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Lucifer, Son of the Morning

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How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! (Isaiah 14:12=2 Nephi 24:12)

Lehi, the first prophet in the Book of Mormon, knew of the devil from records in his possession (2 Nephi 2:17). In this study, we will examine the concept of the devil as taught by Lehi and his sons, Nephi and Jacob, and compare it with what Isaiah 14 says about him to determine if Isaiah's writings may have influenced the thinking of the early Book of Mormon writers.

The principal passages dealing with Satan are found in the second and ninth chapters of 1-2 Nephi, in admonitions by Lehi and his son Jacob. In these and other chapters of 2 Nephi, we learn that Satan was an angel of God who fell from heaven and became a devil because he had "sought that which was evil before God" (2 Nephi 2:17-18; 9:8). Wanting to make men miserable like himself (2 Nephi 2:18, 27; 9:9; cf. 9:46), he has become the enemy of man's soul (2 Nephi 4:27-29, 33). He not only brought about the fall of Adam and Eve by tempting Eve to take the forbidden fruit (2 Nephi 2:18; 9:9), but he continues to blind men's eyes and harden their hearts by tempting them (1 Nephi 12:17) and is the "father of lies," who is able to transform "himself nigh into an angel of light" (2 Nephi 9:9). But while he has power over sinners (1 Nephi 13:29), he has no power over the righteous

¹ The similarities between these two discourses is discussed in the author's article, "The Influence of Lehi's Admonitions on the Teachings of His Son Jacob," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 3/2:34-48.

(1 Nephi 22:26). Indeed, the day will come when his power over the hearts of men will be taken from him (1 Nephi 22:15; 30:18).

To Lehi and his sons, the devil is an "evil one" (2 Nephi 4:27; 32:8), a "cunning one" (2 Nephi 9:39), who has a "cunning plan" (2 Nephi 9:28) by which he tempts men to commit evil deeds (1 Nephi 12:19; 2 Nephi 9:9), enabling him to grasp them with chains and bring them into captivity down to hell (1 Nephi 12:16-17; 14:4, 7, 13; 15:29, 35; 2 Nephi 1:13, 18; 2:27, 29; 9:12, 34, 36; 26:10; 28:15, 18-19, 21-22). Consequently, he is a monster associated with death and hell from which God must deliver the righteous (2 Nephi 1:15; 9:10, 19, 26; 10:23-25; 33:6; cf. 4:31-32; 28:23). The Lord provides the resurrection, without which our spirits would be subject to the devil, becoming "angels to a devil" and being "shut out from the presence of our God" (2 Nephi 9:8-9). But "the devil and his angels . . . shall go away into everlasting fire . . . and their torment is as a lake of fire and brimstone" (2 Nephi 9:16; cf. 9:19, 26; 28:23).

Though Satan reigns over the wicked in hell (2 Nephi 9:29; cf. 26:10), he also has a kingdom established on the earth (1 Nephi 22:22-23), identified in 2 Nephi 28:18-19 as the "great and abominable church" of which the devil is the founder and by means of which he dug the pit known as hell (1 Nephi 13:6; 14:3, 9-10, 17). The devil is also seen as the founder of "secret combinations of murder" (2 Nephi 9:9; 26:22) and especially delights in those who worship idols (2 Nephi 9:37).

The earliest biblical reference² to Satan's fall is in Isaiah 14, which Lehi's son Nephi quotes in extenso in 2 Nephi 24. In this passage, we read of "Lucifer, son of the morning," who had "fallen from heaven" (Isaiah 14:12). The Hebrew behind "Lucifer" is hêlel, which means "shining one," rendered by the Greek Septuagint as hebsforos. The term Lucifer, meaning "light-bearer," is the Latin name for the planet Venus, which, because it shines brightly on the

² There are, of course, earlier Bible references to Satan, but not to his fall. This fall is mentioned in Moses 4:1-4, but is missing from the account in Genesis.

horizon just before the dawn during half the year, has long been known as the "morning star." Lucifer was first used in Isaiah 14:12 by Saint Jerome in his Bible translation, the Latin Vulgate, in the late fourth century A.D. By then, the passage had been tied to Jesus' declaration in Luke 10:18, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," and Christians came to accept Lucifer as the devil's name. The term has become common in Bibles such as the King James Version, which borrowed it from the Vulgate. Indeed, the devil is called "Lucifer, a son of the morning" in Doctrine and Covenants 76:25–27, which speaks of his pre-earth fall from heaven.4

Satan's fall⁵ is probably intended in Revelation 8:10, where

The lightning reflects Satan's role as a light-bearer. The context of Jesus' statement is instructive. The seventy had just returned, rejoicing that evil spirits were subject to them (Luke 10:17). In the preceding verses, Jesus had spoken of the wickedness of Tyre and Sidon, cities where Baal or Melqart was worshipped. He compared their wickedness with that of several Galilean cities, including Capernaum, saying, "for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented" (10:13), and "thou, Capernaum, which are exalted to heaven, shalt be thrust down to hell" (10:15). These words seem to be based on Isaiah's words about Lucifer (Isaiah 14:13-15).

⁴ Isaiah's "Lucifer" was identified as a fallen angel in early Jewish and Christian lore. In 2 Enoch 29:4-5, 23, one of the archangels wanted to place his throne higher than the clouds and to be equal to God in power, but was cast out with his angels and made to fly over the abyss. The story clearly parallels Isaiah 14:12-15, even in using the term "most High" (discussed further in note 17) for God. Similarly, in Life of Adam and Eve 15:15-16, we read that the devil was cast out of heaven because he sought to place his throne above the stars of heaven and become like the most High. For stars falling from heaven being the fallen angels, see 1 Enoch 86. In an Ethiopic document, the star that falls in Revelation 8:10 is said to be Satan, referred to in Isaiah 14:12, while the wormwood of Revelation 3:11 is also Satan. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth and Other Works of Bakhayla Mika'el (Zosimas) (Oxford, 1935), p.104.

⁵ Satan's fall from heaven in the premortal life will be paralleled by his final fall. This chapter does not attempt to assign passages such as the ones cited here to one or the other.

John writes that "there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters." John further writes, "I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit" (Revelation 9:1). The devil is often associated with a pit and, in fact, Lucifer is cast into a pit in Isaiah 14:15.

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The identification of Lucifer with Satan in Isaiah 13–14 is complicated by the fact that those chapters claim to discuss not the devil, but "the burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see" (Isaiah 13:1). Lucifer is mentioned in Isaiah 14:12, in the middle of a section that begins, "Thou shalt take up this proverb against the king of Babylon" (Isaiah 14:4). While some have sought to reconcile this inconsistency by attributing dual meaning to Isaiah's words, there is a simpler answer to this seeming dilemma: Satan was, in fact, the god Marduk, who was the real king of Babylon. That is, Isaiah was identifying Satan with the pagan god Marduk.

While some may be astounded at the assertion that Satan was the real power in Babylon, there is nevertheless evidence for it. In Ezekiel 28, we read of both "the prince of Tyrus" and "the king of Tyrus," Tyrus being the Latin name used in the King James

⁶ We can perhaps compare the third part of the waters to the third of the host of heaven that followed Satan in his rebellion (Revelation 12:3-9; D&C 29:36).

⁷ In Revelation 20:1–11, it is an angel who comes down with "the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand" to lay hold on the dragon, who is then brought to judgment before God and cast into the lake of fire and brimstone. The same story is depicted in *1 Enoch* 86:1–6; 88:1; 90:20–27; cf.10:4.

⁸ Revelation 9:11; 17:8; 20:1-3; 1 Nephi 14:3-4; Gospel of Bartholomew 4:40-41, 46; Apocalypse of Elijah 5:35. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, see IQH 3.19; 4Q286; 4Q525 5.1-6; CD 6.12. See also Chapter 15 above.

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Version for the city of Tyre. The prince, though a mortal, compares himself to El, the chief god of the Canaanites, whose very name means "God," as it is rendered in the King James translation. Ezekiel points out the folly of the Tyrian ruler's claims. When he turns to address the king of Tyre, he terms him "the anointed cherub" and notes that he has dwelt in Eden, the garden of God or El. Evidently, the "prince of Tyre" refers to the city's earthly ruler, while the "king of Tyre" is its spiritual ruler. We know from other sources that the god of Tyre was Baal, who is often termed Melqart, meaning "king of the city." 10

Babylon, too, had its spiritual king, who similarly goes by two different names. He is often called Bel, "lord," which corresponds to the Canaanite Baal, but his proper name is Marduk. 11 Marduk was considered to be the real king of Babylon. 12 It was he who chose a mortal king to represent him. In one inscription, we read that Marduk gives the sceptre to the king who reveres him. 13

Nebuchadrezzar II, after writing of "Marduk, my king,"

⁹ The description of Eden in Ezekiel 28:13 fits the Ugaritic description of the island on which El dwells, where the plants are made of precious stones.

The title is a compound, *mlk qrt*. The treaty between Baal, (mortal) king of Tyre, and Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, lists Melqart among the gods of the land; see *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (hereinafter *ANET*), ed. James B. Pritchard, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 534. A stela dedicated to Melqart by Bar-Hadad (biblical Ben-Hadad), king of Aram, was found at Damascus (*ANET*, 655).

Bel and Marduk are identified in ANET, 332.

Babylon is called Marduk's city in a clay-barrel inscription from the time of Cyrus (ANET, 315). According to the Code of Hammurabi, Babylon was created for Marduk, who was made its king (ANET, 164). In a psalm to Marduk, found at Babylon, he is termed "Lord of Babylon" (ANET, 390).

¹³ ANET, 332.

\indicates that he owes his kingship to Marduk. 14 The Code of Hammurabi says that Hammurabi was appointed king of Babylon by Marduk. 15 In another text, we read that Marduk chose the Persian king Cyrus to be king of Babylon, ordered him to march against "his [Marduk's] city," and allowed him to enter the city. This god also made the inhabitants of Babylon accept Cyrus and then gave commandments to Cyrus. 16

In order to become earthly king of Babylon, one had to go into the temple of Marduk and grasp the hands of his statue. (Evidently, it was believed that Marduk would slay a pretender he was not willing to accept.) Even foreign conquerors, such as the kings of Assyria, followed this practice. ¹⁷ Each year, at the essesu festival, the king would surrender his royal accounterments to the god at the temple of Marduk, only to receive them again after a prescribed ceremony. ¹⁸

The identification of Satan with pagan gods is not unknown. 19 The Ugaritic term Baal Zebul (generally rendered

Wadi Brisa Inscription, ANET, 307.

¹⁵ ANET, 165, 177.

¹⁶ Ibid., 316.

¹⁷ For some examples, see Georges Roux, Ancient Iraq (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1969), 280, 285, 370.

¹⁸ For a description of the rite, see ANET, 334. The ruler chosen by Marduk is also expected to take the god's statue out for an annual procession (ANET, 315).

¹⁹ It may not be coincidental that in medieval Christianity Satan was considered to have horns. The ancient Ugaritic/Canaanite gods such as El and Baal had horns or wore headgear with horns. Indeed, El's full title in the Ugaritic texts is "Father Bull El," probably reflecting the use of the horns. According to Sanchuniathon (cited in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii* 1.10), the goddess Astarte wore a bull's head as an ensign of royalty. For depictions of ancient Near Eastern gods with horns or horned caps, see James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (hereinafter *ANEP*) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), illustration numbers 425,

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"prince Baal") shows up in the form Baal-zebub or Beelzebub ("lord of the flies") at the Philistine city of Ekron (2 Kings 1:1-2) and is applied in the New Testament to Satan (Matthew 12:22-32; Luke 11:14-23).²⁰

A clay tablet written during the Seleucid era helps establish that the Lucifer of Isaiah 14 is Marduk. It calls Babylon's deity "bright light, god Marduk," reflecting the meaning of the word rendered "Lucifer" ("light-bearer") in Isaiah 14:12.

When Isaiah prophesies the fall of Babylon in Isaiah 21:9, he declares, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground." The Lord tells Jeremiah that he will "do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon" (Jeremiah 51:47). This emphasis on the destruction of the idols of Babylon is reiterated in another of Jeremiah's

^{487, 489, 490 (}Baal), 491, 493 (probably El), 498, 516, 525-7, 532, 537-40, 544, 555, 601, 644, 654, 655, and 826 (probably El). Even Greek gods sometimes had horns. The "Hymn to Apollo" (one of the Orphic Hymns) calls him "the two-horned god." Bacchus is sometimes depicted wearing horns and is called "bull-horned." Significantly, Venus, with which the Vulgate identifies the devil in the title Lucifer (Isaiah 14:12), is a horned planet because, like the moon, it goes through phases and appears in its crescent form to be horned. In connection with Satan as a king, we should note that the king's crown consists of a number of projecting horns, whence its name, corona, evidently related to Hebrew qrn, "horn." For depictions of Marduk's emblem as god of war (the spear-point) with a horned dragon (the emblem of Satan in Revelation 12 and elsewhere) lying beside it, see ANEP illustrations 454, 519-521, and 523.

Another Ugaritic divine title is 'lyn, an epithet of Baal. It is found in Isaiah 14:14, where the King James Version (hereinafter KJV) renders it "the most High," as elsewhere in the Bible (e.g., Genesis 14:19, where we have El Elyon translated as "most high God"). According to Philo of Byblos (first century A.D.) Alyan was the grandfather of El, the chief Canaanite deity. A treaty from ca. 750 B.C. includes both Elyon and Marduk among the gods of Mesopotamia (ANET, 659). One of El's sons, in the Ugaritic texts, is Shahar, the name rendered "morning" in Isaiah 14:12, while another of his sons is Helel, which gives us "Lucifer" in the same passage.

²¹ ANET, 332.

prophecies against the city:

The word that the Lord spake against Babylon and against the land of the Chaldeans by Jeremiah the prophet. Declare ye among the nations, and publish, and set up a standard; publish, and conceal not: say, Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces; her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces. (Jeremiah 50:1–2)

It is interesting that the fall of Babylon should be tied so strongly to the confounding of Bel and the destruction of the statue of Merodach (the Hebrew rendering of Marduk). Jeremiah employs similar language in the next chapter, where he quotes the Lord as saying, "I will punish Bel in Babylon" (Jeremiah 51:44)²² and "I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon" (Jeremiah 51:47). In 2 Nephi 9:37, Nephi implies that all idol worship is of Satan, which would make God's judgment of the idols part of his war against the devil.

The Babylonian myth of Marduk provides further evidence that the god and king of Babylon was Satan. The creation epic known as the Enuma Elish²³ describes how Apsu and Tiamat engendered all of the gods. When Apsu threatened to destroy his children, he was slain by one of them, the god Ea. Subsequently, when Tiamat made Kingu, her firstborn, chief of the gods, Marduk, son of Ea and Damkina, led a revolt against his divine

Aside from these passages, the name Bel appears in the Bible only in Isaiah 46:1, while Merodach is found only in the name of the Babylonian king Merodachbaladan.

For the text of the Enuma Elish, see ANET, 62-72.

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progenitors and became king of the gods. ²⁴ He then cut up the body of Tiamat and created from it the earth, while using the blood of Kingu to mold the first men. This rebellion against the gods reminds one of the premortal war waged by Satan against God (Moses 4:1–4; Abraham 3:22–28; D&C 29:36–41; D&C 76:25–29; see also Revelation 12:3–4, 7–9). In the version told at Babylon, however, it was the rebel, Marduk, who won.

The role of Marduk as a rebel ties him to Nimrod, ²⁵ who founded Babel, which came to be called Babylon in Greek. According to rabbinic sources, the name Nimrod derives from the Semitic root *mrd*, "to rebel." ²⁶ The same consonants appear at the beginning of the name Marduk, though the origin of the name is generally considered to be from Sumerian *MAR.UTU*.

According to Jewish tradition, Nimrod's rebellion consisted in the building of the city and tower of Babel. ²⁷ Genesis 11:1–9 says that the tower was designed to reach unto heaven. This

²⁴ The title "king of the gods" is applied to Marduk in several ancient texts; see ANET, 309-311, 315, 332, 503.

²⁵ See the discussion in Bruce W. Warren and John A. Tvedtnes, "In Search of the Historic Nimrod," Newsletter and Proceedings of the S.E.H.A. 155 (November 1983): 1–6. According to Epiphanius (Against Heresies 1.1), after the flood, when the first city and tower were built, Nimrod was the first to gather the people together and rule over them.

Babylonian Talmud (TB): Pesahim 94b, Hagigah 13a; Midrash Bereshit Rabbah 42.5; Targum Jerushalmi B on Genesis 10:9.

TB: Abodah Zarah 50b, Hullin 99b; Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer 24; Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews Liv.2-3; Book of Jasher 9:20-27; Chronicles of Jerahmeel 31:20. The Jasher account indicates that there were three basic groups of people. One wanted to ascend to heaven and attack God. The second group wanted to place their own gods in heaven. The third wanted to kill God. Those in the first group were changed into apes and elephants, those in the second were slain, and those in the third were scattered in the earth. The scattering of a third of humanity may reflect the exile of the third of the host of heaven who followed Satan (Revelation 12:3-9; D&C 29:36).

may explain the name by which the city was known to its local inhabitants, *Bab-ilû*, generally understood to mean "gate of the gods." That Nimrod built Babel is confirmed in Genesis 10:9–10, though the Bible never ties him to the tower itself. ²⁸

According to Chronicles of Jerahmeel 31:20, Nimrod forced the people to acknowledge him as a god and counseled them to erect the city and tower of Babel to rebel against God. Thereafter, everyone who rebelled against the Lord was compared to Nimrod. Chronicles of Jerahmeel 30:6 indicates that those who built the tower of Babel did so to reach and break open the firmament of heaven, preempting another flood from God. They sought to "wage war with those in heaven and establish themselves as gods." This was also Satan's intention. The thought of ascending to heaven attributed to Lucifer in Isaiah 14:13 is the same one that brought about the fall of the tower of Babel (the origin of Babylon) in Genesis 11:1–9. Indeed, according to Helaman 6:28, it was Satan who inspired the building of the tower.

If the early Jewish traditions have a basis in fact, then Nimrod seems to have been inspired by Satan to build the city and tower of Babel, in direct disobedience to the Lord's instructions

²⁸ According to Book of Jasher 12:45; 27:2, Nimrod was king of Babel.

The Chronicles of Jerahmeel is a "collection of apocryphal and pseudoepigraphical books dealing with the history of the world from the creation to the death of Judas Maccabeus." The edition used here is the translation by M. Gaster published by Ktav Publishing House, New York, 1971.

³⁰ See Stephen Ricks's discussion of the Near Eastern worldview in his FARMS preliminary report, "Heavenly Visions of Isaiah—and the Revelation of John."

³¹ Some critics of LDS doctrine point to Satan's effort as an indication that the idea of becoming like God is Satanic. Note, however, that the context of Satan's effort, as identified in these passages, is rebellion against God, not cooperation with His plan to make men His heirs (Romans 8:16-17).

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that the people should disperse and fill the earth (Genesis 9:1). ³² It is significant that some early stories indicate that Nimrod named his son Bel, which is a title of Marduk, and that Bel's son Ninus is said to have erected an idol of his father (Chronicles of Jerahmeel 32:2-5). ³³ The story is evidently intended to explain how the worship of Bel or Marduk began in Babylon. In Book of Jasher 7:47-48 and 11:7, Nimrod's son is Mardon, a name that derives from the same root as Nimrod and means "rebel." ³⁴

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By the time John composed the book of Revelation, Babylon had become a generalized term for the wickedness of the world, whose destruction was foreseen by John (Revelation 17–18; see especially 17:5). He borrowed from Isaiah and other Old Testament prophets in referring to the wickedness of the last days. Thus, Revelation 18:2 is based on Isaiah 21:9, though it connects Babylon with devils and foul spirits rather than graven images. In Revelation 14:8 and 16:19, fallen Babylon is compared to a harlot, whose tie to drunkenness and wine is based on Jeremiah 51:6–9

Though we generally emphasize the tower, we often overlook the fact that the people at Babel wanted to build a city to avoid being scattered throughout the earth (Genesis 11:4).

Belus is the first in the list of Assyrian kings in Eusebius' Chronicon. While Genesis 10:11 has Asshur (or Nimrod, according to the reading of many scholars) leaving the area of Babel to found cities in the north (Assyria, known as Asshur in Hebrew), in Jasher 10:35 it is Bela who founds those cities.

Note also the name of the Kassite god Murudash, who was identified with the Sumerian Ninurta, whose deeds are often attributed to Marduk in parallel Babylonian texts. Like Marduk, the Hittite god Kumarbi rebelled against the seventy gods of heaven. His intention was to launch an attack from atop the head of a stone giant. The stories are noted in Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), 127-28.

(see also D&C 35:11; 86:3).35

Nephi, who saw the same woman as John in his vision (1 Nephi 14:10–27), evidently connects her with the "great and abominable church" of which the devil is said to be the founder (1 Nephi 13:6; 14:3, 9–10, 17; see also 2 Nephi 26:22). The "kingdom of the devil" is referred to in 2 Nephi 28:19 and 2:29 and in Alma 5:25 and 41:4. In 1 Nephi 22:22–23 and Doctrine and Covenants 10:56, it is mentioned in connection with false churches.

This association of the devil with controlling political and religious organizations is further reflected in the Book of Mormon, where he is the founder of the secret combinations that seek power and authority (2 Nephi 26:22; 3 Nephi 6:15–18, 28; Ether 8:16; Moses 6:15; 7:24; see also Moses 5:29–30, 49, 52). In Ether 8:25, we read that his purpose in establishing secret combinations is to overthrow the nations of the world.

Modern revelation, too, identifies Babylon with the wickedness of the world (D&C 35:11; 64:24). The Lord has commanded his people to flee from spiritual Babylon, meaning the wickedness of the world in the latter days (D&C 133:5, 7, 14; see also 64:24). The idea comes from Old Testament passages that relate to the original Babylon (Isaiah 48:20; Jeremiah 50:8; 51:6, 45). Doctrine and Covenants 86:3 ties spiritual Babylon to Satan, while Doctrine and Covenants 1:16 indicates that the latter-day Babylon has its own idols. In all this, we are reminded that Paul calls Satan "the god of this world" (2 Corinthians 4:4). 36

³⁵ For a description of the harlotry of Babylon, see Herodotus, *The Histories* 1.181, 197, 199.

The same title is applied to Satan in Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah 9:14 (cf. 2:4, where he is called the angel who rules the world). In the New Testament, Satan is termed "the prince of the devils" (Matthew 9:34; 12:24; Mark 3:22), "the prince of this world" (John 12:31; 14:30 [cited in D&C 127:11]; 16:11), and "the prince of the power of the air" (Ephesians 2:2). The devil is given the title "prince" or "king" in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Testament of Simeon 2:7;

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Isaiah's description of Babylon was taken up by two of his successors, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who lived to see the Jews taken captive by the Babylonians in fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecies. The prophecies of the fall of Babylon in Jeremiah 50–51 are particularly revealing.³⁷ It is here that we find mention of the judgment of Bel or Merodach noted earlier (Jeremiah 50:2; 51:44) and the commandment to flee from Babylon (Jeremiah 50:8; 51:6, 45). It is from Jeremiah 51:7 that Revelation 14:8 and 16:19 borrows the idea of the nations' being drunk with the wine of Babylon. While Isaiah 14:4 calls Babylon "the golden city," in Jeremiah 51:7 it is "a golden cup."

In Jeremiah's prophecy, Babylon, like Satan and Nimrod, is said to have "striven against the Lord" (Jeremiah 50:24). Like Lucifer (Isaiah 14:12), Babylon will fall (Jeremiah 51:8, 44). Lucifer desired to "ascend into heaven," to "exalt [his] throne above the stars" and the clouds, but would "be brought down to hell" (Isaiah 14:13–14). Jeremiah declared that "though Babylon should mount up to heaven, and though she should fortify the height of her strength" (Jeremiah 51:53), only the city's "judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted up even to the skies" (Jeremiah 51:9).

COMPARING THE ISAIAH ACCOUNT TO JEREMIAH AND EZEKIEL

In Isaiah's account, Lucifer sought to "sit upon the mount of the congregation" (Isaiah 14:13). Jeremiah called Babylon a

Testament of Judah 19:4; Testament of Dan 5:6); in Book of the Rolls (f.90b, f.91a, f.112b); in one of the Dead Sca Scrolls (IQM 17.5f); in Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah 4:2; and in Jubilees 11:5, 11; 17:16; 18:9, 12; 48:2, 9, 12, 15. Epistle of Barnabas 2:1 notes that "the adversary" (the meaning of the title Satan) rules this world.

³⁷ These prophecies are undated. If they were written before Lehi's departure from Jerusalem, they may have been on the brass plates of Laban.

"destroying mountain" that the Lord would roll down and make a "burnt mountain" (Jeremiah 51:25). The "astonishment among the nations" that Babylon should be destroyed (Jeremiah 51:41) is reflected in the words of those who would see Lucifer in the pit in Isaiah 14:16–17.

Jeremiah even uses some of the same expressions employed by Isaiah in his Lucifer prophecy. For example the Hebrew kol harares, "the whole earth/land" or "all the earth/land," used in Isaiah 14:7, is also found in Jeremiah 50:23 and 51:7, 25, and 41 and with the variant pronominal suffix in Jeremiah 51:47. The expression of astonishment, beginning with "how," in Isaiah 14:12, 38 is also used in Jeremiah 50:23 and 51:41. 39 Jeremiah 50:46 says that "the earth is moved," using the same Hebrew root (rfs) as Isaiah 14:16 when speaking about the shaking of the kingdoms. 40 Both Isaiah 14:17 and Jeremiah 51:43 speak of a desolation that makes the world a wilderness (midbar), while Isaiah 14:20 and Jeremiah 51:25 speak of destruction of the land, using the Hebrew root sht. 41

Ezekiel, too, uses Isaiah's motifs in writing about the kingdoms of Tyre and Egypt. We have already noted that he seems to refer to Satan when addressing the king of Tyre in Ezekiel 28. On closer examination, we find a number of parallels between the prophecy in Ezekiel 28:1–19 and the one in Isaiah 14:4–20. While Isaiah's Lucifer seeks to set his throne on high and become like

³⁸ Though KJV has "how" twice in this verse, only the first reflects the Hebrew word.

³⁹ While KJV has "how" three times in this verse, the second is nonexistent in the Hebrew.

Isaiah also wrote about hell being moved (Isaiah 14:9) and the trembling of the earth (Isaiah 14:16), but in both cases, a different Hebrew verb (rgz) is used.

⁴¹ The Hebrew behind "desolation" in Jeremiah 50:22 and 51:43 is a different root, as is the Hebrew behind "destroyed" in Isaiah 14:17.

God (Isaiah 14:13–14), Ezekiel has the prince of Tyre declaring, "I am a God, I sit in the seat of God" (Ezekiel 28:2) and setting his "heart as the heart of God" (Ezekiel 28:6; see also verse 9).

Lucifer's desire to "sit also upon the mount of the congregation" (Isaiah 14:13) is paralleled by Ezekiel's declaration that the king of Tyre was an "anointed cherub . . . upon the holy mountain of God" (Ezekiel 28:14; see also verse 16) "in Eden the garden of God" (Ezekiel 28:13). As in Isaiah 14:9, 12, and 15, the usurper is "cast . . . as profane out of the mountain of God" and "cast . . . to the ground" (Ezekiel 28:16–17). A few verses earlier, the prince of Tyre, like the king of Babylon (Isaiah 14:15), is told he will be brought "down to the pit" (Ezekiel 28:8).

The fall of the king of Tyre is to cause astonishment among the people (Ezekiel 28:19), like that accompanying the fall of Babylon in Jeremiah's prophecy (Jeremiah 51:41). This astonishment is reflected in Isaiah 14:15–17, where people look upon the fallen king of Babylon lying in the pit of hell. Similarly, the Lord, through Ezekiel, tells the king of Tyre, "I will cast thee to the ground, I will lay thee before kings, that they may behold thee" (Ezekiel 28:17). The "kings of the nations" are also mentioned in Isaiah 14:18 in connection with the casting down of Lucifer.

Of particular interest is the fact that Ezekiel wrote of the "brightness" of both the prince and the king of Tyre (Ezekiel 28:7, 17), reminding us that the Hebrew word rendered "Lucifer" in Isaiah 14:12 means "shining." Satan sometimes appears as an

Early traditions place the garden of Eden atop a mountain (see particularly the pseudepigraphal work known as 2 Adam and Eve, or Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan). The "stones of fire" mentioned in Ezekiel 28:14, 16 reflect the descriptions of God's dwelling as a place of fire. See the discussion in the author's chapter on "The Heavens" in the forthcoming FARMS book on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

⁴³ In Ezekiel 26:17, Tyre is called "the renowned city." The word rendered "renowned" derives from the same root as the one from which we have "Lucifer" in Isaiah 14:12. A different Hebrew word is rendered "brightness" in Ezekiel 28:7, 17.

"angel of light" (2 Corinthians 11:14; 2 Nephi 9:9; Alma 30:53; D&C 128:20 and 129:8; Life of Adam and Eve 9:1; The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan I: 27; 33⁴⁴), though he really represents forces of darkness.⁴⁵

In his parable about the king of Assyria addressed to the king of Egypt (Ezekiel 31), Ezekiel employs some of the same imagery. He speaks again of "Eden" and "the garden of God" (Ezekiel 31:8-9, 16, 18). He has the Lord mentioning the "fall" of the king of Assyria, "when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit" (Ezekiel 31:16; cf. verse 17), evidently borrowing terminology from Isaiah 14:9, 15. Isaiah mentions the "kings of the nations" who "lie in glory," while Lucifer is compared to "those that are slain, thrust through with a sword" (Isaiah 14:18-19). Ezekiel appears to have borrowed these ideas when he speaks of the king of Assyria's "glory . . . among the trees of Eden, of his being "brought down" to the "nether parts of the earth," to "lie . . . with them that be slain by the sword" (Ezekiel 31:16, 18).

In Isaiah 14:16, Lucifer's fall prompts others to ask, "Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms?" In Ezekiel, the Lord says, "I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell." The mention of the branches and trees in Ezekiel 31:8-9, 16, 18 may derive from Isaiah 14:8, 19. In both of his prophecies, Ezekiel refers to the use of swords (Ezekiel 28:7 and 31:18), reminding us that Isaiah also uses this theme in his Lucifer prophecy (Isaiah

This work, originally composed in Arabic, probably in the eleventh century A.D., was translated and published by S. C. Malan in 1882. Two of its four books were reprinted in *The Forgotten Books of Eden*, ed. Rutherford H. Platt, Jr. (Cleveland: World Publishing; copyrighted 1927 by Alpha House), as *I* and *2* Adam and Eve.

This subject and some of the others mentioned here are discussed in detail in the author's chapter on "The Devil" in the forthcoming FARMS book on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. See also the chapter, "The Sons of God" in the same volume.

14:19). Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel all include mention of "the nations" in the prophecies in question (Isaiah 14:18; Jeremiah 50:2, 23, 46 and 51:7; Ezekiel 28:7).

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While Jeremiah and Ezekiel seem to be imitating Isaiah in their prophetic utterances against Babylon and other wicked kingdoms of the sixth century B.C., Book of Mormon prophets use some of the same terminology in their discussions of the devil. There is some evidence that Isaiah's Lucifer prophecy may have influenced Lehi and his sons, Nephi and Jacob, all of whom discuss Satan in some detail. Significantly, all of these discussions postdate the acquisition of the brass plates of Laban, which contained the writings of Isaiah.

We have already noted that Lehi speaks of the devil as "an angel of God... [who] had fallen from heaven... [and] became a devil, having sought that which was evil before God" (2 Nephi 2:17). He declares that he had learned this from "the things which I have read... according to that which is written." He then cites Satan's words to Eve in the garden of Eden (2 Nephi 2:18; see also Genesis 3:4–5). But since the story of the fall of man as given in Genesis 3 does not include the fall of Lucifer, Lehi must have learned of it from another source, possibly Isaiah 14.46

Satan's fall in 2 Nephi 2:17–18 clearly parallels that of Lucifer in Isaiah 14:12–14. In the Isaiah account, the fall was the consequence of his attempt to exalt himself above God. Lehi merely

Moses 1:12–22; 4:1–4 (the latter immediately preceding the temptation of Eve). However, the information in these passages, though revealed to Moses, may never have been part of the book of Genesis. (Moses 1:23 need not mean that Moses "bore record" in that book.) Words like those found in Moses 4:1 ("I, the Lord God, spake unto Moses") are more likely to have been revealed to Joseph Smith than written by Moses himself, while those in Moses 1:42 clearly show that the revelation as we have it was addressed to Joseph Smith.

states that he had "sought that which was evil before God." In Isaiah 14:9, 15, Lucifer is brought down to hell. The Hebrew word rendered "hell" is sometimes translated "grave"; it refers to the place where one goes at death, and hence seems to be the spirit world, part of which, known as a "prison," is Satan's domain. Lehi warns that the devil will bring the wicked "down to hell, that he may reign over [them] in his own kingdom" (2 Nephi 2:29). This he terms the "captivity and power of the devil" (2 Nephi 2:27–28).

In Isaiah 14:17, Lucifer is described as he who "opened not the house of his prisoners." The rescue of the prisoners by Christ is described in 1 Peter 3:18–20. When called upon to read in the synagogue in Nazareth, Jesus read Isaiah 61:1–3 and declared that it was fulfilled in him (Luke 4:18–21). The passage, considered even in Jesus' time to refer to the Messiah, speaks of the opening of the prison.⁴⁷

After speaking of Satan's fall from heaven, Lehi notes that Satan "sought also the misery of all mankind," for which reason he tempted Eve with the same idea that, according to Isaiah 14:13–14, had gotten him into trouble, namely, becoming like God (2 Nephi 2:17–19; see also Genesis 3:1–14; D&C 29:36–41). The result was the same: Adam and Eve, like Satan before them, were cast out of God's presence into a world of misery. Lehi stresses that Satan still seeks to captivate the children of Adam and Eve and bring them into misery (2 Nephi 2:27–29; see also his words in 2 Nephi 1:13, 15, 18).

⁴⁷ For similar passages, see Psalms 146:7-9; Isaiah 24:22; 42:6-7; 49:8-9.

⁴⁸ LDS doctrine certainly includes the concept that any attempt to become like God, other than through the means He provides, will result in misery.

That Adam and Eve became miserable at the time of the fall is confirmed in 2 Nephi 2:5 (cf. 2:23) and in Alma 12:26 and 42:11. Jacob noted that, without the Atonement, we would all be in misery with the devil (2 Nephi 9:9). One of the most frequent themes of the Book of Mormon is that those who follow Satan will be miserable (2 Nephi 1:13; 9:46; Mosiah 3:25; Alma 3:26; 9:11; 26:20; 40:15, 17,

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Some of Lehi's information about the devil evidently came from his vision of the tree of life. Nephi declines to write the entire account of his father's vision (1 Nephi 8:29); instead, he leaves a more detailed account of the same vision given to him in response to his prayer (1 Nephi 10:17; 11:1). In this account (1 Nephi 10-14), he speaks of the devil, hell, captivity, and the devil's church several times (1 Nephi 12:16-19; 13:6, 29; 14:3-4, 7-10, 17). Of interest is his mention of the destruction of men as part of the devil's plan (1 Nephi 14:3, 7)—an idea that he may have borrowed from such passages as Isaiah 14:6, 17, 19-20. When explaining the vision to his brothers, Nephi again mentions the devil and hell and notes that while the righteous will "dwell in the kingdom of God," the wicked will be "cast out" (1 Nephi 15:29, 35). This, of course, is what happens to Lucifer in Isaiah 14:12-15.

Nephi subsequently elaborates on the subject, noting that Satan would lose his power on earth but would retain a kingdom to which the wicked would be consigned (1 Nephi 22:15, 22–23, 26). The wicked, he wrote, "must be brought low in the dust," which is the same fate that befalls Lucifer when he is cast into the pit like a carcass (or "carcase") in Isaiah 14:9, 15, 19.

Nephi's brother, Jacob, influenced by their father, Lehi, 50 speaks at length of the devil in a two-part sermon recorded by Nephi (2 Nephi 9:7-19, 26, 34-37, 45-46; 10:23-24). Among the themes possibly drawn from Isaiah's Lucifer prophecy are Jacob's declaration that Satan was an "angel who fell from before the presence of the Eternal God, and became the devil" (2 Nephi 9:8). Having thus become miserable, he sought the misery of mankind and "beguiled our first parents," being able to transform "himself nigh unto an angel of light." Those whom he is able to

^{21; 41:9-11; 42:1, 26;} Helaman 3:29; 5:12; 7:9; 12:26; Mormon 8:38).

For more information, see "The Influence of Lehi's Admonitions on the Teachings of His Son Jacob," by the author, in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 3.2 (Fall 1994), 34–48.

deceive become, like him, "devils, angels to a devil, to be shut out from the presence of our God" (2 Nephi 9:9; see also 2 Nephi 2:17; Jacob 3:11). Like Lehi, Jacob speaks of the "captivity of the devil," whom he calls an "awful monster" who seeks to bring men down to hell (2 Nephi 9:10, 12, 19, 26, 34, 36, 45, 46).

Some of these ideas may come from Isaiah 5, cited by Nephi in 2 Nephi 15.51 After speaking of the "captivity" of Israel because of wickedness (Isaiah 5:13; 2 Nephi 15:13), the prophet declares that "hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure; and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it" (Isaiah 5:14; 2 Nephi 15:14). This verse may have given birth to the idea of the devil as a monster. 52 In the same chapter, Isaiah declares that the wicked will be destroyed "as the fire devoureth the stubble . . . and their blossom shall go up as dust" (Isaiah 5:24; 2 Nephi 15:24). In his discussion of those who follow Satan, Nephi speaks of the wicked being burned "as stubble" and "brought low in the dust . . . according to the words of the propher' (1 Nephi 22:23; see also 1 Nephi 22:15). Jacob speaks of the wicked being cast "into everlasting fire . . . a lake of fire and brimstone" (2 Nephi 9:16, 19, 26).

Following his record of Jacob's speech in 2 Nephi 6–10 (in which Jacob quotes Isaiah 50:1–52:2), Nephi copies Isaiah 2–14

⁵¹ Note Isaiah 5:12-14 (same as 2 Nephi 15:12-14), where we have mention of the tabret and pipe, as in Ezekiel's "king of Tyrus" prophecy (Ezekiel 28:13), along with mention of "captivity" and "glory," terms associated with the Lucifer prophecies we have already examined.

⁵² Satan is identified with a dragon or serpent in Revelation 12:7-9; 20:2 (cf. 13:1-2, 11); and Gospel of Bartholomew 4:46. He spoke to Eve through the serpent (Genesis 3:1-15; Moses 4:1-21; 2 Nephi 2:17-18; D&C 29:36-40). He is tied to vipers (cf. Job 20:16) in several of the Dead Sea Scrolls, such as Testament of Amram (4QAmram Ms. B), 4Q525 5.4. Cf. Testament of Asher 7:3, where the Lord incarnate comes "crushing the dragon's head in the water," in terms similar to those found in Psalms 74:13-14.

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onto the small plates (2 Nephi 12-24). This is followed by his own prophecy, in which he draws upon some of Isaiah's themes for commentary (2 Nephi 25-31). In this prophecy, he devotes a number of verses to a discussion of the devil and hell (2 Nephi 26:10, 22; 28:15-23; 30:15-18). Among the themes he repeats are those of the devil's church (2 Nephi 28:18), the captivity of the devil (2 Nephi 26:22; 28:19, 21-23), death and hell (2 Nephi 28:23), and the power and kingdom of Satan (2 Nephi 28:19; 30:18).

To this he adds that the devil is the founder of secret combinations (2 Nephi 26:22)—a theme repeated by subsequent Book of Mormon authors. It may be significant that, among the Isaiah passages found in this speech, is one in which the prophet speaks again of "Eden . . . the garden of the Lord" (Isaiah 51:3=2 Nephi 8:3) and describes the ancient struggle between the Lord and the sea-monster Rahab, also called a "dragon" in KJV (Isaiah 51:9-10, same as 2 Nephi 8:10; cf. Psalms 89:9-10). In Psalms 87:4, "Rahab and Babylon" are listed together, again suggesting the identification of this monster of the deep with the king of Babylon.

Some of Nephi's comments may derive from Isaiah's Lucifer prophecy. We have, for example, the idea of the wicked being thrust down to hell (2 Nephi 26:10; 28:15; see also Isaiah 14:9, 15 and compare the fall of the devil's church in 2 Nephi 28:18), the destruction of the inhabitants of the earth (2 Nephi 28:17; see also Isaiah 14:6, 8, 16–17, 20), and the shaking of the devil's kingdom (2 Nephi 28:19; see also Isaiah 14:16).

According to Isaiah 14:12–14, Lucifer's rebellion consisted in wanting to become like God, to "sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north." The term rendered "north" in this passage is the Hebrew Saphon, the name of the mountain on the Syrian coast, north of Ugarit, on which, according to the

⁵³ Helaman 6:26-30; 3 Nephi 6:28-29; Ether 8:15, 25; 10:33.

Ugaritic texts, Baal's palace was built. The word *Saphon*, meaning "high place," ⁵⁴ came to mean "north" because of the mountain's location. ⁵⁵

In Israel, the temple mount in Jerusalem was seen as the dwelling-place of Jehovah on the earth, perhaps in view of the rival Baal cult. Consequently, we read of "mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great king" in Psalm 48:2. ⁵⁶ The "great king," of course, is Jehovah, just as in Tyre the "king of the city" (Melqart) was Baal. The Lord uses the expression "my holy mountain" in reference to Jerusalem and its temple in Isaiah 11:9, 56:7, 57:13, 65:11, 65:25, and 66:20; Joel 2:1 and 3:17; Obadiah 1:16; and Zephaniah 3:11. ⁵⁷

The passage in Isaiah 11:9 is particularly instructive. It reads, "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." Nephi includes the prophecy in his lengthy recitation of Isaiah passages (2 Nephi 21:9); and in the prophetic commentary that follows, he cites it in reference to the millennial era, when "Satan shall have power over the hearts of the children of

⁵⁴ This is not the word usually rendered "high place" by the King James translators, but refers to a mountain from which one has a view of the surrounding territory.

The site was called Mount Cassius in the Greco-Roman era (from Hazi, the Assyrian name of the mountain) and is today known by the Arabic name Jebel Aqra. Compare the place-name Baal-Zaphon in Exodus 14:2, 9.

Note that Joshua was buried on the north side of the hill (Joshua 24:30; Judges 2:9).

In 1 Enoch 25:3, we read that there is a mountain that serves as God's throne when he comes to visit the earth and that "the Holy and Great Lord of Glory" sits on this throne. According to Ezekiel the Tragedian 68-76, Moses saw the throne of God on mount Sinai and was invited to sit with the Lord. In Doctrine and Covenants 76:66-68, the celestial kingdom is compared to "Mount Zion... the city of the living God, the heavenly place, the holiest of all."

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men no more" (2 Nephi 30:15).

In Isaiah 14:13, Lucifer desires to sit on the "mount of the congregation," Hebrew hr m'd. The second element is found in the Ugaritic expression phr m'd, referring to the assembly of the gods, and in the biblical Hebrew 'hl m'd, generally rendered "tent of the congregation" in the King James Bible, in reference to the tabernacle of Moses. The heavenly council is described in Psalm 82:1, which Julian Morgenstern saw as a New Year's Day judgment scene with God sitting on his throne. He further believed that the fall of "one of the princes" in verses 6–7 was a reference to Satan's being cast out of heaven. ⁵⁸

While the devil is expelled from the mountain of God in Isaiah 14:13 and Ezekiel 28:14 and 16, in Ezekiel 28:13 he is said to have been in Eden, the garden of God. In early Jewish tradition, the garden was situated atop a mountain. Some early traditions indicate that the tower of Babel (built by Nimrod, inspired by Satan, in an attempt to ascend to heaven) was an imitation of the holy mountain of Eden. ⁵⁹

Julian Morgenstern, "The Mythological Background of Psalm 82," Hebrew Union College Annual 14 (1939): 29–126. Thanks to Brian J. Thomas of Denver, Colorado, for bringing this article to the author's attention. Morgenstern notes that Hupfeld has already indicated, in his commentary on Psalm 82, that the Lord, in that passage, was angry with angels who had rebelled against his authority (115 n. 159). He further notes that Midrash Tehillim interprets the word "princes" in Psalms 82:7 as referring to the highest rank of angels (117 n. 164). Morgenstern also compares the assembly in Psalms 82 with the assembly of the "sons of God" in Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7, where Satan comes to accuse Job (Job 40–59).

⁵⁹ The concept of Eden being atop a mountain is particularly strong throughout *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*. See particularly the following passages: in Book II: 5:5; 9:5; 10:6–7; 11:1–3, 10–11; 12:10, 16; 15:2; 16:5–7; 17:16–17; 19:8–9; 20:11, 15–21, 29–30, 33, 36–37; 21:5–7; and 22:6, 10. In Book III: 2:3; 3:8; 4:2; 5:12, 14, 21; 6:7; 7:2,5,10,12; 9:9, 14; 13:2; and 13:13, 20. See also Targum Yonathan on Genesis 3.

CONCLUSION

Lucifer's attempt to sit on the holy mountain reflects his desire to become part of the heavenly council. Indeed, in the premortal world, he challenged Christ's support for the Father's plan of salvation and asked to be sent in his place. ⁶⁰ He went so far as to tell Moses that he was the Only Begotten (Moses 1:12–22) and "a son of God" (Moses 5:13). It is likely that the title rendered Lucifer ("shining one"), son of the morning, reflects this claim, for in the New Testament we read that it is Jesus who is truly "the bright and morning star" (Revelation 22:16; see also Revelation 2:28; 2 Peter 1:18–19).

According to Doctrine and Covenants 76:28, Satan "rebelled against God, and sought to take the kingdom of our God and his Christ." In Doctrine and Covenants 88:115, he is called "him who seeketh the throne of him who sitteth upon the throne, even the Lamb." The irony is that, because of his rebellion, he will be called to account before that throne. "Death, and hell, and the devil, and all that have been seized therewith must stand before the throne of God, and be judged according to their works, from whence they must go into the place prepared for them, even a lake of fire and brimstone, which is endless torment" (2 Nephi 28:23).

Moses 4:1; Abraham 3:27. According to Moses 4:1-3, Satan sought God's own power.