth and subsequently transgressed. They came to occupy prominent positions as originators of evil on the earth. They were the first to be bound and imprisoned underground. See M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 106f, 121. Note there Black’s detailed discussion of the links between Enoch’s Asael and the Azazel or scapegoat of Lev 16.

¹¹Aune, 1078.

justified in treating that chapter's twin accounts of the imprisonment and final judgment of Azazel and Semyaza as parallels to Rev 20. But doubts have been expressed about the eschatological nature of the Enoch passage. Carol Newsom¹² documents the following reasons for these doubts:

1. The final judgment is scarcely mentioned, and when it is, only as a peripheral concern;
2. The primary focus of the account, and the resolution to its problem, is contained within the antediluvian period;
3. Although the passage describes eschatological events such as the final judgment, those events are not central to the author's concerns;
4. No timetable of end-time events is present.

It is therefore better to view 1 Enoch 10 as an account "of God's limitation of the power of evil,"¹³ not its eradication and the end of Satan. The passage is concerned with the problem of evil in the present world, not its elimination prior to the inauguration of the next.

The most suitable sequel to the time of imprisonment described in 1 Enoch 10 can be found in Rev 9 where the key to the abyss is given to a fallen star (or to the fifth, trumpet-blowing, angel?) who uses it to open the shaft to the abyss and facilitate the release of imprisoned demonic forces who emerge to terrorize earth dwellers. It is possible that this appearance of evil spirits/angels provides a description of the sequel to their antediluvian imprisonment described in our literature (1 Enoch 10:11; Jubilees 5:6). Just as Satan himself will be released "for a short time" prior to his annihilation, so also their long imprisonment will end in a short period of release, allowing them to wreak destruction just prior to the final judgment.

The Dramatis Personae

The *dramatis personae* of the description of the end of Satan in Rev 20 will be described in order of their appearance.

The Binding Aggelos

Of the seventy-five occurrences of *aggelos* in Revelation, nearly every one is further identified and labeled in some way. Even the designations "another angel" and "strong angel" carry significance, so the simple,

¹² "The Development of 1 Enoch 6-19: Cosmology and Judgment," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 313. See especially fn. 18, where Newsom cites as her main sources M. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 487; and J. J. Collins, "Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on the Articles of P. D. Hanson and G. W. Nickelsburg," *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1978, 2:311-319.

¹³ Newsom, 316.

generic occurrence of “angel” without any further designation or description in 20:1 is exceptional. Has this angel made a prior appearance? The similarity to Rev 9:1 is striking. There John sees angel number five of the seven archangels.¹⁴ “He” is given the key to the shaft of the abyss. Is “he” the fifth angel or the star? Both “angel” and “star” are masculine nouns and could grammatically be the antecedent of the masculine personal pronoun. Most commentators, including Charles and Aune, assume that the key was given to the star, who, they then argue, was in fact a fallen angel.¹⁵ But this creates a problem when the star-angel of 9:1 is identified with the angel of 20:1, as is done by both commentators. How can a fallen angel, sentenced to incarceration in *Sheol*, be entrusted with the key to his own prison? The problem is solved by reading 9:1b in such a way that the key is given to the fifth archangel, who then reappears with the key in 20:1.

The angel is further identified in 9:11 as king of the locust demons occupying *Sheol*, and as having the Hebrew name ^ʿ*Abaddon*, which is one of two main Hebrew synonyms for *Sheol*. ^ʿ*Abaddon* occurs with this meaning in Job 26:6 (translated here and nearly sixty other places in LXX by *Hades*), Prov 15:11, 27:20 (translated in LXX by *apoleia*), and 1QH 3:19, where *Sheol* and both its synonyms occur: “You O Lord have redeemed my soul from the pit (*šahat*), that is, from *Sheol* of ^ʿ*Abaddon*.” The Greek name of the angel is also given in Rev 9:11, *Apollyon*, which in LXX Job 12:23 translates Hebrew ^ʿ*abad*, the verb related to the noun ^ʿ*Abaddon*. The *aggelos* in Rev 9:1 and the *aggelos* in 20:1 have the same heavenly origin and the same responsibility—the key to the abyss. They are both to be identified as one and the same *aggelos*.

While the angel keeper of the key of *Sheol* is not named in Revelation, he is elsewhere. The Greek version of 1 Enoch 20:2 attributes control of *Sheol* to “Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is over the world and over Tartarus.”¹⁶ Uriel here is one of the seven archangels. Tartarus is the Greek designation for the underworld realm occupied by banished gods, evil spirits, and deceased humans. It is generally translated “the underworld” and has a long history in Greek literature, beginning with a detailed description in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, lines 720–819.¹⁷ The term is found in the LXX of Job 40:20, 41:24 (no Hebrew equivalent

¹⁴“The seven angels which stand in God’s presence, and they were given seven trumpets” (8:2). For discussion and documentation of these as archangels, see Aune, 509.

¹⁵Charles, *Revelation*, 2:239; Aune, 525.

¹⁶Noted by J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), 172.

¹⁷ See M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony and Works and Days* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 76ff.

behind either occurrence) and in Prov 30:16 it translates *Sheol*. While the noun is not found in the NT, the verb *tartareō* occurs in 2 Pet 2:4. *Sibylline Oracles* indicates that four archangels—Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel—“lead all the souls of men from the murky dark to judgement” (2:215-217). The *Apocalypse of Peter* 4 attributes to Uriel control of the “bars of hell” which keep in the dead.

Elsewhere the angel keeper of *Sheol* is given a title. In *Sibylline Oracles* book 8 there is an occurrence of the rare Greek *kleidophylax*, “key-keeper.”¹⁸ Although the sentence is incomplete, the context allows it to refer to an otherwise unidentified¹⁹ key-bearer who is responsible for the enclosure where persons are retained before coming before the judgment seat of God in the final judgment. The concept of the angel keeper(s) of *Sheol* flows into early Christian thinking by use of the Greek term *tartarouchoi aggeloi*, “angels who keep Tartarus,” in *Apocalypse of Paul* 18²⁰; *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4:12; and Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel* 2.29.11. The synonymous expression *temelouchos aggelos*, “angel keeping Tartarus,” is found in Clement of Alexandria, *Prophetic Eclogue* 41.1.

A rather more detailed description of a group who had the dual role of key-holders and gatekeepers of *Sheol* appears in 2 Enoch 42:2: “And I saw the key-holders and the guards of the gates of hell standing, as large as serpents, with their faces like lamps that have been extinguished and their eyes aflame, and their teeth naked down to their breasts.”²¹ The combined role of key-holder and gatekeeper has a venerable history in Ancient Near Eastern literature. Nedu, the gatekeeper of the underworld according to Babylonian sources, had the head of a lion, human hands, and the feet of a bird.²² “In Babylonia the soul of a dead man was exorcized with the incantation: ‘Let him go to the setting sun, let him be entrusted to Nedu, the chief gatekeeper of the underworld, that Nedu may keep strong watch over him, may his key close the lock.’”²³ In the older Sumerian legend, “Inanna’s Descent to the Nether World,” Nedu is known as Neti. As chief gatekeeper of the netherworld, Neti controls the locks on the seven gates through which new, recently-deceased arrivals

¹⁸As translated by J. J. Collins in *OTP*, 1:420. The word also occurs in pseudo-Lucian, *Amores* 14.4.

¹⁹The *aiōn*, “age,” is the key-bearer in this passage according to Neville Forbes and R. H. Charles, 2 *Enoch*, *APOT*, 2:456.

²⁰Wrongly cited by Forbes and Charles as *temelouxos* (456).

²¹F. I. Andersen, in *OTP*, 1:166.

²²E. A. Speiser, in *ANET*, 109.

²³N. K. Sandars, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 28.

pass in succession on their one-way journey, and Neti, in turn, is under the command of the goddess Ereshkigal, queen of the underworld.²⁴ This Babylonian tradition, possibly indirectly influencing the 2 Enoch passage cited above, assigns the key-holder/gatekeeper to the service of the ruler of the underworld, who is in an adversarial relationship to the living and their god(s). Theologically, this ancient Babylonian tradition implies that the sovereignty of the universe is divided between the heavenly rulers of the realm of the living and the underworld rulers of the realm of the dead. This is perhaps best illustrated by the Greek myths in which the giants, who were brothers of the Titans confined in Tartarus, plotted an assault on heaven which led to their defeat and death, and of Heracles, who invades Tartarus where he finds Theseus and Peirithous bound with chains. He frees Theseus with the permission of the gods of the underworld, but is unable to free Peirithous.²⁵ Consequently the key-holder/gatekeeper is always described as on duty just where one would expect to find him—at the gates to the underworld itself.

By contrast Rev 20 and the Jewish tradition behind it avoids the Babylonian division of the sovereignty of the universe, and assumes the united sovereignty of God over every realm, including *Sheol*, which he can open or shut by sending the appropriate angel. He can even imprison Satan himself in Satan's own realm.

All three occurrences of *katabainō ek tou ouranou* connected with *aggelos* in Revelation (10:1; 18:1; 20:1) describe a major event: the completion of God's mystery and the end of time in chap. 10, the end of Babylon in chap. 18, and the end of Satan in chap. 20. The absence of any reference to the status or title of the key-keeping angel, in contrast to the angels of chaps. 10 and 18, serves to focus attention on the full sovereignty of God, which is further underscored by the ease with which Satan is apprehended and incarcerated. No divine command, dialogue, negotiation, or conflict is needed to initiate and carry out the intervention. The passage is devoid of any sense of cosmic conflict. This is a matter-of-fact carrying-out of God's sovereign plan, and resistance is both impossible and pointless.

The *aggelos* performs four functions to effect Satan's end, described by five active verbs: "arrest," "bind," "throw into," "close," "seal." A similar verb sequence is employed in 1 Enoch 54:5 to describe the fate of kings: "take," "cast into," "cover." The angel's first function is arresting Satan. This is expressed by the verb *krateō*, used with this sense elsewhere in the NT especially in combination with *deō* as a standing expression for

²⁴S. N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," lines 114-121, *ANET*, 52-57.

²⁵Summarized by Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1960), 131f, 153f.

the arrest and imprisonment of a suspect, as in Mark 6:17.²⁶

The second function, binding, is expressed by the verb *deā*, "he bound him." According to Ps 18:6 and its parallel passage 2 Sam 22:6, *Sheol* has its bands, a figurative expression to "illustrate the tight constraint exercised by the powers of the underworld."²⁷ This colorless Hebrew metaphor, repeated in 1QH 3:9, takes on a greatly expanded function in Jewish literature. The bands sometimes become (heavy iron) chains (1 Enoch 53:3; 54:3, 69:27f; Jude 6) to express the total restraint imposed on fallen angel watchers (1 Enoch 10:11f.; 13:1; 14:5; Jubilees 5:6, 10; 10:7-11), the disobedient stars and heavenly hosts (1 Enoch 18:16; 21:3-6), and the leaders of fallen angels and spirits such as Azazel, Semhazah, Mastema, and Beliar (1 Enoch 10:4, 12; Jubilees 48:15, 18; Test. Levi 18:2; Tobit 8:3).

The third function, throwing Satan into the Abyss, is expressed by *ballō*. The concept of fallen angels and spirits banished to the underworld, where they await divine punishment, has only limited support from the sort of Hebrew eschatology expressed in Isa 24: 22, which lies behind Rev 19:19-20:10²⁸: "They will be shut up like prisoners in a pit." Hebrew *bor* is here used only as a simile, but elsewhere in Isaiah (14:15, 19; 38:18) it occurs in parallel with *Sheol* to designate the underworld holding place for the (wicked) dead, and in later Jewish thought served to designate the place of imprisonment for evil spirits awaiting divine punishment. According to a Greek fragment of Jubilees 10:7, the noun occurs in the Lord's command to the archangel Michael to throw evil spirits into the *abyss*.²⁹

The angel's fourth function is to close and seal the abyss. This action is elsewhere clearly the divine prerogative, expressed most clearly in *Prayer of Manasses* 3, where God is addressed as the one who has "closed the abyss and sealed it," using the same verbs as in Rev 20:3. In the case of the second verb, the identical usage extends even to the absence of the direct object ("the mouth of the abyss" or a similar direct object needs to be supplied in both passages). There, the words come in a phrase describing God as Creator, attributing to him sovereignty over the whole of creation, including the subterranean waters. At the heart of the expression is the implied order and stability of the created world, where sea and land have their bounds, and where the waters placed above and beneath the earth during creation week are held in place and prevented from overwhelming the dry land, which is the realm of human habitation.

²⁶Suggested by Aune, 1082.

²⁷H.-J. Fabry, *TDOT*, 4:176.

²⁸J. Webb Mealy cites representative commentators supporting this position: *After the Thousand Years: Resurrection and Judgment in Revelation 20* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 100.

²⁹This is noted by Aune, 1082.

The force of the expression “bound and sealed” in Rev 20 is further illuminated by their use in Jewish magic texts where the aim of the rituals is to bind and seal the evil spirits so they can no longer do harm.³⁰

The main intent of this description of the arrest, binding, and incarceration of Satan is to assert God’s sovereignty even over Satan, chief instigator of evil. Even the abyss, as the realm of evil spirits and fallen angels, is fully subject to the divine will. There is no supernatural being in charge of the abyss who can challenge the angels of God who open and close the abyss, and God alone decides who should be incarcerated there and sets the term of their sentence. The key to the abyss is so firmly in God’s control that its special guardian angel is not even left on permanent duty there, but is sent from heaven to open and close the abyss when instructed by God. Such an expression of God’s sovereignty would have been in stark contrast to the prevailing Greek and Semitic traditions that depicted a fundamental split of sovereignty. For them the gods of heaven were locked in competition with the rulers of the underworld, with no hope of any general release of the dead incarcerated there, and with only a handful of success stories of invasions of the nether realms to rescue a few fortunate ones.

The Bound Satan

Satan’s end comes in two stages according to Rev 20:1-3, 10: his binding and incarceration, then his annihilation following a temporary release. The binding of Satan represents an ironic reversal of the prevailing situation of his career in which Satan himself does the binding. According to Luke 13:10-17 Jesus healed a woman described as “having a spirit of infirmity” (v. 11). Her malady is restated in v. 16 by the expression “whom Satan bound” (*deō*) and her healing is described by the words “released from this bond (*desmos*).” The theme of Satan binding his victims runs into early Greek Christianity. Origen, commenting on Luke 13:16, uses the expression “bound by Satan,” which he explains by paraphrasing Acts 10:38 “oppressed by the Devil” (*Contra Celsum* 8.54.23, 28). Hints of Satan’s impending binding are provided in the synoptic Gospels in the analogy of the binding of the strong man (Mark 3:27; Matt 12:29). In Rev 20:3 Satan the binder is himself finally bound.

The Expelled Satan

Satan’s expulsion occurs, according to Revelation, in three stages. The first stage is from heaven to earth. He is cast out of heaven in the aftermath of the primordial heavenly war, which he lost. Here and again in 20:3, his aliases are

³⁰Aune has elaborated this point and provided good evidence, 1083.

listed in full, and in the same sequence: dragon, serpent, Devil, Satan.³¹

Three occurrences of the passive of *ballō* in Rev 12:9 assert this first expulsion in which Satan lost his heavenly *topos* and is confined, with his angels, to earth. A similar account of God's expelling the Devil and his angels from heaven is recorded in *Life of Adam and Eve* 12-16. The second expulsion of Satan is from earth to the abyss (Rev 20: 1-3), and the third is to the lake of fire, which is the second death (Rev 20:7-10). These expulsions or descents of Satan find expression by two nearly synonymous verbs, *piptō/ekpiptō*, "fall, fall down" and *ballō/ekballō* "throw, throw out" in the sense of "drive out, expel." The former verb is used in the saying of Jesus in Luke 10:18, "I saw Satan fall with lightning speed from heaven," probably describing the first stage of Satan's expulsion. This verse contains a likely allusion to Isa 14:12-15, which describes the fall of the morning star. Note that in 10:15 Luke has quoted the Isaiah passage.³² Its imagery is employed in Rev 8:10 and again in 9:1 where John sees a star that fell from heaven to earth. The descent described in Isa 14:12, 15 occurs in two stages—from heaven to earth, then from earth to *Sheol*, which is further defined as the deep end of the pit, or the abyss. This two-stage fall is adapted, with elaborations, to describe the second and third stages of Satan's expulsion in Rev 20.

The second verb, *ballō*, occurs four times in Rev 12 to describe Satan's expulsion from heaven to earth (vv. 9, 10, 13) plus an additional occurrence to describe the expulsion of his angels (v. 9). In 20:3 it describes his expulsion from earth to the abyss, and in 20:10 his expulsion from earth into the lake of fire and brimstone. This use of *ballō* to describe the expulsions of Satan is not unique to Revelation, but it is elaborated there more than in any other Jewish or early Christian literature.³³ In Rev 12 the expulsion is expressed each time by the passive voice of the verb, probably implying the divine passive in each case. It is accompanied by an elaborate victory hymn, vv. 10-12, outlining the significance of the event and calling for expressions of relief and satisfaction, followed by a warning for those experiencing Satan's final onslaught and for those looking on. In 20:3 the active voice of *ballō* clearly identifies the angel as the agent of Satan's expulsion. The context in chap. 20 provides no hymn or explanation to alert heaven and earth to the significance of this stage of Satan's descent. To the contrary, the scene is in marked contrast to the tumult of battle described in the previous chapter. In the account in chap. 20 silence reigns over the scene, the sort of silence that settles on a battlefield at the

³¹For extensive discussion of these aliases, see Aune, 696ff.

³²I. Howard Marshall develops this idea and suggests, following Klostermann, that *piptō* functions here as a passive for *ballō* when it describes the expulsion of Satan (*The Gospel of Luke* [Exeter: Paternoster, 1978], 428f).

³³A similar expression of Satan's expulsion from heaven is found in *Life of Adam and Eve*, 12-16.

conclusion of a battle. There is no indication that any earth dweller—human or beast—remains alive to witness Satan’s fate.

Satan Annihilated

The final expulsion of Satan and his end is narrated in Rev 20:7-10 with an even greater economy of language than were his first and second expulsions. The imagery of warfare in 20:8, 9 precedes this final expulsion, as it did the account of Satan’s first expulsion in chap. 12. Here the Seer spells out what is only implicit in chap. 12—that Satan initiates the war. The verb *kukleuō*, “surround,” describes his assault on the *parembole*, the fortified camp of the saints, further described as the beloved city. Satan is here designated as “the Devil who led them astray,” and the passive of *ballō* serves to indicate the divine authority responsible for bringing about Satan’s end, as a consequence of his attempt to start the final war.

The Seer does not specify who throws Satan into the lake of fire and brimstone, implying by use of the passive *ēblethē* that God carries the final responsibility. Contrast 1 Enoch 54:6, which specifies who throws the bound hosts of Azazel into the fire: “Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel—they shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace.” Compare the analogous dominical saying in Matt 13:30, where the fate of the tares is stated using *deō* and *desmē*: “Gather the tares, bind them into bundles to burn them.” Here the agents carrying out the divine command are the slaves of the master of the house, a literary foil telling the reader that the master’s will is of supreme importance in the saying.

Satan’s final expulsion is into the lake of fire and brimstone where he joins the beast and false prophet (20:10). The metaphor “lake of fire and brimstone” reveals little of its background. In the words of Aune, “The image is problematical for there are no close parallels in the OT, in Jewish literature, or in Greco-Roman literature, particularly when the place of eternal punishment is conceived of as a *limnē*, lake.”³⁴ Aune ransacks ancient literature in order to trace the components of the Seer’s metaphor. He cites both Jewish and Greek references to fire as the means of punishment in the underworld, but the only parallels he finds for the lake of fire are ancient Egyptian. Even there he is unable to trace any connection to Revelation.³⁵ Subsequent early Christian references to the lake of fire are clearly dependent on Revelation and, therefore, offer no help in tracking the metaphor’s earlier history.

³⁴Revelation, 1065f.

³⁵“The channel of transmission from Egypt to Revelation is unknown” (ibid.).

Conclusion

Satan's fate in the fire is the subject of a dominical saying in Matt 25:41. There the fire is further defined as "eternal fire prepared for the Devil and his angels." In v. 46 the term *kolasis aiōnion* is employed, probably as a synonym for "eternal fire." The focus of *kolasis* in this context, like fire, is divine punishment, the response of a moral God to an immoral creature. But are the fire and the punishing eternal? This is the perennial debate that arises over the closing phrase of Rev 20:10, which, taken literally, certainly states that the punishing, or more precisely torturing (*basanizō*), continues eternally. Rather than entering the debate over whether Satan's end consists of everlasting torture in fire, or of annihilation, I would simply invoke Rev 20:14, possibly the most overlooked yet significant piece of evidence.³⁶ The first key phrase, "then death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire," should alert readers to the multilayered metaphorical world of the Seer. Here one metaphor swallows another,³⁷ expressing the annihilation of death and Hades as part of the clearing of the ground for the vision of the new heaven and new earth in the next chapter. This chain of metaphors is made more explicit by the last phrase of v. 14: "This is the second death, the lake of fire." The lake of fire, after consuming, in "chronological" order, the beast, the false prophet, Satan, death, and Hades, is itself consumed or more precisely, renamed and thus made to disappear in preparation for the renewal of creation, this time without Satan, who has reached his end.

³⁶A recent summary of the debate has been provided by Sydney H. T. Page, *Powers of Evil: A Biblical Study of Satan and Demons* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 220.

³⁷It is unnecessary to revert to the explanation that death and Hades stand for all the unrighteous dead, outlined by Aune, 1103.